PASTORAL COUNSELLING IN SOUTH AFRICA

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ZULU

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ABSTRACT

The concern of the study lies with contextualisation of pastoral care and counselling in Africa. The study identifies and critically surveys the cross-cultural dynamics for the discipline pastoral care and counselling in a Zulu milieu. This is perceived to be relevant since this discipline, like others within the corpus of theological thought, has emerged within a Western context. The Zulu context has been chosen in order to gain a manageable area of focus. The dissertation presents a regional, geographical, political and social delineation which,in the process, portrays the Zulu identity as that of a group of people within the family of the Nguni people of South-East Africa. To this group of African people came missionaries from Europe and North America with the message of Christianity in the middle of the nineteenth century. These missionaries, unfortunately, came with Western colonists who had their own motives. This association created an ambiguous legacy which is set out at the introduction to this study. Missiological presuppositions which influenced missionary approaches in Zululand are also described.

The study points out that missionaries were faced with a second challenge once the community of the first Zulu Christians (*Onenhlevu*) emerged. The western missionary had to practice *seelsorge* (care of souls) in a culturally new and unfamiliar situation. Quite often, it seems, the missionary was overwhelmed with this radically new situation and reacted, in an impulse of cultural shock, with rigid church discipline, as a form of pastoral care. This practice is analysed critically in view of the church life within the context of which pastoral care and counselling will have to develop in South Africa today.

Clinical data in the form of verbatim extracts and case studies from pastoral counselling sessions, are critically analysed in the light of a person-centred approach. This research methodology identifies a people with a rich cultural heritage, yet presently living in a situation of two world-views. This context brings out the seriousness of pastoral responsibility in Africa, which pastors and parishioners face.

The Zulu did not receive the Gospel as a *tabula rasa*. They also do not live out their Christianity in a cultural vacuum. The Zulu always appreciate meaning within the parameters of their cultural paradigm. Therefore, the study seeks points of contact that should constantly be considered in any pastoral counselling of the Zulu, where they encounter intra-psychic and/or inter-personal conflict, or even when they need guidance in decision making in the complex modern life.

Cultural symbols, concepts of illness and health, religious outlook, Zulu language nuances, proverbs and marriage customs, identified in this research to be central in Zulu traditional context, are proposed to be "bridges" which should not be neglected in an endeavour to develop effective pastoral counselling of the Zulu. The dissertation, therefore, proposes a multi-dimensional and inter-disciplinary approach to pastoral counselling in Zululand. Issues in the training of pastoral counsellors for an African milieu are also identified.

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PART I

CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES OF PASTORAL CARE AND COUNSELLING

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the broad scope of the dissertation and its organisational structure is described. This is done by setting out the problems addressed, the motive for choosing the subject, the limits of the study, and its methodology.

1. Statement of the Problem

There is considerable evidence that for many years to come Mission work will still be considered as one of the most influential human projects of the 18th and 19th centuries. Evaluations of the mission enterprise will always be ambivalent. In some circles, there is no lack of praise, even from Africans sometimes as critical as D.D.T. Jabavu:

> The value of their work, the good they have rendered for the Bantu, the foundations they laid for the modernization of the African, not to mention the supreme gift of the Gospel, cannot be reckoned. They have placed generations of Africans in a position of their grateful debtors (Jabavu, 1928:118).

However glorious these words may sound, other opinions expressed convey a far different sentiment:

> Christian Missions in Africa and other non-European countries is a unilateral process of cultural transmissions in which the less fortunate party is looked upon with pity and treated as a weakling (Adjai, in Desai 1962:69).

Such a polarity of evaluations has led to various missiological, sociological, historical and psychological studies, in an attempt to assess the dimensions of this influential human project. From the perspective of pastoral counselling, it is interesting to discover how a missionary raised up in a Western culture with some Christian influence, during an era of great cultural confidence evidenced in Colonist advances, approached the African cultural heritage. When individual pioneer Zulu Christian communities, like those at Adams Mission, Groutville, Entumeni, St Augustine and others emerged, a new "cultural" community (*Onenhlevu*) was formed (Vilakazi, 1962). The missionaries had to "shepherd" this newly constituted community and they were challenged particularly by African cultural norms; the African was no tabula rasa. How then was the African to be approached? Sometimes there could have been a temptation to think that it was going to be easy to persuade the African Christian to

relinquish all his/her cultural heritage and embrace the Western way of life in toto, as if the African's traditional life was a shadow of his/her being.

This dissertation is focused on the cross-cultural challenge specifically as it relates to the discipline and practise of pastoral care and counselling. Later on in this study the Zulu context is drawn to a dialogue with the North American insights in the discipline of pastoral care and counselling because the North American "brand", rather than the continental, has been the most influential in pastoral studies almost all over the world.

The dissertation seeks to discover the direction that should be followed if African pastoral studies and practice are to be contextual. Black theology and African theology are creative theologies which go a long way in the useful venture of contextualisation. However, practical theology must draw the findings of these theologies to their practical contextual conclusions.

This study attempts to find out what could be the key areas in which Africans might be reached in pastoral care and counselling. In other words, the study pinpoints "bridges" that should not be neglected in African pastoral studies.

To further make the issue more contemporary, the study attempts to find out whether the African cultural heritage has survived in spite of missionary undermining of it. The role of the cultural heritage in pastoral counselling is focused upon. The dissertation investigates whether pastoral care and counselling as it has evolved as a discipline in the North American context, has the potential to be of value in cross-cultural contexts, specifically in the African/Zulu context.

2. Research Methodology

Anton Boisen is regarded as one of the pioneers of the clinical pastoral education (CPE) movement which has tremendously influenced modern pastoral counselling (Hiltner, 1966:13; Thornton, 1961:89). Boisen's main contribution to the discipline of pastoral care and counselling seems to have been not so much in its theological content as in its methodology. His methodology challenges the practising pastoral counsellor to engage seriously with persons with whom he/she is in pastoral dialogue. Boisen's pioneering insights are utilised in this study in an effort to analyse concrete pastoral data and suggest alternative approaches. Boisen was pointing to a methodology which emphasises learning from persons themselves, rather than merely drawing conclusions about persons from books.

> We must not begin with traditions and with systems formulated in books, but with the openminded explorations of living human experience in order from that to build a body of generalisations (Boisen, 1971:25).

Concrete pastoral counselling data among Zulu is perceived in this study to be the source for research. Boisen formulated the phrase - "the living human documents". This should be the source for the development of new theories and approaches in pastoral counselling.

> These case studies show that Boisen was not easily fooled with one short impression. He studied his cases longitudinally and was fully aware of the ups and downs, the contradictions and inconsistencies, the morbid fantasies or the healthy reality testing which one patient could manifest over a stretch of time (Nouwen, 1968:151).

In fact Boisen attached so much importance to case studies that many of these formed the basis of his book: The Exploration of the Inner World (1971). Some of the issues highlighted in this dissertation originate not from literary sources but from the "living human documents", in the methodology of Anton Boisen.

There is vast documention on the Zulu, the primary sources of which are identified in the literature review. The presentation of the Zulu cultural heritage is largely extracted from these literary sources. However, the author's own pastoral notes over a period of ten years are the source of pastoral verbatim material and case studies. These will be analysed in an attempt to construct a contextual African pastoral counselling model.

3. Delimitation

(i) Perspectives of the Zulu Case Study

Although dealing with pastoral care and counselling as a discipline, this study limits itself to cross-cultural challenges and considerations. Africa is the arena of these cross-cultural challenges. However, because the continent of Africa is so large, with a rich cultural heritage, the focus of this study is intentionally limited to South Africa, and has to be narrowed even further.

In parts of the study, reference is made to Africans as such. This is only done where it is safe to generalise in this manner. Groups within the African family have a lot in common. This is one of the reasons why progressive people in South Africa have vehemently opposed forced separation within the African family.

The objective is to let modern approaches which cross cultural boundaries, dialogue with the African context. In the South African context it is important to bear in mind that it is the African culture (in its collective richness) that is likely to have the potential to survive erosive oppression and inhumanity to the Africans. It is also this African culture which will restore *ubuntu* (humanness), which after all, is one of the goals of pastoral counselling.

Many books have been published on the Zulu. A short survey of this literature is included in this study, in order to identify the reservoir of Zulu cultural material which has already been collected. The importance of this material for this study is to highlight the Zulu cultural background which this study argues should not be neglected or wished away in pastoral counselling work among the Zulu, but should be perceived as a cultural milieu within which acts of ministry take place. Studies like those of Bryant and Berglund show that religious leaders living with the Zulu and having a mastery of their language had a vantage-point in the study of Zulu customs and practices.

Already in 1836, N. Isaacs wrote Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa, Vol. I and II. J. Stuart and D. McK. Malcolm edited H.F. Fynn's Diary. Also in 1836, A. Gardiner's book, Narrative of a Journey in the Zulu Country was published. J. Shooter's book, The Kaffir of Natal and Zulu Country was published in 1857. In 1868 Canon H. Calloway published Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulus. Rev. A.T. Bryant, 'Missionary, Linguist, Historian' "cannot be bypassed. Born in England, he came to Natal in 1883 at the age of 18 years. He associated himself with the CMM (Congregation Missionariorum de Mariannhill) brothers at Mariannhill, Pinetown where he opened the first boarding school for boys in Natal" (Berglund, 1976:25).

Bryant later became a catholic priest, having been ordained in Rome. He returned to the Zulu and built a mission station on the *Ngoye* mountains, between the *uMhlathuzi* and *uMlalazi* rivers. It was here that he worked arduously collecting material on the Zulu and their language. In 1903 Bryant published the Zulu-English dictionary. This dictionary has more information than the explanation of words. It includes botanic references and ethnographic details, linguistic and dialectic notes. In 1929, Bryant published 'Olden Times' in Natal and Zululand. It was in 1949 that his study The Zulu People was published.

Eileen Krige published The Social System of the Zulus in 1936. Axel Ivar Berglund in his Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism (1976) mentioned less-known studies like those of G. Asmus, a German Lutheran missionary who wrote Die Zulu. The other study

is by Rev. J.E. Norenius, a Swedish Lutheran missionary, who "wrote several short but important studies, describing Zulu religious ideas, ritual celebrations and concepts" (Berglund, 1976:27).

Axel Ivar Berglund's book is a large collection of original material collected by the author in several areas of Zululand.

Another very informative study on the Zulu was published by Harriet Ngubane (1976), entitled: Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine. It is a study which shows the rich understanding of sickness, healing and spirit possession among the Zulu.

One of the most significant contributions in the literature on the Zulu, is a book on Zulu proverbs by C.L.S. Nyembezi (1954). This is a remarkably rich book on the 'wisdom of our fathers' well encapsulated in the proverbs of the Zulu.

A detailed review of literature is presented in Chapter 2.

(ii) Geographical and Social Delineation

The objective of this section is to point out the identity of the people being studied and identify the dynamics which were present in the region during the early stages of nation building.

The focus of the study is on South Africa, with the Zulu as one of the African groups of this Southern part of the continent of Africa being chosen as a case study in order to develop a pastoral paradigm.

Zululand is an historical region in the north-east section of the present Natal province in the Republic of South Africa. The Zulu leader Shaka reigned 1816-1828. It was Shaka who established his people's dominance over the neighbours. Shaka achieved this by using a well-disciplined and efficient fighting force. He proceeded to conquer many clans in what is presently Natal. Thus a Zulu nation and kingdom evolved (Encyclopedia Britannica).

The Zulu as a group are a nation of Nguni speaking people, a branch of the Southern Bantu. The Zulu have strong ethnic and linguistic affinity with the Swazi and the Xhosa. The Zulu were traditionally grain farmers, who also kept cattle. Cattle play a very significant role in the lives of the Zulu (Krige, 1950). Cattle are used when

slaughtered as sacrifices to the ancestors (*ukuhlabela aba pansi*); sour milk is the mainstay of Zulu delicacies; and hide was traditionally used for clothing for men, women and children.

The focus on a specific group of people of South Africa need not shadow the primary objective of the study which is an exploration of what happens as the discipline of pastoral care and counselling addresses cross-cultural issues. This discipline has mainly evolved in a Western context and now has to address problems in the Zulu milieu. Therefore, the study falls within the area of pastoral care and counselling as it seeks to investigate dynamics in pastoral praxis. It is not a study in culture per se, nor is it a study in traditional theology isolated from the African traditional context.

Geographically, the area which this study deals with is bounded by the Indian ocean to the east and the Drakensberg mountain range to the west. To the south it borders with the land occupied by Xhosa speaking people, and the Umzimkulu river forms the southern boundary. To the north the Pongola river divides the area from Swaziland and Mozambique. It was in the early nineteenth century that the region acquired a political identity, under Shaka. Today the idea of regional identity persists in the attempts that are made to combine these two local authorities (refers to Natal and KwaZulu) (Duminy, 1989:49).

(iii) Political and Social Dynamics in the Formation of the Zulu Kingdom

The Zulu state falls within the region of south-east Africa and A.T. Bryant identifies three phases in the history of this region. The first (AD 1500-1700) had people migrating into the region from the north and north-west. These people Bryant calls the Nguni. According to Bryant, they migrated not as a national entity, but as clans. They were found in the regions to which they migrated at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Bryant, 1929:139). The second era he calls the "Golden Age" of East Nguni history. During this period people lived in peace and stability in numerous small clans under benevolent patriarchal rule. The third phase was the era of autocracy which began with Shaka. Shaka became the chief of the Zulu clan in about 1816. This ushered "a period of drastic political change in which numberless clans and independent chieftains were gradually demolished, and upon its ruins was built a grandiose nation ruled by a despot" (Bryant, 1929:71).

If one were to subscribe to Bryant's theory of clans, no doubt one would expect a considerable amount of variety culturally and otherwise in the Zulu population. Indeed

research supports this observation, for even today one finds that:

> Membership in a clan does not presuppose ties of consanguinity. A clan is exogamous. Some clans observe certain clan marks and an anthem. Clans are divided into lineages. A lineage (*umdeni*, or more commonly in Nyuswa *uzalo* from *zala*, to bear, hence of "common birth") is composed of people who can track descent to a common agnatic ancestor. Lineage relationship presupposes ties of consanguinity through political descent (Ngubane, 1976:13).

The present writer's experience among the Zulu people affirms the above statement. It was observed, for instance, that *Mbomvu*/Zulu cut the small finger of newborn offspring. This is a clan custom (*isiko lama Mbomvu*). Pastoral experience in the Mahlabatini, Zululand, area and later in the Ozwatini, Emathulini area, reveals that a vast number of nuances of some Zulu customs exist.

In conclusion, then, in the formation of the Zulu Kingdom in south-east Africa, there were forces at work which brought together hitherto separated though related clans and knit them together into the fabric of one kingdom where they all paid allegiance to the king with a unified political system. This emerging political system had the ability to keep these clans together and thus introduce a unified state as well as gradually develop a common social system.

During the reign of Shaka the most important development had to do with Zulu power. This consolidation was possible through innovation in the military wing of the kingdom:

> The predominance which the Zulu ruling house proceeded to establish, after its victory over the Ndwandwe depended directly on its ability to maintain the highly centralised control over the tight discipline which it had succeeded in imposing *Amabutho* formed during the emergency which it had faced in 1818-19. The tightening of the *amabutho* system had been designed as much to underpin the tenuous hold on political power of the Zulu rulers as to increase the efficacy of the force at their command: it was both an instrument of social control and a means of external defence (Wright and Hamilton in Duminy, 1989:69).

However, as the social dimensions, rather than political advances, are the concerns of this study, there is need to identify what political consolidation based on military innovation did for social change and the consolidation of a unified social system.

Ritter (1958), taking his cue from A.T. Bryant, has this to say of the Zulu political and social achievements, of which Shaka played no mean part:

> When the time came for the passing of that chieftainship in 1816, it marked the end and the beginning of two distinct periods in East Nguni political history. The transaction would be painful. The primordial system of numberless clans and independent chieftains would, amidst much wailing and bloodshed be demolished, and upon and out of its ruins would be built up a nation ruled by a despot (Ritter, 1958:7).

The statement points to the important areas of social and political development in the emerging state. This study would support Ritter if he means that the clan units came with an already established reservoir of social habits which had survived the trauma of political consolidation, and contributed to a new social system. However, if he implies that the clan social habits have remained intact in spite of massive consolidation, from the evidence of modern research, this study does not support his view.

Since these clans were now unified in one Zulu kingdom, some of their social practices were challenged and could not be endured. Naturally, they would not have been discarded without a great deal of grief. State control dictated such norms as well, cutting across what could have been clan practices before consolidation. A particular case would illustrate this. It was during the reign of Shaka that the practice began of getting married only when the monarch had so sanctioned it. It was a crime punishable by death if a young man married before his age group was allowed to. The age group usually belonging to a particular regiment (*ibutho*), was authorised to marry a particular age group of the womenfolk. Deviance was severely punished. Blose (1974), in a Zulu novel, dramatically shows how this permeated Zulu social practice and how it painfully affected individuals.

In short, nation building consolidated the total social system. But, as Ngubane (1976) has pointed out, this does not mean to say that the result was total uniformity in all customs throughout the communities of the hitherto separate clans.

In conclusion, therefore, historical and social anthropological data show that several factors were at work in the formation of the Zulu kingdom in south-east Africa. The basic dynamic seems to have been political force which brought together and united several clans into one political system. While the social system was united, there continued to be some minor variations among different clans. The sheer force of social control resulted in a population that gradually became very conservative in regard to *amasiko okhotho bethu* (our forbears' customs).

With political and social consolidation an individual's role became clearly defined in the family and society (Ritter, 1958 and Krige, 1950). Organised state control was reflected in

the family as well. The family continued to be a unit of its own although it too fell within the powers of the king. A person's own sons and daughters could not do simply as they pleased. The whole household had to recognise age groups and obligations which went with them (Krige, 1950:24).

Further, it must be borne in mind that in Zulu society an individual belonged to a network of the larger family relationship, the extended family, called *uzalo*. A person cherished his/her relatives, which included his/her in-laws, mainly *Umukhwe* (father-in-law) and *Umkhwekazi* (Mother-in-law). Sisters and cousins are designated as *abalamu* (Krige, 1950:32).

An individual belonged to the *Umuzi* (village or kraal) which was an organised economic unit under the rulership of *Umnuzane* (kraal head). The young people further belonged to their age groups *Ontanga*, who gave them support to act according to the national norms. The other important unit was *ibutho* (a regiment). Every male was "grouped up" with others of his age into a regiment.

This all points to the structured and orderly nature which characterised Zulu life in traditional society.

4. Organisation of the Study

This study is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the cross-cultural perspectives and challenges of pastoral care and counselling, drawing examples from missiology and psychotherapy. The Zulu cultural heritage is analysed in order to discover areas whose elements and practices could possibly be seen as "bridges" in a culturally sympathetic pastoral care and counselling. This cross-cultural perspective leads to an analysis of the missionary approaches and legacy in South Africa. Missionary work is perceived as representative par excellence of cross-cultural projects. The pros and cons are identified in the context of the Zulu milieu. Missionary influences and dynamics are analysed.

Part II of the study identifies issues in the development of a contextual pastoral counselling model. A few such issues, representative of issues challenging the Western North American model of pastoral counselling, have been selected. These include Zulu concepts of illness and health, together with urbanisation and industrialisation, in the South African situation; the migratory labour system and the economic exploitation of the blacks. The latter issue is a reminder that in order to develop a contextual pastoral studies model it is necessary to avoid being nostalgic and romantic about the Zulu past. Instead the realities of modern

South Africa must be addressed, especially as these realities affect the blacks.

The third part of the dissertation attempts the practical component which is the core of a discipline, part of the corpus of practical theology. In this section a contextual African pastoral care and counselling model is developed.

5. Orthography

A number of Zulu words have been corrupted in their pronunciation and spelling. This trend originated in the Colonial era. It is a by-product of a Colonialist mentality which, as the historical sources reflect, failed to appreciate the depth of a people's heritage; for example, the heritage that is enshrined in the Zulu language and proverbial expressions.

In English literature *Thukela* river is spelt Tugela, *Shaka* is spelt Tshaka, *Dukuza* as Duguza, *Khangelamankentshana* as simply Congella, to give examples of a few. In the present study this pattern is not followed. Instead, Zulu words are spelt in the manner that the Zulu themselves would pronounce them. Note should also be made of two Zulu words, *lobola* and *lobolo* used in several parts of this study, which may be confusing. *Lobola* is a verb meaning the act of presenting gifts, traditionally cattle, to the future wife's parents. *Lobolo* is a noun referring to the presented cattle, or money in modern Zulu society. Therefore a standardised and officially recognised orthography (Doke and Vilakazi, 1972) is adopted throughout the study.

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CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PASTORAL CARE AND COUNSELLING IN SOUTH AFRICA: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature in contextual African pastoral approaches is so very scarce, even though African theologians have engaged themselves with vigour and vitality in missiological debates, including the famous moratorium in the 1960s and 1970s.

Research in this field reveals that there is minimal literature that deals with pastoral care and counselling as a modern discipline in South Africa, particularly within an African context. However, there is some literature which can be regarded as a beginning to contextual African pastoral studies.

In order to understand the dynamics in operation in Zululand, it is necessary to consider the region within the wider context of Southern Africa. In the study of an emerging discipline like pastoral counselling, the Christian mission tradition, as well as efforts at contextualisation within the African context in local communities, must be considered. Therefore, this review of literature looks at efforts at contextualisation in the region, no matter how meagre these attempts are. Accepting that the philosophy of pastoral care and counselling is eclectic, studies in medicine and psychology are also included.

Most theological literature by African theologians from South Africa appears to have a common characteristic. This may sound strange as superficially some writers may be regarded as strange bedfellows. The relationship, however, is identifiable in the pastoral motif. Basically, these African theologians have a common passion, arguing for the rooting of Christianity or contextualisation on the African soil. This concern has to do with a quest for a liberation of the person himself/herself, as well as passionate zeal that others be liberated in Christ in their own context, instead of being enslaved in a Christianity that is not their own. Interestingly enough, it is mainly people who have been exposed to Western Christianity who are shocked by its poverty in certain areas, and thus are fascinated by what can still be developed in their own context. The authors in this field of literature will be identified later in this Chapter.

It would be wrong to give the impression that all missionaries did not see the need to be contextual in Africa, specifically in Southern Africa. Rev. Placide Tempels, even though writing from an area not commonly regarded as Southern Africa, also speaks within a regional context. He was a missionary Catholic priest in the Congo. In his work *La philosophie Bantoue* (1945), Tempels argues a point hitherto neglected. He states that the African people, specifically the

Bantu, do have a philosophical system. This needs to be taken into consideration in the missionary efforts to civilize and Christianize these people. Tempels is excited at the new discovery and with great enthusiasm propounds his thesis to his contemporaries:

> We feel that we should speak from one school of wisdom to another, from one ideal to another conception of it. The gods are dethroned. The disinherited stand before us as equals (Tempels, 1959:110).

Tempels further asserts that he has discovered a new territory in identifying that all human behaviour depends upon a series of principles. Thus, even the uneducated African has to depend on a philosophy of life for his actions. He argues persuasively:

> Anyone who claims that primitive peoples possess no system of thought excludes them thereby from the category of men (sic). Those who do so contradict themselves fatally elsewhere (Tempels,1959:16).

Tempels labours at length to convince his colleagues and contemporaries that surely the "primitive" people have a philosophical system of some sort. Missionaries, educators, colonists and traders would all do well to take the Bantu seriously as human beings with their own philosophy:

> We thought we had children "great children" to educate and that seemed easy enough. Then all at once we discovered that we were concerned with a sample of humanity, adult, aware of its own brand of wisdom and moulded by its own philosophy of life. That is why we feel the soil slipping under our feet, that we are losing track of things; and why we are asking ourselves: "What to do now to lead our coloured people?" (Tempels, 1959:11).

Tempels' insights point to past blindness in cross-cultural interaction and they also expose the follies of the West. "We were quite sure that we should give short shrift to stupid customs, vain beliefs as being quite ridiculous and devoid of all sound sense" (Tempels, 1959:110).

Tempels asserts that in African philosophy, the supreme value is a vital life force, to live strongly. The Bantu would explain those practices which seem strange to a Westerner, as having meaning in an effort to acquire vital force to live strongly. They aim at all times to make life stronger or "to assure that force shall remain perpetually in one's posterity" (Tempels, 1959:30).

Tempels' views are elusive; almost as if they could possibly reflect a revolutionary approach in mission and pastoral studies. However, he later reveals a crippling Western arrogance in cross-cultural inter-relationships and exchange. For how otherwise could the following observation, almost conviction, be explained?

> It is our job to proceed to such systematic development. It is we who would be able to tell them in precise terms, what their innermost concept of being is. They will recognise themselves in our words and will acquiesce, saying: "You understand us: You know us completely: You "know" in a way we "know" (Tempels, 1959:25).

Though Tempels' views do point towards the importance of contextualisation which has to do with people's world view and which is the concern of the present thesis, he is arrogant and seems to take the African for granted. He is representative of many who, although have good intentions, fail to reach the African people, fail to feel their true African pulse. By lacking in empathy they miss the real parameters of people's own frame of reference.

Another person from missionary circles who has also challenged missionaries to be aware of the sensitivity of missionary and pastoral work in a cross-cultural perspective is Edwin Smith. He states:

> We who go to India or China or Africa or elsewhere cannot divest ourselves of our Western culture. We remain Europeans or Britons wherever we go. Consciously or sub-consciously we know that we inherit a superior culture. We think that our ways of doing things are the best in the world. We glory in the achievement of our people. We consider that it would be a good thing for all the world if all the world could become as we are. We are anxious to share with others the benefits we enjoy. It is easy, fatally easy to drift into believing that our civilization and Christianity are synonymous and to think it our duty to be the agents of that civilization as we are Christian missionaries (Smith, 1923:15).

Indeed, Smith has identified the very crux of the matter. Such an attitude makes it almost impossible to appreciate, at the same time, the innate value of some aspects of African traditional culture.

Smith tries to persuade his Western colleagues to realise and accept that "Christianity and our civilization are not "identical" (Smith 1923:15). Therefore, it is the wrong attitude "to expect our converts to conform to our mode of life, to adopt our institutions, our conventions, to worship God with our forms of ritual, to take over our architecture, and even perhaps our music" (Smith, 1923:15).

Smith is convinced that there are parts or elements of Christianity which are not essential to be propagated to other cultural contexts. Indeed, he advances scathing critique of blind and arrogant approaches to peoples of other cultures. Positively he advises that "missionaries, administrators and others need to be endowed - or need to acquire - an anthropological mind, by which I mean that they should learn the habit of regarding everything from the African's point of view. This will do much more than save them from making blunders" (Smith, 1923:36).

Smith's poignant observations are indeed relevant to this study. However, he generalises and does not focus on a specific area to illustrate his point, nor does he, of course, focus primarily on the pastoral dimensions and implications.

Axel-Ivar Berglund (1976), perhaps taking his cue from Smith, presented a social anthropoligical study of the Zulu, entitled Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism, to the University of Cape Town. His study is basically an interpretation of Zulu customs, concepts of illness, health and religion, in view of what he calls their thought patterns and symbolism. Indeed, a valuable study in an effort to understand the Zulu people's frame of reference. However, one should remain alert to the elusive boundary between a phenomenological presentation and a subjective interpretation. Although Berglund's study does contribute to the present debate, it has suspended missiological and pastoral observations and implications. This task, therefore, remains.

Another important contribution to this project is Harriet Ngubane's (1976) research among the Nyuswa/Zulu, entitled Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine. Ngubane's research is a social anthropological study focussing on the Nyuswa as descendants of what used to be an independent clan before the consolidation of the Zulu kingdom. It is a modern study which realistically takes into consideration the dynamics of social change among this specific group of the Zulu people. She states the focus of her study:

> My own choice of subject was influenced by a desire to look into social behaviour that was considered traditional and was referred to by the Nyuswa themselves as "doing things in the Zulu way" (*Sigcina isiZulu*). This suggests that people see Zulu institutions as a heritage worth preserving and defending against intrusive ideas or conflicts arising from new and alien contacts (Ngubane, 1976:2).

Ngubane hypothesises that the modern Nyuswa/Zulu would still retain what she calls "the Zulu philosophy of life" (Ngubane, 1976:151). She proceeds to challenge theorists in social anthropology like Max Gluckmann and A.T. Bryant in their treatment of Zulu ethnographic material. She is critical of Gluckmann's "Rituals of Rebellion".

Ngubane's research findings around Zulu understanding of *Umnyama* (pollution) in relation to bereavement and the traditional concept of bereavement is outstanding and merits further study in view of pastoral counselling.

Ngubane's research indicates there is a considerable survival of the "Zulu philosophy of life" among the people today. This survival of a people's traditional way of life (*Ukugcina amasiko okhokho bethu*) seems to therefore merit a deeper study in pastoral and missiological studies.

From a pastoral perspective, whether an ethnographic approach or any other scientific method is used, the data gathered are not meant for analysis only. The pastoral methodology moves from a phenomenological analysis to a pastoral diagnosis and eventually to a relevant pastoral act. Therefore, with a good social anthropological analysis the pastoral enterprise has barely begun.

Two studies among the Zulu by medical doctors with rich experience of practice in rural areas of Zululand are also relevant, albeit peripherally, to the present study. W.Z. Conco's "The African Bantu Traditional Practice of Medicine: some Preliminary Observations" (1972) analyses the case histories of his rural Zulu patients. Conco is of the opinion that "to achieve meaningful and effective understanding, it becomes necessary to investigate and explore certain relevant communication patterns used by patients. This dialogue about disease, illness or sickness revealed an interpretative point of view, from which a theory underlying the practice of a system of traditional medicine was structured" (Conco, 1972:283).

As far as Conco is concerned, the basic issue when Western medicine's representatives meet the African is the diversity of world-views vis-a-vis illness and medicine. Hence "the problems of communication between traditional and modern medicine essentially concerns the very divergence of subjective truths accepted by African believers and regarded by them as objective truths. Thus the truths of faith and the truths of science resemble one another in social consequences though they differ in methods of demonstration proof or verification" (Conco, 1972:283). In this study Conco goes on to suggest ways of approaching these beliefs.

His suggested method is that of a Western scientific medical approach. Nonetheless he is included in the literature which takes the contextual seriously since he does advocate that there is need to take seriously "what some Africans do, think, entertain and fear in problematic situations, sickness, disease and dis-ease; and thus can only be achieved by a systematic study of various medical practices" (Conco, 1976:283).

The case studies which Conco presents seem to indicate the prevalence of traditional views of the concept of illness and health in rural Zululand. Pastoral studies need to take these concepts seriously. However, studies like these cannot be a substitute for genuine research in practical theology in the South African context.

Gumede, another medical practitioner, has written widely on the subject of medicine and Zulu culture (Gumede 1965; 1974; 1974). Although a Western-trained medical practitioner, he demonstrates a great respect for Zulu traditions and customs. He states, with much conviction:

> It augers well for the future of medical health services in our country, that the young generation of doctors realise the importance of tradition and customs in ministering to their patients. Traditional cultural practices continue to offer strong barriers to improve health services, because too often we have failed to recognise that we are indeed confronted by fundamental challenges (Gumede, 1971:23).

A people's philosophical view of the aetiology of disease needs to be met with sympathy. However, the study falls within the field of social anthropology and medicine and has only a peripheral relevance to pastoral studies.

The discipline of clinical psychology has much in common with pastoral counselling, its major focus being on therapeutic relationships with individuals and sometimes with groups. The services of clinical psychotherapists have not adequately reached the black society in townships and rural areas. It is understandable, therefore, that few issues emanating from the black context have been reported. Excluded from professional work lacking in contextualisation, is Chabani Manganyi's work. He has contributed substantially to the debate. Manganyi, in Looking through the Keyhole (1981), a collection of essays, looks from a clinical psychological perspective at all facets of South African society. He uses imagery to portray this society.

> The image which suggested itself to me in the course of planning this volume was always that of a prisoner peeping through the keyhole of his desolate cell. Life in abundance, so our prisoner imagines, is ticking away beyond the prison walls. Hope, anguish, despair and indeed a modicum of humour, engulf his being as he waits for the day of judgement - "judgement day" (Manganyi, 1981:1).

This imagery seems to be a central motif in Manganyi's writing (Manganyi, 1979; 1981).

Manganyi as clinical psychologist and biographer, pursues energetically the theme of Africanisation. Ezekiel Mpahlele, whose biography Manganyi wrote, says of the South African white culture:

> You and I know that it is a defensive culture and not a creative culture; it's a purely mechanistic culture, coming from other traditions, from the "great Western tradition". for one thing, it lacks the spiritual force, it is spiritually bankrupt. It is a political thing. I do not know what you think about this: Perhaps we as scholars should try to mobilise our forces and talk about culture and what we can do to reinforce ourselves and look more deeply into ourselves, more profoundly across the rural/urban demarcation line, while at the same time keeping the door open for anybody else who wants to affiliate to this bigger thing... (Manganyi, 1981:41).

Mpahlele, a linguist and novelist, fully agrees with Manganyi, the clinical psychologist, that the key concept of Africanisation should permeate all disciplines and professions in South Africa.

Manganyi continues with this discussion on African culture and identity in his other essays. He is of the opinion that Africanisation needs to permeate universities as well as professional therapeutic practice. His is a passionate plea for dialogue between the richness of the African culture and Western oriented professions. Those who intend taking this seriously and enter the black experience with much empathy must themselves believe in the creative potential of African culture and rid themselves of sterile stereotypes (Manganyi, 1981:83).

Considering African contextualisation in the social sciences, particularly in areas closely related to pastoral counselling, mention must be made of Len Holdstock, a professor of psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand.

With much enthusiasm, Holdstock argues persistently for the accommodation of indigenous healing in professional practice in South Africa, and points out the relationship of indigenous healing with the school of the client-centered approach of Carl Rogers (Holdstock, 1979; 1981; 1982).

Holdstock is critical of the common Western approach in professional intercultural exchange. This refers to the often manifested arrogance and imperialistic motives to dominate in the world of ideas:

> At this stage of the development of our country, the neglect and avoidance of indigenous healing border on professional irresponsibility, not only within the applied framework of community health, but also within the academic world of information processing, theory and research (Holdstock, 1979:118).

Holdstock's research leads him to serious doubt concerning the value of indiscriminate use in Africa of counselling approaches developed in a Western culture and Western philosophical milieu. If we are concerned with effectiveness, we need to bear in mind that "counselling and psychotherapy are more effective when there is the greatest cultural and personal similarity between healer and healed" (Holdstock, 1979:119).

Although Holdstock's ideas are very close to the present inquiry in this thesis, he is a psychologist and therefore pastoral and theological concerns remain to be explored.

Turning now to focus on African theologians, it can be seen that although they are specialists in different disciplines within the corpus of theology, they have much in common in their passion to see Christianity rooted in the African soil. They can therefore be regarded as pastoral, even though they do not consider themselves as such. These studies are characterised by a pastoral passion and as such lack an emphasis on theological theoretical sophistry. Although these

authors are theologically informed, they do not write purely for theoretical reflection. Theirs seems to be an attempt to root Christianity and pastoral practice in the African soil. Thus, their contributions do have some relevance to pastoral studies.

Buthelezi (1968) states the primary objective of his thesis in this way:

> In this study, "Creation and Church", we have used the reality of human existence as our point of departure. We have characterized this reality as existence before God (Buthelezi, 1968:305).

Buthelezi's phrase "reality of human existence", primarily referring to the African person, applies to the present study in African pastoral counselling, since, in counselling, the person being counselled must be met within the context of his existential situation.

Buthelezi appears to be very sympathetic with the African culture. The plea is for the understanding of the person in Africa, whether he/she is a Christian or not. This is essential since "man (sic), wherever he (sic) is and no matter whatever his (sic) religious state may be, always stands before God in a given creational relationship. His (sic) creational relationship with God accounts for his (sic) dignity..." (Buthelezi, 1968:305).

To assert that the person, as God's creation, always stands in a creational relationship to Him, a condition (position) which gives the human being his/her dignity has far reaching implications for missions and pastoral studies. It means that a considerable amount of time needs to be spent paying attention to a people's cultural milieu for it is indeed as Buthelezi also states, "the rendezvous" of God and His creature. Buthelezi, himself, sees this milieu as the context for the development and practice of practical theology subjects and theologising as such. "Preaching and the act of theologising have man (sic) in creation as their point of convergence. The anthropological situation provides the postulate for the possibility of both preaching and theologising" (Buthelezi, 1968:296). It is not clear why Buthelezi does not include pastoral counselling.

One of the unique characteristics of Buthelezi's contribution is that, although he is passionate in his criticism of Western missionary approaches, and he has a deep-seated quest for an authentic church in the African continent, he is too cautious to deal with the African culture, and thus his study falls short of broadly advocating for an indigenous church. It is a deeply felt dissatisfaction with missionary approaches which leads him to say:

> The point which men like Franz Fanon and Ndabaningi Sithole are trying to make is that the African has been "rescued" from his (sic) "barbarity" at the expense of his human

dignity. This "reasoning" has taken the form of attempts to mould the African into a preconceived "something". This something has been indistinguishably referred to as a "civilized man" (sic) and a "Christian man" (sic). This anthropological motif has had cultural and sociological implications (Buthelezi, 1968:18).

Buthelezi also hesitates to state clearly what he would regard as indigenous. He appears to be too cautious of the danger of facilitating a contextual culturally sensitive Christian church in Africa. He is afraid; in his view "there is a danger that "African past" may be romanticised and conceived in isolation from the realities of the present" (Buthelezi, 1968:277). Buthelezi distinguishes rigidly between an "anthropological" and "ethnographical" approach (Buthelezi, 1968:280).

In response to Buthelezi, it must be stated that the history of the cultural reality is a fact. However, those areas in the legacy of African culture that are still identifiable should be identified and allowed to dialogue in a vigorous manner with modern disciplines and professional praxis. Research work among African township dwellers indicates that some aspects of traditional culture concerning concepts of illness and health still survive (Holdstock, 1979:118).

Setiloane (1976) deals with the Sotho/Tswana image of God, whom they call *Modimo*. He does not seem to see a drastically new and a radical break between the old and the new in the people's world-view, characterising their religion and culture. Setiloane has a different approach to that of Buthelezi. He takes up again the subject of the concept of Divinity but broadens his focus to include other peoples of Africa. He concludes, inter-alia, that traditional spirituality still moulds the character of Sotho/Tswana life, by supplementing deficiencies which the Tswana people feel to be present in a Western form of Christianity, which had already been secularised when the missionaries introduced it to them (Setiloane, 1976:284).

The traditional Tswana view of humanity and life, that all life is life in a community of "vital relationship", "not only among the living, but between the living and the living dead", derives from the numinous awareness of Modimo, the dynamic force, behind all being" (Setiloane, 1976:224). In fact, "decisive moments in life, birth and death, health and sickness, success and failure, order or disorder, relations between men and women, between adults and children, between chiefs and commoners, between village and village" (Setiloane, 1976:224); all of these have an innate relationship as all fall under one source, *Modimo* (God), and the ancestors (*badimo*) are mediators and at once one with the community.

Setiloane's relevance for the present study has to do once more with the African passion for the rooting of authentic Western purged Christianity in the African soil. Undoubtedly, Setiloane is

a theologian who is willing to take risks and even challenge his fellow African theologian colleagues:

> "...because they have been largely reared in the West, because they have come to value constant ecumenical contacts, will insist on the preservation of these contacts of continual dialogue with men of other cultures and other Christian traditions. But their theology must be worked out for themselves in their own country, in their own culture, their own language. Only thus can the image of God become meaningful for each and ecumenical koinonia (Setiloane, 1976:230).

Setiloane (1976) draws his conclusions mainly from a study of the Sotho/Tswana. It is only as he draws implications for other groups in the African family that the focus is shifted to Africans in general. Like other African theologians he expresses concern for the development of an authentic African expression of Christianity. Although his concerns are relevant to the present thesis, he stops short of addressing pastoral issues among African Christians. Therefore, Setiloane's studies clarify that there is a vacuum that needs to be filled in developing authentic African approaches in pastoral theology.

While Buthelezi (1968) warns with great conviction against the danger of what he calls an ethnographic starting point in theologising, Dwane (1969) seems to have no qualms with that. His study is based on the topic of Christianity and the Xhosa religion. He gleans through the fields of traditional Xhosa culture and lets the product dialogue with the Christian tradition as it exists today. Dwane's ideas seem to fall within the same school of thought as Setiloane. He justifies the choice of this particular area for his doctoral thesis, thus:

> The reason for choosing this particular thesis is that religion amongst the Xhosa permeates the whole of life, and is the cohesive band which binds families, and gives them a sense of nationhood (Dwane, 1969:8).

His thesis provides a valuable source of information on Xhosa traditional practices. As a theologian Dwane goes much further and identifies areas of possible Christian indigenisation and creativity in the Xhosa context. One of the primary areas of such indigenisation, is worship. With deeply felt passion, Dwane levels a scathing attack on those Western missionaries cum theologians who are unable to perceive that Christianity must fulfill what is salutary in African culture. The crux of the matter is that the danger and weakness of such an approach is that this affects the way Christ is presented. He is, unfortunately, not presented as the one who comes to fulfill, but "to destroy, even that which is good and positive in creation". Nature and grace are seen in opposition to each other as though the Lord's operation is to be found in the latter, but not in the former (Dwane, 1969:288). It is the sense of discontinuity between the old and the new which Dwane is critical of in missiological approaches.

Again, like Buthelezi, Dwane sometimes comes very close to pastoral care. This justifies his inclusion in this review of literature. With pastoral concern, it is his opinion that the Church, when it gave up the struggle against traditional religion, was avoiding its task. It simply "abandoned the efforts to guide the minds and inform the conscience of those who are not able to turn their backs on the ancestors" (Dwane, 1969:292).

Indeed, this is a pastoral issue and places Dwane's concerns within the parameters of the discipline of practical theology in the African context. In spite of this concern, however, Dwane does not let us gain a broader picture of the psychological dynamics affecting persons on an intrapsychic dimension, nor does he suggest any possible pastoral psychological approaches. His contribution, therefore, points to the vacuum which pastoral theology could fill.

In an essay entitled "Church and Africanization", published in Tlhagale and Mosala (1986), Khoza Mgojo locates the origin and evolution of a local theology within the ambit of Africanisation. His contribution is pertinent to the development of African practical theology, since he perceives the development of a local theology within the nature and praxis of a local Christian community, in an African setting.

According to Mgojo, Africanisation is very important for a local theology. However, in the process of its evolution, there are a few questions that need to be raised. "Does the faith expression of a community really grow from the experience of that community; grow in such a way as to be truly its own? Does the community allow its expression of faith to be concrete enough for the situation to radically challenge the situation? But does this expression of faith also rise above a cultural romanticism and accommodation to allow it to be understood by others who are willing to listen?" (Mgojo, in Tlhagale and Mosala, 1986:113).

How Africanisation relates to other people who are not of African descent forms the core of Mgojo's understanding of the Africanization project in theology. This is important since a genuine theology and pastoral praxis cannot be limited by narrow ethnicity. The theme of Africanisation "assumes that all people of Africa, i.e. those who have come to stay in Africa, are Africans" (Mgojo, in Tlhagale and Mosala, 1986:112). Mgojo continues to elucidate the relationship of Africanisation to the theological enterprise as such. Africanisation tries to adapt through translation models what is perceived as the Christian message to local contexts and situations. These models will speak of a core Christian kerygma or basic Christian revelation, which is wrapped in cultural expressions. Thus, "the task of Africanisation as those models see it, is to free the "data revelation" from those cultural accretions of the West in order to allow the Christian message to acculturate itself in new situations. Such a translation or adaptation of the Christian message can take on a variety of forms" (Mgojo, in Tlhagale and Mosala, 1986:112). Mgojo takes a liberating

approach in his view to the corpus of the scriptural tradition. He warns "let us be reminded that the Bible is a cultural document representing the response in faith by a variety of communities. An ideal type of a New Testament Church is a cultural creation of a given era" (Mgojo in Tlhagale and Mosala, 1986:112).

Mgojo seems to move freely between African and liberation theologies, not viewing them as mutually exclusive. Of liberation theology, he says that "perhaps for us caught up in the South African situation, Africanization should promote liberation theology which is a method for analysing the oppression and struggle of a people and for giving it voice within the Biblical witness. Oppression, racism, poverty, unemployment, class struggle, etc. are key terms in the liberation approach" (Mgojo, in Tlhagale and Mosala, 1986:114).

Mgojo points to the task undertaken in the present study. Although not making a specific contribution to this field, he does seem to point towards the field that should be explored. He does this when he states explicitly the task of Africanization:

> Africanization... is geared to the full participation of the majority in the life of the Church. The needs of the majority, their aspirations and problems will determine what their pastoral priorities will be. Africanization encourages the majority to become active, and through their activity, determine from below, from inside, the real shape of the Church (Mgojo, in Tlhagale and Mosala, 1986:126).

The authors whose contributions are reviewed in this chapter are all considered people who have made a peripheral contribution to the present study. They have been included because of the scarcity of material on the development of pastoral counselling in South Africa.

However, at this point, the focus of the literature review is narrowed and material specifically on the subject of practical theology will now be scrutinised. Literary material in this field is very scarce; there is nothing published in book form; what is available is only in the form of articles.

In an article entitled "The role of theology in practical theology" Hawkes (1984) summarises different models of the role of theology in South Africa.

Proponents of the first model are Edward Thurneysen (1962) and Jay Adams (1974). In their view, "all that practical theology can say about pastoral care, must be derived from theology" (Hawkes, 1984:40). Hawkes, however, becomes critical and points out that Thurneysen does allow psychology in this schema. In this model theology remains normative. This then is what has been called the deductive method (Hawkes, 1984:40).

The second model states that practical theology is learning from experience. Theological conclusions are an expected outcome of practical theology. Seward Hiltner (1958), the American pioneer pastoral counselling theorist and practitioner, and pastoral theologian, is said to be the best representative of this model (Campbell, 1972). Hiltner's method is described as inductive. In Hiltner's view, something new may emerge from the study of pastoral actions (Hawkes, 1984:42). This is a logical outcome when one gets involved in "observing our pastoral experience, generalising on it theologically and checking it against the Christian ages" (Hiltner, 1958:29).

The third model is the dialogical one. It perceives practical theology as critical engagement of theology and practice. Practical theology and the practical situation engage together in mutual interaction. For this model Hawkes cites Pieterse who, in his book "Die Daad by die Woord" (1981), advocates the utilisation of this model. In this model "reflection on praxis must be allowed to influence and indeed modify theory. But theory is not theology. The theology which at first in confrontation with praxis gives birth to theory, thereafter remains untouched" (Hawkes, 1984:42).

Pieterse opts for the word 'confrontation' as a synonym for the word 'dialogue'. The present writer, however, considers dialogue to be in terms of Martin Buber's I-thou relationship. Pieterse doesn't seem to acknowledge that both partners must take each other seriously in a mutual dialogue.

Two African theologians have demonstrated the use of and commitment to the dialogical model. Goba (1982) suggests a dialogical relationship between theology and sociology, as both disciplines are utilised in understanding the nature and the role of the black urban Church. The two disciplines are not exclusive but complimentary especially in helping people to understand the nature and role of the Church and its role in the urban context. Goba's article contains a plea for a genuine, rigorous, scientific sociological analysis of the African Church in the urban context. This is necessary if the Church is to understand its role in the urban context.

In Goba's approach there is a genuine respect for theology which could be characterised in terms of its nature as a legacy - "faith of our fathers" and a creative, reflective endeavour. Concerning the importance of ecclesiology, Goba observes:

> Understanding the nature and the purpose of the Church is a fundamental task. No matter how astutely the urban church may comprehend the sociological pressures in a community, the varieties of religious groups, the process of conflict and co-operation, he is ultimately driven to the theological question: What is the significance and mission of the Church? (Goba, 1982:27).

Further, Goba's article points out that the Church is not just the Clergy, but the laos, the people of God. Therefore practical theology must help the people in such an urban environment

to fulfill their mission. Goba demonstrates a useful dialogical model which could go a long way to give urban African Christians an orientation which they deserve. However, it is not clear as to how Goba proposes to deal with the culture as a legacy, as well as cultural reservoir to which so many factors militate in an urban environment. How can people be helped to restore *ubuntu babo* (their humanity)? Goba's study helps in analysis, but there are no practical suggestions as to the development of practical theology in South Africa, taking seriously the cultural dimension using the dialogical model.

Nxumalo (1980) is another South African theologian who adopts a dialogical approach in his attempt to develop a contextual practical theology. His study focuses on the practice of ancestor veneration and its implication for the Church. In fact, Nxumalo perceives the dynamics of such issues arising from the African traditional background, as one of the challenges that need to be faced in the development of pastoral studies in South Africa. Nxumalo's research methodology included participant observation and the use of a questionnaire. Undoubtedly, he comes out supporting the dialogical method. He levels scathing attacks on missionaries like J.B. Sauter of the Missionaries of Mariannhill, who lacked insight into the Zulu world view. This tendency seems to have been the Achilles heel of many a missionary:

> He claims to understand and know Zulu customs, since he worked among the Zulus for a long time. But his booklet betrays his lack of insight into the Zulu worldview. And his approach and handling of Zulu rites in his sermons is thoroughly negative. There is truth in what he says in certain cases. But his approach, rather than helping people to see light, encourages them to the underground (Nxumalo, 1980:18).

Nxumalo's methodology is to acknowledge the positive in traditional practices like ancestor worship and then move forward to let these undergirding notions and beliefs dialogue with theology. For instance, "as Berglund (1976) has made it clear for us, the Zulu did not intend to worship the devil". Therefore, the ancestors are not seen as evil and therefore associated with Satan. Instead, many of the Zulu people "believe that ancestors are with God" (Nxumalo, 1982:19).

The most important insight gained from Nxumalo is that the experience of fundamental Christian events, like the death and resurrection of Christ, can be illuminated with the utilisation of the concepts and symbols from traditional Zulu culture. Therefore, Nxumalo would argue that there is need to reconcile *Umsebenzi* (traditional celebration in this sense in relation to the dead) with the celebration of holy mass.

Nxumalo summarises the focus of his study:

> This discussion raises a lot of questions. But we cannot tackle them all here. However, it is clear that African theologians and pastors of souls should make constant attempts to purify elements of African traditional religion and incorporate these into Christian faith, for the benefit of the African Christian and for the benefit of the universal church (Nxumalo, 1980:21).

Nxumalo's research relates very closely to the present study. However, his basic arguments are based mainly on theological justification of issues. He has not collected sufficient pastoral data which would illustrate more clearly the Zulu Catholic's own perception of the predicament. Nonetheless, Nxumalo's concluding statement points to the task that African practical theologians must accept.

The Missiological Institute at Umphumulo Lutheran Theological Seminary was started in 1965. The first director was Peter Beyerhaus. The Institute's publications have had wide circulation and are relevant to the South African context.

One such publication, the Report on Concepts of Death and Funeral Rites (1969) contains material that is potentially useful for the development of a contextual, culturally sensitive pastoral counselling model.

The editor of the publication, Axel-Ivar Berglund, identifying the pastoral aspect of the project, states:

> A Church that bypasses the challenge of a specific time or situation and the characteristic questions of the time or situation, deprives itself of the inspiration of creative atmosphere that the challenge offers. In the African setting and with the problem of death and the beyond as the measure issue of debate, the Church participating in the debate, must firstly clarify its own Biblical foundation and subsequent approach to the issues. Secondly, it must react in terms of attempted answers to the questions raised and as far as possible have meaningful and positive suggestions towards solving the problems (Berglund, 1969:1).

Berglund points to the challenge which the church must face to respond to a people's current questions. The Missiological Institute had been called upon to address the issues around the African traditional concepts of death and funeral rites. A number of theological and ethnographic presentations are collected in book form. However, Manas Buthelezi was very critical of this project:

> It is too presumptuous for anyone to claim to know how much of his (sic) past the African will allow to change his future as soon as he is given the chance to participate in the "wholeness of Life: which the contemporary world offers; and to be what he wants to be rather than expend his life energy in trying to be what others think he ought to be as an African (Buthelezi, in Berglund, 1969:177).

Other presenters had no qualms digging from the past to bring out African concepts of death and funeral rites (Raum, in Berglund, 1969; Sepeng, in Berglund, 1969).

In the critique of this Missiological Institute the main issue is that insufficient "dialogue" was forthcoming between the traditional concepts and theological insights. Thus the opportunity for an informed pastoral approach emanating from this dynamic interaction was missed. The Missiological Institute material became a fertile hunting ground for ethnographically inclined scholars. Buthelezi's rather jarring note is understandable from this perspective.

One of the Missiological Institute's publications thus illustrates the point that even though the focus of these institutes seems to have been on missiological scholarship, exciting mainly to Western missionary scholars, there are also some pastoral implications.

Arthur Becker, an American professor of pastoral care and counselling, who pioneered the development of clinical pastoral education, worked with ecumenical African pastors and theological students while based at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Umphumulo in Natal (1970-71). Reflecting on his African experience, he states that the discipline of pastoral care and counselling is closely related to a people's culture. For, "it is vital to come to some understanding of the social and cultural understanding of the social and cultural problems with which people must struggle to be able to express effective pastoral concern or to teach to it. This is especially true on the African continent where there is such a wide range of cultural styles" (Becker, 1978:184). He further identifies what he calls "immense social problems among the African people in South Africa". He says that, in fact, these are "tragedies" (Becker, 1978:185). However, on the whole, the Clinical Pastoral Education methodology is found by Becker to be adaptable to the South African situation. He felt that "it was not only possible to carry on an effective Clinical Pastoral Education program (sic) but that it was also deeply desired" (Becker, 1978:189).

Although Becker does suggest that it is possible to develop Clinical Pastoral Education programmes in the South African context, he does not go on to clearly identify possible approaches in dealing with cultural dynamics and nuances in the practice of pastoral counselling. Therefore, there is a need to identify these cultural dynamics as well as propose possible approaches in the development of relevant pastoral responses.

Masamba (1972), although writing from the Zairean context, has made a valuable contribution in highlighting the traditional concept of illness among the Bantu people. He studied their concept of bewitchment, which they call *kindoki*, and his research indicates that a large proportion of the population believe in *kindoki*. This belief emanates from their cosmology. His study is a valuable contribution towards an attempt to understand the dynamics of African concepts of illness, as well

as a relevant psychotherapeutic approach in that context. Religion, psychopathology, social interaction, cultural symbols, paraspychology, psychophysiology are all found to be major components of *kindoki* (bewitchment). Masamba suggests that as these components provide a multi-dimensional context in which *kindoki* flourishes, they would need to be accommodated in a holistic therapeutic approach. This study, however, provides a limited contribution in the field of pastoral counselling as social psychiatric approaches have tended to overshadow pastoral approaches.

This review of literature shows that there is little material that relates directly to the field of the development of pastoral care and counselling in South Africa, from the particular perspective of this study. There is thus a crucial need for research and creative praxis in this area. A synthesis of the literature reviewed needs to accommodate the central motif which is the passionate plea for the rooting of Christianity in the African soil. None of these studies should be viewed as detached systemic treatises. However, they have not concerned themselves with the issue of a dialogue with important developments in pastoral counselling. Nor do any of these studies use the clinical method to portray the context which challenges pastoral praxis. The present study is then a creative response to this perceived need. It chooses, as a case study, a specific group of people of South Africa, the Zulu people.

1. Some Important Influences in the Development of Pastoral Care and Counselling as a Discipline

The parameters of pastoral care and counselling, as a discipline, must be identified in order to pinpoint the challenges it faces as it dialogues in the Zulu context. In the process, as a contribution of the dialogical model, pastoral care and counselling will expand and gain new insights. Important influences in the evolution of the discipline to its present status, particularly in the Western context, should also be identified.

Some form of pastoral care and counselling is as old as Christianity itself. It can be traced as far back as the ministry of Christ. In fact, even in the Old Testament, the shepherding motif is found and this carries through to the New testament (Brister, 1976).

Pastoral care and counselling is a specialised discipline within the corpus of theological thought that is sometimes called pastoral theology or in some circles (especially continental) practical theology. Its objective is not, therefore, merely vigorous analysis and scholarly reflection, there is also a practical bias and in its development each specific cultural milieu is considered sympathetically.

As was stated earlier, the care of souls (German: *Seelsorge*) is an ancient tradition of the Church. In fact, *Seelsorge*, in some form or another, has always been a central activity of Christian communities at each given time.

After extensive research John McNeil concluded that the care of souls has always been historically important. It has always been regarded highly in the context of unending warfare against sin and sorrow in each human generation. Records of outstanding physicians of souls abound in the literature (McNeil, 1977:4).

Thus the central place of shepherding of individuals is clearly not disputed.

2. The Concepts "Pastoral Care" and "Pastoral Counselling"

In this study pastoral care and pastoral counselling are not perceived to be mutually exclusive. There are, however, some minor differences between the two, which are illustrated in the following definitions. Howard Clinebell defines pastoral counselling as "an instrument of renewal through reconciliation, helping to heal our estrangement from ourselves, our families our fellow church members, from those outside the Church, and from a growing relationship with God" (Clinebell, 1984:14).

Seward Hiltner, on the other hand, with a Western approach emphasises the speciality nature of pastoral counselling. "Broadly speaking, the speciality of pastoral counselling may be stated as the attempt by a pastor to help people help themselves through gaining understanding of their inner conflicts" (Hiltner, 1949:19).

Paul E. Johnson defines pastoral care "as a religious ministry to individual persons in dynamic relationships, arising from insight into essential needs and mutual discovery of potentialities for spiritual growth" (Johnson, 1953:24).

3. Synthesis and Critique

The definitions of pastoral counselling point to it being a specialised field of appropriately trained pastors. It is a specialised ministry to individuals with intrapsychic and/or interpersonal problems.

The uniqueness of this ministry, theorists agree, is that is it focusses on individuals with their needs. Much of what happens in the Church tends to be directed towards groups. Therefore a ministry characterised by an individual emphasis meets a real need. Definitions

by theorists in the field also by implication point to the necessity for the pastoral counsellor to have a good understanding of the human situation regarding persons relating to one another in all levels and relating to God. Further, it includes understanding the intrapsychic dynamics as well.

It would be difficult not to appreciate the value of this ministry. However, there seem to be two weak points. Speciality seems to undermine the value of any pastoral conversation as long as it is person-centred and not authoritarian. There is insufficient emphasis on the ministry of the laos in this area. Lay people too, with adequate training, can be equipped to be of much help to other persons in need or alternatively take an active part in referring those in need to the pastoral counsellor.

Pastoral care, on the other hand, as Wise (1966) defines it, is an art of communicating the inner meaning of the Gospel to persons. It is not merely a method of utilising dry techniques. This means that each situation demands a relevant approach, which, this study contends, needs to include cultural considerations as well. It calls for a contextually informed approach. There is need to spend a considerable amount of time understanding the context within which ministry is practised.

To conclude this reflection, working definitions of both pastoral care and pastoral counselling are given, and should be borne in mind in proceeding with the present study:

> Pastoral care is the study and practice of the caring function of the Church. This caring is the function of both clergy and laity, as they communicate the redemptive love of God in Christ. This caring should be towards each individual member in the church as well as to those outside the Christian koinonia. Pastoral in this sense is used in a two-pronged sense. First, it characterises the shepherding motif in the pastor's work as he/she equips, nurtures and comforts. But caring includes the function of the laity as well, as they fulfill their calling towards one another. The involvement of the laity in each function of the Church is consonant with the Reformation emphasis on the priesthood of all believers (1 Peter 4:9). Pastoral care, to be effective, needs to take seriously a people's context at each given place and era.
>
> Pastoral counselling, on the other hand, primarily refers to a structured pastoral conversation, whereby a pastoral person seeks together with the person seeking help (client) to discover alternative insights in a situation of conflict. In pastoral counselling the pastoral person explores with the client a way out of the conflicting motives on intra-personal and inter-personal dimensions. Hence, theorists agree, pastoral counselling calls for more than mutual love and concern for persons. It requires a counsellor who is perceptive of the person's situation. Therefore, pastoral counselling is service to individuals and groups in each given cultural milieu.

4. Identification of Major Influences in the Evolution of Modern Pastoral Care and Counselling

The historical roots of pastoral care and counselling may be found in the ancient shepherding motif which has always been part of the heritage of the Christian Church (Brister, 1964).

Pastoral care and counselling in theological circles falls within the discipline of practical theology. The development of practical theology has followed different trends in Europe and in North America. Johansson observes that in Britain, for instance, the subject has been in the nature of a "neglected orphan", being attended to in rather a haphazard way in theological colleges. There have been, however, many excellent studies in some aspects of the subject, in spite of a lack of advanced academic recognition. On the Continent, especially in Germany, practical theology has been the concern of universities for about two hundred years, thus a vast amount of literature has been accumulated (Johansson in Eybers, 1974:172). Most of this literature is, of course, readily accessible to the German-speaking world. There have also been notable contributions from the Dutch. In the Netherlands influential practical theologians such as Heije Faber (1965) and W. Zylstra (1973) have been influenced by North American developments in this field of study. Some of Heije Faber's books have been translated into English.

Developments in clinical pastoral education in the Netherlands have been notable and merit closer attention by those who still have a task in the development of the discipline of practical theology academically and in praxis. Pastoral psychologists like Heije Faber have studied pastoral counselling in North America. On returning to Europe these practical theologians have worked hard to adapt these insights to their own context. For instance, in the area of clinical pastoral education, unlike their American counterparts, they continue to be more concerned with the dynamics of the contribution of the theological component in pastoral practice and reflection (Faber, 1965:37).

The development of pastoral care and counselling in the United States of America has been phenomenal. The attention which has been given to practical theology, including the component of pastoral counselling, is a clear example of what can happen if people take seriously the context in their creative development of subjects in practical theology. The North American models have been the most influential throughout the world (Johansson, 1974:172).

The development of pastoral counselling in North America possibly reached its present status due to its openness in letting theological insights dialogue with contextual secular insights in the social sciences. In the process pastoral counselling has been informed and its horizon expanded. Of course, this did not happen without some criticism.

The psychology of William James (1843-1910) was one influence. The revolutionary ideas of John Dewey, especially in the area of education, were also most influential (Thornton, 1970:26). Both James and Dewey are best-known architects of experimentalism.

The American culture was receptive to these new ideas. These influences made a recognisable impact on theological education as well (Thornton, 1970:27).

These schools of thought were the forerunners of the Clinical Pastoral Education movement. Anton Boisen, a Congregational Church North American clergyman, is generally regarded as the pioneer of this pastoral education methodology (Thornton, 1970:58).

The third influence that has had a significant impact on the development of pastoral counselling in North America is psychotherapy, mainly as developed by Carl R. Rogers (Holifield, 1983:27). Rogers' particular approach is called client-centered-therapy. Although his position and philosophy have changed considerably over the past forty years, his views have remained consistently optimistic and humanistic (Fadiman, 1967:280). Rogers refuses to accept the view that the human being is basically irrational, therefore his/her impulses, if not controlled, would lead to the destruction of others. He rather perceives the human being as exquisitely rational, moving with subtle and ordered complexity towards the goals the organism wants to achieve. The tragedy with human beings is that "our defences keep us from being aware of this rationality, so that consciously we are moving in one direction while organismically we are moving in another" (Rogers 1969:29).

Rogers' view of the person is indeed very optimistic. His views were readily accepted in the pastoral counsellors' circles in North America; the feeling was that he was ushering in an era of pastoral counselling. The present author agrees with Holifield, who suggested that Rogers received a positive reception among pastoral counsellors because they were already tired and frustrated with the rather dull and rigid denominational church discipline (Holifield, 1984:303). Of course, Rogers' views were in harmony with the American Zeitgeist as well, being compatible with a culture propagating 'the sky is the limit' popular philosophy.

In 1949, Seward Hiltner introduced Rogers' views to the ministers in his book "Pastoral Counselling". The book was well received and was used extensively by pastors. Carroll Wise

did the same in his book "Pastoral Counselling: Its Theory and Practice" (1951). Wise was thus a pioneer in adopting the Rogerian method in pastoral counselling. In the same year Wayne Oates published the "Christian Pastor". Oates, unlike Wise, showed some caution with regard to Rogers. However, on the whole, he was affirmative of Rogers' discoveries and emphasis.

It would be erroneous, however, to give the impression that all American theologians accepted Rogers unconditionally. Some were hesitant in their support; some were openly critical. Paul Johnson was one such critical pastoral theologian. The theologian Reinhold Niebuhr "criticised the psychotherapist for excessive optimism about growth and self-realisation, and for insufficient awareness of the impulse towards selfishness which is at the very highest of human personality" (Niebuhr, 1960:45).

There is a sense in which the informative debate between Rogers and Niebuhr is typical of the sometimes uneasy alliance of some systematic theologians with pastoral counselling, often perceiving it to be too influenced by psychotherapy. The debate centred around the understanding of human personality and self-actualisation versus spiritual growth. Such theologians would find it difficult to accommodate Rogers within a theological framework, and would thus have problems utilising the Rogerian method in counselling.

The objective of this chapter was to review literature related to the present study. It was discovered that although the literature was scanty indeed, a beginning had been made.

It was further discovered that no one has reported on the utilisation of clinical methodology in pastoral practice in South Africa. Neither has any study reported on issues in pastoral counselling among the Zulu of South Africa. Therefore, this study identifies an area of considerable need for exploration in the advancement of human knowledge and pastoral practice. The study attempts to enlighten the dimensions and dynamics in a culturally sensitive pastoral care and counselling. It uses a dialogical model as it dynamically relates a Western pastoral counselling approach to an African cultural milieu. It is argued in this study that this approach is essential if the cultural aspect is to be included in our contextualisation. This dialogical approach is perceived to have the potential to generate critique of the model and context and in turn inform a contextual pastoral approach.

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CHAPTER III

PASTORAL COUNSELLING IN THE ZULU CONTEXT

Having surveyed the field of study, and the parameters of the discipline, the task ahead is a study of the dynamics involved in relating the two entities, and the impact of the context in the development and practice of this discipline.

Pastoral counselling is a discipline which is concerned with individual therapy. Although it closely resembles other forms of psychotherapy, pastoral counselling is also concerned with religion and the ultimate meaning to life. By looking at issues that have been identified cross-culturally, issues relevant to pastoral counselling will be highlighted. Cross-cultural issues in the discipline were not previously highlighted. The founding of the International Congress of Pastoral Studies and Counselling, San Francisco, U.S.A., 1981, and the African Association for Pastoral Care and Counselling, Limuru, Kenya, 1985, however, may help to identify the cross-cultural challenges in the future.

A. ISSUES IN INTERCULTURAL MISSIOLOGY AND PASTORAL COUNSELLING

Every person, irrespective of his/her religious, educational or economic standing, must be taken seriously, as the crown of God's creation. The way in which he/she has struggled to find meaning in the world and cosmos, must be respected. There is something of the holy in this. For it is through the human ability to make sense of the unfathomable cosmos that something of God can be sensed in human beings. There was a lack of this sense of awe as the missionary set foot on unexplored and unChristianised territory. Many a missionary was far too superior and presumed that he/she knew all the needs of the Africans.

It is this weakness of neglecting the depth of the cultural context which has contributed to the rather baffling phenomenon of the continuous backsliding of many an African intellectual. During the first International Congress of Africanists in Acra, Ghana in 1962, Alione Diop, an African intellectual, had these critical words to say of the Christian church:

> Take religion, for instance, which is the most naturally serene of all, since more than any other it is the realm of meditation, contemplation and peace. It is astonishing for anyone who cares to reflect upon it to note the flagrant contradition, even crimes which are committed quietly and unobtrusively in the sphere of religion. Since no African assumed the responsibility or took the initiative to intervene, religion in many instances actually fostered colonialism and neo-colonialism. To be more precise, because the authority of Western culture and Western institutions outstripped ours

> where the expression of faith was concerned, it succeeded in converting African Christians into a people without soul or visage, a pale shadow of dominating pride of the Christian West. At the very heart of the church in Africa, we have, in fact, witnessed the mutilation of the African personality, and the trampling of African dignity in Africa (Diop in Proceedings of the First Inter-national Congress of Africanists, Accra, December 11-18, 1962, London O.U.P., 1964, pp50-51).

Diop has been quoted at length here, so that the full impact of his stinging criticism should be felt without any insulation. However, he should not be allowed to have the last word concerning the assessment of the mission of the Church in Africa and its future. There is a need to identify what could have been done differently in an effort to remedy the situation, and to anchor the church in Africa. This task falls squarely before the Africans themselves.

To restore human dignity in Africa, it must be acknowledged that before the missionaries came to the present Africans' forbears, there was already a way of understanding reality, which was part of the African heritage. This must be respected. Anyone who seeks to work with people in Africa, should acknowledge that "for ages before Western people came to these shores, there had been ways of understanding reality and truth which actuated and guided the sons and daughters of this land: The Wisdom of Africa" (G.M. Setiloane, Diploma Graduation Address, U.C.T. 1985). In fact, to be relevant, education in all disciplines in Africa should take seriously this pearl of knowledge - "the wisdom of Africa".

It is appropriate at this point to analyse some key contributions in Missiological approaches. One of the most influential architects of missionary policies was Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society. Venn was a great promoter of the threefold formula of self-support, self-government and self-propagation in the mission field. Venn's progressive views were well received in many circles. He continued receiving positive support in many quarters long after his time:

> Venn saw clearly, far more clearly than some people do even today, that if the church is truly planted in a given area, that church is the organ of Christ's mission in that area, it can do so in the name of the church there (Beyerhaus, 1964:30).

This was a progressive view because it sought to emphasise the planting of the church within a specific cultural milieu. Unfortunately, even a missionary strategist of Venn's calibre did not seem sensitive to the importance of a very careful approach in crossing cultural boundaries. The indigenous peoples were still regarded as those who must be initiated into Western ways of life and faith.

Henry Venn's convictions were drawn to a practical level when Samuel Adjai Crowther was consecrated as the first African bishop in Canterbury Cathedral on St Peter's Day, 29 June, 1864. Venn entrusted Crowther with the task of founding the first mission station on the Niger. In Crowther there are the first attempts at contexualisation in professional matters; these were made incarnate in him.

Bishop Crowther experienced several problems in his new diocese: One was the dissatisfaction of the African clergy with the pioneering work outside their own traditional areas. It was an outstanding insight of the African bishop that at this early stage of missionary work in Africa, he demonstrated sensitivity to the issues of intercultural challenges of the missionary endeavour. Already in 1867, in a persuasive address, Crowther admonished African Christians and leaders "to know what has been done, to detect our errors and correct them, so as to be able to start with fresh vigour and earnestness in the strength of the Lord in this good work" (Page, 1910:277).

He was aware that inherent within the missionary enterprise were errors in the manner in which the gospel was introduced in Africa. However, the errors should not deter the good course; instead they should be identified and corrected. Later, when the bishop addresses the diocesan clergy, the genius of the man is apparent. He shows a genuine respect for the wisdom of Africa; this was a far cry from current ideas of the time. He was pleading for a more sensitive approach in cross-cultural missiological methods. "When we first introduce the gospel to any people we should take advantage of any principles which they themselves admit. Thus, though the heathens in this part of Africa possess no written legends, yet wherever we turn our eyes we find among them in their animal sacrifices a text which is the mainspring of the Christian faith, 'without shedding of blood there is no remission'. Therefore, it may be said with propriety: 'That which ye ignorantly practice, declare we unto you'. 'The blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, cleanseth from all sin'" (Page, 1910:282).

Bishop Crowther in his missionary and pastoral work had realised that the world-view and traditional beliefs of the people must be taken seriously. He knew that the African mind was not a tabula rasa.

When the first missionaries arrived in Zululand, it was tempting for them to see everything with the eyes of Western culture. Since their goal was to introduce Christianity to the native Zulu, they perceived the natives to be underprivileged. Western things and practices were imposed on them supposedly to improve their lot in life. Cross-cultural factors were not taken seriously. Because of this the missionaries had criticism levelled against that approach.

B. INTERCULTURAL DYNAMICS AND ISSUES IN PSYCHOTHERAPY AND PASTORAL COUNSELLING

Since this study deals with pastoral counselling, intercultural challenges to psychotherapy are to be considered. Intercultural challenges to pastoral counselling still need to be explored, whereas psychotherapy as a discipline has already made progress in this area. Therefore, a discussion of issues in psychotherapy illustrates vividly issues relevant to pastoral counselling as a sister discipline. All forms of psychotherapy are indeed close allies of religious pastoral counselling. The healing duties of a priest were once the speciality of the diviner (*isangoma*) and the traditional doctor.

John McNeill (1965) who has conducted an exhaustive study of "the cure of souls" in religious and philosophic traditions, highlights the point that healing includes a curing concern on the part of the healer. These features are considered intrinsic by most psychotherapies today. He further states that the caring activities were not traditionally specialised. "The separation of mental healing from its source in religion and philosophic thought and its conversion to a specialised scientific discipline are relatively new developments. The common function of soul healing has been obscured in the churches, especially by the clergy's preoccupation with their differences" (McNeill, 1965:330).

It is important to note that psychotherapeutic activities are found in virtually all societies. The focus on the Zulu context substantiates this. The fact that psychotherapeutic functions have been universally performed is an indication that Western psychotherapy can be useful in non-Western societies. Several researchers have supported this claim (Dragus, 1975; Torrey, 1972). They further assert that the specific form psychotherapy takes in any culture must harmonise with the broader cultural ethos. In other words, "it should not violate those implicit values and unarticulated presuppositions that constitute the cultural world view" (Pederson, 1976:141). This is an important caution in intercultural encounters such as mission and pastoral enterprises.

In psychotherapy it has been found that therapists who favour applying to one culture, methods originating from another, emphasise the universal feature and focus heavily on the significance of the relationship and various facets of it. Of course, there are universals like belief in the power of the therapist to influence the client, qualities in the therapist like interest, understanding, respect, dedication, empathy etc. These are valuable qualities, but they must not be allowed to blur the real issues in intercultural psychotherapy.

Another significant work in intercultural psychotherapy is that of Frank (1974). Frank states that psychotherapy was one of several means to get people to change their ways. His view falls within the universal theories in intercultural psychotherapy. It was thus well received in those circles supporting the transferability of universal theories.

Those who stress the universals in psychotherapy would say that basically human beings have related needs. Therefore, to address those needs in a psychotherapeutic relationship, the basic tools would be applicable in any given cultural milieu. These universal factors would include "special relationship", "shared worldview", "expectant hope of the patient", "naming the illness", "attribution of cause and prescription of treatment by the healer" and "the central role of suggestion" (Prince, 1976:115).

Some researchers in intercultural psychotherapy have argued persuasively that there are culturally shared components which make cross-cultural psychotherapy possible. This positive note is an encouragement to Western psychotherapists who are eager to practice psychotherapy in foreign countries. It is also an encouragement to those who hope to use insights of disciplines which have evolved in the Western cultural context in a non-Western context. However, the issue still remains whether this is possible. Several problems have been identified in this regard. These include, inter alia, the areas of communication, language barriers, world-view and cultural facts.

Communication is basic to any form of counselling. If communication is blocked somewhere, therapy cannot be effective. In intercultural counselling, there are several factors which could block communication. A minimum level of communication is required to enable counselling to proceed. Therefore, "if communication is to develop within a tolerable limit of error, the framework of understanding within which it occurs requires the sharing of assumptions about the world and its working, about the nature of mankind and its relation to natural events and supernatural influences, and about the physical and social circumstances within which this healing function goes on; something which has "come to be known as the world-view" (Pedersen, 1976:147).

An understanding of the world-view of the client by the therapist is essential for the process to be a success. If the gap is too wide between the representatives of the two cultures, there is little chance for success; this gap becomes a hindrance to communication. For example, the much researched trinity of warmth, empathy and genuineness might be interpreted as weakness and incompetence even disinterest in another cultural context. The Zulu, for instance, tend to expect an advice-giving style from the traditional healer. There is, therefore, always a challenge to find out culturally determined behaviour expectations of the

counsellor. As Alexander (in Pederson, 1976) has found out, even a fundamental therapeutic stance of the therapist such as non-directiveness, may be misinterpreted as a lack of interest. Even practices often taken for granted can have alternative meanings in other cultural contexts. It is quite possible that even sound and gestures intended to convey certain meanings, do not create the desired attitude in the patient in another context. This points to the need to be sensitive in intercultural counselling.

Several studies have, however, demonstrated that although there are problems in intercultural psychotherapy, it can be successful if the therapist is sensitive to the cultural issues. Studies like those of Devereux (1953) and Kenzie (1972) emphasise that, among other things, as long as the therapist recognises the danger of imposing foreign cultural values as goals or criteria for successful therapy, there is a chance of success.

The studies cited point to the pitfalls inherent in the process of intercultural psychotherapy. They do not, however, suggest that this is an impossible venture. "Perhaps the most obvious is the tendency to interpret behaviour appropriate to an unfamiliar culture in terms of one's own culture, distorting in the process the meaning of behaviour sometimes to the point of labelling it psycho-pathologically. Although such distortions are more often the product of lack of knowledge than of wilful ethnocentricism, the effects are the same ethnocentric misjudgment of therapeutic goals on the one hand and misuse of therapeutic interventions on the other" (Pedersen, 1976:125).

Such distortions do not occur only in intercultural psychotherapy but have also occurred in mission and pastoral work among new converts in Africa. In some cases cultural misinterpretations left the Africans confused and angry, feeling deep down that something was amiss. This was a crucial issue in reaching people with the Gospel. Unfortunately, in most instances they were not able to articulate the conflict to the missionary "father". It was possible that they did, nonetheless, discuss the conflict among themselves. They felt intuitively that the bridge did not extend far enough to the river bank on their side. This did affect these people's perception of the power and implication of the Gospel.

A story is told by Zulu informants, of a Zulu pastor who attended a non-Christian traditional wedding in the locality of his parish. While he was away from his home, the district missionary arrived. He wanted to see him urgently. He therefore decided to go to the home where the Zulu pastor was attending the traditional Zulu wedding. He found the Zulu pastor sitting among spectators, being entertained by dancing Zulu girls. The girls, in true traditional style, were almost naked save for the scanty colourful beads around their waists. The missionary was angered at the fact that the Zulu pastor seemed not to be disturbed by this

practice. He ordered the pastor to leave the party immediately and threatened him with church disciplinary action. He said to the Zulu pastor: "*Ubuka abantu abangaqqokile wena?*" - "Why are you watching naked people?" However, according to Zulu culture, the dancers were not considered naked.

This case illustrates the result of culturally preconceived ideas and prejudices. Unfortunately, even in mission work, this could not be totally avoided. Such incidents slowed down the pace of the acceptance of Christianity in Africa. In fact, these distortions may have facilitated the perception by many an African of the church as a foreign institution.

The preceding observations highlight the importance of thoroughly understanding the people's cultural context, within which one is working. It is important to realise that involvement in counselling should not be for the purpose of manipulating people to comply with preconceived cultural expectations. The therapist should have an openness to listen to the client's own cultural wisdom.

It has already been stated that there has been very little published about the challenges of cross-cultural pastoral counselling. Arthur H. Becker wrote of his experience in trans-planting clinical pastoral education to the South African scene (Becker, 1978:184). From a cross-cultural perspective he identified the following issues: the magnitude of social problems in South Africa; the psychological and/or philosophical concept of diseases; the ecclesiological and social role of the pastor and the pastoral or theological challenge.

Although Becker is perceptive of the challenges which face clinical pastoral education and counselling in the South African context, he stops short of a thorough analysis and evaluation in the context of intercultural challenges. It would have been good to also hear how Becker observed problems caused by the fact that he himself came from an alien culture from the perspective of his African students. This may have inhibited the learning process.

To summarise, studies in cross-cultural psychotherapy, missiological observations and pastoral experiments seem to point to a need for cultural sensitivity. The development of pastoral counselling within the African context thus requires understanding and sensitivity of the African cultural milieu.

C. THE ZULU UNDERSTANDING OF HUMANITY (*ISINTU*) AND HUMANNESS (*UBUNTU*)

This study is not preoccupied only with the past. It does not aim at an "ethnographic reconstruction". It acknowledges that there have been and still are influential factors which

have had and continue to have a strong influence on Zulu life. This is because present day pressures force man (sic) to face new conditions of living and new approaches to life which sometimes differ considerably from traditional ones. In the situations of conflict which arise, there takes place an adjustment of the old, acceptance of new ideas, and even repudiation of traditional thought-patterns to allow for Christian, medical, agricultural, mechanical and other rational empirical scientific approaches" (Berglund, 1976:18).

It would be erroneous to ignore this. There are influential ideas among the Zulu. However, the traditional heritage is strong and it still largely influences people's behaviour.

Sociological studies, in the area of social change among the Zulu, have pointed to the influence of Western culture. Absolom Vilakazi observes:

> Throughout, I have either explicitly or implicity made the point that Chrisitianity, Westernisation and urbanisation are synonymous. From the people that I have been studying, it is true that Westernisation came with Christianisation. There is no westernised Zulu who is not a Christian. And as Western culture is essentially an urban or city culture, the Christian missionaries who taught the Zulu passed on with the religion aspects of their culture which they thought were essential for Christianity... The values passed on by Christianity, therefore, were not only strictly religious (Vilakazi, 1962:140).

To say all westernised Zulu are Christians is a generalisation, since there are many westernised Zulu today who have turned their back on Christianity. Of course, no one doubts the permeating influence of the church even to this group. On the whole missionaries did not seem selective in passing on to the Zulu aspects of their culture.

In acknowledging these influential factors among the Zulu, this study seeks to identify important characterisitics which might affect a deep and creative counselling ministry. It further highlights the presence of Zulu identity which must be acknowledged in pastoral work in order for it to be effective.

1. The Origin of Human Beings

Before focussing on the Zulu concept of humanity and humanness - *isintu* and *ubuntu*, there is a need to address the question of the origin of human beings. The question is phrased thus in Zulu: "*Umuntu lona wavelaphi*?" - "Where did the human being originate from?"

Among the traditional Zulu unaffected by Christianity or scientific knowledge, the question receives a universal answer. Human beings originated from a bed of reeds -

"*abantu bavela emhlangeni*". If you probed further, saying "Where were human beings before that?", you are given a blunt reply: "*Asazi ngale kwalokho ukuthi umuntu wayekuphi, sazi khona lokho njena ukuthi abantu bavela emhlangeni*" ("We do not know where the person was before that, we only know that people originated from a bed of reeds").

As the stories of creation passed on traditionally from generation to generation, they were accepted as authentic without much critical speculation. Their richness is in the area of myth. Myth, in the Zulu account of creation, conveys the fact that the human being has an intimate connection with the environment.

The reeds have a mythological association with the beginnings for the Zulu. In fact, this is the case for other Nguni people as well. Axel Ivar Berglund reports as follows concerning the role of the reeds in creation:

> "A diviner (informant) subsequently gave me his ideas on the python in the pool. Asked by the researcher whether the python was a shade snake together with other snakes in the pool, the answer was "the snakes were all shade snakes, being our fathers, that is true. But the big one lying on the medicines of whiteness, it was *Inkosi yamadlozi*" (lit. Lord of the shades). Asked further why the great one was in the pool, the response was most revealing: "He was in the pool, because the pool is the place of *uhlanga*" (Berglund, 1976:144).

Therefore, it is clear that in this myth of the origin of humankind, the place of *uhlanga* is not merely of geographic and botanic interest, it is of existential interest. Throughout the ages human beings have speculated on their origins. There is no story of the origin of human beings that is not entwined with myth. In fact, myth often serves a function; it tells of the causes of things.

Among the Zulu it is not possible to locate the actual place of the origin of humankind. The most important thing is that human beings came from a bed of reeds.

It is significant, as Setiloane points out, that the national festival of *umhlanga* (reeds) in Swaziland is an important national ritual. "It occurs at the beginning of the agrarian year and therefore has undertones of a fertility cult. Its principal event is the 'Reed Dance' which is a kind of passing out parade for girls who have reached the age to go on to womanhood" (Setiloane, 86:4). Many men chose for themselves possible future wives at this occasion where the Swazi girls displayed their beauty well. The King, Sobhuza II, often chose himself a wife during this festival.

Recently, in 1988, the present Zulu King revived the *umhlanga* festival in KwaZulu. Girls who have reached maturity carry reeds to the King's kraal at Nongoma. They dance in the presence of the King and other members of the Royal family. Here again, the reeds carry a ritual significance.

The Zulu King is a third generation Anglican Christian. His concern to revive this *umhlanga* custom is proof of the depth of traditional practices among the Zulu. Africans, because of external forces, will continue to seek security in their identity. They will, therefore, return to those practices which seem to revive their dignity and secure their identity as a people. This, therefore, is reason enough for the present study.

The Zulu lost their observance of important festivals, not only due to conquest and domination, but also due to national emphasis on military strength. Readiness for war was continually stressed.

This myth of the origin of humankind, is significant for this study, because it shows that deeply embedded in the African human psyche are strong ties to community and not rugged individualism. There is a sense in which it could be said that "the human being lives and has his/her being in humanity". The Zulu have the proverb: *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (A person is a person in community).

2. The Human Being - *Umuntu*

When the Zulu speak of *umuntu*, they refer to a living human being. According to them, the human being is an entity - a living unit. The human being is not divided neatly into a mortal body and an immortal soul.

According to Zulu traditional psychology and philosophy, when a person dies, he/she departs from this world to join his/her relatives, the living-dead. *Umuntu akafi abole njengesilwane, uya kwabakubo abaphansi*. The human being does not die and decay, like an animal; he/she goes to his/her relatives in the nether world.

A delicate issue is the Zulu conception of the soul or spirit. Writers, rather influenced by their Christian outlook, tend to ascribe to the Zulu a clear division of body and soul. According to A.T. Bryant, the Zulu stated that "the human being is composed of two parts, the body (*umzimba*, pl. *imizimba*) and the spirit or soul (*idlozi*, pl. *amadlozi*" (Berglund, 1976:82).

This statement is misleading. First, the Zulu did not say that a person has *idlozi* that is part of personality. It is only after a person dies that he attains the state of *idlozi*. A person could be "possessed" with *idlozi*. In that case such a person became an *isangoma* - diviner. Second, the division of body and soul is not as clearly defined as in the Greek tradition. It seems it is almost impossible to recapture the African concept of the unity of the human being. Even D.L. Makhathini speaks as one influenced by the Greek philosophic tradition when he says:

> Zulu are quite specific about what happens when a man (sic) dies. The body is buried and decomposes. His spirit (*umoya*) goes to those underneath (*abaphansi*)... When the spirit has passed out of man, it may be returned (*buyiswa*) or integrated with the other spirits in the ancestral world" (Makhathini in Beyerhaus, 1965).

In the Zulu tradition the human being is perceived as a unit. The manner in which he/she joins the living-dead after his/her death is not conceived of as transmigration of the spirit. It is an uncanny change of status from being a living human being to becoming a member of the community of the living-dead with far reaching influence on the world of the living.

The Zulu believe in the unity of the person. The term commonly used for death shows this emphasis:

ushonile	(he/she has disappeared yonder)
ukhotheme	(he has bowed down, often used for the King)
useye kwabakubo	(he/she has gone to his/her own people)

A closer look at these terms, shows that death is not seen as destruction or a separation of body and soul, but as venturing forth to another level of being. It is a departure of the person from this present existence to another form of existence. Traditionally the Zulu provided the dead person with some basic equipment. These were put with him/her into the grave. These could include a mat, weapons, a container for snuff, etc. The dead person was on a long journey to the nether world to join the living-dead.

The Zulu terms used for burial also convey this belief that the dead person is on a journey to another world. Especially significant are the two words: *Usehambile* (He/She is gone), *usesishiyile* (He/She has left us).

The Zulu vocabulary is more colourful and rich than precise. An analysis of the words for burial show that the Zulu believed in future existence beyond death. These words also support the concept of the unity of the human being.

There are four words used for burying: burial - *siyamphekezela* (we are accompanying him/her on his/her way). Quite often, symbolic of this act of accompanying a person, a beast is slaughtered. If a king died, his closest bodyguard (*insila yeNkosi*) was killed so that he could accompany his king. Such a practice had to be discontinued. *Uyabekwa* (he/she is being laid down). According to Zulu custom the corpse is not handled in any way. There are special ways of doing everything pertaining to the funeral (Berglund, 1976:363-381). The way the person is laid in the grave reflects a strong belief in future existence. The two words *Uyafihlwa* (he/she is being hidden) and *Uyathunwa* (he/she is being laid down in the grave) emphasise the importance of the act of laying the dead person in the grave. The grave is sometimes called *indlu yakhe* (his/her house).

These words reflect the Zulu traditional conception of death which did not include thoughts of annihilation of the whole person. They believed that a person departed from his earthly existence of toil and sweat, to join a community beyond the grave where everything is plentiful and everyone lives in peace. In the community of the living-dead there are no *abathakathi* (witches or sorcerers) who are engineers of negative forces in the community.

The implications for the development of pastoral counselling for a people who have this particular concept of the person, are to be discussed later.

3. Humanness - *Ubuntu* - Insights from the Zulu Proverbs' Paradigm

Traditionally, the Zulu did not have written material documenting their wisdom, customs, religion, values, etc. The traditional wisdom was transmitted orally from generation to generation. Proverbs, a common phenomenon among the Africans, are one of the sources of Zulu wisdom.

> Africans have an amazing rich store of folk-proverbs. Pithy, salty sayings which often express a pungent criticism of life, with often more than a flavour of cynicism, but which also enshrine the gathered wisdom of the past (Smith, 1950:5).

The Oxford Advanced Dictionary defines the proverb as "a popular short saying with words of advice or warning". Concerning the origin of Zulu proverbs, C.L.S. Nyembezi after a thorough investigation of proverbs in dictionaries (Bryant: Zulu/English Dictionary, Doke and Vilakazi: Zulu/English Dictionary) and in his own collection, discovered that:

> Proverbs are very old utterances. Some of the proverbs found in Zulu are common in many Bantu languages, such as the proverbs about baboons and their foreheads. Such proverbs seem to suggest that they were in existence before the Bantu people divided into groups, and followed various ways (Nyembezi, 1954:1).

Insights gained from proverbs concerning some aspects of Zulu life are most valuable since they are not responses to a researcher's questions. They are pearls of wisdom extracted from the past. Hence they become "a useful means of studying a people. They show how observant people are" (Nyembezi, 54:xii). A study of Zulu proverbs is useful as one tries to grasp the Zulu understanding of humanness. They illuminate the thinking of the people, revealing their concept of the inner side of the human being.

The proverbs dealing with *ubuntu* cover areas of hospitality - *ukupatha kahle abantu*; bad manners and moral degeneracy - *ukonakala*; cruelty - *unya*; ingratitude - *ukungabinambongo*; obstinacy - *inkani*; lack of humanness - *ukungabi nabuntu* (Nyembezi, 1954:1).

A person's behaviour toward other people, especially his neighbours, was important among the Zulu. Rugged individualism was unknown. In fact, a person who tended to isolate himself/herself, was suspected of witchcraft. The human being was a "being in community". The following proverbs support this observation:

(1) *Kuhlonishwana kabili* (respect is mutual)

Reciprocity in behaviour was traditionally emphasised among the Zulu. As one respects another, the expectation was that such behaviour would be reciprocated. Proper ways of behaving, especially towards seniors and people in authority, was emphasised. One had to behave in an acceptable way toward one's age group of either sex, as well. Initiation instructions gave one adequate tuition in this.

However, the senior or higher placed person also had to show respect to his juniors. Hence respect works both ways.

(2) *Ikhoth'eyikhothayo* (it licks the one which licks it)

According to Zulu wisdom, people did not learn from human beings only, they also learned important lessons in life from *Mvelinqangi's* animals. The Zulu traditionally reared cattle. These could be observed licking each other. A proverb was derived from this observation. If a person helps another in need, he/she too will be helped. This act is often reciprocal. Beside the moral lesson conveyed, the proverb also conveys the lesson on the nature of the human being.

Umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu - a person is a person by/through other persons. In other words, a person is a person in community or in communal solidarity. This, of course, does not mean that individual interests and responsibilities were completely absent among the Zulu. Nonetheless the person received his/her personal identity and his/her responsibilities within a dynamic social matrix in which he/she lived and had his/her being from birth to death.

(3) *Isandla sigeza esinye* (the hand washes the other)

There were many wise sayings among the Zulu that had something to say using hands. A person could plead that he is not guilty by saying: *izandla zami zimhlophe* - my hands are clean, meaning I did not commit that act. This proverb demonstrates the people's understanding of body co-ordination. It is easier for the left hand to wash the right one than to wash itself, and vice versa. From this common every day knowledge it is learned that helping one another contributes to harmonious living. It contributes to the building of a closely knit extended family unit, clan, tribe and nation.

To understand the traditional Zulu society, the emphasis on harmonious living with others must be understood. Deviant behaviour was regarded as suspicious and therefore scoffed at.

(4) *Akusilima sindlebende kwabo* (there is no one with an ear deformity - lit. one ear larger than the other - who is made fun of in his/her own family).

The Zulu knew that quite often a person with a deformity was made fun of.

People started making jokes and referring to the deformity. However, such practice was not condoned by society. There were some measures which were used to discourage people from such a practice. One of these measures was to tell the young people that, if they made fun of deformed people, the ancestors will take revenge and they too will beget deformed children. Africans often believe that deformed or mentally handicapped persons belong to God in a special way.

In spite of this belief, some people still made fun of deformity. However, a person with a deformity was always accepted in his/her own family. The deformed or handicapped person was not treated in an inhumane way by family members. Such a person also felt under the caring protection of the ancestors. This gave the person dignity and human worth in spite of the deformity.

This proverb stresses the importance of acceptance which should naturally permeate the extended family relationships. This acceptance should transcend even those unfavourable personality traits. Such an emphasis points to Zulu humanism.

(5) *Ingane engakhali ifela embelekweni* (a baby who does not cry will die in the carrier on the mother's back)

Traditionally the Zulu mother carried the baby in a leather carrier on her back. She would carry the child while she continued with her household tasks. The cry of the baby is an expression of some need, especially the need to be fed. Regardless of how busy the mother was, she would stop and nurse the baby.

Studies in personality development, psychiatry and paediatrics have identified the importance of this physical closeness of the mother and the baby. For the Zulu mother the baby was physically near all the time. She was carried on her back, fondled readily in her arms and nursed from her breast. This traditional care is said to be far superior to carrying the child in a pram and feeding her only from a milk feeding bottle. Marie Vlok's observations seem to support the close caring of the Zulu mother. She says:

> From studies done on animals, it is generally believed that the period immediately after birth is especially important for bonding, i.e. the formation of an affectional tie between the mother and child. Initial maternal behaviour towards her infant does give an indication of a mother's capacity for bonding with her child. Primary attachment or bonding occurs early in life... (Vlok, 1989:228).

In the context of the preceeding observations, the cry of the baby symbolises a healthy expression of the need for help. People are enouraged to be open with one another and to feel free to ask for help from one another when they have a genuine need. Interpreted in the context of our modern world with its dominating Western influence, the proverb directly attacks the individualistic and narcissistic tendencies which tend to permeate Western culture.

Related to this Zulu proverb is a custom which is not so common today. When crops had been bad for that particular harvest season, a person travelled to his/her relatives, preferably to maternal uncles or aunts, to ask for something from their fields. "*Ukuze axoshe indlala*" - so as to chase away famine. The relatives would reply: "*Uma sidla ufanele nawe udle wenze kahle ukuba uze. Ingane engakhali ifele embelekweni.*" - "If we have something to eat, you too must eat together with your children. You did well to come. A baby which does not cry will die in the carrier on her mother's back." Should the one who had requested help receive a better harvest the following year, he/she in turn would help his/her relatives. This custom was called *ukwenana* - (a custom of sharing). It was not only a practice amongst relatives, it was also practised among good neighbours. Such a practice relates very well to the Christian practice of love to one's neighbour (John 3:16).

Thus far the examples of proverbs which have been discussed point to the positive aspect of humanness (*ubuntu*). In order to complete the picture an example of a proverb which points to the lack of the quality of humanness - *ngenabuntu*, is presented.

Udlala ngegeja kuziliwe (he/she plays with a hoe at the time of mourning or abstinence)

Days of mourning or abstinence were traditionally much respected by the Zulu. Acts of observation and avoidance were strictly adhered to. Taboo associated with death and mourning was awe inspiring to all. The 'rites of passage' also had specific observance and avoidance.

Anyone whose behaviour was different to acceptable mourning behaviour, was regarded as a delinquent. This proverb is, therefore, used for a person who does not behave in an acceptable manner. Such conduct was traditionally looked upon with disfavour and disgust. A person behaving in this manner was said to be lacking in *ubuntu*. This proverb is anti-individualism.

There are many other Zulu proverbs which point to different aspects of life. A few have been presented here to identify important dimensions of the Zulu concept of *ubuntu*. This is an important aspect of the Zulu context in which pastoral counselling has to be practised.

4. Important Aspects of the Religious System of the Zulu

Before the missionaries came to the Zulu, the Zulu people had their own religious system. An interesting problem to investigate is whether this religious system retarded or facilitated their acceptance of Christianity. It is unfortunate that when missionaries arrived in Zululand, they judged the religion of the Zulu from the perspective of their own religious views which were much influenced by the Western philosophic tradition. Some Europeans even failed to appreciate the fact that the Africans were a very religious people.

Captain Allen F. Gardiner R.N., a pioneer in the trail of the Europeans to Zulu country, was not able to appreciate the depth of the Zulu religion, as the following account of his report about a tribe on the *Umzimvubu* river shows:

> On the subject of religion they are equally dark as their neighbours the Zulu. They acknowledge, indeed, a traditionary account of a Supreme Being, whom they called "Onkoolukoolu" (*uNkulunkulu*) (sic.) (lit. the Great-Great), but knew nothing further respecting him than that he originally issued from the reeds, created men and cattle, and taught them the use of the *assegai*. They knew not how long the *isitoota* (isituta) or spirit of a deceased person, existed after its departure from the body, but attributed every occurrence to its influence, slaughtering a beast to propitiate its favour on every occasion of severe sickness etc. As is customary among all these nations, a similar offering is made by the ruling chief to the spirit of his immediate ancestor preparatory to any warlike or hunting expedition, and it is to the humour of this capricious spirit that every degree of failure or success is ascribed (Callaway, 1870:55, Facsimile reprint).

Gardiner was not able to appreciate the fact that the Zulu knew of *uMvelinqangi* (God). They were not in the dark. They felt it would not be proper to constantly call upon this great one for their everyday needs. To appreciate this, one needs to understand the Zulu hierarchical system of thought. To the Westerner, Zulu religion seemed simple as compared to other religions. It was, therefore, easily dismissed as elementary. This again reflects a problem in the area of inter-cultural exchange of ideas. It is true to say that the Zulu needed to know more of *uMvelinqangi*. This was an area of introduction of Christian faith. Nevertheless, the

Zulu religious system should have been respected as an advantageous spring-board in the presentation of the Gospel. The Zulu were already a religious people:

> "*UMvelinqangi* was known by the Zulu as the one who came out first - "*uMveliqangi, ngokuba beti wavela kukqale; beti uhlanga lapha kwadabuka abantu kulo*" - *uNkulunkulu is uMveliqangi*, for they say he came out first, they say he is the *uhlanga* from which all men (sic) broke off. (This account was given by a refugee recently arrived from Zululand, whose name I do not know)" (Callaway Facsimile Reprint, 1870:11).

The Supreme Being is associated with creation "*uNkulunkulu* broke off the nations from *uhlanga*" (Callaway, 1870:2). How *uMvelinqangi* created the world and human beings is not mentioned. What is important is that the supernatural powers of the Supreme Being are acknowledged and they, in fact, command the great respect (awe) of all. According to Hammond-Tooke (1974) the Supreme Being is associated with creation in general among all the African groups in South Africa. This should have been a cause for praise by those who introduced Christian faith among the Zulu. How would they have otherwise spoken of a totally unknown being? Human beings tend to conceive of things by relating what is unknown to what they know. The Supreme Being is not merely seen as one who created the world and left it, but is further involved as one who is responsible for the working of nature, even in its majestic and dangerous aspects of storm, drought and flood. This is why among all Zulu, medicine-men, even called the heaven-herds *abelusi/abapathi bezulu* (Berglund, 1976), command the greatest respect.

UMveliqangi is not an ancestor. *Mveliqangi* lives in *Ezulwini* (Heaven), above, while the living-dead live in the nether world. The living-dead also fall under the domain of the Supreme Being. This further supports the perception of reality in terms of a hierarchical system. Like all other Africans, Zulu cosmology conceives of *uMveliqangi* as having a direct and cordial relationship with ancestors. Thus ancestors were seen as those who were somehow nearer uMveliqangi compared to living persons. Zulu do not exclude their relationship to *Mveliqangi* from their relationship to their ancestors. An informant is reported to have put it in this way:

> *UNkulunkulu* gave me *Amatongo*; he gave them doctors 'for treating disease occasioned by *itongo*'. *UNkulunkulu* said: 'If a man (sic) is ill, he being affected by *itongo*, you shall kill a bullock, and the man (sic) will get well, if he has been affected by the *itongo*'" (Callaway, 1870:5).

It is important to note this relationship between *uMvelinqangi* and the living-dead. Some misinformed people tend to think that the concept of God was missing among the Zulu who only related to their ancestors in a religious way.

An informant, as reported by Berglund, explained the relationship in this way: "The shades are underneath (the earth). But *uMvelinqangi* is in the sky. They know each other, the shades bowing and praying on behalf of the children, before the face of *iNkosi ye Zulu*. But they are not one and the same" (Berglund, 1976:351). Various sources would support this observation that there is some relationship between the ancestors and *uMveliqangi*. But the "bowing and praying on behalf of the children" is certainly of Christian "cross-pollination". The identification of the relationship between the shades and *Mvelinqangi* and the distinction pointing to the two entities is useful.

There seemed to be general agreement that uMvelinqangi was not addressed directly, as Berglund also observes:

> It has been stated that the Zulu do not have a worship of the Lord of the sky and that little attention, if any, is paid to him. But it would not be true to claim that he, therefore, is not in the minds of the people and that no respect is attributed to him (Berglund, 1976:42).

Zulu sometimes mention that it is their ancestors who speak to uMvelinqangi on their behalf. However, they are not really worried about the details in the hierarchical relationship once they have performed the *ukuthetha amadlozi* (communication with ancestors) ritual.

The ancestors played the leading role in Zulu religion. They are referred to by several names in Zulu - *idlozi - amadlozi*, *ithongo - amathongo*, *abaphansi*, *isithutha - izithutha*, *abakithi*, *izinyana*, etc.

Certain types of snakes were seen as manifestations of the living-dead. These were not killed, even if they were seen inside the hut.

Briefly, what is important is that the Zulu perceived his/her life in this or the next world (the nether world) in terms of community in which a person found his/her being in living according to acceptable norms in society, and in which community he/she continuously lived in a dynamic relationship to the living-dead.

Zulu religion does not make a clear division between the religious and the profane. All of the human being's life relates fully to his/her religion. Ploughing in the fields, harvesting, milking of cows, going to war, etc. were all seen within a religious framework.

Witchcraft must also be seen within the pattern of thought which perceives this world to be continuously in dynamic interaction with the uncanny. This includes negative forces of the abathakathi. These forces are able to be directed towards other people to injure them. Belief in witchcraft has continued to be an enigma for Christian leaders and health-care personnel.

What needs to be borne in mind is that this negative phenomenon is partly a result of a religious system permeating the whole of life. People with such beliefs cannot be effectively helped unless the background of their religious system is borne in mind. Further discussion of this phenomenon will be resumed in Chapter V on the Zulu concepts of illness and health. However, it is important to note even at this stage that these beliefs colour the context of pastoral work among the Zulu.

Some scholars have labelled the Zulu religious system as rather simple. It is this elusive simplicity that has invited neglect and even an arrogant brushing aside of this religion by many a missionary in the zeal to introduce Christianity. Yet the survival of some aspects of these religious practices show that it is deep and complex. Therefore, it is only a faith with roots penetrating deep into the whole personality that can be a serious contender to such deep-rooted belief.

Christianity which encourages a compartmentalised view of life mainly centering around a church building and Sunday worship, yet failing to nourish the whole person, leaves the African who comes traditionally from a religious background (described above) with a lingering feeling of dissatisfaction.

D. MAJOR THEMES EMANATING FROM THE ZULU CONCEPTS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AFRICAN WORLD-VIEW.

The Zulu context was chosen in this study to serve as a paradigm. However, most of the concepts identified fit within the larger African context. It is the concern of this section to identify these major themes and to briefly discuss them. In fact, African sages have long

called attention to the fact that African groups make one people - the Africans. T.B. Soga writes:

> "*Thina ma Afrika,... singumzi wobuhlobo nobuzalwana obunzulu ngokudalwa*" (We Africans are a deeply friendly and neighbourly family by origin) (Soga, 1974:102, as quoted by Motlabi in Tlhagale and Mosala, 1986:94).

1. The Concept of God

It is far beyond speculation to wonder what could have happened to missionary work in Africa, if the Africans in the so-called pagan state had no concept of God. Fortunately, this was not the case. "Whatever the missionaries can say about the pagan state of the people, they certainly have some concept (image) and certainly experience of Modimo" (Setiloane, 1986:251).

Different groups use different names, e.g. *uMvelinqangi* (Zulu), *Modimo* (Sotho/Tswana, *Mwari* (Shona), etc, to refer to God but these names point to almost the same attributes of God. Setiloane observes that:

> While the names may differ from group to group, the qualities and attributes of the Supreme Deity overlap all over the continent. They ascribe to him the attributes of almight and omnipresent; they believe that he created the universe (W. Bosman, 1905). Therefore, God is known as 'creator, owner of breath and spirit, benefactor, merciful, living, Lord of glory, silent but active, judge (the idea of retribution), king of heavens' (Parrinder, 1949) whose origins cannot be determined, who interpenetrates and permeates all being; is unknowable (an enigma), the Source of Being (Setiloane 1986:49).

As these similar concepts of God were found among all groups in Africa, one could confidently say that the concept of God was in Africa before the missionaries came. The concept of God, even before Christianity, is one facet of the God-given wisdom of Africa.

It is difficult to find out why it was that, when the Gospel was introduced in Africa, the missionaries seemed to have been hesitant to use the names for God which were used by the people before they heard of the Christian God. Whether it was missionary hesitancy or a result of the fact that missionaries were quite often confronted with taboo (*ukuhlonipha*) which guided the name of divinity, is difficult to say. In the case of Xhosa people they were given "*Thixo*" while "*Qamata*" was unmentionable. It may well be that in the case of the Zulu, *uNkulunkulu* is an avoidance of saying the name *uMvelinqangi*. In Zululand, for instance, the traditional name *uMvelinqangi* was not used in missionary and

church circles. However, the recent Zulu New Testament edition does use the name *uMvelinqangi*. The African God is not a distant judge who will one day decide the fate of all nations. He is the one whose presence now permeates the lives of people and all the affairs of the community, and judges human actions in the community.

2. The Person in Community of the Living and the Ancestors

African expressions such as: "*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" - a person is a person in community; "*motho ke modimo*" - a person is a divine creature; "*motho ga a latlhwe*" - a person is not for throwing away; and many others, point to the African emphasis that a person is a person in community (Setiloane, 1986:13). This does not mean that the person has no individual interest, but rather that the true value of a person is in a life of relating to others. It is a life of respecting the *ubuntu* of others, while his/her *ubuntu* is also respected.

Western individualism whether in secularised society or in church circles influenced by Post-Reformation pietistic Christianity, tends to erode this life in community. This trend denies people the richness of growing in relationship to other persons created by God.

But the human being lives also in the community of the living-dead. Even death cannot remove one from community life. "We live in constant communion with our ancestors." Unfortunately, belief in the ancestors has often been interpreted only in negative terms. Mercy Oduyoye identifies the positive role, that should also be considered. She writes:

> "The role of the ancestors becomes important in enabling them (Africans) to remember their source and history. To deny history is to deny one's roots and source of identity. It is also to deny that we embody in ourselves both the past and future. Ancestral cults have been the custodians of the African spirit, personality and vivid sense of community" (Oduyoye in Dickson 1984:111).

Relating to the ancestors is an extension of the belief in life as life in community. There is a strong leaning towards being true to oneself by remaining true to one's community, past and present. The nature of a person is such that even when he/she is dead he/she cannot simply be discarded. The person is of *Mvelinqangi*: "Man is a sacred being, a divine creature" (Setiloane, 1970:159).

It was this innate value of the human being which made the killing of a human being, even in war, a hideous act whose perpetrator would be inflicted with *igungo* - a type of psychiatric disorder with aggressive tendencies. If not treated by some ritual purification, the 'polluted' person would repeat the deed. That is why the Zulu (and other Africans) had a ritual of 'washing of the spears' after battle or war. The shedding of blood was conceived as affecting the 'health' - psychological, psychic and psychosomatic - of the warriors. This belief reflects a deep reverence for human life.

In order to understand the person's relationship with the living-dead in Africa, one must understand how people traditionally conceived of the interactions between themselves (the living) and those who were the living-dead members of the community. This interaction was not limited by space and time. As Masamba puts it:

> The traditional African cosmology is, therefore, dynamic. It recognises and integrates the quality of mind and body, magic and rationality, order and disorder, negative and positive powers, and individual and communal consciousness. The maintenance of personal and social equilibrium in the midst of this apparent dualism becomes the major role of traditional diagnosis, psychotherapy, medical systems and style of social relationships (Masamba, 1985:101).

From the African understanding of the person as a person in community, a great deal can be used in pastoral studies and counselling. The past, present and future generations form one community. Thus the human being experiences the reality of life in relating to others. We can only know ourselves if we remain true to our community (Oduyoye in Dickson, 1984). In the African myths of origin there is a clear belief in the divine origin of the universe. Humankind becomes the centre of the universe which is permeated with divinity. Consequently, Zulu religion permeated the whole of life.

3. Personality is understood in Dynamic and not in Static Terms

The experience of the wholeness of life is what everyone strives for in Africa. Therefore, one constantly strives for the strengthening of life (*ukuqiniswa*). There is need for continuous "balancing" in one's life. "It is not only physical power that is wanted, but a psychic and ontological strengthening, manifesting itself in wholeness" (Tutu, 1970:119). Everyone strives to retain *Amandla* (force, power). On the other hand, there is the constant fear of diminution of the life force by negative powers often associated with witchcraft, from those who wished him/her ill.

Sensitive researchers among the Africans have captured a glimpse of this dynamic understanding of personality. Sensing this "thing" Fr. Placide Tempels called it vital force. "Supreme happiness, the only kind of blessing is, to the Bantu, to possess the greatest vital force; the worst misfortune and in every truth, the only misfortune is, he thinks, the diminution of this power" (Tempels, 1959:33). Vincent Mulago refers to this dynamic nature as 'vital participation'. Life conceived in this way is dynamic and not static.

Setiloane gives a clear summary of this African understanding of personality:

> Physically perceived, the human person is like a live electric wire which is ever exuding force or energy in all directions. The force that is thus exuded is called '*seriti*' - '*isithunzi*'. Seriti has often been translated to mean dignity or personality. Actually, that only describes the end result of the phenomenon. It is derived from the same word-stem '*riti*' as '*moriti*' - *umthunzi*, which means shadow or shade. It is a physical phenomenon which expresses itself externally to the human body in a dynamic manner. It is like an aura around the human person, an invisible shadow or cloud or mist forming something like a magnetic or radar field" (Setiloane, 1986:13).

"*Isithunzi*" (human vital force) is the witness to the fact that the human being is not only a mass of shaped flesh and blood, but lives constantly in a dynamic interaction with the unseen forces - vital force (Tempels), in vital participation (Mulago). In the middle ages artists identified saints by painting an illuminated reflection above their heads. *Isithunzi* is a reflection of the unseen forces, which is the centre of being of every human person. It is true to say that, "a human being (Motho) is a radiating, relations-seeking, and relating force is, in fact, verbalising an analysis of an experience which, so far, Western learning has no tools to measure" (Setiloane, 1986). These African insights on human personality are a real challenge to pastoral counselling, which must go beyond relating to persons with problems on a superficial level.

4. Absence of Sacred-Secular Dichotomy

It was mentioned earlier that some Western scholars have remarked that African religion is rather simple. Probably this conclusion was reached hastily by comparing it with Christianity and Eastern religions. However, what eluded the Western researcher was the depth that African religion reflected, permeating the whole of life, and avoiding completely a sacred-secular dichotomy. The cattle kraal, the hut, the fields, the flowing river where young maids fetch water, the forests, etc. are all perceived as being alive with

powers of the supernatural. In this case religion encompassed the whole of life. Among the Zulu there were no shrines set aside as areas of the holy of holies, precisely because religion was above this. It permeated the whole of reality. The ancestors ate and drank with the living. So religion became vital participation par excellence. This innate quality of religion broke down what could have otherwise been construed as two spheres - sacred and secular.

Their different approaches to religion and the environment have tended to result in the Westerners misinterpreting the African view. One such misinterpretation concerns the African's view of his/her relationship to the environment. Karl Marx is one example of the critics of the "primitive" view. "Following the anthropologist M. Morgan, he found fault with the 'primitive' way of life which, as he saw it, prevented 'primitive' man (sic) from recognising the essential differences between himself and his environment" (Dickson, 1984:48). This is a misinterpretation, since it is not the question of the African failing to see the distinction between himself/herself and nature, it is a matter of interpretation of self and nature. Another misinterpretation would be to brush aside the depth of the African insight as animism and fetishism. Kwesi Dickson identifies the correct direction, which has been identified in this paragraph as an absence of thinking in dichotomies, when he says:

> It has been stated above that the African interprets his (sic) world theologically rather than in scientific terms, and it has been pointed out often enough that for the African the spirit world and the physical world interact... The world of natural phenomenon may be viewed by the African as part of spiritual reality, but there is no question of one world being real and the other not (Dickson, 1984:50).

5. A summary of Emerging Themes in the Zulu Understanding of the Person.

A few major themes (with relevance to pastoral psychology and counselling in Africa) emerge from this chapter's discussion of the Zulu traditional background. The discussion identified the following areas as important in the Zulu conception of the person: Divinity, creation, humanity, ancestors, community, acceptable behaviour in the family and community, religion, relationship to the environment and universe.

It is when we carefully glean through material concerning the African traditional view and culture that a wisdom that transcends time is discovered. This study, therefore, argues that the African view, in this work represented by the Zulu traditional cultural context, has relevance for pastoral counselling today. A person cannot wish away his

cultural background, even if he/she has been influenced by Western ideas such as in education and Christianity. Research has shown that even educated and westernised Africans in the township, for example, still adhere to African traditional views in their religion or concept of humanity and relationships, perceiving religion to permeate all of reality and perceiving humanity in terms of community. If it were argued that this is not unique to the Africans as it merely defines "good" religion and a "healthy" understanding of a person, the answer would be that the African always sees himself/herself as part of humanity, hence Africa's hospitality. (On many occasions, this hospitality was misused.) If the African view of things corresponds with other people's views of what should be the norm in human behaviour, these themes could enrich religion and life for people in other cultural contexts as well.

Divinity is involved with the totality of life. Life is not compartmentalised into the secular and the religious. Hence the absence of shrines in Zululand. It was possible to communicate with ancestors in the family hut, as well as out in the forest. Thus, psychologically speaking, no sphere of existence was outside the realm of divinty. Indeed, "the African position, I believe, is much more incisive. It says all aspects of life (its totality) are spheres of divine activity - and one ignores that at one's own risk" (Setiloane, in Tlhagale and Mosala, 1986:77).

The area of personhood or being a human being, is also central to pastoral psychology and counselling. Many a counselee enters the counselling situation presenting problems which can be labelled perhaps as "a quest for meaning". Basically the person may be asking the question: What is the essential nature or quality of being human? African myths emphasise that human beings emerge from the "hole" or from the "reeds" together as community. Such myths do not speak about the creation of individuals who become the forbears of all humankind, but of community. Thus, embedded deep down in the human psyche in the subconscious self is self-perception in terms of relating to others - community. One of the major criticisms of the Western way of life by Africans is that they perceive most Western institutions to be lacking in community.

It is widely accepted that one of the major areas of discontent of the founders of African independent churches has been a lack of community in the so-called established churches. The merit of the African extended family is emphasised all over Africa. This is a relevant context for support and therapy for a people who see a great deal of

importance in community. The African Nigerian psychiatrist T.A. Lambo "affirms the fact that the success of recovery in Africa depends on an adequete, affective transfer. Even when the prognosis is unfavourable, a positive transfer of affect under the sympathetic conditions of the village and within the context of a warm, sympathetic and therapeutic relationship, may be used to prevent patients from deteriorating" (Masamba, 1985:7).

The churches and other therapy agencies in Africa cannot afford to neglect community, if they wish to achieve some success among indigenous people.

Religion is at the centre of life in the African understanding. The traditional African understanding conceives of a power of which one is constantly conscious. One does not commit such consciousness to analysis or attempt to put into words such an experience, but the reality of it is part of the awareness of being alive. Some schools of counselling discourage the use of God talk in counselling. However, the African experience teaches us that all counselling takes place within a highly charged religious atmosphere.

The African traditional view sees ancestors as people; this seems to be a continuation of the deeply embedded understanding and value of community. In counselling African clients, it is important to bear this in mind. Their need to relate to those who have died, must not be taken lightly, for it is basic to the African view of life. Christian theologians need to take this traditional belief and conviction more seriously than has been done in the past, especially in preaching and counselling.

This section has highlighted some major themes for African pastoral counselling. Further practical implications will be identified in the last two chapters of this study.

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CHAPTER IV

MISSIONARY AND PRESENT CHURCH VIEW AND APPROACH TO PASTORAL CARE AND COUNSELLING AS A CONTEXT

The context for pastoral care and counselling is multi-faceted and in the South African milieu it is essential to consider ecclesiastical factors emanating from the missionary past. In Chapter II the cultural forms and cultural performance were presented from the aspect of the Zulu as a group within the African family. Missionaries sometimes called this "native belief and behaviour", while the Zulu called it "*amasiko okhokho bethu*" (the customs of our forefathers). This then is one aspect of the multi-faceted figure. The other part was shaped by the missionaries in the way they presented the new religion to the Zulu.

There is wide evidence that the missionaries did not present only the Gospel to the Zulu. But with the Gospel came Western-conceived Christianity. Therefore, what reached the Zulu was a well-developed religion moulded largely by the encounter of the bearers of the Gospel with Western thought patterns. The missionaries had a difficult assignment when they reached the Zulu, because their Christianity was well developed and well defined through its theology cast in a Western mould.

In order to illustrate this point in concrete terms, one of the so-called "established churches" in Zululand, the Lutheran church, has been chosen as a case study. As there is a great deal of similarity among the mission churches, a case study can highlight some common approaches in interculteral exchange.

A. ZULU PERCEPTION OF MISSIONARY ATTITUDES AND WORK

The missionary enterprise of the last century remains as the leading inroad in the crossing of cultural boundaries in the continent of Africa. Cross-cultural studies reflect the challenge which the missionaries faced when they reached the African continent with the message of Christianity. Theirs was a tough assignment indeed. It was not uncommon for many of them to wait for over ten years for their first convert. Hans Schreuder, the first Lutheran missionary in Zululand, arrived at Port Natal (Durban) in 1844. However, the first convert, a girl, Mathenjwase Shange, was baptised at Umphumulo Mission Station in 1858. A period of 14 years had elapsed (Stavem, 1918:25). So there was considerable resistance.

Christianity in the sub-continent of Africa is a legacy of missionary work of Christians from the countries of the Northern hemisphere. Persons engaged in this ambitious enterprise

demonstrated great missionary zeal. Many of them were moved by deep-seated pietistic convictions, so well encapsulated by Count Zinzendorff of the Moravian Bretheren with his famous phrase and motto: "to win souls for the Lamb".

Such lofty convictions moved many a man and woman of learning and some of meagre achievements to work towards the establishment of Christian communities in Africa. However, the missionaries faced a tough challenge in the area of shepherding these new communities. This whole enterprise remained an area to be investigated and evaluated by later generations.

There seem to be two major views in the evaluation of missionary work, as it has evolved over the period of about 150 years.

The first view is the one which perceives mission work as a 'holy cow' par excellence: "Mission work should not be tampered with evaluations. For what the missionary fathers did can only be perceived as the work of the Holy Spirit which moved them. It was the work of the Holy Spirit in toto." The holders of this view tend to be subjective, leaving very little room for a constructive, objective manouvre. This is a common view among pious African laity, such as among the Lutherans. (Cf. Isithunywa, Lutheran monthly, especially articles on the election of the Bishop in 1965.)

The second view, in direct opposition of the former, takes an aggressive, critical stance. Missionary work is perceived as having been the ally of Western capitalism and colonialism. Nosipho Majeke puts it this way:

> The missionaries came from a capitalist Christian civilisation that unblushingly found religious sanctions for inequality, as it does to this day, and whose ministers blessed wars of aggression. Men like Wilberforce had visions of extending the civilisation to the ends of the earth. They saw themselves as the chosen race (Majeke, 1952:8).

Majeke perceives mission work purely in secular terms. Mission work in Africa was a movement calculated to pave the way for two ideologies which mercilessly invaded African communities; these are capitalism and colonialism. Both of these are major contributors to modern oppression of black people in the form of economic exploitation, segregation and various means of dehumanising the African. The proponents of this view surmise that there was a secret treaty between the missionary, the trader, and those wielding power in the colonial administration. The objective of the treaty was to set a trail of oppression into Africa. Majeke believes Dr. J. Philip was guilty of this:

> While our missionaries are everywhere scattering the seeds of salvation... they are extending British influence and British Empire... Wherever the missionary places his standard among a savage tribe, their prejudices against the colonial government give way, their dependence upon the colony is increased by creation of artificial events - industry, trade and agriculture spring out (Majeke, 1952:18 quoting J. Philip - Researches in South Africa).

This shows a clear link between missionary work with colonial sentiments and pragmatic economic interests. Analysing the work of the Lutheran Norwegian missionaries in Zululand, the Norwegian historian sociologist Jarle Simensen characterises mission work as religious change in which transactions between the missionaries and the Zulu took place. According to Simensen, the whole mission phenomenon was tied up with the process of social transformation in which material factors played an important role. Missionaries, though aware of dimensions other than merely converting the Africans, did not include these "other matters" in their reports (Simensen, 1986).

The missionaries also carried out the policy of "divide and rule". The mission stations were established "for the greater control of the Khoikhoi as a labour force" (Majeke, 1952:2). According to this view, the main role of mission work was to assist the colonial government in the subjugation of the Bantu (Majeke, 1952:11). Thus missionaries were responsible for the disarming of the Bantu and subsequently shared in their conquest.

It is important to note that the two main views - mission work as a "holy cow" and Majeke's critical stance - are at two opposing poles. The first illustrates a religious enterprise as taboo; the second one is representative of a group which seems to be sceptical of Christianity in the sub-continent. In spite of the size of this group, its members are a force to be reckoned with in the history of Christianity in Africa.

This study introduces a third alternative. It is a via media position. Objectivity is retained and tools of evaluation would be those acceptable to the actors in this missionary drama. The first step is to acknowledge that missionary work in Southern Africa was an enterprise in which religious convictions of pietistic inclinations took the upper hand. Further missionaries were people who were influenced not only by their religious convictions but also by mission policies which prevailed among the Home Boards which commissioned them for overseas work. Documents reveal that on the whole they were devoted people doing their best in an extremely complex inter-cultural context. Unfortunately the cultural aspect did not often receive adequate attention.

B. MISSION WORK IN ZULULAND

For the purpose of this study, the Lutheran Church - the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, one of the established churches in South Africa - has been selected as an example of a denomination introduced to South Africa by missionary labours. Membership in this church is predominantly black.

1. A Lutheran Case Study

In the Lutheran family in South Africa there is no province which offers such an interesting mission picture as Natal (which includes Zululand). In this province alone five Lutheran mission societies worked among the Zulu. These were: the Norwegian Mission Society, the Church of Sweden Mission, the Hermannsburg Mission, the Berlin Mission Society and the American Lutheran Mission. (For the history of these missions see Florin, 1967).

(i) Influence of Missionary Strategists

Lutheran mission work in Zululand was influenced by Anglo-Saxon missionary principles and also by the German mission strategy. The main architects of the Anglo-Saxon principles were Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society (Florin, 1967:113) and Roland Allen of the World Dominion Movement. The German missionary strategies, largely associated with Germans like Bruno Gutmann and Gustav Warneck, were influential as well (Florin, 1967:113). Henry Venn resumed his work as secretary of CMS in 1841. Hans P.S. Schreuder, the first Lutheran missionary in Zululand, completed his theological studies in 1842, graduating with the highest honours for the B.D. degree from the Unversity Christiana (now Oslo) (Myklebust, 1984:70). It is not far-fetched to see the influence of Anglo-Saxon principles on Schreuder. These men were contemporaries.

The Anglo-Saxon strategy emphasised the building of the church through the conversion of individuals, but Henry Venn also had a concern for the building of an indigenous church with local leadership (Beyerhaus, 1964:26).

On the other hand, the German strategy, influenced by a national Christendom "recognised the society-disrupting tendencies in the Anglo-Saxon mission strategy and warned against the fallacy that individualistic forms of Western society were the only Christian forms of society" (Florin, 1967:113). Further, Gutmann saw it as an error of an individualistic oriented approach to divorce the individual from such natural contexts as

family, clan and tribe, in order to replace the natural community with the congregation of Christ (Florin, 1967: 113).

Along the same lines, it was a German Lutheran, Grundemann, who coined the phrase 'the Christianisation of the nations'. The German strategy has an anthropological concern. The person in the mission field was not simply an individual, but a member of an organic social unit. Therefore, "man must be understood, he emphasised, in, through and for the community" (Beyerhaus, 1964:50). From this perspective in mission work it is essential to take account of the local community with its national or tribal ties and structures, since mission work comes not to destroy but to build. Within these structures one must work carefully since "both the church and the fundamental human ties are created by God and are dependent upon each other and thus represent God's immanent Being in the World of Man" (Beyerhaus, 1964:51). In theological terms Gutmann took seriously the dynamic of the relationship of God's salvic act and creation.

In South Africa the Anglo-Saxon strategy was predominant in all denominations. Pietistic tendencies were the main motivating force. Missionaries from England, Scotland, America and Scandinavia all employed this approach (Florin, 1967:113). Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Lutherans of American and Scandinavian background followed this Anglo-Saxon strategy.

The mission strategy relates to this individualistic approach. As people were drawn out of their natural structures to form a new community, that of the amakholwa (Christians), the missionaries had the task of 'passing on' to the Africans aspects of their Western culture.

> English customs and habits were and are still considered the very last word in refinement in places like St Augustine, Driefontein, and things American are highly regarded in Adams, Groutville, Inanda and Fairview. Whereas Africans in these mission stations did not develop skills in building, shoe-making, tailoring or carpentry, which were the forte of those who came under German missionaries, they tended to concentrate more on book learning and on personal liberties. It is from these mission stations that intellectuals generally come (Vilakazi, 1962:96).

What Vilakazi states above is also clearly observed among the Lutherans. Though the various mission synods have united to form the half-million strong Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, the mission influence with the national background can still be observed among Luthern African Christians. This supports the thesis that cultural interaction was an integral part of mission work.

In South Africa, the Lutheran German missionaries tried to follow the Gutman-Warneck strategy (Florin, 1967:114). The founder of the German Hermannsburg mission was Pastor Louis Harms, who is considered to be one of the forerunners of this concept (Taylor, 1928:285). According to Harms, the aim of mission work must be to Christianise all areas of the country, not just individuals. Further, the heritage of the nations must be maintained as long as it does not contradict the Gospel.

In Zululand, this respect of the creational dimension can be seen to a limited degree in the work of the Hermannsburg mission. However, the concept of Christianising nations and a respect for tribal and clan structures was applied to the Zulu.

The German Lutheran missionaries were most successful in their work in the Western Transvaal among the Tswana, where a powerful synod was established. It is now a diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa.

The first Lutheran missionary to enter the province of Natal was Hans P.S. Schreuder. He entered Natal in January 1844, then only a young man of 27 years of age, and single. He was, however, prevented from entering Zululand, so he had to wait a long time in the province of Natal. He had been advised by the pioneer missionary, Robert Moffat, to move northward and be the pioneer missionary North of the Tukela river just as he had been the pioneer missionary north of the Orange river. Out of this contact, similarities in approach are observable:

> To mention only one thing, both won to an amazing degree the esteem of the people among whom they served. Schreuder's friendship with Mpande, the Zulu chief, was an event just as remarkable as Moffat's friendship with Msilikazi, the Matebele chief (Myklebust, 1984:70).

Quite early in his mission work, Schreuder's approach to pastoral care could be observed:

> Schreuder had no concessions to offer with regard to religious purity of the Christians. They could not take part in regimental executions, they needed special privileges with regard to clothing (trousers) and Sunday leave, they could not join in the ceremonies and councils where traditional religions permeated ceremonies (Simenson, 1986:66).

Though the Zulu king had allowed Schreuder to work freely in Zululand, such an attitude and restrictions made him unhappy. His displeasure was not left unexpressed. This brought the most important change in missionary attitude and consequently to the strategy. The missionaries concluded that "Zulu independence was the main obstacle to

the Christianisation of Zululand, and that some form of British overrule was a precondition for 'freedom of religion', unhampered by political restraints" (Simensen, 1986:66).

It must be mentioned that it was mainly during the time of King Cetshwayo that the relationship with the missionaries declined to the lowest ebb. Schreuder himself had to negotiate with the greatest skill pleading for missionary Rev. C. Leisegang, who was charged with an offence, having written a letter to the English colonists in Natal reporting the death of King Mpande. Rev. Leisegang was the chief suspect as he was living near the king's royal kraal at Ondini; he being just up the hill at Mahlabatini mission station. Later, through Schreuder's negotiations and presentation of proof as to the innocence of Leisegang, King Cetshwayo withdrew his accusations (Stavem, 1918:30).

Even though Schreuder was a trusted man among the Zulu, especially by King Mpande himself, due to his pietistic motive of gaining converts and building a Zulu church, there were times when he was convinced that English supremacy over the Zulu would be to the benefit of mission work in Zululand. During the time of Cetshwayo "the idea had also gained ground that a political 'humiliation' would create psychological needs which might open the way for the Gospel" (Simensen, 1986:86).

(ii) Zulu perception of the Missionary interaction

The national pride of the Zulu was perceived to be a depravity and the leading hindrance to the Gospel. "To human eyes it looks as if this people only through material and political humiliation can be brought to their knees and be taught to seek something higher" (WMT, February 1860, in Simenson, 1986:87). Thus missionaries looked to the fall of the Zulu kingdom as an opportunity, not for material gain as some have suggested, but for the advancement of the kingdom of God. There was hope for more effective evangelising as well as effective pastoral care of African Christians. However, the missionaries soon learned that the fall of the kingdom did not lead to any mass conversions. The Zulu national identity had already been formed. "The cultural conservatism of the people and family pressure continued to deter conversion almost as the king's power had done. And some missionaries had second thoughts about the humiliation thesis" (Simenson, 1986:87).

The above observations highlight an intense struggle to relate a Western moulded Christianity to the Zulu in their own cultural context. The message of the Gospel also came from a Westerner whose skin colour was different to their own. Such unavoidable

traits intensified the struggle. An even more difficult challenge was to offer pastoral care to the Zulu within their cultural matrix.

Therefore, the founding of mission stations had a specific purpose among the missionaries. The missionaries were convinced that in the mission stations they could offer the Zulu relevant pastoral care, so that they could lead pious lives. Thus missionaries had already observed the intricacies of Zulu customs (*amasiko okhokho bethu*) which had a strong influence on the converts, if left to the context of their extended families, clan and tribe. In the mission station they could be exposed to the Western way of life as reflected in Christianity and its ancilliary practices.

All this was done in the name of establishing God-fearing Christian communities in Zululand. It was not for the purpose of conquest, but of pietistic exchange, albeit often covered with material transactions as well. It does seem that Jarle Simensen has over-stressed the material transaction and his conclusion ends up being a rather secular transaction reminiscent of Nosipho Majeke's critical, almost sceptical conclusions (Jarle Simensen, 1986; Majeke, 1952).

It is important to positively evaluate the religious dimension of the transaction. In other words, the religious motives of persons moulded in a heavily pietistic milieu and also influenced by an imperialistic Victorian culture, must be taken seriously.

C. CHURCH DISCIPLINE IN LUTHERAN MISSION STATIONS AS PASTORAL CARE

The preceding paragraphs have shown intricacies involved in approaching the Zulu with the message of the Gospel. It was even more difficult to offer pastoral care than any other ministerial service to the Zulu, as pastoral care relates so closely to the people's culture.

The Norwegian Mission Society had given a regulation to the missionaries that "no heathen custom must be tolerated" (Norwegian Mission Society Rules and Regulations, in Simensen, 1986:95). Again an example of cultural-shock can be observed in the missionary reaction. "Most aspects of Zulu culture came under the definition of sin, based not only on general Christian principles but also on specific European cultural criteria. This naturally kept the cost of religious change high in terms of conflict with family and local society" (Simensen, 1986:94). It is this pervading attitude which also influenced the pastoral care which missionary pastors attempted to offer in the mission stations.

The mission stations were communities of the *amakholwa* (believers) formed around a church, school, and sometimes a hospital. The converts were given plots of land where they could build their homes and also have a small piece of land to cultivate. Since in these communities the tribal structures had been destroyed, the missionary became both a spiritual leader and chief. (CF Rules for tenants in Lutheran farms, e.g. Untunjambili mission station, Natal.)

In South Africa, the first missionaries to establish mission settlements were Moravians, in the Cape Province in centres like Genadendal (Kruger, 1970). This method was later adopted by other missions, including the Lutherans. Therefore, what Kruger says of the Moravians in the oldest mission field in South Africa (the Cape) applies also to the mission strategy in Zululand:

> In order to keep the flock away from detrimental outside contacts, they (the missionaries) built mills and opened shops on the spot... it was all part of their plan. The object of the bretheren living together in separate settlements is that they would, as much as possible, be out of the way of temptations, and that by the preaching of the Word of God, they will be connected with a wholesome church discipline (Kruger, 1970:303).

The Lutherans in Natal and Zululand had mission stations like Nhlazatshe and Imfule of the Norwegians; Bethel near Vryheid, Hermannsburg, Esihlengeni, Elandskraal, Ephangweni etc. for the Germans; Appelsbosch etc. for the Church of Sweden Mission; Christianenburg and Stendal near Weenen for the Berlin Mission Society; and Untunjambili and Luwamba for the American Lutheran Mission. It was the Hermannsburg Mission which had more mission farms than any other mission.

It has already been mentioned that the missionaries established the mission stations in order to help the Zulu people live "proper" Christian lives away from the detrimental effects of heathen practices. However, the other part of the story was that the Hermannsburg Mission aimed at making some profit from the mission farms. The farm was often run by a farmer with some connection with the mission. This was part of Ludwig Harms' strategy of sending missionaries out to the mission field for life. They were to establish a kind of mission colony.

The motives of the missionaries were genuine in themselves. They felt that the Zulu Christians needed every support possible since they were like a drop of water in an ocean of heathenism. The Zulu were introduced to basic reading and writing skills. Further, they were introduced to the tenets of the Christian faith and Lutheran doctrine. Again the goals of an individualistic approach were brought to fruition as the converts established themselves in these colonies away from their traditional areas. A survey conducted by the writer at

Untunjambili mission station established by Schreuder in the latter part of the 1800's, indicates that, unlike traditional Zulu areas, at this mission station one would not find a certain *isibongo* (surname) dominating others in number. This is a further indication that people in the mission station came from different clans. The Bhengus, Jalis, Ngemas, for example, belong to the Lala group, whereas the Msomis belong to the Qwabe clan (Bryant, 1905). All these people with different backgrounds lived together in the mission station with a common allegiance to the rule of Jesus Christ and submission to the authority of the missionary as a spiritual leader and a substitute for the chief.

From the very beginning, the missionaries also realised the importance of education and medical work among the Zulu. Entumeni near Eshowe, Umphumulo, Kwa-mondi, Betania, Dundee, became centres of learning early in the history of the Lutheran church in Zululand. For such pioneer work which focussed on the whole person, the Zulu would certainly be appreciative.

Throughout this study, the extremely delicate nature of cross-cultural interaction has been highlighted. Missionary work fell within this dynamic. Thus this cross-cultural challenge often humbled the missionary with success stories which he/she could only subscribe to powers beyond his/her own resources. At the same time there were acute temptations that often led to his/her failure to measure up to his/her expectations. There were moments of looking back with regret. One of the areas of failure had to do with respect for African culture. The Zulu were culturally a very conservative people. Unfortunately, missionaries neglected this quality.

It was this attitude which made the missionaries vulnerable to the criticism of being agents of European imperialism, as Adjai observes:

> Socialisation implies an idea or process of give and take between the interacting groups or parties concerned. Imperialism works in a different way. Under Imperialism a dominant party gives something to a less fortunate partner, and sometimes the dominant party even forces its will upon the victim. The imperialism represented by the Christian missions in Africa and other non-European countries is a unilateral process of cultural transmissions in which the less fortunate party is looked up with pity and treated as a weakling (Adjai, in Desai, 1962:69).

It was mainly in the attitude of the missionary towards African culture that his/her objectives were evaluated. If he/she was arrogant, believing that the Western culture is the norm for all the peoples of the world, he/she was perceived to be an imperialist. Many missionaries could not understand the depth of African culture with its symbolism. It seemed simple, and this was misleading. It appeared far too inferior to merit serious thought.

It would be incorrect to give the impression that there were no dedicated attempts to comprehend African culture. There were indeed many attempts and some missionaries had the foresight to see clearly the importance of this. The Le Zoute (Belgium) International Conference in 1926 is representative of these efforts. Here some progressive missionaries made passionate pleas that African culture should be taken seriously in the presentation of the gospel in Africa.

It is of interest to note that quite early in mission work in Zululand, some educated and Christian Zulu did make a plea for the respect of Zulu culture in the presentation of the gospel. Rev. John Langalibalele Dube, after the Le Zoute Conference, told the members of the General Missionary Conference at Lovedale:

> It will probably be a shock to us all when having to explore this department of our subject now and afterwards, we find as a fact that the Bantu peoples, though I speak more particularly of the Zulu, had a very real religion of their own, of which the identical ten commandments of Christendom were the guiding principle (Dube in the 7th General Missionary Conference, 1928:43).

In concluding his presentation, Dube had this to say:

> We all know something of this side of native life, but we have been far from understanding and appreciating that, instead of using it as the best possible foundation on which to build and develop the Christian ideal, we have condemned it, and sought by every means to tear it down, yet, as I have suggested, the natives are creatures of the Old Testament, and it was out of the Old Testament teachings and ideals that Christ came to serve the world, and that practical Christianity is being evolved (Dube, in the 7th General Missionary Conference, 1928:44).

It is remarkable that at this time of mission work in Zululand, there were people like Dube who sensed that the missionary approach to helping the Africans develop in Christian life could have been better. This could have been done by continuously building in preaching and shepherding on what the Africans already had as a gift from creation.

Missionary approach to pastoral care was permeated with paternalistic tendencies. In Zululand a missionary, regardless of age, was called *ubaba* (father). In the mission station the Zulu Christian looked upon the missionary with the respect that was traditionally reserved for the chief. It is remarkable, when such respect comes from a formerly proud and poltically powerful people. The Zulu, however, had suffered humiliation from the British and their country had been divided into many pieces. Indeed, "no major people in Africa has been so harshly treated as the Zulu - their very power had brought upon them a political and economic fate harsher than that of their neighbours, Swazi, Sotho and Xhosa" (Hastings, 1979:73). As a

defeated people, in the mission station their behaviour was childlike. Thus the missionary yielded to the temptation to be paternalistic.

When the missionaries observed the Zulu in their natural setting before they became Christians, much of their behaviour was strange to the missionary. They were by all intent children of their times, Victorian to boot. The derogatory terms often used for the African - savage and heathen - reflected the attitude of the Westerners to the African. No wonder a certain Dr. Burchell, as quoted by Setiloane in Sotho Tswana, could say:

> Those whose minds have been expanded by a European education cannot really conceive the stupidity, as they would call it, of savages, in everything beyond the most simple ideas and the most uncompounded notions, either in moral or physical knowledge. But the fact is, their life embraces so few incidents, their occupations, their thoughts and their cares are confined to so few objects, that their ideas must necessarily be equally few and equally confined (MLSSA, p.292).

The missionaries found the Africans to have strange ideas and religious beliefs. Did they believe in God? It was also difficult to understand their ethics. Were they able to judge right behaviour from wrong? Why did they have several wives instead of having only one? Witchcraft was another area posing serious threat and competition to missionary "power". Other things which also seemed strange to the missionary in Zululand included the practice of *lobola*, circumcisions, and the Zulu concept of illness and healing. These practices became the springboard for a cultural shock for the missionary.

Concerned with the Zulu Christians who turned back to *amasiko okhokho bethu* (customs of our forebears), the missionaries introduced a rigid church discipline. The Zulu Christians did not openly question this practice, though there are cases of those who became defiant. The practice of a rigid church discipline has resulted in legalistic tendencies in the Lutheran church. But what is the main fertile ground for these legalistic tendencies? Is it in the missionary response to cultural shock or in the African traditional background? This question is important in the light of inter-cultural dynamics which this study shows to be in operation in mission work.

Theo Sundermeier traces legalism to the African background when he states:

> On what is legalism based? Without a doubt the primary source is the pagan background of Christians. African religion is a system of rites, rules and practices which aim at preserving and strengthening the fellowship of the people, the tribe and the family, and increasing its power. In it man (sic) is not regarded as an individual. Rather through birth, through name-giving, through circumcision etc., he is born into the fellowship of his ancestors, from whom he receives strength, and into the fellowship of the living, with whom he must share his powers in life (Sundemeier, 1967:163).

According to Sundemeier it is the African background in the area of religion and concept of the human being, which is the basis of legalism in the African Church. The missionary approach did not help prevent this phenomenon. This was because the missionaries "considered themselves to be bearers of this new culture. This conviction made it difficult for them to understand African thinking and African religion. Thus, instead of African paganism being broken up from within, it was often the case of replacing one religious system with another" (Sundemeier, 64:63).

Sundemeier continues to say that with such an approach the law of the ancestors was replaced with a new law, the law of Moses, the law of Christ, and the law of the white missionary (Sundemeier, 67:163). He concludes:

> The African religious system is essentially legalistic, it binds man (sic) in every detail of his life to a particular law of life which accompanies and builds him from birth to death. Christianity met this legalistic thinking halfway, in that during the pioneer period it was forced to appear in legalistic garb since the missionary was too strongly bound to Western culture. To a great extent the result was that the missionary became an educator, the "helper of joy" (2 Cor. 1:24), became a new legislator (Sundemeier, 1967:164).

Sundemeier supports the argument of this study that on the human level the major challenge for the missionary in Africa was in the area of crossing cultural boundaries. On the surface African cultures appeared rather simple, but in their depth they were complex. Hence there was a need to walk slowly and with the greatest care. Given that what can be observed as missionary pastoral approaches were, in fact, by-products of cross-cultural interchange, Sundemeier's clear conclusion is most interesting and revealing. According to him, the magnetic point of attraction which was the main contributor to the legalistic approach of the missionaries, was the African religious system which was essentially legalistic. He does not sound critical enough of the missionaries' "neurotic" attachment to Western culture. Missionary work is constantly challenged by the incarnational motif of the gospel. Sundemeier further identifies the pastoral implications of this attitude.

This was indeed observable in the mission stations' communities in Zululand. The pastor becomes the legal guide in the community. "He is the authority of the *umthetho* (law), the *umthetho* in the church being the ten commandments, the one who is the watch-keeper of the Roman legalism which has been planted into the community... He applies the law and judges accordingly (Berglund in Credo, March 1965, p.20, as quoted by Sundermeier, p.164). Thus the missionary and the African pastor follow two role models - Moses the O.T. lawgiver and the traditional African chief. This may be one of the points of resistance to the introduction of

person-centered African pastoral care and counselling. Yet it doesn't seem a balance has been struck in identifying the cause of legalistic tendencies in the African church.

Gunnar Lislerud who writes as a theologian and also as a former missionary in Zululand, specifically at Entumeni mission station started by Schreuder, agrees that legalistic tendencies are found in the African church. Because "within our African churches this (church discipline) is still common practice, but so often it proves a failure. Church discipline in our African setting tends to become a legalistic weapon in a semi-pelagian tradition" (Lislerud, 1964:154).

Lislerud identifies the failure of a legalistic approach to church discipline to cure the "soul" bringing contrition and confession. However, he does not trace and identify the point of origin of legalistic tendencies in the African Church. Only implicitly does he state that legalism is one of the traditions of the missionary past which the present African Church must deal with.

Bengt Sundkler of the Church of Sweden, a pioneer missionary at Ceza in Zululand, Bishop of Bukoba then Tanganyika and later Professor in Uppsala University, has well demonstrated by his studies on the African Independent Churches and Ministry in Africa, the importance of taking seriously the African background. After a comprehensive study on the African ministry in Africa, Sundkler states that the African pastor would need to be culturally sensitive in order to adequately shepherd his people. Sundkler moves beyond identifying a heavy Western missionary influence on the African pastor. It is this influence which he will have to adequately deal with, if he will be pastorally contextual (Sundkler, 1960:308).

Sundkler goes on to diagnose a rather paralysing malady in the African clergy in the churches originating from the work of Western missionary societies.

> In the mission church the presence of the Westerners, hopeful as it was, sometimes prevented the African leader from developing his potential gifts. The behaviour patterns and the evolution of the West left too strong an imprint, and also contributed a kind of uncertainty, a split somewhere in the mind which did not always allow the African pastor to develop a wholly integrated personal authority (Sundkler, 1960:308).

It was out of this split-mind syndrome that many an African pastor accepted uncritically former missionary weaknesses such as paternalism, legalistic tendencies in pastoral care, and rejection of traditional African practices (even those which were not a threat to African Christianity), such as African traditional music, the *lobola* custom (exchange of gifts between the families of the future bride and bridegroom), traditional attire, the use of genuine wholesome Zulu beer, some practices in mourning and other traditional practices. This may be one of the reasons why many African Independent Churches were established all over

Zululand and the rest of Southern Africa. However, this does not seem to be the ideal solution to an approach that could have been improved by paying closer attention to the African cultural milieu. This thesis concurs with Sundkler that the solution is certainly not to be found in a proliferation of Western and African sects, although this for a time will inevitably be one fate of Protestant Africa. Rather it should be found in a deepening concern for the care of souls, exercised by a ministry which has competence, time and opportunity (in terms of sufficient small congregations and authority to deal with these things). This would need to be a pastoral care and counselling ministry focused on the whole person with a depth and empathy for the African cultural matrix in which the person finds himself/herself.

Missionary pastoral care was based primarily on the practice of church discipline. This was not done merely to make African converts feel uncomfortable in the church, but church discipline was seen as a practice that was helpful in getting converts to realise the importance of the Christian ethical standards that they had to honour if new Christian communities were to be established. Evaluated from the perspective of a genuine pastoral care and counselling approach as discussed in chapter II, it can be seen that this approach does not measure up to modern pastoral counselling approaches. William Hulme, for example, argues that the approach of some pastors who do not recognise something as pastoral unless it is accompanied by traditional and verbal religious symbols are wrong (Hulme, 1981:8). Hulme sees a weakness in this approach, for these symbols would often fail to address the important area of feelings in human personality. Howard Clinebell's critique of missionary approaches would centre around the failure of these approaches to facilitate the removal of blocks of alienation in human personality and growth and wholeness (Clinebell, 1984).

It does not seem necessary to go into the details of the nature of missionary pastoral care. What is important in this context is to point out that this approach was part of a reaction in an intercultural encounter. If this aspect had been seen as a primary influential factor a lot of friction could have been avoided.

D. POINTS OF CULTURAL CONFLICT IN MISSIONARY PASTORAL WORK AMONG THE ZULU

In this section a few areas of cultural conflict between missionaries and Zulu will be highlighted. These were areas where empathy was needed on the part of the Western missionary, if his pastoral care was to be effective.

1. African World-View

The missionary was a product of his time. During the pioneer missionary days in Zululand, the missionaries were influenced by the Victorian culture. A strong and deeply seated optimism existed in the Western world. This optimism was basic to the belief that Western civilisation held the best for humankind. The Western sceptre was finally to be waved over all the nations of the world, including the benighted natives of Africa. In such a context, the confrontation between the Gospel and the African world-view was radically conditioned by Western value judgments of the African world-view. William Crane has this graphic account of a phenomenon witnessed in both the Congo and Zululand:

> In effect the African who was met by Christ on the African way was transposed and made to walk in a strange path where all the signposts are unfamiliar, written in a foreign idiom. He (sic) learned to adapt himself to this path but has not felt completely at ease in walking it (Crane, 1964:103).

2. Perception of the Self

The understanding of what the person is, was different in the Western world when compared with the African world. In Chapter II the Zulu understanding of the person was presented. It is a dynamic concept, which is different from European thought, as J.V. Taylor points out:

> "...in European thought, the meaning of the self has been identified with the meanings of the mind, and the spatial concepts of 'inside' and 'outside' have been used as categories that shape selfhood!" (Ibid 104).
> The Western concept is further conceptualised in St Augustinian formulation "We live beyond the limits of our bodies" (Ibid 104).

Chapter III dealt extensively with the Zulu understanding of the person which comes out of the understanding of the person in relationship to others as well as from a rich Zulu cosmology. The 18th and 19th centuries' pietism was very individualistic, encouraging the person to seek a personal rendezvous with Jesus. This is well articulated in a Lutheran hymn, number 242 in the Zulu hymn book:

1) (Zulu)

Ngozihlanganisa nawe,
Jesu wami omuhle.
Ngodumisa wena, Nkosi,
Angithandi okunye.
Izwe longizonda ngakho,
Likuzondile nawe;
Kepha uma ngigowakho,
Ngidelile njalo nje.

(English)

I will unite myself with you,
My beautiful Jesus.
I will glorify you, Lord.
I don't love anything else.
The world will hate me,
It has hated you also;
But if I am yours,
I have renounced other things forever.

2. (Zulu)

Konke lokh' okusezweni
Angiyikukunaka.
Sengiqonda eNkosini
Yona eyangimela.
Ngangingamuthand' uJesu
Owangikhetha kade?
Wangithanda name njalo,
Ngingowakhe phakade.

(English)

All the things of the world
I will forfeit.
I go to my Lord
Who stood in my place.
Should I not love Jesus
Who chose me from of old?
He loved me always,
I am his to eternity.

Ph Sinold + 1742 (free translation by the author).

Western Chrisitianity's strong emphasis on the individual's relationship with his/her saviour was another point of conflict for the African whose concept of the person is basically community oriented. When the missionaries approached the Africans with the message of the gospel, it was not easy for the Africans to move out of the extended family, clan, tribe and nation as they accepted the new religion. After all, how could one conceive of *Mvelinqangi* to have stooped so low, to the extent that one could say "I will unite myself with you, my beautiful Jesus"? This was difficult for the Zulu to comprehend, as from their religious point of view Divinity should not and could not be divided. Therefore, even in church discipline it was difficult for the African to understand an emphasis on individual accountability and punishment. There was a quest to understand accountability and discipline within a network of dynamic relationships of acceptance and disciplining, for God is not my God only, but the God of my brothers and sisters, the God of my fathers, the God of my forefathers, and the God of those who have gone to the other world - my ancestors. Of course, this does not mean that there was no personal (individual) accountability. This was definitely there and was emphasised from childhood as the person was taught the seriousness of individual accountability.

3. Perception of Creation

Another area of cultural conflict between the missionaries and the Africans was in their understanding of creation. John V. Taylor (1963:72) says the African understands himself/herself as one not only with the community or with the extended family of which he/she is part, but also with the forces of nature themselves; forces which play an important part in the life and thinking of the tribe as a whole.

This study on the Zulu does not seem to support Taylor in toto on this point. In the Zulu understanding of creation, the human being seeks to come to terms with nature. He seeks to come to terms with created things as well as the awesome powers of the universe. For instance, the *izinyanga Zezulu* or *abapathi bezulu* (lit. experts on the sky) are utilised to seek harmony with creation (Berglund, 1976:46).

These medicine people play a significant role as many people are afraid of thunderstorms. It was difficult for the missionary to understand that the Zulu did not seek only to be protected from lightning by a well-designed mechanical device (lightning conductor) one could put near one's house. The Zulu wanted protection by a power which could allow him to live in harmony with such an awesome power of the universe. This was especially essential as some people could misuse this power to destroy others. The point is that the Zulu traditionally sought to live in harmony with nature. It was difficult for the Zulu to understand why the Western missionary could put under church discipline a man who had invited an "expert on the sky" to strengthen his household by putting *abafana* ("doctored" sticks) on the roofs of his huts. This practice survived among Christians in the mission stations to a greater extent than the missionaries were aware (Informants at Umphumulo and Untunjambili Mission Stations, 1986-1989).

Instead of the human being taking the role of an antagonist to God's creation, he/she seeks an harmonious relationship with nature. An example of this life affirming or creation affirming attitude is the way the human body was regarded among the Zulu. One example of this attitude can be seen in the traditional *thomba* (puberty) custom.

Thomba, "like all transition ceremonies is characterised by separate rites, and a period of seclusion followed by aggregation into a new group" (Krige, 1985:100). The boy or girl who has reached this stage does not keep it to himself/herself but shares it with appropriate individuals. Therefore, he/she is helped by the community to celebrate the event within the context of 'rite of passage'. As the person grows older the sexual urge is not to be denied. It was accepted as an integral part of being human. Therefore,

"after a period of about three months any young man who has been accepted may come to the *amaqhikiza* (senior girls in charge) and ask for their permission to *hlobonga* or have external sexual intercourse with his sweetheart...". This permission is seldom refused, "for the custom, though technically unlawful, is nevertheless connived at by the parents themselves" (Krige, 1985:105).

The more widely used Zulu word for the technically defined pre-marital sexual act is *soma*. It is, as Krige has defined it, an act where the partners should see to it that their relationship falls appropriately within the sanctioned external sexual intercourse. In the traditional Zulu understanding this was an act of expressing love as well as channelling the powerful yet acceptable sexual urge in a responsible manner. It was an act affirming creation, not denying it. The male partner was responsbile and careful not to deflower the girl during intercourse.

Again this was a point of conflict with missionary preaching and pastoral care. To Victorian culture and 18th and 19th centuries' piety, such an act in relationship of the sexes was unnegotiable. It was sin. In Lutheran circles it was ethically explained as being one of those acts referred to in the sixth commandment as paraphrased in Luther's commentary:

> We should fear and love God... that we may lead a chaste and decent life in word and deed, and each love and honour his spouse. (Dr Martin Luther's Small Catechism explained by way of questions and answers by C. Drewes, 1940.)

A more specific point is number 75 in the Zulu Lutheran Catechism, which has the question: "What does God require from us through this commandment?" The answer is: "To the married and the unmarried He demands a pure heart that hates the desires of the flesh and all evil thoughts and words, also premarital sex and all other acts of impurity" (Luther's Small Catechism in Zulu).

This is indeed a vivid commentary on the commandment to Germany and Scandinavia, but the Zulu cultural context necessitated a comment of how the commandment relates to the acceptable practices of their forefathers, such as the *ukusoma* custom. This was a clear cultural challenge for missionary pastoral care. How was this practice to be understood in the new community of the *amakholwa* (Christians)? What was one to say of its former, positive acceptance in the Zulu society?

As far as missionaries were concerned, this was a pagan practice. It was not possible to accept the fundamental concept of the practice as a possible springboard for

a Christian discussion or lesson that would have focussed on the value of the human person and sexuality. The possibility of moving from the known to the unknown in this regard was missed.

4. The Concept and Practice of Marriage

Concerning marriage, there were two main areas which challenged missionary pastoral care. These were *lobola* and polygamy. The former did not pose as serious a threat to Christian ethics as did the latter.

Concerning marriage itself, the problem was that when the missionary and the Zulu spoke of marriage, they were in fact speaking of two related things, but not fully identical. Harriet Ngubane describes the Zulu understanding of marriage succinctly, as follows:

> The word "marriage" is not translatable into Zulu, because its indigenous meaning is not that of a contractual union between the spouses as in the case of the English term. A Zulu woman "goes on a long journey" (*enda*), this action being known as *umendo*. A man, on the other hand, takes or receives a wife into his patrilineal home (*thatha*) where she is expected to be productive and continue the descent line of her husband's patrilineage (Ngubane, in Krige and Comaroff, 1981:84).

The missionaries found it difficult to understand the African practice of polygamy. There were very few missionaries in Zululand who were sympathetic towards this practice. Mention should be made of Bishop Colenso, a Bishop of the Church of England; a missionary in South Africa and a Lutheran pastor and theologian, Gunnar Hellander. The latter wrote a book on the subject entitled - Must we introduce monogamy? (1958). Hellander demonstrates a sympathetic approach to the issue and sees polygamy as a practice embedded in the African context. Therefore, it should be approached carefully and sympathetically in mission and pastoral work.

A close study of the Zulu understanding of marriage shows it is clear that a man could *thatha* several wives because the Zulu traditional marriage was not a contractual union between the spouses, but rather the wife was permanently received into the man's patrilineal home. Therefore, the Western argument for monogamy in a contractual union does not hold strong in this regard; only a theological argument based on biblical foundation (not Western traditional practice) would.

Criticism of the *lobola* practice often failed to look at the positive side of the custom. There is a positive side for, among other things, the "*lobolo*, consisting today of ten head

of cattle and one special cow for the bride's mother, is given to her family for the right of her reproductive powers; and, in turn, her father performs various rituals to his ancestors to guarantee the fertility of his daughter" (Ngubane, in Krige and Comaroff, 1981:84).

A usual misinterpretation is to see *lobolo* purely as an economic transaction, whereby the girl's father is seeking some gain in cash or kind. In some circles, this was seen as an act contrary to Christian ethics. If not abolished in mission stations, it was tolerated only because Zulu resistance to its abolition was too strong and posed a serious threat to the Christianisation of the Zulu.

5. The Concept of Sin

In approaching the Zulu with the message of Christianity, many a missionary felt that the point of contact was to make the Zulu aware of how sinful they were, and thus make them feel the need for a saviour. However, sin, whether covert or overt, cannot be conceived in a vacuum. A person's thoughts or actions may be sinful, even omissions, within a certain specific cultural milieu. Therefore in their reference to sin, the missionaries had embarked on a delicate cultural event. It is a miracle that the Zulu could understand what the white missionary was speaking about. There was nothing as strange, almost absurd, to a Zulu man with his strongly knit family of four wives whom he loved dearly, as being told that he was living in sin. To make the African understand what the missionary was speaking about continued to be difficult even when the missionary was trying to offer relevant pastoral care to the Zulu converts. Hans Schreuder's practice and reflection is helpful to substantiate the current observation.

Hans Schreuder also struggled with the problem of establishing contacts with the Zulu, especially at the beginning of his mission work. Simensen characterises this struggle and subsequent strategy this way:

> Schreuder did not spend much time on travel during the 1850's and used gifts and his medical expertise to establish contacts with the local communities, the same way as he had with the king. The religious offer met with little response, particularly with regard to the central concept of sin and salvation. "Sin, what is that? Are they not devout and decent people who don't do much evil?" (Norsk Missions Tidende, 1901,p. 238).
>
> It was thus necessary to inculcate a feeling of sin and thereby create the need for a religious offer. This presupposed long and continuous contact of a kind which could only be established at the mission station (Simensen, 1986:87).

As it has been pointed out earlier, the strategy of the mission stations was seen as a means of fostering adequate pastoral care. It was to be a context in which the Zulu could understand basic things like sin. These were also places where people were to be helped from back-sliding, and instead to contribute towards the erection of the foundation of a strong nucleus of a church in Africa.

Mission reports periodically sent to Mission Boards, such as the Norwegian Mission Society in Stavangger, Norway, often reflected the fear of the missionaries that the Zulu could turn back to their heathen ways. Some went so far as to maintain that the character of the Christians and of station society was a liability in the transaction with the Zulu (Simensen, 86:93). For "instead of demonstrating a burning spirit the Christians deterred the heathens by their poor behaviour" (Missionblad/Zuluvennen 1904, p.158 in Simensen, 86:93).

Johannes Astrup was the son of Bishop Nils Astrup from Norway. Bishop Astrup had come to Zululand in 1883 to continue the work started by the pioneer missionary Bishop Schreuder. Johannes Astrup was for many years after his father, the superintendent of the American Lutheran Mission in South Africa. In his 1939 annual report he clearly reflects what has been identified as the main characteristic of Lutherans' missionary work among the Zulu - a pietistic zeal in mission, coupled with a burning desire to see a growing Zulu Christian community of the Lutheran tradition. Astrup will be quoted at length here since his report reflects a deep concern for the Zulu and further reflects the cultural challenge which remained acute for the Zulu Christians he was leading. He wrote to the Home Board and supporting Christians overseas:

> The work has been progressing steadily at our stations. Though there are reports indicating disturbing factors in the progress of our evangelising efforts, there are also, thank God, signs of a deeper and more sincere understanding of sin and grace. In some of our districts irresponsible native propagandists of half-Christian half-heathen persuasions, create a confusion and disaffection among our congregations, particularly in more isolated communities where strong Christian convictions and enlightened elements are wanting. Then also in crude heathen environs where family ties and aboriginal customs constantly appeal to baser instincts, temptation draws many away... Moreover, the lukewarm profession of many Christians in word and deed confound the issue and weaken resistance to the assault of false doctrine and moral perversity (Johs Astrup, American Lutheran Missions in South Africa. Superintendent's report 1939. Board of Foreign Missions N.L.C.A., Year Book, Minneapolis, Minn 1940).

This report clearly demonstrates that there was a missionary zeal on one side (the missionaries') and on another (the Zulu Christians') a strong cultural force. It was the power of this force which was almost impossible for the missionary to understand. The

behaviour of African Christians, as discussed above, demonstrates failure of the young African Christians to relate dynamic Western oriented religious faith to a vibrant, vital Zulu culture. This intense struggle demonstrated a need for an empathic approach and patience.

Out of zeal and concern missionaries instituted a rigid church discipline in the Zulu church. However, there were some of the Norwegian Lutheran missionaries who demonstrated a healthy optimism - one of these was O. Stavem:

> During the latter years of my stay in South Africa, I could not but compare the growth in knowledge and the development - though feeble - of native Christian characters with the narrow childishness prevailing among our "*makholwas*" 40 years before. It is true that God loves all men. The power of His grace cannot be bound. He will generate the African tribes and lift them up as He has done with the European nations. We ought not to forget that 2000 years ago the Northern half of Europe was a home for savages (Stavem, 1918:57).

In Stavem's comments it is easy to notice the paternalism which has been identified as having permeated missionary pastoral care; yet a healthy optimism is also present. It is such optimism which could adequately encounter the weakness of cultural shock. With such an optimistic attitude a contextual pastoral care and counselling could be developed in the African context.

Even though Stavem of the Norwegian Mission was a Western missionary who had worked in Zululand himself, he was able to evaluate missionary approaches in presenting the Christian faith and in pastoral care of the Zulu, in a lucid and balanced way. He says:

> Many Europeans know exactly how the native Christian ought to behave, and a standard of Christian character is demanded even beyond what is usually found in European congregations. It is strange how certain Europeans require from the natives perfection they themselves do not show in their own life. The poor native *ikholwa*, just emerged from heathenism, is criticised and blamed in a way which would have condemned the converts of St Paul's Corinth (Stavem, 1918:55).

Stavem's comments support the possibility that exists to cross cultural barriers. It seemed that those who cultivated the attitude of accepting the Zulu as they would their own people, moved nearer to them and became less judgemental and were cured of "culture shock". Stavem testifies that during 43 years as a missionary he had met many converted Zulu "who strove to enter by the narrow gate that leads into life" (Stavem, 1918:56).

This study has observed, in similar vein to Stavem, that Zulu *amakholwa* did become new persons in Christ, but the cultural challenges are always with them, demonstrating a quest for African Christianity which is firmly rooted in the African soil.

6. The Role of the Inyanga in Zulu Society

Another area of intense conflict between the Western missionary and the Zulu was in connection with the traditional medicine man. People who were called *izinyanga* (pl), *inyanga* (sing.), played one of the most important roles in Zulu society. This is of course true of most of African societies. These people engaged in a wide range of activities, "including among other things the manufacturing of charms, the preparation and administration of herbal medicines, divination, ritual healing, witch detection and witchcraft tradition. To these one may add a number of activities not directly connected with health and disease, among which rainmaking and the provision of magical support in the field of agriculture, hunting ..." (M. Schoffeleers, Free University, Memiographed Notes, 1981).

The role of *izinyanga* in Zulu society is well documented in anthropological and related studies (Berglund, 1976; Ngubane, 1976; Conco, 1974; Gumede, 1977, 1980). All these studies and others are unanimous on the central role which the *inyanga* played in Zulu traditional society. They were practitioners who were immediately sought after in times of crisis. Missionaries soon found out that they were in competition with these traditional healers as they proclaimed the power of the Christian God. Moreover, even among the growing *amakholwa* communities, traditional healers were held in high esteem. In fact, one of the practices which made the missionaries advocate strict church discipline was the consulting of *izinyangas* by *amakholwa* of the mission stations.

What Michael Gelfand, a medical doctor says of the *ngangas* in Zimbabwe is certainly applicable to Zulu *izinyangas*:

> European society has no one quite like the *nganga*, an individual to whom people can turn in every kind of difficulty. He is a doctor in sickness, a priest in religious matters, a lawyer in legal issues, a policeman in the detection and prevention of crime, a possessor of magical preparations which can increase crops and instil special skills and talents into his clients. He fills a great need in society, his presence gives assurance in the whole community (Gelfand, 1964:55).

The missionary view and attitude towards the *izinyanga* will not be presented here, suffice it to point out that the role of the *nyanga* was one of the important areas of

cultural conflict in missionary pastoral work among the Zulu. In fact, it was in the whole area of the concept of illness and health where the two cultures collided and in the process left both parties, missionaries and *amakholwa*, to meet the challenge.

7. Approach to the Religious System of the Zulu

In mission work as well as in pastoral care, missionaries adopted a certain approach; they evaluated African practices in a specific way. This approach became the "acceptable" way of tending the flock in a missionary situation. Hans-Jurgen Becken, a former missionary among the Zulu, states in lecture notes to African theological students, preparing them for their charge:

> Ancestor worship is in the present form a protest against the sole mediatorship of Jesus Christ between man (sic) and God. It proclaims theologically speaking, the mediation of human beings (especially dead ones or those possessed by the spirits of the dead ones) between man (sic.) and God. The result is polygamy and the high esteem of cattle in worship, social clan-life (bride price, fines and sacrifices). Luke 14:19 (Becken, 1964).

Becken's observations are indeed typical of the missionary approach. Zulu religion was a protest to the foundations of Christian faith. Missionaries failed to see the positive value or the depth of the African religion. The Zulu were not atheists. Their own religion could be positively utilised as a "bridge" to reach them with the dynamic Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The parameters of African religiosity did not extend only to the central role of the ancestors in this religious system; it also extended to a perception and belief in God. This perception coloured the African acceptance of Christian faith. In other words, when Africans were converted, they did not discard in toto their own perception of God. In fact, they did not need to since biblical revelation merely added some truths on who God was (for example, that God is love) as well as prune some humanly projected qualities of the nature of God. Godfrey Callaway gives a splendid account which supports the observation of the depth of African belief in God. He states:

> An old, old woman of about eighty-one has recently been converted here, and she is to be baptised this afternoon... She came to see me just now, and she told me that long before her conversion she believed in God. In her own words she saw Him and felt the awe of His presence. This is a thought that Rudolf Otto lays much stress upon in his book: The Idea of the Holy... This old woman, who could not give an answer probably to the simplest question, can yet speak of her experience of God in a way which is both lofty and real... She addressed me sometimes as 'servant of God' or 'child of the Almighty' or 'messenger of the Holy One'. Though, I fear, she can have little understanding of our Lord and his

atoning death, yet there is an absolute conviction of God... As a heathen she would have sought, not union or possession, but protection from any occult power" (Callaway, 1932:56).

Indeed, Callaway describes succinctly the depth of the African experience of God. Mission work and pastoral care among the Africans should have taken this trait seriously within the African context. In some quarters in the Western world there have been discussions on the use of "God talk" in counselling (Hulme, 1970). This problem should not be evident in the African context as the Africans are a religious people. The woman introduced by Callaway described the missionary in a language deeply emersed in religious undertones. She addressed the missionary as 'servant of God', 'child of the Almighty' or 'messenger of the Holy One'. This religious insight is indeed profound and merits respect, especially in pastoral work among Africans.

This Chapter has highlighted the ecclesiastical facet in the context of pastoral care and counselling. Though the past tense has been used in discussing the traditional Zulu and missionary views, there is so much survival of traditional views that often it is difficult to draw a rigid line between the past and present. The missionaries are still remembered as *obaba bethu* (our fathers), while the question of *amasiko okhokho bethu* (the customs of our forebears) looms large even over fourth generation Christians. This study points to the fact that the ecclesiastical influences which modern practitioners of pastoral care and counselling have to deal with have their origin in missionary pastoral care, as well as in the Africans' own concept of Christianity (Becker, 1978).

E. MODERN AFRICAN ATTEMPTS TO SORT OUT A COMPLEX LEGACY: EXAMPLES FROM A LUTHERAN CASE STUDY

There could have been other earlier calls for a more relevant church life in Africa, but among the Lutherans the All-Africa Conference in Marangu, Tanganyika, East Africa in 1955 was significant. At this Lutheran conference a number of areas in church life were discussed with a view to making the Lutherans in Africa "begin to think as an African Lutheran church... It was hoped that such a conference would speed up the transition in Africa from mission work to fully oriented African churches... And finally it was hoped that this conference might pave a way for other Christian meetings on a pan-African scale" (Lutheran World Federation, Marangu, 1955:8).

Though the word was not used, the concern was for contextualisation in mission and pastoral work.

In the context of this study, the most interesting presentation was a short paper by K.J. Msomi on "Church Discipline and the African Character" (Ibid p.135). Msomi describes church discipline as follows:

> The pastor works together with the elders who report all cases of misconduct among church members; for instance, they report all members who visit witchdoctors for consultation in cases of illness or bad luck; they report those who commit adultery. In some churches a Christian who consults a witchdoctor is excluded from Holy Communion for six months and one who commits adultery for one year. Before a member is received back into the church he has to attend for a period of time a special class in which he/she is exhorted (K.J. Msomi in LWF, Marangu, 1955:133).

This practice of church discipline seems to have been similar among various Lutheran churches in Africa.

Later Msomi evaluates the practice of church discipline. The first is the missionary view, "Missionaries often complain that Africans as a rule do not show sorrow for sin as sin against God, but they are rather afraid of being found out and put under church discipline" (K.J. Msomi in LWF, Marangu, 1955:136). This is a by-product of a legalistic church discipline which was practised by missionaries and later adopted by the Africans themselves. Msomi sees the rigid church discipline as having contributed to the secession which caused such a large number of African Independent Churches. He said:

> Secession is very common in South Africa. There are a number of factors which have brought about this situation. The traditional beliefs of the Africans, the political set-up in South Africa, the economic position of the African and the religious freedom, are factors which have been at work in encouraging the appearance of independent churches and their breaking down into smaller groups (Msomi in LWF, Marangu, 1955:136).

On the positive side Msomi emphasises the need to encourage private confession by an individual to the pastor. In modern terminology, he saw the need for pastoral counselling instead of what he called "rigid policies which had been followed by the missionaries in the organisation of the church" (Msomi in LWF, Marangu, 1955:132). During the Second All-African Lutheran Conference in 1960, there were presentations on church discipline in the Churches of Africa by Walter A. Trobisch, Stefano Moshi and Christian Mtetwa.

In his paper Moshi identified the biblical origin of church discipline, quoting Matt. 18:15-18; 1 Cor. 5:5-6, 11-13; Gal. 6:1; 2 Thess. 3:6,14; Rev. 2:2-14; Eph. 5:11-13. According to Moshi sincere African Christians do not question church discipline as such. They feel that it should not be relaxed as it is a vital part of the church doctrine (Moshi in LWF, Antsirabe, 1960:25).

Moshi further identifies the kinds of church discipline being practised by churches in Africa. He mentions, inter alia, the following: minor excommunications, greater excommunications, exclusion from Holy Communion, fines (money), animal or manual work, confession before the congregation or privately, penal seats in the church (Moshi in LWF, Antsirabe, 1960:27).

Since Moshi is convinced that church discipline is biblically based and has definite benefit for the church, he feels it should not be abolished. On the contrary, "it should be preserved by the church. Some revisions are, however, necessary in order to make it correspond to the present situation and to bible teaching" (Moshi in LWF, Antsirabe, 1960:27).

In the same conference, Walter Trobisch made a presentation on church discipline in the light of law and the gospel (Trobisch in LWF, Antsirabe, 1960). Towards the end of his presentation, he posed questions directed to both African pastors and missionaries in Africa. This was a clear indication that the way to the future - "sorting out a complex legacy" - was the responsibility of both parties. To the African pastors he asked: "Do you misuse the discipline of the church to undergird externally your personal authority? Does this not become a necessity for you because you lack the spiritual authority which is the basis for being able to hear confessions and give absolution?" (Trobisch in LWF, Antsirabe, 1960:24).

To the missionaries, he had this to say, inter alia: "All these questions are addressed to you. But, in addition: Why do you insist on church discipline in Africa, when it is not insisted upon in your home church? Have you not become guilty not only of hypocricy (Matt. 23:4) but also of arrogance? Have you not accepted that the Africans in their "younger" churches cannot actually understand the depth of the message of St Paul and the Reformation? For this reason, have you then not tried to translate the paradoxes of the gospel into simple pedagogical common sense?" (Matt. 23:13).

The questions raised by Trobisch are central to this investigation. They have been answered by stating that although the missionaries and pastors who promoted rigid church discipline looked as if they were legalistic and rather aloof, their motive was genuinely to establish Christian communities. However, culture shock had its place and influence; much of what is criticised in missionary approaches was caused by culture shock. The missionaries had genuine intentions as messengers of God, but moving into another culture posed serious challenges.

C.N. Mtetwa, in his presentation on the same subject, observed that it is actually the African background which encourages a rigid church discipline. For "the African character is

such that it cannot tolerate breaking of the law. What is law is law and must be kept. If a church member falls into sin he must be excommunicated" (Mtetwa in LWF, Antsirabe, 1960:80). Mtetwa is in agreement with Theo Sundermeier's views that were stated earlier in this chapter.

Five years later in 1965, the subject of church discipline was discussed in another LWF Conference in Addis Ababa. This time the paper was presented by another African pastor, Paulus Mhlungu, who later became the first African Lutheran Bishop in Natal, and the first presiding bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. He stated:

> The purposes of church discipline have been very much misunderstood in some of our churches in South Africa. On one hand, misunderstood because it was from the very beginning wrongly introduced by our pioneer missionaries, who taught what was not practised at home; on the other hand, misused by churches in Africa because of their misconception of sin (Mhlungu in LWF, 1965:112).

The fact that three LWF conferences following one another had included in their agendas the subject of church discipline shows the priority that the Lutheran church gave to dealing with this legacy in Africa. It was a struggle to deal constructively with a legalistic approach, which they agreed was present in the church even though they did not agree on its source. This struggle does not seem to have been characteristic of the Lutheran Church only. It seem as if most of the so-called established churches had to deal with this issue.

Although the present church (ELCSA) remains very much influenced by the legacy of the missionary era in its pastoral work, there have been attempts to institute new approaches. In this section we shall briefly identify (from the minutes of this church) decisions which have been taken in order to move away from the legalistic approach of the past. It is this new direction which, if faithfully pursued, may lead to a deeper African spirituality than simply measuring up to external discipline.

In the present African Lutheran church, the practice of rigid church discipline is on the decline, hopefully, to give way to an empathetic emphasis in the practice of contextual pastoral counselling. Several church council decisions have pointed to a need for a new direction, as the following resolution shows:

> On penitential "class" and blessing of an unmarried mother - church council accepts that the word "class" be substituted by the term "penitential counselling" and be understood as an opportunity of the penitent to be reconciled both to God and to the congregation (Church Council 35, paragraph 9.3.9, ELCSA Handbook:65).

This is a move away from rigid church discipline, especially in regard to the sixth commandment for which generally the woman offender was often the one punished. The offender was put under discipline for a stipulated amount of time (in some places up to a year). There was not much flexibility as to individual responses to the realisation of having sinned against God and neighbour. It is also important that there is now a great concern that male and female offenders are treated alike. In the past the woman ended up being punished more than the man. This happened because it was easier to deal with a pregnant woman burdened with severe guilt, than with a man who was not easily identifiable and thus could be defensive about his actions.

The younger churches in Africa have begun to struggle with relevant pastoral care rather than use rigid approaches. These were understandable under the influence of culture shock and concern to establish Chrisitian "colonies" in new mission fields. It is essential that the modern pastoral counsellor in approaching an African client should be aware that one of the influences that have contributed to shaping an African client is an ecclesiastical influence, especially in the manner of the practice of church discipline.

Arthur Becker, an American professor of pastoral care and counselling, after spending a year in South Africa pioneering the field of pastoral care and counselling, stated that:

> There is, finally, a pastoral or theological challenge to CPE in the African scene. Largely as a result of several factors... plus the North-European heritage of early missionary piety, "church discipline" has become the traditional guide for pastoral care" (Becker, 1978:187).

This chapter has highlighted the pastoral background that has coloured African Chrisitianity. This background must be considered when identifying new contextual pastoral approaches. In the following chapter another aspect of pastoral care and counselling in the Zulu milieu will be discussed.

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PART II

IDENTIFICATION OF ISSUES AND DEVELOPMENT OF A CONTEXTUAL MODEL

CHAPTER V

ISSUES IN ZULU CONCEPTS OF ILLNESS AND HEALTH

The concepts of illness and health for a particular people is an important aspect of the context for pastoral care and counselling. The traditional world-view is an important foundation which must be seriously considered in developing a relevant contextual pastoral approach as a large number of the African population still adhere to those beliefs.

A retiring Zulu circuit-inspector of schools in 1987, giving a farewell address, publicly acknowledged that he attributed his success in leading the circuit to the fact that he started each day with a prayer with his colleagues and office staff. Later on, as he continued with his address, he also praised his ancestors, saying that whatever he had succeeded in doing he also attributed to his forbears. In a low voice, he went on further to say that they too had guided him and prospered his work. He then emotionally called their names, starting with his father; he went on to five generations. Hearing this, his brother, a retired professional male nurse, jumped up and danced the traditional Zulu male dance (*wagwiya*).

If such an educated and Christian African family would publicly witness to their religion in this way, it shows how deeply rooted Zulu traditional beliefs are, even among Christians. Further it shows how the Zulu, like all Africans, long for a religion that permeates their whole life. The latter is a positive view of life that must not be eroded. The genius of humankind is manifested universally, among other things, in the attempt, at times quite rudimentary, to combat illnesses and usher in health in whatever circumstances human beings find themselves. By their very nature, human beings could not simply accept negative and painful experiences like illness without reaction. Every talent in the nation was utilised to combat illness. Naturally, before this could be done, some form of interpretation of the causes of illness were given.

The Zulu people were no exception. A.T. Bryant, who spent 45 years of his life among the Zulu and who devoted his time to the study of Zulu customs (*amasiko*) and religion, wrote:

> Although the Zulu native is sadly lacking in the equipment requisite for the civilised life, he (sic) is quite astonishingly learned in the domain of his environment. It is by no means an exaggeration to affirm that comparatively the average Zulu can boast of a larger share of pure scientific knowledge than the average European. I suppose, if it were possible for us to go back to the dawn of human intellect and to measure how much of intelligent thought has been expended on each of the several branches of mundane knowledge, we should find that probably by far the greater part has been spent on the subject of medical science (Bryant, 1983:7).

Both the Western medical practitioner and the missionary tended to look down with contempt on Zulu traditional concepts of illness and methods of healing. The strategy was to despise this traditional view and, hopefully, replace it with a Western view. Thus one of the most fundamental aspects of the cultural heritage of a people was rejected. It would have been wise to approach such beliefs sympathetically, trying to find out the dynamics in operation and whether these dynamics are contrary to the basics of Christian faith, not merely contrary to Western views emanating from an imperialistic culture.

A. CAUSES OF ILLNESS

The Zulu subscribe to a dual concept of illness. This theory recognises natural or ordinary aetiology and supernatural aetiology. In the former category fall illnesses of the *umkhuhlane* group (lit. common cold - but this group includes more illnesses than in the Western concept of a common cold). The explanation for these illnesses was that they simply appear by themselves (*kusimze kuzivelele*). One did not spend much time speculating why one had *umkhuhlane*, but one simply accepted this fact as the given of life in our present existence. On the other hand, illnesses that were said to be of supernatural origin merited an elaborate interpretation. Belief in this interpretation of illnesses "constituted a metaphysical article of faith" (Conco, 1972:285).

1. Cases from Mission Hospitals in Zululand representing Zulu interpretation of illness

The churches doing missionary work in Zululand, mainly the Methodists, Lutherans, Anglicans, Roman Catholics and the South African General Mission, established mission hospitals as part of their missionary work. The missionary doctors, nurses and the pastors in their work encountered intensively the Zulu concepts of illness and health. The following cases substantiate this observation:

Case No. 1:

A man aged about 35 years, was admitted to a mission hospital. The missionary medical doctor diagnosed him as having Pulmonary Tuberculosis. He was then admitted for treatment. He was also told that the illness could be treated, but that the treatment would take some time - not less than six months. This man had been working in the mines. It was during this time that his mother,a widow, became ill and died. However, when the news reached him in Johannesburg, he was ambivalent about returning home. He felt that this was going to be too expensive for him, given his meagre earnings. On the other hand, the force of his responsibility as a son was quite strong. After much

agonising, he decided not to go. This decision was, of course, contrary to Zulu custom associated with the burial of parents or close relatives and observations associated with bereavement in Zulu culture.

After about two years, this man became seriously ill. He had pain in his chest and was coughing increasingly. His sputum contained blood. He decided to return to the vicinity of his home, so that he could seek treatment at a mission hospital. It was during this period of admittance to the hospital that the following dialogue took place between him and the pastor (This man was not a Christian):

Pastor 1: How are you feeling now? Do you notice some improvement?

Patient 1: There is no improvement at all. I don't blame the doctor and nurses. They are trying their best. But I have realised that I cannot be helped here in the hospital

Pastor 2: I am sorry to hear that. But why are you convinced that you can't be helped in this hospital?

Patient 2: Mfundisi, I will tell you. Before any treatment can be effective on me (ukuze *imithi ibe namandla kimi*), I need to go home, so that I can make a party (*umsebenzana*, lit. work), for my mother. I know why I became ill. They try to explain a lot of things for me here (referring to the germ theory), but this is not the case with me.

My mother became ill and died when I was in Johannesburg. I did not come home to bury her and fulfill the Zulu customs (*angibuyanga ukuzogcina amasiko esizulu*). Now I have this trouble. I have been asking the doctor for permission, trying to explain to him that I just need to go home and attend to this matter. I would then come back and continue this treatment which they are giving to me here. If I don't do this, I don't see how I can get better. I must do something concerning my mother.

Pastor 3: But you need to stay here to continue with the treatment they are giving you.

Case Analysis:

The Lutheran pastor, being a theologian trained in Western theology and pastoral approaches, was not able to deal with this person's dilemma on a deeper level. He did not pay attention to the man's concept of illness, religion and all other aspects of his cultural context. He, out of his own Christian Western-influenced convictions, tried desperately to convince the patient to remain in the hospital for treatment. He was concerned with the patient's wellbeing, but still he was not able to understand the man within his frame of reference. He did not use a dialogical method in counselling this person.

Case No. 2:

A 36-year-old widow, a member of an Apostolic African Independent Church, described the cause of her illness to the pastor as follows:

My husband died a few years after our marriage. I became sick after he had been dead for three years. My mother-in-law was a full member of the *Abaphostoli* (Apostolic Church). She advised me to go to them to be prayed for. I was taken to the *umkhokheli* (prayer woman - leader of the church). This *umkhokheli* had a gift of *ukuboniswa* (prophesying). She prayed for me. She also gave me water boiled with ash (*iziwasho*). I drank this water. I also used it as an emetic. In the course of my stay at the *umkhokheli'a* house, I chose the Lord (*ngakhetha Inkosi*).

In the course of the dialogue, the pastor asked the patient how she interpreted the nature of her illness. She responded as follows:

There is only one reason Mfundisi. It is my husband. He is angry with me. He comes with anger to me, casting his shadow over me (*uyangengama*). I have inhaled foul air (*Sengihabule umoya ongcolileyo*). This illness is not caused by a sorcerer. I don't doubt that it is caused by my husband, because he appeared to me in a dream. He told me that he wanted to come and fetch me.

Case Analysis:

In the pastor's zeal to evangelise, he was not perceptive to the depth of the patient's sharing which revealed not only the woman's concept of illness, but also interpersonal and intrapsychic conflict. For example, it is possible that this person is struggling with realistic or neurotic guilt feelings. In order to be helpful to the patient, a multi-dimensional approach would have been appropriate. The mission hospital could be an ideal place for such an approach. This is necessary because various avenues need to be explored to try to find relevant and effective therapy.

Case No. 3:

The patient, a 50-year-old Zulu male, was admitted to the medical ward of a mission hospital. When a pastor visited him, he related the following story which reflects his interpretation of his illness:

Mfundisi, I have realised that I cannot get adequate help here, since what I am suffering from is *isifo sabantu* (lit. African disease). I wish I could get a chance to deal with this illness in an African way (*ngezindlela zethu thina bantu*).

This illness which I have is *igondo*. The doctor will not be able to help me with this. Actually, Mfundisi, I would like to go home and then go to consult a Zionist prophet who can help me by telling me where I can go to get help.

Case Analysis:

It is of special interest to a pastoral counsellor that a patient whom the Western doctor could easily diagnose as a prostatitis case, in the patient's own interpretation emanating from Zulu concepts of illness and health, he understands his condition as the one which challenges his ethical responsibility. Quite often people who have had some extra-marital affairs could be waylaid with *igondo* by an envious, rejected lover. This dimension of the patient's concern should be taken seriously as well. This can only be done if his interpretation of illness is not looked down upon, but accepted as a reality of his world and current frame of reference. In fact, counselling requires that the counsellor takes seriously the client's frame of reference if therapy is to be effective - regardless of how absurd the counselee's beliefs seem to the counsellor.

Case No. 4:

A middle-aged woman admitted to a medical ward had this to say to a pastor who visited her:

I am married in a polygamous family, as is common in our area. I was not against it. Therefore, my husband married another woman. She is the one whom the diviner identified as having given me food with poisonous medicine (*owangidlisa ngomuthi ekudleni*).

Due to the fact that we were always quarrelling, my husband chased her away. But it was too late, she had already given me this thing. I was treated by an *inyanga*, but I did not improve. I decided to come and "try" the hospital. The nurse recently told me that there is something in my lungs. I believe that this is where this *idliso* (illness caused by the poisoning of food) is growing. (This conversation continued.)

Case Analysis:

The pastor appropriately decided to focus on the broken relationships. He encouraged the patient to be willing to initiate communication in the family with the objective to heal the damaged relationship. In this conversation, the patient was sharing her interpretation of illness within the wider scope of the Zulu concepts of illness and health. This concept perceives illness as a destructive state of health which is often the outcome of damaged relationships with one's neighbours, community members, even members of one's extended family. Therefore, this concept of illness and health cannot be explained away by a mere reference to the Western scientific germ theory. There is more to human personality than that.

Case No. 5:

A young man aged 25 years was admitted to the mission hospital, complaining of pain in his legs and arms. He had been working in Johannesburg in a construction firm. Here he had recently been promoted to the position of section supervisor. The Western trained medical doctor diagnosed his condition as rheumatoid arthritis. In a discussion with a pastor who visited him, the patient gave his own interpretation of his illness:

Mfundisi, you yourself know how people are at the places of work, especially if they come from different areas. They become very jealous if one is promoted. The most jealous, of course, are those who were expecting promotion for themselves. I became an object of jealousy at my place of work in Johannesburg. After my promotion, people did not want to speak to me. I became very lonely (*ngaba inkomo edla yodwana*).

One day as I opened the door of the staff room, I felt pain all over my arms. I am convinced that this is *umeqo* (lit. to jump) - "name derived from theory that wizard (sic.) made some marks which, when crossed, make that person sick" (Conco, 1972:286).

Case Analysis:

This patient has come to the hospital presenting a condition which the Western doctor found very easy to diagnose as rheumatoid arthritis. Yet the patient's own interpretation of his condition presents a far more complex dynamic which calls for a multi-dimensional approach. From the pastoral psychology point of view, an investigation needs to be made of the broken relationships that he describes. Pastoral counselling must help him find out if, in some way or another, they can be restored to

function in a healthy way again. From the psychological aspect one can forgive and pronounce forgiveness on others even in their absence. This is therapeutic.

The five cases presented in this chapter represent an element in the Zulu concept of illness and health which, although part of the traditional view, persists in some form or another even to the present time among Zulu patients.

2. The Zulu concept of diseases of natural causation

The group of maladies believed to be of natural causation are accepted as belonging to the ordinary natural world. The Zulu refers to diseases of this group as *umkhuhlane* (lit. common cold). No sorcery is suspected for this group of illnesses. The term *umkhuhlane* refers to illnesses which "just happen", ranging from the common cold to serious epidemics such as smallpox or influenza (Ngubane, 1976:23).

This group of diseases includes, inter alia, *mkhuhlane* - non-specific - upper respiratory infections, sinusitis, measles, mild forms of some infectious fevers. Among the specific are *isimungumungwana* (measles), *amankiwana*, *unkonkonko*, *umpenge* (whooping cough). The specific sub-group includes the illnesses of babies and children. These illnesses occur during the process of growth of the child. *Inyoni* (lit. bird) is most common. "This disease is caused by a heavenly bird which passed the area after the child was born" (Conco, 1972:286). Illnesses like *uhlabo* ("*hlaba*" sharp pain), pain around the breast region, are also regarded to be of natural causation.

Further in this category are also diseases of women, *isilumo* (painful menses), *isigaxa* (growth). The Western doctor would associate these illnesses with some form of fibroid infection. *Isifuba somoya* (asthma), *inyongo* (bile), *isithuthwane* (epilepsy), *izilwane* (worm infestation), *umzimba omubi* (sores all over the body), *isidolobha* (town diseases - veneral diseases) (Conco, 1972:287).

This category of illnesses introduces an interesting phenomenon in cross-cultural medicine; because a Western trained medical doctor would feel that most diseases would be explained in a scientific way. This category of illnesses shows a possible relationship between Zulu concepts of illness and Western medicine, because "by and large the ruling concept about *umkhuhlane* represents by far the most suitable point for developing a scientific approach towards illness" (Bodenstein, 1967:58).

In our view, the Zulu concept of illnesses of natural causation helps to make the African patient understand and accept cross-cultural contributions in medical care. Western discoveries in the medical field should also be used profitably in the African context. This view also shows that Africa is not closed to scientific explorations in the world of medicine.

Medicines used for illnesses of this category require less ritual and no rituals are required as an integral part of treatment. Thus, "there is readiness to experiment, to try new medicines, or to discard some for better ones" (Ngubane, 1976:23). Many people had knowledge of some herbs used for treating illnesses of this group and it was common to find a person who even though he/she was not a traditional doctor would nevertheless know what herbs to use. Traditional home treatments were common for diseases of this type.

3. The Zulu concept of *ukuziqinisa* (strengthening of oneself)

The Zulu conceives of life as a dynamic life-force which is constantly in a state of flux, hence in need of balancing. *Ukuziqinisa* is not a treatment of an illness. It is a preventive treatment whereby one is strengthened against forces which may have a negative, even destructive influence on a person. What Harriet Ngubane observes relates to this concept of *ukuziqinisa*. She states:

> "It will become clearer later on how crucial the idea of 'balance' is in health matters. For a Zulu conceives good health not only as consisting of a healthy body, but as a healthy situation of everything that concerns him (sic.). Good health means the harmonious working and co-ordinating of his universe" (Ngubane 1976:27).

The human being is constantly concerned with life in relationships because human personality calls for it. Human *seriti isithunzi* calls for it. For "*Seriti* is not neutral. Its very existence seems to be calculated to promote and particiate in relationship with the external world, human, animal, animate, inanimate, and even spiritual like an antenna, charged and sensitive" (Setiloane, 1986:14).

Therefore, to understand human personality one must bear in mind that there is a constant interplay which takes place when people come into contact (Setiloane, 1986:14). It is precisely this understanding of human personality which, in our opinion, makes the person believe that he relates to others in terms of 'vital participation'. Hence

the preoccupation with "balancing" - *ukuziqinisa*. It is pastoral counselling which uses this deep personality quest as an effective tool in helping African clients.

One must be strong (*aqine*) in relation to other people, the environment and ancestors. The *gcaba* marks on the wrists of most Zulu people include those made to administer medicine (*umuthi*) as a preventive measure whereby a person was strengthened in order to meet other people, and also not be adversely influenced by the environment. *Bethela* - making the home almost impregnable to visitation of agents of the *Abathakathi*, is also a form of strengthening oneself.

In the community there are those who do not wish other people to prosper; such people are known to use their *muthi* (harmful medicine) to harm whoever they want to. Even the environment can be infested with harmful and undesirable substances. Ngubane points to this when she states:

> It is believed that certain types of diseases can be taken out of a patient and be discarded as a definite material substance. Having been discarded, it may hover around in the atmosphere or remain localised until it attaches itself to someone else. In this way, what is removed when curing certain forms of diseases renders the environment dangerous. It is said that, to keep the immediate environment clear, crossroads (*enhlanganweni yezindlela*) and highways (*indlela yomendo*), are popular places for the discarding of dangerous substances (Ngubane, 1976:25).

It is in this context that the practice of *ukuziqinisa* is promoted.

Infants also need to be strengthened because there are certain illnesses, especially amongst infants and children, which affect them if they inhale *imimoya emibi* (polluted air). They are said to be affected by "*inyamazane*" (wild buck). One of the symptons is that the child cries a lot. *Inyamazane* is a condition treated by burning a portion of buck's skin, mixed with medicinal powder. This medicine is believed to treat the illness, but is also used as a preventive measure, especially when the child is being taken away from home (Ngubane, 1976:25).

4. The Zulu concept of supernatural causation of illness

Besides illnesses commonly grouped together as *imikhuhlane*, there are also other illnesses, according to Zulu tradition, whose aetiology is supernatural as circumstances around their origin are uncanny. Concerning this category, Conco reflects on his long experience among rural Zulu and says:

> This is a basic fundamental theory of African traditional medicine. In varying degrees most rural Africans believe that it explains all complexes of extraordinary diseases. They also believe that it is true. This implies that they are psychologically convinced, though they cannot give empirical grounds for its truth. It is a metaphysical article of faith and as such it cannot be verified or falsified empirically, though it has some claim to being factual (Conco, 1972:285).

Primarily, Conco bases his conclusions on his rural practice in Zululand. However, experience shows that even in urban townships many Africans still adhere to these concepts of illness and health. A research project conducted at King Edward Hospital in Durban in 1975, reported that "two-thirds of the patients in one ward believed that their ailments were due to sorcerers, or to spells cast by sorcerers, at the instigation of those who did not like them" (Cheetam, 1975). T.L. Holdstock observes:

> However, suppression by colonial and Western scientific powers of indigenous healing approaches have not yet succeeded and are not likely to succeed in destroying the belief of the people of their own unique approach towards healing. On the basis of 200 interviews which we conducted under the auspices of the Soweto Society for Marriage and Family Life during 1977, it was evident that the majority of people in Soweto still believed in the power of indigenous healers (Holdstock, 1979:116).

Illnesses of this category are often referred to as *izifo zabantu* (African diseases). Africans often argue that Western medical doctors are not able to cure these illnesses. This interpretation is used to distinguish them from diseases of the *umkhuhlane* category. Diseases of this category include the following: *umbhulelo*, *umeqo* (lit. to jump over). These are illnesses believed to be caused by *muthi* (sorcerer's medicines) which is spread on the ground. If crossed, this *muthi* makes the person ill. Western doctors may diagnose these conditions as rheumatoid arthritis, tuberculosis of joints, genito urinary infections, etc. (Conco, 1972).

Then there are illnesses which could be said to affect the person primarily psychologically. These are: *hayiza* or *habiya* (hysteria in young women - young men courting the girls are suspected to be the culprits); *indiki* ("possession by a spirit of a deceased person, a spirit which never underwent integration with the body of other spirits" (Sibisi, 1975:50); *ufufunyane* or *izizwe* (a person possessed with *ufufunyane* appears mentally deranged - "She becomes hysterical, weeps uncontrollably, throws herself on the ground, tears off her clothes, runs around in a frenzy and usually attempts to commit suicide. She reacts violently and aggressively to those who try to calm her" (Sibisi, 1975:52).

Ilumbo - this refers to external malignant growths; *igondo* - the most dreaded of men's illnesses, localised in the lower abdomen and genitals (Conco, 1972); *idliso* (poisoning) is a condition caused by sorcerer's *muthi* taken by mouth. A person who decides to harm another one may obtain the poisonous *muthi* from a sorcerer and harm the one he/she hates; *omamtsosi* - a person with this illness presents with signs of abnormal behaviour - delirium and excitement. Among women, sorcerers may cause *ipuleti* - this refers to a number of obstetric complications associated with pregnancy.

The above illnesses, by no means an exhaustive list, all belong to diseases which are of unnatural causation and fall within the area of sorcery.

5. Sorcery (Abathakathi)

Sorcerers are living human beings who are believed to have the ability to cause illness. The sorcerers can cause various serious disorders in the human body. Zulu traditional belief holds that sorcerers have access to some supernatural powers by means of which they can cause these disorders.

Socially speaking these people are regarded as the enemies of society, par excellence. The traditional doctor is looked upon with esteem for he cures illness. He is thus generally associated with the positive in life. The sorcerer, on the other hand, is regarded as the one who uses the powers for evil. His acts are associated with those things which injure people's health (Krige, 1985:321). People who are regarded as sorcerers in society have observable personality traits. They are "generally arrogant and treat other people with contempt" (Ngubane, 1976:23). Most of these people are jealous and tend to be loners. Their personality traits raise the suspicion of their neighbours, especially among people who place much emphasis on human relationships.

The sorcerer's acts are evil. He/she constantly plans to harm other people. In view of the central role community spirit and relationships play within society and family, it is understandable why the sorcerer was regarded with such contempt and fear. The sorcerer operates in secret and is able to carry out his evil practice by virtue of medicines he uses (Krige, 1985:321).

There are three types of sorcery. These are: night sorcery, day sorcery and lineage sorcery (Ngubane, 1976). Case studies illustrate these three types of sorcery:

(a) Night Sorcery

An informant, a 46 year old Zulu male with a university degree and professional qualification, related to the author the following story:

Our family originated from the valley near the Uthukela River. This is below the Untunjambili mountain. My father told me that the reason why his father had to move away from that area was due to threat of sorcery. There was a man in the neighbourhood who practised night sorcery (*othakatha ngobumnyama*). My grandfather was a person who used to sleep well. He was also used to going to bed early. One day my grandmother told him that she had observed that every time when the dogs barked at night, it seemed as if there was someone piercing with a spear the grass roof of the hut. This made her vey nervous. She repeated this story several times, until my grandfather was convinced that he should sacrifice his sleep and investigate what was going on. One night he slept outside. He was armed. At midnight his dogs started barking. A man appeared from the bush near the hut. He was naked, and his body was smeared with ash. He rushed to the hut where they used to sleep. He started piercing the grass roof with his spear while constantly dipping it in some fluid in a small clay pot. My grandfather jumped out of his hiding place. He drew his spear and approached the man. He told him to stop where he was or else he would stab him. The sorcerer stood still. The neighbours were called. He was told that from that time on everybody in that area regarded him as an enemy. He was expelled from the community. At dawn the man took his family and all his possessions and left. After that incident my grandfather was no longer happy in that place. Therefore, he also took his family and left. That is how we ended up in this place (Informant, 1988).

The above case from the Mapumulo area shows the nature and dynamics of night sorcery in the Zulu belief system. The sorcerer carries out his evil practices during the night. The fact that the night sorcerer is always a male may also be for practical reasons since his evil practices are carried out during the night. It would be difficult for a female to travel during the night.

People believe that a sorcerer can use the technique of *ukukhwifa* (spit out *umuthi* in the direction of the enemy). He also puts *muthi* on the paths and smears some on the objects which he knows will be handled by his enemies. Therefore, there are *umbhulelo* and *umego* which are believed to be specially harmful techniques of sorcery.

The other characteristic of a night sorcerer is the use of familiars. Among the Zulu the common ones are the *imfene* (baboon), the *impaka* (wild cat) and the *imikhovu* (zombies). "There are various beliefs about the true nature of an *umkhovu*, but the most common one is that it is a corpse that has been dug up and brought back to life by an *umthakathi*" (Krige, 1985:326). It is said that the sorcerer first kills a person by his *muthi* and then wakes this person up from death. These creatures are believed to be the ones whom the sorcerer often sends out to carry out his errands.

(b) Day Sorcery

This group of sorcerers differs from the former in that "the second type... acts, not as a matter of habit, but in a personal animosity" (Ngubane, 1976:34). People may suspect each other of day sorcery, especially in situations of competition, jealousy, conflict and hatred.

The main technique used by a sorcerer to effect his harmful deeds is *ukudlisa* (the poisoning of food). Zulu believe that this is a threat in various situations. Many illnesses which a Western trained doctor may diagnose as cancer of the oesophagus, peptic ulcer, etc., are believed to be due to *idliso*.

Human beings often live in fear, especially in situations of competition and wherever relationships have been strained. It may well be one of the reasons why many people preferred to be submerged in the sameness of the community group, instead of excelling in whatever above average abilities they had. There are places where Zulu people would not like to build houses that look different from those of neighbours.

Zulu women do not normally practise night sorcery but the majority of day sorcerers are women. This, of course, does not mean that men do not practise day sorcery. Women are notorious for the *ukudlisa* practice.

(c) Lineage sorcery

Zulu practices associated with sorcery are often executed in the most clandestine way. This is natural since such practices negate the very core of the fabric of the African/Zulu conception of life in community. This is even worse when this life in community has to do with the extended family and/or relatives. Many

scholars tend to neglect this aspect of the phenomenon of Zulu sorcery in their discussion of this subject. Harriet Ngubane in her research among the Nyuswa, confirms the existence of this practice among the Zulu and her analysis describes the dynamics in operation:

> A man can persuade the ancestors to favour him and abandon one or other members of the lineage. This is sorcery of a special kind which can only be practiced by one homestead head (*umnumzane*) against another of the same segment. The ritual involves "the churning of black medicines" (*ukuphehla amanz'amnyama*) in connection with the treatment of disease. This type of sorcery can be practised only by people who are able to sacrifice in their own right. It can, therefore, be practised by men only (Ngubane, 1976:36).

Zulu informants at Mapumulo confirmed to the author that they knew about lineage sorcery. They also spoke of its seriousness: *Umuntu ophehla amanz'amnyama uwushaya awugothole umndeni*" (A man practising lineage sorcery destroys the whole extended family).

An analysis of the belief in lineage sorcery reveals that above anything else, the practice points to serious extended family conflicts. It is further interesting to note that for a practice as serious as lineage sorcery, it is not only the effectiveness of the *umuthi* that is sought, but primarily a religious power must be sought in order to make this most evil act a success. A man is said to persuade the ancestors to favour him and abandon the other members of the lineage.

These three classes of sorcery, discussed above, are the Zulu conceptualisation of an uncanny causality of illness. For those who adhere to these beliefs, they are real and form an important feature of their world. Missionary approaches tended to consider these beliefs to be evil, pagan practices and dismissed unsympathetically the inner dynamics of these beliefs. The Zulu who believed in sorcery were left confused, because belief in sorcery was an important element of their world-view. A multi-dimensional approach seems to be needed. Belief in sorcery can be understood from the perspective of various disciplines in theology and the social sciences; these disciplines could suggest reasons for such a belief. From a sociological point of view, Ngubane concluded that:

> Zulu ideas and beliefs relating to illness and its treatment are parts of a coherent body of knowledge that lends itself to being interpreted and analysed in a framework of sociological theory (Ngubane, 1976:151).

From the perspective of pastoral psychology, belief in sorcery is a concretisation of evil and identification of the seriousness of broken relationships. It shows how conflicts in human relationships, being the result of jealousy, hatred, fear, competition and suspicion, can be destructive to persons on the psychic and somatic levels. In Zulu culture these negative reactions are not merely conceived in a theoretical framework, but concretised in their manifestation by means of human agents. Therefore, in pastoral counselling in the African context it is essential to keep in mind that this predominant concept of illness points much further than merely scientific aetiology. This concept says disrupted human relationships are poisonous, thus often causing illness, even death. This is so because the human being is more than mere material. The person is a unit generating *isithunzi somuntu* (human vital force), and in turn interacting with others as well as with the environment. Even Western pastoral psychology and dynamic psychiatry seem to be familiar with this phenomenon in personality interaction (Wise, 1956:93). Theologically speaking, it is revealing that Jesus Christ when He discussed the greatest commandment, that is, the commandment to love, emphasised the law of healthy human relationships.

6. Ancestors and Illness

At the centre of the traditional Zulu belief system is their belief in the ancestors. There is a constant concern for a balanced relationship with the ancestors. The good relationship with one's ancestors guarantees a good life with health and prosperity in the home. However, if one's ancestors look upon one with disfavour, illness and misfortune result ("*ukufulathelwa ngabaphansi*").

Thus good health or ill-health is regarded as "a net result of delicate and intricate balance between a man's family and his relationship with the ancestral spirits (*amadlozi*). Good health and good fortune are a rich reward for good behaviour and constant sacrifice to the ancestral spirits" (Gumede). On the other hand, wherever the living are negligent of the "ancestral dignitaries", ill-health results as a painful reminder of their duties and responsibilities. In fact, Zulu people believe that even the work of the sorcerers cannot be effective if one is strongly protected by one's ancestors. The *abathakathi* (sorcerers) do not have more power than the ancestors. The concern for a well balanced relationship with the ancestors is almost an obsession for a traditional Zulu, as it is for traditional Africans in general (Vincent Mulago in his conception of "Participation Vitale" in Dickson & Ellingworth, 1972).

African traditional belief, therefore, perceives the pivotal point of existence as a continuous 'vital force in participation' (Setiloane, 1986:14). The ancestors are beings with whom one is in constant interaction. If something is wrong in this interaction illness and misfortune result. One capitalises on this connection:

> Participation is the element of connection which unites different beings as beings, as substances, without confusing them. It is the pivot of relationships between members of the same community, the link which binds together individuals and groups, the ultimate meaning not only of the unity which is personal to each man (sic.) but of that unity in multiplicity, that totality, that concentric and harmonic unity of the visible and invisible worlds (Mulago in Dickson & Ellingworth, 1972:145).

It may be said to be firmly rooted in the unconscious level of the self. The depth of this belief and its relation to the Zulu concept of illness, is well articulated in a verbatim account of a Zulu called Mbanda, who lived in the early part of the 19th century. The report is presented by H. Callaway:

Zulu rendering

Kuthina kukhona ithongo, inyoka baphuphe. Bathi bangaphupha, abi eseyagula. Athi: ngigula nje ngiphuphile. Babuze abanye "uphupheni na?" Athi: ngimphuphe ethi, "kwabe usangazi na?" Athi ngimphendule ngathi, "uma ngiyakwazi ngabe ubona ngenze njani na?" Ngiyakwazi uma umfowethu. "Wangiphendula qede ngishonjalo wathi "uthi uma uhlaba inkomo ungangiphathi ini na?" Ngathi, "Ngiyakupatha ngikubonga ngezibongo zakho." Ngathi "Ake ungitshele inkomo engayihlaba nganga-kuphatha. Lokhu ngayihlaba inkabi ngakuphatha, ngayihlaba inyumbazana ngakuphatha." Waphendula wathi "Ngiyayithanda inyama". Ngamphikisa ngathi "Cha mfowethu, anginankomo, uyaibona yini esibayeni na?" Wathi "Neyodwa ngiyayibiza." Uthi "Ngabe sengiyaphaphama, kwasekubuhlungu esikhaleni, ngani yathi mangiphefumula, kwala, kwanqamuka umoya; ngangiyathi mangi khulume, kwala kwanqamuka umoya." (Callaway, 1870:146).

English rendering

It is said that there is Ithongo (a collective word meaning the inhabitants of the spirit-world - Abaphansi), which is a snake. Men dream. A man dreams perhaps and is then ill; he says, "I am ill for no other reason than because I have dreamed." Others ask him what he has dreamed. He tells them he has dreamed of a man. If his brother has died, he says, "I have seen my brother". They ask what he said. He says,

"I dreamed that he was beating me, and saying, "How is is that you do no longer know that I am?" I answered him saying, "When I do know you, what can I do that you may see that I know you? I know that you are my brother." He answered me as soon as I said this, and asked, "When you sacrifice a bullock, why do you not call upon me?" "I do call on you and praise you by your praise-giving names. Just tell me that bullock which I killed without calling on you. I killed a barren cow, I called on you." He answered saying, "I wish for meat". I refused him, saying, "No, my brother, I have no bullock; do you see any in the cattle-pen?" When I woke up, I had pain in my side; when I tried to breathe, I could not; my breath was short."

Mbanda's account clearly demonstrates the Zulu traditional religious system and how this relates to the Zulu concept of illness, namely that the anger of the ancestors may cause illness to the living. People were always afraid of being looked upon with disfavour by the ancestors - "*ukufulathelwa ngabaphansi*".

His account also highlights the role dreams play in the Zulu traditional view. Farrand and Holdstock correctly observe the importance of this phenomenon:

> Dreams are of vital importance to the indigenous culture of Southern Africa and are often considered as important or even more important than waking consciousness in terms of their reality and significance. It is during dreams that a person's spirit leaves the body and wanders far afield. It is the spirit that is understood to undergo the dream experience...
>
> Dreams afford the ideal means for the ancestral spirits to communicate with the living. A world without ancestral spirits is not conceivable. They permeate every aspect of life and work of the majority of the people of Southern Africa. There is no existence of the living separated from that of the ancestors (Farrand and Holdstock, 1982:68).

Carl Gustav Jung emphasised in his work and writings the role played by dreams in human life. Jung's observations seem to be akin with the indigenous Zulu view. Holdstock also observed this affinity:

> It is essentially Jung's work with dreams, his process of individuation, and his concepts of the collective unconscious and archetypes, which share a great deal of commonality with the principles underlying indigenous healing. Jung was of the opinion that the unconscious could flow in, quite of its own accord, when the rational and conscious mind was only directed to a slight degree. He claimed that this was in fact what happens with indigenous people who are so much less rational than their counterparts in the industrialised world (Holdstock, 1979:120).

7. Illness as a By-Product of Pollution

The Zulu word "*umnyama*" is almost impossible to translate into English. The word pollution seems to have the closest meaning. However, this "*umnyama*" goes much further than that of an ecological nature. It is, in fact, "a mystical force which diminishes resistance to disease, and creates conditions of poor luck, misfortune (*amashwa*), disagreeableness and repulsiveness (*isidina*) whereby people around the patient (sic.) take a dislike to him (sic.) without any provacation" (Ngubane, 1976:78).

The relatives of a person who has died and who have been near the corpse and have handled it have *umnyama*. *Umdlezane* (a woman in confinement) and a menstruating woman are regarded as people with pollution and can render others polluted. Pollution is not an illness nor does it cause illness. Nevertheless it can cause extreme vulnerability to somatic weakness and proneness to accidents and other forms of bad luck.

The corpse of a person who has died in an accident (e.g. car accident) in modern times is not supposed to be brought home as this may cause *imikhokha* - a series of bad luck (with the possibility of recurring accidents) as a result of this special degree of pollution. According to informants in the Mapumulo district (1987) the special treatment of the corpse of a person who has died in an accident is still practised.

8. Spirit Possession as a Special Religious Experience and Psychiatric Disorder

(a) *Indiki and ufufunyane* (Psychiatric conditions)

In the category of what Zulu calls *izifo zabantu* are illnesses which are classified as spirit possession. These are psychiatric conditions with specific Zulu interpretations. There are two types of spirit possession. The first is associated with the works of the *umthakathi*, while the second is regarded by the traditional Zulu as a special visitation by ancestors. This is why the latter can be appropriately called a special religious experience.

The first type of spirit possession, *ufufunyane* (psychiatric disease) is believed to be caused by sorcerers. The *ufufunyane, habiya, hayiza* is a related syndrome. The dictionary translation of the word *ufufunyane* is: "Rapidly spreading disease which causes delirium and insanity, type of brain disease, mania, hysteria" (Doke and Vilakazi, Zulu Dictionary). A person possessed with *ufufunyane* appears to be

out of touch with reality. If the condition gets worse, he/she becomes mentally deranged and weeps hysterically. He/She becomes violent towards those nearby. People often remark about the energy such a person has and they attribute it to the spirits that possess the patient. It is a modern interpretation that these spirits are from different racial groups (Sibisi, in Whisson and West, 1975:52).

(b) *Isangoma*/Diviner

The dynamics in operation in the route of one who is to be *isangoma* (diviner) is first a condition which can be classified as a psychiatric disorder. The symptoms of spirit-possession are as follows:

> When the spirits (sic.) wish anyone to become a diviner, they make known their wishes by causing him to dream constantly and make him ill. He (sic) begins to grow delicate and eccentric, dreaming extraordinary and numerous dreams about wild beasts and serpents; he hears voices calling him and telling him to go to a certain spot to find roots or to catch some animal there, and he complains of pains in different parts of his body. The spirit upsets body and mind and the affected person becomes run down in health, he becomes emaciated... (Krige, 1985:302).

Zulu tradition provides an acceptable training programme. Under an experienced diviner tutor (*isangoma esithwasisayo*) the training programme has a built-in and deeply focused therapeutic component. It is this therapeutic approach which eventually makes the diviner able to function within the parameters of normality in society. Of course, the diviner is still regarded as a unique person, because of his/her special religious experience. He/She has had a special visitation from the "Other World".

The period of training and initiation is characterised by the acceptance of the condition as a gift of divination. There is slaughtering of a goat and bathing in and drinking of *ubulawu* (special medicine). The initiate resumes the long, arduous training as *isangoma*.

During the training period a large portion of time seems to be devoted to therapy. The whole atmosphere around the home of the experienced diviner is therapeutic. There is a lot of group support and group interaction facilitating interesting group dynamics. The initiates have to do everything together. They go to the river to fetch water together. They fetch wood and cook together. A lot of time is also spent singing together and dancing to the music and rhythm of drums. The use of *ubulawu* (medicine) continues during this time.

After a period as a novice the new *isangoma* (diviner) returns home to carry out services pertaining to her/his "profession". On arrival at home appropriate and symbolic rituals have to be observed (see Berglund, 1976, and Krige, 1985).

For the purpose of this study it is important to note some of the characteristics in the *isangoma* identification and training. These include the relationship between divination (*ubungoma*) and illness and the impressive therapeutic methods used.

The unique role played by dreams in the *isangoma* initiation has been highlighted. Jung's contribution concerning dreams and psychotherapy was also identified. Therefore it seems appropriate to conclude that in the initiation of a Zulu *isangoma*, Zulu indigenous principles and practices of therapy and initiation to the divinator practice (*ukubhula*) take seriously the dream imagery; this is akin to Jungian methods used by many psychotherapists today.

The other outstanding characteristic during this *ukuthwasa* - training/therapy - is the degree of acceptance the novice receives from the experienced *sangoma*. Len Holdstock sees this acceptance as being on a par with what Carl Rogers, the American psychotherapist, has called "unconditional acceptance". He puts it this way:

> Trust in the potential of a person, which is such an essential aspect of the person-centered approach, is apparent throughout the treatment or training of the *ukuthwasa* person. It is true that certain skills are learned, such as drumming and dancing, that herbs are used as emetics to clean out the body and ritual procedure mastered, but basically the treatment procedure consists in responding to the naturally unfolding process of the *ukuthwasa* process. More often than not, it is the dreams of the *ukuthwasa* trainee which are used by the healer as an index of the progress of the trainee (Holdstock, 1981b:42).

The trust and unconditional acceptance well articulated by Holdstock is not only confined to the tutor (experienced *sangoma*) - trainee relationship, although it is perhaps more intensified at this level, especially when some degree of collegial feeling develops. The community also accepts the person not as a deviant to be discarded, but as a person of integrity who has had a visitation from the "Other World". Bearing in mind the high esteem in which the "Other World" is held, such a person becomes a unique individual with a definite role to play in society. Therefore, the *ukuthwasa* phenomenon can be viewed as illness manifesting itself within a certain cultural context. It is further a special experience in the expression of Zulu traditional religion in which the invisible "Other World" is a reality which impinges daily on the world of the living.

The above observations raise serious questions in the area of psychiatric care as well as the whole field of the relationship of illness and culture.

For pastoral counselling, it becomes clear that a pseudo-scientific and arrogant, imperialistic approach is inadequate, if not misleading. It is futile to merely label as demonic all of what we have insufficient knowledge. Here is a challenge to accept the person and offer a therapeutic milieu, utilising all the resources of Biblical spiritual insights and those of the social sciences.

However, ultimately it is appropriate to label as demonic those phenomena which introduce disintegration instead of integration in persons and community. Suspicion, jealousy, dehumanisation and hatred in the place of good community relationships and acceptance, are demonic.

B. HEALING IN TRADITIONAL ZULU UNDERSTANDING

1. The Traditional Doctors

At the centre of the Zulu traditional understanding of healing is the dominant figure of the *inyanga* (traditional doctor). Westerners have referred to this traditional healer as witchdoctor, native healer, medicine man. In this study the name traditional doctor is preferred. This name well identifies the parameters of his professions and tasks in traditional Zulu society.

(a) The diviners

There are various doctors in traditional Zulu society. There are diagnosticians (*izinyanga zakubhula*) or diviners. They are those who are consulted "to find out" (*ukubona*) who/what caused illness, disharmony or even death in the family. The diviner commands great respect in the society. Different types of diviners use different instruments for diagnosis - for example, bones (*eyamathambo*), sticks (*izabhulo*), thumbs (*izithupa*), echoes of ventrilogues (*imilozi*). (M.V. Gumede).

(b) The therapeuticians

The second group are the therapeuticians (*izinyanga zokulapha*) who can also be divided into two groups - doctors (*izingedla*) and herbalists (*izinyanga zamathambo*). The therapeuticians treat all types of illnesses by using medicines of

different types. In order to practise their profession, traditional doctors have to follow a long and arduous course of study as *udibi* (apprentice or journeyman) under an experienced *inyanga*. Both doctors and herbalists are very knowledgeable of indigenous herbs.

Zulu doctors have over a long period of time and by empirical means collected a vast amount of medicinal herbs for the treatment of various illnesses. A few examples will suffice here. All these herbs grow wild in Zululand. *Umabusana* (Capparis Gueinzie) for the treatment of chest complaints, *umnyezane* (Dovyalis rhamnoides) roots and bark for the treatment of rheumatism, *umnyamathi* (Ekebergia Meyeri) for the treatment of indigestion and heartburn, *umthunduluka* (Ximenia Caffra) or (Natal Plum) for opthalmia, *umsekelo* (pyrenacatha) for impotency and barrenness. Bryant has listed over 200. Many of these herbs form the basis of modern medical practice. (Bryant, 1966:110).

(c) Specialist doctors

(i) *izinyanga zezulu*

(sky herds or heaven herds) (Berglund, 1976), are those specialist doctors who are believed in Zulu society to have power to ward off lightning and thunder and thus keep the homes safe. They make rain fall and keep the pastures green. These are the *izinyanga zezulu* (lit. doctors of the sky). Considering the seriousness of their calling as perceived by the traditional Zulu, they were approached with much awe and respect (Berglund, in Whisson and West, 1975:34).

(ii) *izinyanga zenkosi*

These are the king's or chief's special attendants. They were well respected by the people, since their function was to attend to the king, keeping him strong and healthy. One of the most coveted qualities of these leaders of the people (kings or chiefs) was to stay strong (overpowering dignity and physically) and retain youthful vigour. Hence, rejuvenation was practised if deemed necessary by the *inyangas*.

(iii) *izinyanga zempi*

(army doctors). These were doctors who served the king in a special way. They "doctored" his army, strengthening the warriors. Their aim was primarily to "fortify

the army and keep "Esprit de Corps",... to protect the army from falling under the spell of the charms cast by the *inyangas* of the opposite camp. Herbs called *izintelezi* were used" (Gumede).

These *izinyanga* in the above three categories were all specialists in their fields.

2. Traditional Zulu Doctors' Approach and Practice

It is essential for the purpose of this study to identify the dimension of the concept of the human being and the concept of illness which the traditional doctors brought to their practice. It is also important to look at how these people approached their patients and what traditional philosophy and psychology influenced their approach and practice.

In traditional Zulu society, the *inyanga* fulfills a multi-dimensional role as priest, psychologist, philosopher and medical general practititioner; he practises the art of healing and has an all-encompassing function as an adviser. The Zulu doctor operates in an atmosphere of active involvement with others. The patient is approached within his own cultural milieu. Like other people of Africa, the doctor had a personalised view of life and the universe. In this philosophy of life, "chance does not exist for them. Everything can be explained by such forces and energies as ancestral... spirits, witches and witch familiars" (Holdstock, 1981a).

Zulu understanding of healing stems from the concept that life is holistic. Rational functions of the human being are not perceived as being more important than everything else; wisdom is respected and emphasised as well. This approach to life seems to be common among most of the peoples of Africa. Senghor expressed this observation as follows:

> Classical Europe presents us with a civilisation of discursive reason; classical Africa with a civilisation of intuitive reason (Van Rensburg, 1975 in Holdstock, 1981).

In Western medical care, when human beings are medically treated in a vacuum, their religious/spiritual nature (soul) is neglected. It is a paradox that scientific medical care which has evolved in a cultural milieu permeated by Judaeo-Christian principles, seems to neglect the spiritual nature of the human being in the treatment of illness. The Zulu doctor practises his art within the context of his people's deep religious sentiments. As he approaches a sick person he suspects that the person's relationship with the

ancestors may be disturbed. A restoration of this relationship is part of the treatment. Sacrifice to the ancestors is an essential part of ritualistic treatment. Eventually the success of medical care is attributed not only to the genius of man and effectiveness of the herbs used, but to the power (*amandla*) of the ancestors and *uMvelinqangi*.

Thus, cure of all types of illnesses is ascribed to powers superior to those of mortal human beings; even the *inyanga* himself believes in such power, a religious component, as an integral part of the healing process.

This approach points to medical treatment that acknowledges the religious nature of human beings. The person is not a material body with rational and spiritual components. The person is a whole. Indigenous healing in Africa points to a holistic approach to life. Jan C. Smuts idea of holism relates well to this African approach to life:

> Take yourself, you are whole. We both possess a certain inwardness of spirit and other characteristics that I call personality. But I have found that I have a body, and that all the time I am in touch with something more. I have a vision that extends to the furtherest stars. I have a memory that takes me back to the ages as far as there are records - and sometimes further. Thus you see that any whole has infinite ramifications... Thus we have a great community of wholes, each with its own field interpenetrating into the fields of other wholes (Smuts, 1940:137).

The Zulu doctor, akin to the rest of Africa, takes seriously dreams, intuition, imagination, ritual and symbolism. The combination of these factors contributes to a trust level which has a positive contribution in the treatment of Zulu patients.

According to Zulu belief, healing is the restoration of health (as "balance"), in one's relationships with one's ancestors, extended family, community and society. Absence of "balance" in one of the relationships spells illness (Ngubane, 1976). It is a view that necessitates in-depth counselling in the area of human relationships.

C. PASTORAL COUNSELLING WITHIN THE DYNAMICS OF AFRICAN/ZULU CONCEPTS OF ILLNESS AND HEALTH

In a research project conducted by the author, several Western Christian medical doctors in rural Zululand hospitals were asked: "Do you observe influence by *nyangas* (medicine men) on your patients?" Eight out of ten doctors answered in the affirmative. One had this to say:

> Yes, I do observe influence by Zulu *nyangas*. It is clearly visible, though the patients usually try to hide the fact from one, and are very surprised that I am not cross with them for having gone to the *nyangas* and that I know much more about their traditional medicine than they have expected. The fact that they go to the *nyangas* even after they have been to the hospital previously or that they still go to him, even after they have been cured in the hospital, clearly demonstrates to me that the *inyanga* fulfills a certain need in the patient's spirit which remains neglected in the hospital. I have frequently observed that even leading members of the Christian congregation, including priests, teachers and nurses, will seek the *inyanga* on certain occasions. This fact will never arouse my anger, but rather move me to search more deeply for understanding of those things in which we fall short. The latter must be of deep significance, or else Christians concerned would never take such risks of falling in disfavour with the missionaries. The unanswered needs fall mainly into the field of the spiritual, mystic and irrational components of the human life experience, the awareness of which seem to be more intact in the average African than in the average Westerner (Dr W.B. at Appelsbosch Hospital).

Another missionary medical doctor responded in this way:

> The *inyanga* still plays a big role. A high proportion of our African patients receive treatment from the *inyanga* either before, during or after treatment in the hospital. This serves to regulate the patient's relationship to the supernatural (Dr W.L. at Ceza Hospital).

The above responses are testimony of the role played by traditional medical care in Zulu society. From these responses we can get an idea of the Zulu patient who also presents himself/herself for pastoral counselling. The Zulu patient presents himself/herself for counselling from an holistic perspective of life. Life is not perceived as compartmentalised in a body-mind or religious-secular dichotomy. Life is holistic. The person is a unit. Pain in the body raises questions of a religious nature almost instantly and automatically. Any form of therapy which would neglect the religious nature of the human being is therefore frowned upon. Reality does not consist only of what can be seen and touched. There is a supernatural dimension which has a role to play in sickness and healing.

Evil is not perceived in a theoretical framework, but is concretised in the person of the *umthakathi*. Illness is an area where evil has a definite role to play.

In the context of pastoral counselling in Africa, a person may come to the pastoral counsellor, his/her problem being that someone has caused him/her to fall sick by some form of sorcery. An unempathetic pastor may dismiss this concept of illness as unChristian and superstitious, whereas an empathetic pastoral counsellor will realise that to the person sharing his/her own interpretation of his/her illness, this is a reality. What the person needs is a pastoral approach which acknowledges and takes seriously this particualr frame of

reference. Sorcery, therefore, is conceptualised from the aspect of a particular people's view of life, the concept of the human being, community relationships and religious convictions.

Referring to witchcraft (*kindoki*), Jean Masamba (Zaire) observed:

> *Kindoki* is a complex phenomenon that should not be analysed in separate categories. A wholistic global, multi-dimensional understanding of this belief is necessary, if we were to explore some of the treasure of human capacity behind it. *Kindoki* has brought hatred, aggression, fear, division, illness, and even death (Masamba, 1972:126).

Focussing on the human capacity behind belief in witchcraft or sorcery, it then becomes possible to counsel a person who believes that he/she has been bewitched or that sorcery has been practised on him/her. A person believing that he/she is bewitched, conceptualises the universe as "having not only physical properties verifiable to man (sic.) by instruments, but also containing non-physical properties. It is non-physical, because it is not enslaved by space, time and matter" (Masamba, 1972:127).

Masamba's findings in Zaire are consistent with those of the Zulu in that the Zulu too believe that the human being has potential to be in touch not only with other persons, but with the physical and non-physical properties of the environment. It is a person with this view of life whom the counsellor meets in the Zulu milieu.

Besides this general view of life, belief in sorcery reflects also the personality of the believer. It reflects a certain personality characteristic, that of responding to complex conflicts in interpersonal relationships by scape-goating. The threatening force is identified as being outside the person. The person believing in sorcery may be counselled from the perspective of personality development. The pastoral counsellor must be willing to walk with the person believing in sorcery to discover, inter alia, the psychological and religious problems which trouble him/her.

Belief in sorcery itself must not be viewed as negative by the pastoral counsellor. The value is in reflecting the person's nature of relating to others, feeling about others, his/her concept of the human being and cosmology. These are made available to the pastoral counsellor since they are concretised in a particular belief and concept of illness. The pastoral counsellor must utilise this view to identify things threatening to the personality and thus counsel the person appropriately.

It seems appropriate, therefore, to conclude that belief in sorcery has both negative and positive aspects. Positively, in traditional Zulu society, paradoxically enough, it serves to sustain the practice of good familial and neighbourly relationships. The command to love one's neighbour seems to run as a thread through all religions. A person who cannot live in harmonious relationship with the extended family, community and clan members, who also is proud, egoistic, selfish, jealous and cruel, is suspected of practising sorcery. No person, therefore, would like to be suspected of sorcery. In this way the belief was a constant reminder to live in harmonious relationship with others. It was a most effective deterrent.

Needless to say, this belief also entrenches suspicion and "witch hunting". It makes the whole Zulu environment alive with destructive powers, constantly threatening to destroy the human being from every side. This causes fear among the people. This is a negative role, as it incapacitates personality growth.

Another area of illness mentioned in this study is spirit-possession. Such a phenomenon needs to be viewed from a religious perspective as well as from psychological and sociological perspectives. It is this holistic approach which makes it possible to counsel a person who believes that he/she is possessed by a spirit. For pastoral counselling also, it is appropriate to analyse the dynamics in operation in spirit-possession.

Ngubane's observations that spirit-possession needs to be analysed and understood also from a sociological and psychological point of view is helpful for a pastoral counsellor. She states:

> If we accept that spirit possession of the *ufufunyane*[1] type is symptomatic of various forms of extreme depression or nervous breakdown, such precautions become understandable as people who have experienced such mental confusion become vulnerable in situations of stress and strain. They must exercise caution and avoid situations of anxiety or strenuous mental exertion.
>
> What I am suggesting is that the notion of evil-spirit possession among the Zulu is an idiom to handle escalating incidence of psychoneurosis often associated with failure to cope with the changing way of life in a colonial and post-colonial industrial society. (Sibisi, in Whisson and West, 1975:57).

In order that pastoral counselling can be useful to the Zulu, the person must be understood in the context of African life and culture and his/her own creative attempt to make meaning of life even in crisis situations. In fact, it is in crisis situations that the toughest challenge is waged against the human personality, challenging one's deepest beliefs.

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(1) Psychiatric disease, often interpreted among the Zulu as caused by sorcerers.

This chapter has surveyed traditional conception of illness and health. Further, this study has also shown that these traditional concepts still persist and survive even among some educated and Christian Zulu. This does not merely reveal Zulu stubbornness in embracing the new, but it reveals the fact that embedded in the Zulu conceptualisation of illness and health is a particular and specific view of life. This view of life, even when the African becomes a Christian, should be taken seriously as he/she does not suddenly discard it. It is only as pastoral counselling is open to realistic contributions by disciplined analysis of Zulu concepts of illness, like the belief in sorcery, that it can contribute as it responds to the deeper quest of the human personality. This is one of the things which the dialogical model calls for. The holistic view of life is a positive response which must be encouraged in every way possible. Pastoral counselling in Africa needs to take this view seriously. Chapter VII will further pay attention to these observations and identify possible practical directions.

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CHAPTER VI

EFFECTS OF WESTERN ECONOMY AND MIGRANT LABOUR ON THE ZULU PERSON AND FAMILY

This chapter aims at highlighting the dynamics in the meeting of Western with African culture, the focus being on the socio-economic sphere in the South African context. Influences which have challenged the traditional African way of life will be outlined. Such a change in way of life does not happen without disorganisation and disintegration. Fortunately, thanks to human resilience, "an equally important process which goes on simultanesouly with disorganisation is that of reorganisation and re-integration" (Vilakazi, 1962:136).

The present focus on the socio-economic sphere, which is often perceived as an arena of economists, politicians and sociologists, further underlines the argument of this thesis that the context of pastoral care and counselling has economic, political and social dimensions. It is multi-faceted. It is not the intention of this chapter to deal with these aspects in detail as specialists in these fields would. The primary intention is to highlight the negative influences on the Zulu person who ends up presenting himself/herself for counselling to a pastor. Such socio-economic concerns are not specifically addressed by Western pastoral counselling.

Change occurs within any culture as all cultures are not static but dynamic. They are influenced by other cultures with which they come into contact. However, in Africa, Western culture simply overwhelmed the continent giving the African no opportunity for free selection (Buthelezi, in Lutheran World, 1968:114-123). Simultaneously the indigenous people in Southern Africa were being pushed aside to such an extent that they had to live on the fringes of the full benefits of a Western economy. This impoverished way of life continues to be in stark contrast to the hitherto satisfying, traditional, self-sufficient African economy, in this study represented by the Zulu (Krige, 1985; Vilakazi, 1962).

The fact that the Africans since the times of Jan van Riebeeck were cast to the periphery of a Western economy means that a large majority of the people of this country are denied the experience of the wholeness of life. Here lies the full implication of apartheid society. Thus apartheid goes far beyond the denial of political rights to destructive influences on the human personality.

Since our interest in this study is to progressively reconstruct the African person who presents himself/herself for pastoral counselling, it is essential that the effects of the migratory labour system be presented against the background of African traditional life. This would serve as a useful tool in the diagnosis of the inner tensions and anxiety which unfortunately have become

part of the modern African life. Migrant labour is a facet of the apartheid system which is oppressive to the Africans in South Africa.

A. CONFLICTS IN THE ENCOUNTER OF AFRICA AND THE WEST IN THE CONCEPT OF PROPERTY AND LAND

The encounter of the West and Africa as witnessed in South Africa, is a spectacle of conflict.

History records clearly that when the white people arrived on the southern shores of the continent of Africa, they found people who had made permanent settlement in these areas. Richard Turner's observations are not only perceptive but record an historical fact:

> In 1652 South Africa was inhabited, from the Cape to the Limpopo, by self-governing peoples. It was logically possible for Europeans to have requested to immigrate subject to the laws of the local people and to have offered, in return, to share their technical skills with the inhabitants. This, after all, is the type of implicit agreement made by immigrants today, whether they be British artisans going to Australia or Indian doctors going to Britain. Did anything like this happen in 1652 or afterwards, and if not, why not? (Turner, 1980:23).

The type of approach to the people of South Africa which Turner suggests was unfortunately never practised by the early settlers in this country as they were too arrogant. Had such an approach been adopted, we could say there was a normal acculturisation. As dynamic as the process is, it does not mean that it occurs only in the context of exploitation. History records that approaches to the Africans were aggressive and abrasive in nature. Even Jan van Riebeeck supports our observation:

> The reason advanced by them (Hottentots) for... making wars against us last year, arising out of the complaints... that our people, living at a distance and without our knowledge, had done them much injury, and also perhaps stolen and eaten up some of their sheep and calves etc., in which there is also some truth, and which it is very difficult to keep the common people from doing when a little out of our sight; so that they think they have cause for revenge, and especially, they said, upon people who had come to take and occupy the land which had been their own in all ages, turning with the plough and cultivating permanently their best land, and keeping them off the ground upon which they had been accustomed to pasture there, so that they must consequently now seek thier subsistence by depasturing the land of other people, from which nothing could arise but disputes with their neighbours, insisting so strenuously upon the point of restoring to them their own land that we were at length compelled to say they had entirely forfeited that right through the war which they had waged against us, and that we were not inclined to restore it, as it has now become the property of the company by the sword and the laws of war. (Oxford History of South Africa, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, p.65, as quoted by Turner, 1980:23).

It must have been indeed as puzzling for Africans of those early days of intitial contact, as it is to Africans today, to understand why people who claimed to be custodians of a better, even "superior" culture acted in this way. Disputes and aggression over land dominated from the beginning:

> Occupation of land by the whites resulting in pressure on the land resources of the local people, conflicts between the local tribes, war and white victory, followed by a 'lack of inclination' to return the land: that is the history of South Africa (Turner, 1980:24).

Foreign aggression was indisputably demonstrated in the manner in which foreigners acquired land from the indigenous peoples. For the Zulu, as it was for most Africans, such disrespect for a people's rights to occupy and cultivate the land, which was always passed from one generation to the next, was dehumanising. It must be remembered that, for the African, the soil around where one was born is of great significance. Hence, the Zulu would use expressions like: *Kulapho lapho ikhona eyami inkaba* (lit. this is where my umbilical cord is) or *Yithina umnsinsi wokuzimelela lapha* (lit. we are the indigenous Kaffirboom here). The place of one's birth retains at all times the atmosphere of a shrine. Many Africans are known to have returned to places of their birth for inspiration, renewal and for moments of special decision-making. Unfortunately, Westerners coming into contact with Africa had a totally different conception of land and land ownership, and this became an area for conflict. Basically, the African conception opposed a capitalist view. Julius Nyerere articulates this, when he states:

> And in reflecting the capitalist attitude of mind which colonialism brought into Africa, we must reflect also the capitalist methods which go with it. One of these is the individual ownership of land. To us in Africa land was always recognised as belonging to the community. Each individual within our community had a right to use the land, because otherwise he (sic) could not earn his living, and one cannot have the right to life without also having the right to some means of maintaining life. But the African's right to land was simply the right to use, He had no right to it, nor did he attempt to claim one (Nyerere, 1968:7).

The point of conflict in the African's mind was caused only by several factors. The Westerner introduced a hitherto unheard of concept of land as a marketable commodity and, instead of presenting themselves as decent guests, in the spirit suggested by Turner, they aggressively claimed vast amounts of land as their newly found colonies. Africans were not approached by Westerners as people of dignity nor as those who had rights over the land which they occupied. Had their approach been humane, as Richard Turner says, the Westerners could have negotiated the right to immigrate and avoided a mere aggressive assertion of their presence and right of ownership of the African land.

Indeed the question of approach is central in the meeting of representatives of alien cultures. In Chapter III the implication of this was discussed from the perspective of mission work among the Zulu.

The introduction in Africa of a Western money economy was part of introducing the Western way of life (*impilo yabelungu*). This was not preceded by negotiation; it was simply part of Western presence in which Africans had no say or option.

In order to adequately demonstrate support for the thesis that the Western approach created a considerable conflict in the African's mind, before further Western influences are dealt with, the Zulu traditional economy will be discussed.

B. THE SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF THE ZULU TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

A. Vilakazi characterises the Zulu economy in the following way:

> In traditional Zulu society, there is no Zulu economy in a sense of national economy. The Zulu practised kraal economy. This is basic to the whole economic life of the people. All property, whether in land or in cattle, is within the *umuzi* which may be regarded as one body of individuals who share in the use and enjoyment of the products of the people so corporately held. The powers of control of property are vested in the kraal head who acts as a trustee for the whole group (Vilakazi, 1962:111).

In the Zulu economy everything was centered on the family and its relation as a unit to the nation, under the jurisdiction of the king. Persons were constantly in relationship with others within a matrix moulded primarily by these two institutions.

Traditionally, the Africans on the South-Eastern part of the continent of Africa, were a pastoral people. They reared cattle and goats. Although livestock was their main capital, they also cultivated land, raising maize and sorghum (*amabele*). These crops supplied their basic foodstuff. It was within the context of the kraal that the Zulu economy was self-sufficient. There were no forces generating a vacuum which could be filled only by imported commodities. All the material needs of the people were provided locally. This created a feeling of security.

The execution of the necessary duties by members of a household was carried out according to clearly defined division of labour. This division of labour was based upon gender and age. It was men who attended to rougher tasks requiring tougher muscles; to women fell the work that required continuous attention (Krige, 1985:184). Among duties commonly

assigned to men were the following: Caring for cattle and milking them, clearing of bushes where new fields were to be started, building of huts, woodwork, providing the supply of skins for attire of both men and women, work as blacksmiths or in other specialised skills. Among duties assigned to women were housework, which included cleaning of the huts; cooking, including beer-making; fetching of firewood, looking after babies, hoeing the fields and planting and weeding, reaping crops, grinding maize and sorghum, as well as other domestic chores.

Young people also had tasks asssigned to them from time to time. The assignments clearly took age and sex into consideration. Young boys mostly helped around the home, while older boys spent most of the time looking after cattle and goats. It was during these activities that they learned about nature - their own bodies, plants and animals. The traditional Zulu knowledge in this field is surprisingly extensive (Bryant, 1983:80). Besides these lessons about nature, Zulu boys also learned how to accept themselves as males (Krige, 1985).

It may be suggested that it was this clearly defined concept which discouraged among the Zulu unacceptable deviant behaviour like homosexuality. This is frowned upon even today in African society.

The girls were also, quite early, assigned tasks which are traditionally assigned to females. Each age group had special tasks assigned to it. They learned from their mothers and older sisters, by observation and practice of those tasks.

The economic value of cattle was central in the Zulu traditional economy (Krige, 1985:28). It was cattle which provided meat and *amasi* (sour milk), "the mainstay of the Zulu diet" (Krige), hides, shields, attire for men and women, payment of lobola and doctors' fees in times of illness, slaughtering in times of sacrificial parties. Cattle had a ritual significance among the Zulu. They were regarded not merely as domestic animals, kept primarily for their utility, but as an essential part of the village (Krige, 1985:189).

In the contact of Africa with the West this was one point of conflict, for the Zulu could not "conceive of existence without his beloved cattle" (Krige, 1985:89). For white foreigners it was simple to give the Zulu instructions to the effect that they should get rid of some of their cattle and keep only a few.

Traditionally, the land was assigned to each homestead, to be used for building and for agricultural purposes. In the main, the work of cultivation was the domain of women. Perhaps this was adopted for pragmatic reasons as men were often out on hunting

expeditions or war. On other occasions they had to attend to duties at the royal kraal, representing the family and clan. This was part of their national obligation.

C. SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE TRADITIONAL SETTING

In the African traditional setting, the family was a socio-economic unit. Practically, in the Zulu economy, there was no unemployment. Each person had his/her own role to fulfill in this economic system. Therefore, even the aged men and women never lost usefulness in the life of the family. Among other things, they were responsible for the telling of tales in the evenings, and to attend to baby-sitting tasks while younger women worked in the fields. The family was therefore expected to be a self-sufficient economic unit under normal circumstances (Buthelezi, in Lutheran World, 1968:118).

Manas Buthelezi summarised succintly the African traditional economy when he stated that:

> Work was an integral part of the life one found oneself in. The givenness of life was inseparable from the givenness of the need to contribute to its maintenance. It was as the person participated in the network of reciprocal obligations that he (sic) realised his true humanity. The socio-economic system ensured that no one in need was without a neighbour to attend to his needs. The family was the key factor in making this possible (Buthelezi, in Lutheran World, 1968:117).

It is clear that the picture painted here is that of a self-sufficient economy with each person fulfilling his/her role in reciprocal obligations. This created a context in which persons knew exactly what was expected of them. This contributed to some satisfaction in this type of life. This is a contrast to modern life in South Africa.

D. MISSION STATIONS AS BRIDGES TO A WESTERN ORIENTATED CAPITALIST SOCIETY

The Zulu up to the year 1879 lived in relative self-sufficiency. In 1879 the Zulu faced British invasion and conquest during the reign of King Cetshwayo. It was only after that that they were introduced to the South African economy. They were not "integrated" into it, as Simensen suggests (Simensen, 1989:189). The Zulu, like the rest of the Africans in South Africa, lived on the fringes of modern Western South African economy. The missionary enterprise, although it was a religious undertaking where religious motives should take the upper hand, did have a part to play in this economic interchange.

A sociological analysis, focused on Zululand, showed it to be a self-sufficient economy not pulled by forces which could not be satisfied locally. In the encounter of the missionaries and the Zulu a vacuum of need, which could not be satisfied from local resources, was created. To take one example, that of Bishop Hans Schreuder of the Lutherans. The way for him to do mission work in Zululand opened through Western medical work. King Mpande had suffered for a long time with rheumatic pains. After treatment by Schreuder, the king was healed. King Mpande gave Schreuder the long sought permission to work in Zululand - "You may live, build and teach my people at Impanga, and heal me when I am sick" (Lewis, 1965).

As missionary work extended into Zululand, the Zulu were being introduced not only to the Gospel but to European material benefits as well (in this case, to Western medicine). Further, the missionaries acquainted, especially the political "elite", with European goods, from blankets, cloths, pearls, ox-wagons, cotton sheets to matches. It is reported that the King Cetshwayo was equipped with a suit, a hat and a walking stick. His sisters received dresses from Bergen, Norway (Simensen, 1986:192). Africans around mission stations were in possession of Western implements like axes, hoes, ploughs, hand-operated grinding mills, saws and other things.

The missionaries perceived the putting off of African style attire and the putting on of Western dress to be part of the conversion process. Given the resources available in Zululand, it was not possible to acquire Western clothing. Therefore, this meant that converts had to go away from home to find places where they could work in order to acquire money to buy Western clothing. A vacuum had been created which could only be filled by acquiring material goods within the boundaries of a Western economy.

The missionaries also introduced Africans to a new conception of land ownership. People in the mission stations or farms were told that the mission station was a portion of land which the missionary himself owned in trust, as the money to acquire it had come from an overseas mission agency. On the other hand, indigenous Christians were not yet ready to hold property as a fully-fledged "self-supporting" church would. People who settled in the mission stations or farms were allocated by the missionary himself plots of land which they were told were theirs to cultivate. This land did not belong to the chief anymore (Jorgenson, 1987:321).

This practice of the missionaries was not universal, although it seems to have been used widely in Zululand and in the Transvaal, especially by German missionaries (Delius, 1986:70). The change of the conception and practice of land ownership belonged to the new order and was gradually to replace the old traditional way of life.

Unfortunately, the introduction of the Africans to the new concept of land ownership was inadequate. It was only in rare cases that they were encouraged to buy their own land. In Natal there were several places where missionaries introduced a new concept of land ownership; the well-known ones being Edendale, Groutville and Driefontein. It was in places like these that a new class of Africans was formed. These were a new breed of educated and Christian Zulu who were pioneers of a new era - *onenhlevu* (Vilakazi, 1962:120).

As this new economic system was being introduced to the Africans, "missionaries believed that the tribal communal pattern of economic organisation was vicious and had to be destroyed and replaced by individualism and private enterprise" (Vilakazi, 1962:121). This attitude reflects failure to appreciate an alternative approach to life, naturally different from the Western view. In fact, most of the missionaries believed that the Zulu were profiting from a Western economy and that the benefits were beyond only material gains. Missionary Hans Astrup had this to say of the new developments:

> Such a traffic may soon change the conditions, laws etc. in a country... This also serves to break down traditional rights, prejudices and customs among the Zulus. Thus the gold mammon which frequently brings so much evil, may indirectly serve the progress of the Gospel (Quoted in Simensen, 1986:226).

To summarise, as it has also been highlighted in Chapter II, the missionaries in their contact with the Zulu in the process of Christianisation passed on more than the "naked" Gospel. They also passed on their culture, which included, of course, material goods which were an integral part of the Western way of life. Africans were enticed indirectly, even at times unintentionally on the side of the missionaries, to a money economy. Thus it became almost natural to venture out to seek work in the diamond and gold mines in order to satisfy their newly aroused needs.

This marks the beginning of the African involvement in the labour market. It also marks the beginning of the migratory labour system which has had and continues to have far reaching effects on the African way of life on personal and family levels. In this connection, we would say that migrant labour threatens the very foundation of the satisfying traditional Zulu way of life (*impilo yomdabu*) which was discussed earlier in this chapter (G. Kruss, "The Independent Churches in South Africa", M.A. Thesis, UCT, 1986). Another influential factor was the contribution of pioneering traders who posted themselves in isolated places to trade with Africans. Later on some of these traders were to become recruiters, recruiting men to go and work in the mines.

E. MIGRANT LABOUR AS AN ASPECT OF AN APARTHEID SOCIETY

Industrialisation is one of the major forces that have revolutionised the traditional Zulu way of life in Africa. Education and Chrisitianity were two other main forces bearing upon an otherwise dynamic Zulu culture. Therefore, the Zulu traditional way of life should not be seen as something static, something that has always been preserved in its purity. Research shows that there has been a dynamic encounter. However the Zulu traditional way of life persists in some form or another; it colours people's view of life even today (Vilkazi, 1960).

The modern Zulu lives in a way drastically different from his/her forebears. This is due mainly to the influences of Western cultural norms, Christianity and economic interchange. This phenomenon is not bad in itself, as other cultures have had such influences in their contact with the West. However, what seems to be a peculiar South African problem is that, although the Zulu were introduced to a "new way of life", they were denied the experience of the wholeness of life. Therefore, as traditional values were being undermined implicitly or explicitly, there was no adequate substitute. Hence the resultant conflict.

An analysis of the factors behind the Zulu decision to sell their labour on labour markets and become part of a monetary economy, identifies an impact of what has been called in sociological terms the "push" and "pull" factors in the inducement (Buthelezi, 1968:117).

Zulu did not willingly accept migrant labour and the new labour conditions. It was primarily the "push" and "pull" factors. Their limited areas in the rural countryside were progressively becoming poor and they had to pay taxes (push factor), and they also needed Western clothing (pull factor), which they were told they had to use as Christians. Work lost its former quality of being an integral part of life in a community where there were reciprocal relationships. One could hardly reconcile oneself with this new type of work, in which one was occupied only for the sake of the demands of a monetary economy. No wonder the Zulu coined phrases which characterise their attitude to the new type of work. Performing a rather tedious job, when they intentionally want to slow down, they say: *Umsebenzi womlungu awuqedwa* (you can't finish a white man's piece of work). This phrase clearly indicates that Zulus do not find simple, hard manual labour particularly interesting, creative or stimulating. This fact is often forgotten in dealing with Zulu labourers. Zulus often accept jobs which are not particularly interesting to them, merely in order to be paid a salary to support themselves and their families.

1. Identification of the Origins of Migrant Labour in South Africa

The participants of a Missiological Institute on Migrant Labour at Umphumulo in 1970 defined a migrant labourer as "a person temporarily in the city, town or farm for the purpose of work only, and without his family." A further characteristic of the migrant labourer is one "who oscillates between home and country area and the place of work in the urban area or farm" (Wilson in Berglund, 1970:172). This definition "includes both the voluntary migrant labourer and the one who would settle permanently at the place of work, if he and his family were allowed to do so" (ibid).

The South African problem emerges precisely at this point; Africans are not given free choice as far as their families are concerned. They are forced into the migrant labour system in order to earn money. The migratory way of life is not an option to them.

Migrant labour has a long history in South Africa. In fact, it started with the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867. It was this discovery of diamonds which facilitated the development of an industrial economy (Leistner, 1963:4). As the traditional rural person moved into the new industrial area, he became a wage earner and was thus introduced to a money economy. He had to leave behind familiar rural surroundings, closely knit family and community; their security and support were sadly missed.

There are people who support and propagate a theory that Africans offered their labour in an otherwise inhumane and tedious environment, because leaving his family behind and staying in all male hostels satisfied the African's former urge as a hunter:

> Traditionally the Bantu man was a hunter and stockowner while the women tilled the soil and grew the crops. When the stabilisation of wandering tribes in delimited areas, together with the peace and health measures brought by the whites, led to the growing population pressure on the natural resources, he had to choose: He could become a tiller of the soil or sell his labour to the white man. The choice was as a rule not difficult to make.
>
> By offering their labour "wherever, whenever and as long as it pleased them", the Bantu were able to continue in some measure the wandering and the adventurous life they had known as warriors (Tomlinson Report, 1955:72, quoted by Leistner, 1963:50).

Such an assessment fails to appreciate the predicament in which the African found himself when he encountered the new situation of a Western economy. To take one example, it is said that the African could have chosen to be a tiller of the ground, if he

liked. How could he manage to do so when much of his traditionally assigned land had been expropriated by white people? There was no choice. Tax measures were introduced to force him to go to the urban areas as a migrant labourer, to earn money so that he could pay tax.

Looking at all the issues surrounding migrant labour, a valid conclusion seems to be that the African was forced to comply. This was not because leaving his family behind particularly satisfied his urge "as a hunter". It was a matter of the pressure of needs upon him (Delius, 1983:223). Sociologists, economists and politicians have dealt with the migrant labour system in South Africa. These studies have highlighted the unfairness of this system and various effects of the system.

The present study aims to show how migrant labour affects the Zulu person and family. This is done from the central perspective of this study, pastoral psychological considerations. Industrialisation and Westernisation and the practice of migratory labour in South Africa, created for the Zulu a situation which was exactly the opposite of their former traditional economy in which each person knew exactly what was expected of him/her.

Migrant labour in South Africa is representative of the multi-faceted Western influence in Africa. This study argues that it is impossible to look at a person or institution in the Zulu context while neglecting the traditional background. Therefore, influences on the Zulu person and family must be considered while keeping this traditional background in mind. This is justified, because a human being is not a tabula rasa.

Going to the city to sell one's labour is not bad in itself. In fact, when Africans realised that this was the better option, they decided to save themselves and their families from the looming crisis of hunger. They were also enabled to acquire money which they needed in order to buy Western style goods and to pay compulsory taxes. However, an acute problem arises when the migrant labourer is denied the full benefits to which his employers are entitled. He becomes a means to an end only. Aziza Seedat portrays this picture when he states:

> It is admitted that black labour is needed in the white areas. But as former Prime Minister John Vorster said, "the fact that they work for us can never entitle them to claim political rights. Not now, not in the future. It makes no difference whether they are here with any degree of permanency or not" (Debates, 24 June 1968, in Seedat, 1984:8).

Seedat is correct in saying that this statement is fundamental to the apartheid policy in modern times. It is this policy which undergirds the migrant labour system, not only endorsed but firmly supported by the present Nationalist government. Time will tell what the present statements (1988), of the willingness to change will amount to in terms of this policy. It will be most interesting from the vantage point of the present study, to see whether this will change the way in which Africans are treated at their places of work, for inhumanity to persons contradicts the very foundation of pastoral care and counselling.

The above discussion has been mainly from a sociological perspective. In the following paragraphs the relevance of these observations to pastoral counselling will be shown. This is done by highlighting the effects of migrant labour on the African personality. The intention is to identify how migrant labour affects the African personality which merits a unique pastoral counselling approach.

F. PASTORAL PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATION OF MIGRANT LABOUR IN THE ZULU CONTEXT

The concern of this section is primarily pastoral. Areas will be highlighted which influence the African person presenting himself/herself for counselling. This influence will be considered primarily on the level of the individual (especially influence on personality development and influences on the adult later in life).

1. The Crippling of the Family

For the practice of pastoral counselling, the family is considered to be the cornerstone of every society. In the earlier presentation of family life in traditional society, there was an emphasis on each person enjoying a reciprocal relationship in the context of a family. It seems that God was at work maintaining his creation using the Zulu extended family long before the Zulu heard of Christianity. Therefore, even in a non-Christian family we witness what God has put together and what no man should put asunder.

Some white Christians employing migrant labourers may have difficulty appreciating the problems of a migrant labourer separated from his family. This could be due to the fact that they may not see non-Christian marriage in the same way as they would their Chrisitian ones and believe that polygamous men do not take their wives and children as seriously as monogamous men do. It is important to note, however, that given their cultural context these people took the family seriously. Therefore, living far from their

families is just as disturbing for the Zulu as it would be to a Westerner and migrant labour is certainly detrimental to Zulu family life. It is detrimental not only to the family as an anthropological and sociological unit, but on a deeper level it affects adversely personality development.

South African society is based on the ideology and practice of apartheid. Apartheid has many facets, each reflecting the evil of this system. Yet none is so vicious as when it is the source of the break-up of families among the African people (Collins, 1968). Families make up a nation. Therefore, the crippling of the family eventually cripples the whole nation. Various facets of the effects on the family of the migratory labour system will now be presented in order to highlight the challenge in the development of African pastoral studies. Although there are no ready-made solutions, African pastoral studies have to develop within such a context.

(i) Onslaught on the role of the family head

The main characteristic of migrant labour is that:

> Oscillating migration occurs when men's homes are so far from their work that they cannot commute daily and see their families only weekly, monthly, yearly, or even less frequently. Migrant labourers thus include both seasonal farm workers and people in jobs for which there is less fluctuation in demand (Wilson, 1972: Preface).

Wilson presents an objective picture of migratory labour in which he shows that it is a world-wide phenomenon. However, he also presents the uniqueness of the South African migratory labour system. He does this by presenting findings from his research project and includes his own reflections. Of the uniqueness of the South African context, he says it is mainly the compulsory nature of migratory labour that makes it different from that of other countries. Black South African males do not leave their wives and children in rural areas while they go and work in urban areas, by choice (Wilson, 1972:193).

Migrant labour practice generates role conflict because the new situation of migratory labour contradicts the traditional African way of life. In traditional Zulu society a person lived with an extended family which capitalised on reciprocal relationships. Everyone had his/her role to play. The place of the family head, the *umnumzane* could not be substituted by any male who was simply available. He was the sole representative of the family in matters pertaining to the relationship of his family and the wider community. He had to negotiate with authorities in matters

of ownership of land for fields (*imibango yemincele yamasimu*). As the family head, he had also a trusteeship role in terms of his own immediate family, as well as his brothers' wives and children, should his brothers not be at hand to fulfill their obligations. It is difficult to imagine the tremendous amount of tension generated in a responsible African man should he not be able to fulfill these traditionally assigned duties.

Further, this whole new character of work has psychologically a far more dehumanising role than is often recognised. It lacks the traditional dignity formerly associated with work as the following example shows: Some men, after working for years on the mines as contract workers, proceed to the city suburbs where they sometimes find jobs as male domestic workers. They are given "kitchen uniforms" - white or khaki shorts with matching shirts. It is from this uniform that they got their Zulu nickname - *okishini* (kitchen boys). The hitherto proud sons of chiefs and *indunas* (chief's counsellor), husbands and fathers take a humiliating role of those who have to do jobs which were never done by men in traditional society. *Umnumzane* (Mr) Khoza becomes another John, or simply "boy". The surname, the well-cherished *isibongo*, often accompanied by family praise names - *izithakazelo*, e.g. *Khoza Mlilo/ wena kaNkanyezi*, etc, was discarded by the European employers. This is not only humiliating but is traumatic to personal identity. The looming questions are: "After all, who am I? What is my worth as a person and as a man?" Absalom Vilakazi articulately describes this condition:

> But when resistance failed, when the white man's gun proved itself superior, the traditionalist lost morale, lost all the manhood and become subservient to the white man. The men accepted menial jobs and reached their final degradation, even in their own estimation, when they became "kitchen boys". It was then that we began to witness the spectacle of the once strong, proud men working for and under, and cowing (sic) to women in white kitchens, and doing jobs which in their cultures would bring them ridicule. These strong and proud men were so broken that they were reduced to an army of kitchen boys (Vilakazi, 1962:144).

Psychologically speaking, the African man began to live in two worlds. In the white man's world, where he lives to earn a living, he is dehumanised to a subservient position. It is only when he returns to his traditional setting that he experiences that he is a human being again. Indeed, this causes a kind of schizophrenic exisitence, a far cry from the hitherto satisfying and life-affirming traditional setting in which he experienced the wholeness of life. Now his personality and integrity is no longer intact. He is now insecure about his role; this insecurity may manifest itself behaviourally in different ways.

Since the raising of children is the task of both parents in normal society, it is extremely stressful to raise children as a single parent. It is this unnatural role that many African mothers have to fulfill. This situation creates a tremendous strain for the family. The mother over-extends herself and fails to gain psychological satisfaction in raising the children. The children lack the male model in their development.

After their term in the urban setting, migrant labourers return home to be with the families again. This is again problematic. The migrant worker experiences an ambivalent situation, so well articulated by a migrant worker Simon Tshabalala:

> You go home to rest. You are there for too short a time to think of anything else. Your Makoti will bring a string of complaints - the children haven't been listening to her, she cannot work the land by herself, she needs more money, there is repairing to be done, she thinks we should buy another goat to replace the one that died, and so on. I can talk to the children and, when I am gone, will they be any different? So I don't quarrel with them. I let them be. About all the other things - well, I am not like other men who get mad at their wives because they make the home-coming a time for nagging. I say she must be patient. I spend my few days visiting my friends and drinking with them the beer my wife has made and playing my music. You can become a man again at home. That's what I go home for and my wife is learning (Meer and Mlaba, 1983:166).

Here Tshabalala gives an account of his experience of returning home. He has well articulated what many a sociologist could take volumes trying to explain. He summarises the whole experience thus: "You can become a man again at home. That's why I go home." There must be something radically wrong with a society that allows a majority of its menfolk "to become men" only once for four weeks per annum. It is a pathetic picture indeed. Tshabalala's assessment of his situation is, however, superficial. There are more things happening than he is able to articulate.

Migrant labour has made Tshabalala an inrresponsible, lazy and pleasure-seeking person when he is at home. He does not guide his children nor his wife with decisions for the good of the family. He hands everything over to her with a cold consolation that "my wife is learning". In his personality the man has become extremely passive and ineffective as husband and father. He further lacks self-insight.

There is nothing his wife is learning. Instead her frustration is heightened, especially when he is home and spends the time going around entertaining himself in beer parties, instead of fulfilling his responsibilities as husband and father.

The liquor which Tshabalala uses as an escape route, may end up enslaving him. The man may end up in the pastoral counselling office with complicated intra-psychic and interpersonal problems meriting unique pastoral counselling rather than merely focusing on alcoholism as a disease.

The wife's frustration may lead to a threatening divorce. This study argues, therefore, that given the South African context, the pastoral counsellor should not be conversant only with the art of marriage counselling (developed in a Western context) but he/she should also be aware of contextual issues that keep infringing negatively on the marital relationship.

Concerning children, migrants feel that they see too little of them and become like strangers. They do not have adequate time to discipline them. Fathers know that many of them have got out of hand. As parents, they feel helpless to deal with such a situation. Fathers have become too passive and leave all the responsibility of raising the children to the wives. The influence on the child of the absence of the father will be dealt with later in this chapter.

(ii) Husband-wife relationship

The migrant labour system puts asunder what God has joined. This separation of spouses exerts unnecessary strain on marriages. The most honest of men would find it most trying to be away from his wife for the whole year. Of course, this is unnatural for the wife also.

Absalom Vilakazi in his research work among the Nyuswa (Zulu) observed that it was among the non-traditionalist Zulu that he found people who rebelled against the old culture and also had acute marital problems. In the city, where these people work and stay, they try to solve their problems of being away from home for too long a time by adopting a city life-style. According to Vilakazi, this group often landed itself in marital problems. The group investigated had wives in the rural areas, whom they had left behind because of the laws prohibiting their entry into the city. They attempt to solve the problem by establishing steady relationships with city or township women. They soon find out that these women are smart, forward and uninhibited. They know how to cook a good tasty meal, brew good tea or coffee or even manage to get European liquor (Vilakazi 1962:146). Thus rural men are often convinced that such women are good to have around and such

association demonstrates one's achievement of having adapted successfully in an urban setting.

In this process of unhealthy adaptation, the gap widens between men and their rural wives. The rural wives are mainly appreciated for their ability in fulfilling household duties. For it is they who attend to the children and the aged and all domestic chores. They also supervise the looking after livestock, the latter being a duty fomerly assigned to men. With the menfolk being away the women have to take over this job as well. Generally the men in the city do not become blind to the value of *abafazi basekhaya* (home wives). They are often appreciated. However, there are those who go astray, turning their backs on their rural families - *abadliwa zintaba* (disappear beyond mountains) as the Zulu say. This happens because, among other things, "the cultural lag between migrant worker husbands and reserve wives plays havoc with their marital relations" (Vilakazi, 1962:147).

(iii) Illegitimacy, prostitution and homosexuality

As Francis Wilson has correctly observed, it would be superficial to ascribe all illegitimacy, prostitution and homosexuality in African communities to the migratory labour system (Wilson, 1972:189). However, the practice of forcing husbands and wives to live separated from one another, does contribute to these social problems.

Migrant labour contradicts the very core of a Christian ethic. Basically most ethical principles concerning marriage are meant to protect spouses, so that they may experience the wholeness of life. Indeed these tenets are meant to help in the ordering of relationships.

This section attempts to show how the modern practice of migrant labour erodes healthy family life. In traditional Zulu society, people knew what was expected of them. This contributed to emotional wellbeing. Husband and wife or wives stayed together, with the exception when men were out at the King's Court for duties assigned to them, hunting, or at war. Since they were around most of the time, they took care of educating children, which included disciplining them.

Further, African culture emphasises the extended family. The extended family acts as a padded shock-absorber which is always helpful in crisis situations. To give a example: the custom of *ukungena* (levirate), psychologically was meant to relieve the mental anguish of a young widow. She knew that her husband's

brothers would take care of her and the children. Sexual needs would also be taken care of within the security of an extended family so that the primary human task, that of raising children, is adequately taken care of. However, primarily, it was caring for the widow which was emphasised, as the Nguni woman is fully incorporated into her husband's family.

> Marriage is, for a Zulu woman, a long-drawn process whereby she is detached from her natal (*umndeni*) family and incorporated gradualy into that of her husband (Krige in Krige & Comaroff, 1981:4).

Another important area is the way in which children are helped to be clear of their role concerning duties assigned to them and proper and acceptable behaviour. Within the extended family, there is also the *ontanga* (age group). These *ontangas* were useful as a support system for both the youth and adults. As more and more monogamous nuclear families are evident among the Zulu, more people who have virtually no support systems in times of difficulties, especially when husbands are migrant workers in the city. Indeed, this lack of a support system is one of the chief causes of trauma among Africans who need pastoral counselling.

The most detrimental effects of migrant labour are in the area of sexual relationships, these being illegitimacy, prostitution and homosexuality. These unacceptable practices are indulged in because males are staying alone in hostels (Mohlabi in Berglund, 1970).

It is the migratory labour system which creates this unnatural state of men living without their wives. Therefore, some men forge new relationships with city or township women. It is as a result of these new relationships that illegitimacy occurs. When a migrant labourer eventually decides to return to his rural home, he leaves behind in the city a family without the head of the household. Even if the man believes in polygamy, he could not take home the city wife and children because they are not known by the people at home. They are left behind in the midst of much suffering to care for themselves. The city wife becomes a "widow" and the children "orphans". So numbers increase of those who have not only moved away from secure traditional life but who are also denied the wholeness of life; they are now left in extreme poverty.

The other social evil is prostitution. It is said that some migrant labourers reach the abodes of the shebeen queens (ladies selling alcohol). In these centres there

are also beautiful women who are hired as waitresses. They are also available as sexual partners to the visitors (Mohlabi, in Berglund, 1970:74). A rural man who has recently arrived in the city may think it is quite an achievement to visit these shebeens. This is how he gets involved in the practice of prostitution.

(iv) Spiralling poverty

One practical reason for the traditionalist African to move to the urban area to sell his labour was an attempt to solve rural poverty. People went to seek work in the mines or farms, because they and their families could not live on the products of the land nor on livestock anymore. They were compelled to accept the growing demands of the Western money economy and hoped that they could thereby redeem themselves from oppressing rural poverty. However, this was not generally possible.

The unbalanced distribution of wealth in South Africa, one of the major facets of an apartheid society, does not allow the average African to rise above the poverty line. On average the white worker earns more than four times the monthly wage of the African (Seedat, 1984:20).

The mere size of the migrant labourers' wage does not allow them to provide adequately for their rural families. The point being made here is that even when Africans are employed as labourers in mines, farms or industry, the small wage which they receive does not allow them to improve their living conditions. Statistics reveal a very high level of poverty among the African group as compared with other racial groups. The percentage of each main population group living in poverty (defined as living below the bread line) in 1978, was found to be as follows:

> White - 2%, Coloured - 50%, Indian (on the East Rand) - 20%, and
> (in Durban) - 50-60%, and African - 60-70% (Van Rensburg, 1982:31).

For this study, which has attempted to emphasise the rural context of the Zululand case study, it is important to note that "the situation in the families in particular tends to be worse" (Seedat, 1984:22). A sociological study at rural Nqutu district in 1980 revealed that an average monthly income was reported to be R20 (Seedat, 1984:22). Of course it becomes almost impossible to make ends meet in such circumstances.

Poverty among Africans is exacerbated not only by the meagre wages earned by migrant workers but also by the mere practice of migratory labour. Francis Wilson has, on the cover of one of his books on migrant labour, portrayed the true picture of migrant labour. On the front cover there is a picture of a man (possibly in his thirties) cooking his meal. On the back cover a woman (also possibly in her thirties) attending to the pots, while a boy looks on. The woman is also carrying a younger child on her back. The fact that she is carrying a baby on her back could be a sign that she is staying all by herself. There are many Zulu families without grandparents today. The fact that they are both cooking meals at two different places, kilometres apart, well illustrates that the working husband has to provide for his family in the rural area while at the same time he has to financially provide for his own living expenses at the work place. Thus the dilemma of dividing an already meagre income. This is typical of most African urban workers and the wages of black employees do not rise to keep up with inflation. Hence, spiralling poverty is a reality for the African population in South Africa.

In concluding this section, it is appropriate to consider the contribution of poverty to human personality development.

Poverty is a social pathology. Poverty has the potential to erode human personality, in the sense that at worst it leads people to devalue life psychologically. Such people are prone to act irrationally, venting their anger (life is unkind) in most unexpected places and persons. In South Africa, in urban areas, people in the upper echelons who have managed to acquire some wealth and relative comfort are less prone to be destructive of property. They guard jealously what they have acquired over many years.

Partly as a result of poverty, sometimes incidents of depression, violence, alcoholism and many cases of illegitimacy are found. These incidents are mainly the result of overwhelming stress. This is destructive, for the possible relationship between stressful events in a person's life and the development of physical and mental disease has been identified through reasearch (Dally, 1982).

Thus poverty influences adversely the human being physically, emotionally and psychologically and South African people thus influenced will certainly end up in the pastoral counsellor's office in need of counselling.

(v) Childhood within a migrant labour affected context in South Africa

The children of migrant labourers grow up without a father figure. It is self-evident that such children lack one of the most significant influences in personality development. Psychologists, mainly of the Freudian school, have argued that one of the chief causes of trauma in adult life frequently requiring intensive counselling, is dealing with authority figures of which the father is the primary representative and symbol. Many an African child in modern industrialised society grows up without such a figure, because the father has become a visitor in his own home. This is detrimental to personality development for "early childhood experiences of achieving satisfaction of needs, especially those connected with parents and other important adults, influence the way in which adult desires are satisfied" (Dally, 1982:32).

Further, there is a long-standing debate as to what is the most significant force in personality development - is it nature or nurture? Of course, the child enters the world already endowed with the legacy of heredity from immediate parents and forbears. Another influential force is nurture, which in normal circumstances should be socialisation rendered by the family. Therefore, personality is largely a function of child rearing and early learning experiences.

Due to migrant labour which separates spouses, many African children grow up in a context of impoverished rearing. The absence of one of the spouses "robs the younger generation of one of the role models so essential for the transmission of values and experience which have been found useful for dealing with their world" (Burman and Reynolds, 1986:11). Conditions resulting from urbanisation and the effects of apartheid are thoroughly disruptive to family life.

In a research project Charles Simkins found that "marriage was rendered least stable amongst Africans and the instability coincided with the effective imposition of modern mobility controls and a restrictive urban housing policy" (Burman and Reynolds, 1986:12). Statistics reveal that "the highest incidence of female-headed households occurs among Africans. In the homeland areas it reaches nearly 60% of African husbands living away from their wives and 17% of children living away from their mothers" (Burman and Reynolds, 1986:12). These statistics show the large number of African children affected by unhealthy family life in South Africa.

Sandra Burman and Pamela Reynolds have observed that:

> The effect of these social patterns becomes clearer when juxtaposed with studies from other disciplines. In the survey by Molteno, Kibel, and Roberts on childhood health, for example, the results are given of 5 000 interviews of rural African families conducted by Dr Trudy Thomas. She found that the most important determinant of the nutritional health of the child was the organization of his or her home life. Some of her findings may be briefly listed.

The Social Background of Children

	Percentages	
	with Kwashiokor	without Kwashiokor
Illegitimate	62	26
Fathers were migrants:	86	-
Supporting family financially	14	71
Deserted the family	60	5
In the personal care of their mothers	33	78
Children lived where breadwinner worked	1	21
Children lived in a family group	24	83

(Burman and Reynolds, 1986:50).

These statistics are revealing indeed. They show that policies and subsequent social structures have implications eventually for the quality of life for an individual. People acquainted with African hospitals in South Africa are well aware of the large number of children dying of Kwashiokor and related diseases. Even those who do not die, no doubt have detrimental effects inflicted on their emotional and physical development. Studies have shown that "gross pathological malnutrition is generally accepted as being detrimental to the developmental progress of the young child" (Molteno et al, in Burman and Reynolds, 1986:51).

It is generally postulated that the family is a primary social unit where children are born and nurtured until they grow up to be adults. Yet, in South Africa, many crises which threaten its existence occur from within and without, thus creating an unhealthy context for African children. Indeed, such crises in some form or another do occur in other countries as well. However, in South Africa, these crises are related to socio-economic and political structures

imposed on the Africans. Such crises could be those emerging from within, like marital disharmony or violence; and from without, such as the migrant labour system, which results in fathers having to spend most of their working lives away from homes (Molteno et al, in Burman and Reynolds, 1986:51).

Undoubtedly, with industrialisation and the progressive eroding of the traditional way of life, children continue to grow up in an impoverished social context. To take another shocking example from a study among the Zulu in Natal, Loening (1981) reported a number of cases of child abuse in Zulu families. According to him, "industrialisation and westernisation were causing changes in the lifestyle of the Zulus that had led to the breakdown of traditional culture which had not been replaced by adequate support structures" (Molteno et al, in Burman and Reynolds, 1986:58). It is only in recent years that cases of sexual abuse have been reported to occur in African families in South Africa (Westcott, 1984, in Burman and Reynolds, 1986:50).

The findings of the above research studies support the basic argument of this thesis that traditional Zulu culture offered the person some form of security. The Christian Church must take seriously the fact that the life of the people has been eroded by foreign forces which have acted as a barrier denying the African persons the wholeness of life.

An inter-disciplinary, inter-professional approach is called for to maintain and strengthen the child-rearing unit. Problems of migrant labour and other related issues must be addressed. Such an approach is summarised by Molteno et al:

> Public work campaigns are needed to provide employment schemes as used in many developing countries (Reynolds, 1984). Efforts to maintain effective family functioning, such as marriage guidance and education for parenting, need to be encouraged. Furthermore, such children themselves require preparation for parenthood. These efforts should be directed at satisfying the child's basic needs: biological (nutrition and protection); psychological (such as emotional and mental development); socio-cultural (such as socialisation, which includes the acquisition of language, and the formulation of culturally acceptable behaviour); and economic (the acquisition of resources for the present and future use) (Molteno, in Burman and Reynolds, 1986:43).

For the list to be complete, this study suggests the inclusion of religious development. Pastoral counselling has a role to play, especially in efforts to

maintain effective family functioning. It should rid itself of narrow church-bound or mere superficial guidance to heavenly bliss. It should be continually contextual and concrete, since African wisdom stresses that religion has a claim to life in its totality.

(vi) Alienation as a social and spiritual dilemma

Having discussed the effects of migrant labour on the family in a general way, the purpose of this section is to analyse its effects on the person inwardly as well as in his/her relationships with others. In the present study, in dealing with Africans, especially migrant workers, it was observed that a major feeling in their life is alienation.

The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English (1980 edition) defines alienation as "estrangement, critical detachment, emotional uninvolvement in problems provided by a drama". Such an attitude affects a person's concept of himself/herself as well as relationships with other persons.

The African migrant labourer feels alienated from the wholeness of life. He has been pushed out of his familiar, needs satisfying traditional context to a foreign industrial context. Most migrant workers may not be able to articulate such alienation, but by listening carefully alienation may be identified in words expressing generalised dissatisfaction with hostel life, work place or one's "boss" at the place of work. Alienation could even be acted out instead of being expressed.

In the new economic world, to which the African is introduced by his Western bosses, he is denied the full benefits which other people are enjoying because of apartheid laws as well as the low wages he earns. Such experience of standing somewhere in an "in-between" world causes deep-rooted frustration. Alienation often causes anxiety about an uncertain future. The worker also observes the way his employer lives and inwardly longs for it. Phrases like "*Abelungu banakho konke abakudingayo, kanti thina asinalutho*" ("Whites have all that they need, while we have nothing"), are used to express the dynamics of alienation in the work place.

Migrant labour living threatens the identity of a person as a husband or wife. This is the reason why Simon Tshabalala said it is only when one goes home that one "can become a man again". One experiences an affirmation of one's identity as a husband or a wife in such a relationship. Failure to experience what one believes

one is, leads to alienation from self. In reality Tshabalala's identity cannot be rightfully affirmed so easily. Psychologically he becomes even more in touch with his inadequacy as a husband and father. He feels a crippling sense of impotency for unconsciously he knows what he should be doing as the head of the household. However, he does not do it. That lingering feeling between what is and what should be, is alienation. Tshabalala in his defensiveness keeps saying: "... but my wife is learning".

Another issue that the traditional migrant worker struggles with is the true expression of his religious convictions. The adherents of the African traditional religion may be asking themselves how they can celebrate the presence of their ancestors in a mine compound. Of course, the migrant worker remembers that when he left home he was told: "*Abakini abaphansi baze bahambe nawe, ibemhlophe indlela yakho*" ("May your ancestors go with you, may they make your way white"). Even as a Christian, the African needs a religion that permeates the whole of life, asserting its presence in the strange urban environment. Unfortunately, many denominations do not follow their workers into the urban areas to address their new questions and concerns as persons of faith. Failure to do so is the cause of alienation in the religious component of life (Hostel Informants, Durban, September 1989). However, the so-called African Independent Churches have fulfilled the task of adapting to the living conditions of the workers remarkably well. These churches, whose leaders are sometimes labourers themselves, have worship places which are easily accessible to their members, e.g. mines, garages in suburbs. They surely follow their adherents (Wilson, 1972).

Another area that is affected is that of development in the internalisation of values or patterns of culture. People come to the urban areas with certain cultural values which they have internalised. As migrant labourers they have to find a way of protecting their personalities as they become threatened in the process of living in "two worlds"; this causes alienation.

At the place of work, the hitherto proud person who has always been secure in the extended family and in the company of his peers - *ontanga*, and was clear about his identity, is now threatened to the core of his personality. This is the result of dehumanisation at the place of work. It needs to be borne in mind that, from his background, he brings a belief that all persons belong to God regardless of colour. Therefore, when he meets people who in their actions deny this, he is forced to live

a life of alienated relationship. He is with people but there is no fulfilling relationship with them.

(vii) Some problems in pastoral counselling with Zulu clients

This study suggests that the migrant labour system is destructive to African life to such an extent that problems generated may end up requiring extensive pastoral counselling.

In most work situations in South Africa, the African does not experience the wholeness of life. Racial relationships are often unhealthy and dehumanising. Often this results in an inferiority complex or deep-seated hostility and hatred of the oppressing racial group. This may be expressed indirectly in ways which may not be readily identifiable. Sometimes brooding over these negative experiences may lead to violence that erupts at most unexpected places. Pastoral counselling encourages catharsis to purge the personality of these negative feelings. In 1986 in some gold mines in the Witwatersrand area, for instance, tribal riots erupted. These are often started by apparently insignificant disagreements. This study suggests that this behaviour, which may be interpreted as illogical, is a result of brooding feelings of inferiority, hostility and hatred. The social context has a great deal of influence on people's perception of violence.

There is no doubt that migrant labour contributes to family break-up. Factors contributing to such break-up of marriages are generated primarily from the life of the men in the urban areas. However, women in the homelands may also be misled or merely fail to wait faithfully for their migrant husbands. What may have started as yearning for the presence of the beloved husband, may be wrongfully channeled. The famous Q sisters (a music group) have put to music this yearning in one of their songs:

> *Kulezontaba ezingumasithela, zingisithele wena sithandwa. Ngizwa kufika izinyembezi ngikhumbula lawomathafa esasihamba kuwo - Kulezontaba ezingumasithela zingisithele wena sithandwa.*
>
> (It is those mountains which hide my sweetheart. Tears roll down my cheeks when I remember those days when we walked on the plains together. It is those mountains which hide my sweetheart).

If unfaithfulness results in both spouses, an intense feeling of guilt may result. This intense guilt is the result of conflict inside the person. He/she has subjected

himself/herself to behaviour which is not accepted in the core of his/her personality. This happens because he/she eventually gives in to the strong basic sexual need. Since this behaviour contradicts Christian ethics, a person may come to the pastoral counsellor both worried and confused and in need of extensive counselling to sort out the problem.

This could be the result of intensive realistic guilt. The other possibility could be that the person suffering from such intense guilt feelings may become impotent during the time when he/she should be functioning sexually, especially when the migrant partner has returned home. The pastoral counsellor needs to be alert to these dynamics in the marital relationship. At times expression of these feelings will only be implicit and not explicit. It is important for the pastoral counsellor to bear in mind that guilt, anxiety and resentment may cause the person to break down, unless a counsellor or therapist is sought to help the person concentrate on the positive features of the personality (Dally, 1982:76).

Another thing which could complicate matters could be contacting a sexually communicable disease, like gonorrhoea. This may cause a husband or wife to have a low self-esteem as a result of a low-rating of his behaviour. A migrant labourer explained how he got into trouble and contacted a venereal disease, as follows:

> *Sisuka emakhaya sizohlala lapha ezimpholweni. Ubone abanye bephila ngendlela ethile, uzibone nawe usungena usuthe shi kuleyompilo.*
>
> (We leave our homes behind and come and stay here in single men hostels. You see others living in a certain lifestyle. Soon you find that you too are involved in that type of life) (Zulu informant at KwaMashu, 1987).

Migrant workers also have the problem of loneliness. The life in the urban area to which they get introduced is quite a contrast to rural traditional life. This is aggravated by dehumanising factors in the work place. Mphiwa Mbatha argues:

> The feeling of rejection suffered by the Nyuswa in town does not arise from European attitudes. It arises also from the attitudes of urban Africans. To the average Nyuswa migrant, they are arrogant and full of superior sire (sic). Consequently, they seek to get away from them also. There also arises tension between this area (Cato Manor) and the Chesterville location where permanent urban family residents are often housed (Mbatha, 1960:184).

Mbatha points to the other dimension of the migrant labourer's loneliness. This shows its acuteness.

Naturally, people want to enjoy life. If people are faced with such an uncomfortable feeling as loneliness, they often resort to alcohol and dagga (*insangu*). If they become addicted, they may end up not returning home - *adliwe zindunduma* (disappear behind the mountains of the city). This is the condition of the delinquent husband. In this case the rural pastor back home, may end up with a wife requiring counselling. This need for counselling is understandable since many of the Christian wives no longer have the support of extended families even if they live in rural areas. With the help of pastoral counselling the Church should become a new support system. Mbatha's research revealed that it is the Christian wives who suffer and complain more in the event of husband delinquency:

> Their concept of marriage leads them to expect love and companionship from their husbands. They expect a greater cash allowance in view of their higher cash needs, and their moral code does not countenance any philandering on the part of husbands. Their reaction to husband's delinquency goes further than the negative and passive one of heathen (sic) wives. They often demand to go to town and work so that they can help meet their children's expenses (Mbatha, 1960:265).

However, there seem to be more reasons to this impatience than those mentioned by Mbatha. One is that, unfortunately, Christian wives lack the most important support system that would be helpful in such a situation, that is, the church being an *umndeni* (extended family). This supports the basic argument of this thesis, that there is a need to develop a contextual pastoral counselling in South Africa, as a new support system.

This discussion has shown how the context of childhood in South Africa is bedevilled by the dehumanisation of the apartheid policy. One aspect of it was analysed, that of the migratory labour system. Mothers are faced with problems of raising children without their fathers. Women face demands far beyond their expectations. In traditional Zulu society, child rearing was shared by the whole family "*Umuzi*" - and the neighbourhood as well. The child's grand-parents gave much love and attention to the grandchildren. The actual parents were teachers and role models. A disturbance of this state of affairs results in much frustration and mental anguish for a parent forced into a single state. In the new setting influenced by the migratory labour system children grow up emotionally insecure and also suffer from a lack of discipline. They grow up resentful of effective authority (Mbatha, 1960:276). Child training and schooling is one of the most important duties of humankind to the young ones:

> It is meaningless to speak of a human child as if it were an animal in the process of domestication; or of his instincts as set patterns encroached upon or moulded upon by the autocratic environment. Man's inborn instincts are drive fragments to be assembled, given meaning, and organised during a prolonged childhood by methods of child training and schooling which vary from culture to culture and are determined by tradition (Eriksson, 1963:89).

This study of migrant workers' families in rural Zululand has made it clear that there can be no effective training of children unless there is in the background a family with effective and balanced social support systems. The migrant labour system militates against this.

To address such a situation calls for more than merely advising parents to send their children to school and to Sunday school. This issue needs to be addressed in a comprehensive inter-disciplinary way and should be addressed in the preaching, teaching and counselling programmes of the Church.

This chapter has demonstrated the far reaching effects of migrant labour. It has been highlighted that this system, part of the apartheid society, affects the person inter-personally as well as intra-personally. It has further been argued that besides working for total abolition of this system, pastoral counselling also has a role in helping the victims of the system.

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CHAPTER VII

DIMENSIONS OF ZULU PASTORAL CARE AND COUNSELLING

As a participant observer in pastoral studies in South Africa, the writer became convinced that some serious thinking and research needs to be done to make pastoral studies authentically African and relevant to the African context. With every graduating class one wonders to what extent the training programme has contributed towards making the young African future clerics sensitive to the pulse of the deepest human feeling, that of perceiving and relating to the Creator and allowing that relationship to influence the manner in which the person relates to other human beings. At times, however, this sense of uncertainty becomes growing frustration and dissatisfaction in situations where one has observed that perhaps theological institutions and disciplines taught therein, have unfortunately nursed a certain degree of alienation in the African pastoral student from his/her own future pastoral context. Since training programmes in Africa are held away from the "African village", the "African spirit" is often neglected as a dynamic ingredient of African pastoral studies.

The argument of the present work is that within the parameters of the traditional Zulu world-view and belief system, there are areas of particualar significance in the counselling of Zulu clients. Earlier it was stated that pastoral care and counselling is a discipline dealing with persons with problems in various situations. Such problems must be realistically approached. Pastoral care and counselling also emphasise that people should listen to themselves and reflect on issues contextually. Since this study aims at developing new insights from praxis, the present author's own experience in pastoral work and in educating African pastoral students, as well as a participant observer of the ministry of his pastoral collegues, serves as a basis for the following evaluative discussion and critique.

A. A CRITIQUE OF PAST AND PRESENT APPROACHES TO AFRICAN PASTORAL STUDIES AND PRACTICE OF COUNSELLING

This critique will be presented in the format of several theses:

1. Theological training programmes in South Africa tend to emphasise Western approaches. Implicit in these types of education programmes is a belief that the Western world-view is relevant to all the peoples of the world. Most training programmes are, therefore, designed without much consideration for people's view of life in a given context. In spite of this, young African clergy even on their first charge are intuitively creative and soon find out that they have to adapt. In the process of ministering to their

own people, they discover how much of their Western orientated approaches alienate them from their own parishioners. They gradually learn from African wisdom. Those who do so, become better communicators of what Christian faith is about. Therefore, consideration of a people's own traditional background is not a waste of time nor a preoccupation with the past, for those who understand this background adequately, eventually become better communicators and counsellors today.

2. One of the pitfalls which must be avoided in practising pastoral care and counselling in an African context, is what could be called "schizophrenic existence". Many a parishioner is torn between two worlds: the often familiar traditional African view and the world of modern Christianity heavily adorned in Western attire. Again, even during the times of missionaries, Africans were creative and developed what could be called an African Christianity (see Setiloane, 1976, and Dickson, 1984).

   One of the important ingredients of this Christianity is that it is greatly influenced by African traditional belief which holds that religion permeates the whole of life. However, this religious approach to life is yet to be fully exploited in congregational life in general and in pastoral counselling particularly.

3. One area where a strong influence of Western thought patterns is evident in African pastoral approaches, is preaching. There is an important relationship between preaching and pastoral counselling for preaching also addresses human beings in their predicament. The African approach to Homiletics is heavily dominated by methodology and skills, which have evolved in a Western milieu, heavily influenced by Western philosophical trends. The sermon has to fall within acceptable three-phased sub-structures perceived to be the outcome of a rigid exegetical work on the text. Delivery is expected to be logical and controlled, and it is in this area that Africans tend to be harnessed by internalised acceptance of Western approaches, allowing limited space for genuine African approaches. Western missionaries are not the only ones to blame for their dominating approach to other cultures. Although African wisdom perceived early that something was amiss, there has always been a lack of determination to articulate these convictions as well as a lack of creativity to advance a genuine African appraoach. There is no need to be ashamed of genuine African style and approach in all forms of communication. The African Independent Churches have brought out this point emphatically.

4. In theological education, most theological students graduating from seminary are assigned rural parishes or township parishes. In the Lutheran circles, for instance, none

are assigned to specialise in working in the cities and mines. Thus migrant labourers although making up such a large percentage of African workers, are not ministered to adequately. Given this arrangement, the miners as migrant labourers are left without adequate pastoral care and counselling. This study has revealed that both the migrant worker and his rural family are in dire need of perceptive and empathetic pastoral care and counselling which takes seriously issues arising from the encounter of African traditional life and the Western economy and industrialised society including oppressive structures within the South African context.

5. A large majority of African Christians have always had reservations about the expression of Christianity as imported from the Western context but circumstances made them hesitant and unsure as to how to voice this unease publicly. Here and there one, nonetheless, finds an expression of a contextual approach to Christian faith. It is such contextual expressions which make us support the thesis that there is a brand of Christianity which could be called "African Christianity", albeit often overshadowed by the trappings of Western cultural practices. These practices are unfortunately transported into the African milieu, after they have been "baptised" to be ingredients of the Christian way of life, eg. Western attire, liturgy and others.

Considering this nature of inter-cultural exchange in mission work, sometimes it is possible to fall into the trap of over-emphasising or even glorifying the positive aspect of the origin and proliferation of African Independent Churches. It is true that some of the Independent Churches have their origin in the disillusionment of many an African Christian with a foreign expression of Christian faith. Some people felt that something as intimate as one's faith and relationship with God must be left to the inborn capacities and feeling which come to each person as a heritage from his/her forbears. The plea being sounded here is that even the so-called established churches must take these concerns seriously.

Gradually a discovery is being made by many Africans today that it is indeed possible to be authentically African and equally so, authentically Christian. For, after all, Jesus calls people to the way of following him in the context of where people find themselves in a given time. His call is never to an imaginary place but to a specific place. For many years now, especially after independence of most countries in Africa, one has been hearing pleas for indigenous expressions, especially in worship, symbols, music. Unfortunately, such developments have not been encouraged much, especially in South Africa. This is possibly the result of a pastoral approach which has often failed to awaken in persons ministered to deep in their personalities, an appreciation of

themselves and their God-given cultural heritage. These are the people who need counselling.

6. There are still theological circles which, although engaged in the task of training people for the ministry of the Church, tend to view practical theology as a discipline on the periphery of theological thought. They view as more important those disciplines which emphasise theoretical reflection rather than reflection on actual practice. However, this study shows that practical theology has a key role to play in the development of African theology and contextual African pastoral studies.

7. If the Church is to be faithful in her mission, she must face the crisis of the African family seriously. This living in "two worlds" becomes traumatic to the personality. It does not only disrupt the person on an economic, political or sociological level but also influences the very depth of his/her personality.

   It is crucial for pastoral counsellors in South Africa to be aware of the present state of black families. Research reveals a rather gloomy picture. Though the statistical services in Pretoria do not have up to date figures on black marriages and divorces, random figures released reveal a high divorce rate. This is evidence that the African family in our country is in trouble (Maud Montanyane, in Tribute, June 1988). Churches in South Africa do not seem to accept the challange that this should become a primary focus of the ministry of the Church.

   The present author agrees that there is such a phenomenon as a by-product of transition from the traditional African way of life to a Western and urban culture. Here is a cultural conflict that has not been resolved. These human struggles should be seen as part of the context for pastoral care and counselling in Southern Africa.

8. The African church has inherited the Judaeo-Christian tradition of viewing the breaking of the sixth commandment (thou shalt not commit adultery) as the worst sin in the Church. Offenders in this regard have been readily judged and condemned and quite often are not recipients of empathetic pastoral counselling. The dynamics in operation, often leading to such offences, are inadequately traced. It would appear that the traditional African emphasis on having children, especially male offspring, the formerly acceptable polygamous marriages, the *ukungena* custom and others, have an influence on the behaviour of some Zulu parishioners.

As pastoral counselling seeks to trace the deeper influences on human behaviour in the personality, these factors must not be dismissed as negative influences from the "pagan" past, but as cultural factors which must be subjected to the influence of the Christian faith perceived in the African context. All professionals working among Africans need to bear in mind that, as the present research has shown, there is what can be called an "African identity", a unique understanding of what it means to be human.

For Africans "the essence of being is 'participation' in which human beings are always interlocked with one another. The human being is not only 'vital force', but 'vital force in participation'" (Setiloane 1986:14). Therefore, in pastoral counselling it is important to remember that for people with this view both psychiatric pathology and personality therapy will be much influenced by life in participation. It is this participation which forms the core of the African emphasis on belonging and community. Here lies a vast unexplored area for African pastoral care and counselling as well as for the other functions of the African Christian community. This study supports Setiloane when he says it is the "*isithunzi*" ("*Seriti*") (human vital force) which makes this 'belonging' and participation possible as it is ever engaged with "*izithunzi*" (plural form) of others (Setiloane 1986:14). Pastoral counselling operates within this cultural milieu.

In Chapter VIII further contextual models of pastoral counselling in Africa will be explored. However, it can already be stated here that the African emphasis on participation, community, group and family will influence models that are suitable for Africa. Contemporary human potential movement promoters of therapy by group process stand for the following:

> Participation is the element which unites different beings as beings, as substances, without confusing them. It is the pivot of relationships between members of the same community, the link which binds together individuals and groups, the ultimate meaning not only of the unity which is personal to each man (person), but of that unity in multiplicity, that totality, the concentric and harmonic unity of the visible and invisible worlds (Mulago, in Dickson, 1982).

9. Mission Christianity in Africa has traditionally identified the phenomenon of the *isangoma* (diviner) with the demonic. Because of this labelling there has been no attempt to dialogue and listen to the context of inborn personality traits. These traits may be representative of a gift of a higher degree of openness to the spiritual world. This world could have a traditional African religious influence or a Christian influence. If this observation is disputed, how can one account for the fact that many a converted *isangoma* becomes an active and devout prayer woman? Further, it has been observed that many of the prophetesses in the African Independent Churches are former *izangoma*

and become influential in these Christian communities. This phenomenon has not received the attention it deserves from pastoral and theological circles. The African Church should not be afraid of this phenomenon but rather come closer to these people, and in doing so to accept that they are involved in pastoral work requiring deep spiritual dynamics.

10. The Nguni word for pastor is *umfundisi*, literally translated, this means the one who teaches. Indeed, the pastor is a teacher, yet in the African context, a word which brings out the aspect of healing would have been more appropriate. Experience in African Churches, is that African Christians are not yearning only for an understanding of the doctrines of the Church, but they long for therapy originating from God, for their troubled bodies and souls.

    This longing becomes even more intense in a world in which they have by far experienced poverty and oppression. This study suggests that the words *inyanga yomphefumulo* (medicine man of the soul, or healer of the soul) are an appropriate translation of pastor. Such a name would satisfy peoples longing for healing and at the same time it would be a rallying point and target for the development of pastoral students. African pastoral students are often of the opinion that a mastery of some Western theology is the main thing which they require to be pastors taking charge of congregations in Africa. They fail to see the priority of understanding the depth of the feelings of their own people.

11. Inherent in the current ideas about development in Africa is a quest to import Western things as ideal signs of a civilised and developed person. In adopting such ideas, it is often forgotten that such may not fit in an African context.

    It may be found that some approaches in pastoral care and counselling are out of place in Africa. It is essential, therefore, that the issue of relevance must be raised in considering effective pastoral approaches. Each pastoral approach has to dialogue with the African world-view in order to be effective. An example of a Western approach that would not be relevant is an overwhelming emphasis on individualism in the counselling process. Too much emphasis is placed on the person in isolation rather than emphasising that the person is a person through other people (*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*).

The above theses identify the roots of the dissatisfaction with the status quo in the pastoral approaches among the Africans; it is this dissatisfaction that prompted this study.

B. ASPECTS OF THE AFRICAN WORLD-VIEW IDENTIFIED AS ROOTS AND BRIDGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN PASTORAL COUNSELLING

It was discovered in this study that the Zulu context includes foreign influences which have impinged on the hitherto fairly satisfying traditional way of life. When these foreign influences were introduced in a manner in which full participation was being denied they became a source of insecurity, confusion and self-hatred. The Zulu, for example, are forced into a situation of an unfulfilled life in "two worlds". This is *impilo yelulwane* (lit. the life of a bat), as the Zulu would say. Such a life creates unique problems, manifested in the behaviour and personality of African parishioners.

The objective of the present section is to identify those qualities in the Zulu way of life and outlook which could be used as roots and bridges in the development of an authentic African pastoral care and counselling.

1. Religion

Recently, the present writer was talking to a Zulu man, well in his sixties. This man is a Non-Christian and a polygamist. Yet, hat in hand, he said: "When I call you *Baba*, I mean it. You can never be a father to me as far as age is concerned, but I respect you for this work which you do, therefore, I call you *Baba*, and I mean it." This proud Zulu man - *umnumzane*, was expressing his deep religious convictions, also his belief that a human being can be a vehicle of those things associated with divinity. The Zulu accepts authority from a supreme being. This man was showing respect to me as *Mfundisi* (pastor), whom he perceives as a servant of the Most High.

The Zulu belief of the origin of human beings from a bed of reeds reflects their belief in the relationship of human beings with nature. There is no emphasis on the superiority of human beings over nature, but rather an emphasis on the relationship. For example, in the Zulu story which explains the origins of death, there is a relationship between animal life and human life. This relationship is demonstrated in terms of moral responsibility. The *intulo* (lizard) is sent with a message that people will die and *unwabu* (chameleon) that people will not die. Unfortunately, the *unwabu* delays on the way eating the fruits of the *ubukhwebezane* plant. It comes too late with the message of life and consequently death comes to humankind.

This myth is symbolic, and penetrates to people's consciences conveying the message of moral responsibility. When the missionaries came to Zululand, the Zulu already knew

that divinity expects responsibility from humanity as well as animals. This religious orientation already suggests a prepared context for pastoral counselling, especially in ethical values.

Zulu religion is communal. One's fate is decided within this context of life in community. For example, in the story of the messages of *intulo* and *unwabu*, the recipients are living people in that point in time. It is not merely an individual.

It is important also to note that Zulu myths portray the world as basically good in itself. It is unfortunate that there are negative forces which are constantly intruding, attacking one from outside, as it were. Bearing this orientation in mind, the belief in witchcraft and sorcery, so strong among the people, can be understood.

The belief in ancestors further emphasises the importance of the existance of a human being within a strongly knit community. This belonging cannot be destroyed even by death itself. The human being lives and has his/her being in community, in this world and the next.

In summary, the Zulu belief is that religion permeates the whole of life. This study concludes that Christianity in Zululand, as in other parts of Africa, is built on this already existing natural framework. This religious orientation that people have is of importance in the development of relevant pastoral care and counselling. In other words, pastoral counselling should be practised within an atmosphere of rich religious symbols.

2. Zulu Understanding of Community

From a psychological and religious perspective, community and fellowship are basic to a healthy development of personality as well as general well-being of the person. On the one hand, anxiety is often the result of a broken community relationship, causing insecurity (Dally, 1982:114). On the other hand, hate destroys fellowship, except when it can be openly confessed and accepted; then it leads to love and understanding. "Sin is a condition of separation, forgiveness restores fellowship" (Wise 1956:125).

The Bible continually speaks of the importance of community and fellowship, and in studying Zulu culture it is seen that already in traditional society community was highly esteemed. In fact, the belief in the existence of the *umthakathi* (sorcerer) stems from this understanding of the importance of community, the *umthakathi* being seen as an enemy of community and fellowship. The *umthakathi* was perceived in this way because he/she

was seen as a person who was against the most cherished network of human relationships which was taken to be the cornerstone of human existence. His actions are perceived to be destructive of what people cherished so deeply. Therefore, in theological terms, the belief in the existence of the *Umthakathi* could be called "the concretisation of evil". Evil is not perceived purely on a theoretical level; it is personalised in the *Umthakathi*.

This emphasis on community stems from the African myths of the origin of humankind. These myths state that the first people came out "of a bed of reeds" (*emhlangeni*) or a hole in the ground (Tswana tradition). It is not a person or a couple who came out but a group of men, women and children together. From a psychological perspective, the gregariousness manifested in the extended family, and the tribe, are at the core of African behaviour.

Thus:

> In an African village or township where people have been allowed to settle without disruption of forced removals, one finds that an air of a large family broods over the atmosphere. Every person is related to one another. These relationships, by 'blood', by 'marriage' or by mere association are emotionally seated and cherished dearly. This becomes evident where a need arises, like some tragedy (a death) or occasion for rejoicing (a wedding) (Setiloane, 1986:9).

Studies of the Zulu and other African groups show clearly that African hospitality stems from this emphasis on community. It has always been foreign to the Africans to exclude the other person, merely because he/she is different. In fact, it was this African hospitality which many a white person took advantage of; the welcomed guest turned out to be an oppressor.

It is indeed a deep insight of African behaviour that "the most cherished principle in life-together is to include rather than to separate" (Setiloane 1986:10). Among the Zulu many people of other backgrounds are found who were drawn into the Zulu group by conquest, but who are fully integrated into the nation. It is this deep seated African philosophy of life which negates ideas of forced separation (apartheid) as the norm of life.

Where community and fellowship are denied to people who deeply cherish community, to the extent of second nature, serious destructive personality disorders may result.

Various psychological studies which have traced the causes of suicide among African students in foreign countries, have identified loneliness as a common cause.

Quite often people requiring extensive pastoral counselling suffer from some form or other of psychopathology. Since the African world-view emphasises so much interaction between social environment and personality, a disruption in this healthy flow may lead to some psychopatholgy. "The major causes of psychopathology are also social, involving traditional beliefs, influences and demands. Personal failures in terms of fortune and ethical standards, which may result in maladjusted behaviour because of guilt, are viewed primarily in terms of conflict between the individual performance (one's id = instinctual wishes and will) and the social standards and demands" (Masamba, 1985:9).

Just as health and the experience of the wholeness of life is experienced in a healthy, well-functioning community, psychopathology results in the absence of such a community. Frantz Fanon argues that "neurosis - a character disorder - in the African social context, is more related to a person's present environment circumstances than to youthful trauma as suggested by Freud" (Masamba, 1985:9).

In therapy, it is a priority to reconcile the person with others, especially those nearest to him/her. African concepts of illness and health are not necessarily primitive and naïve for they bring out some of the important aspects in the understanding of both illness and health. In Africa, illness and health are more social and cultural than biological (Ngubane, 1976). Therefore, pastoral counselling must take into account the social milieu and culture which play a significant role, not only in the development of personality but in its psychopathology as well.

African pastoral care and counselling must further accommodate the fact that the frequent self-diagnosis in terms of a human agent as the cause of pathology, originates from the focus on community. Quite often then the pastoral counsellor in Africa will need to focus on broken relationships within the community instead of trying to explain away this concept of illness, using a Western scientific model.

Such an approach to life puts an extra weight on a person when he/she suffers rejection and broken relationships. Throughout the continent this is recognised. In the Congo, for instance, "whenever a member of the clan is sick, the 'elder's' role is to bring together members of the clan for a group of therapeutic palaver. The group attempts diagnosis of the patient's illness in terms of broken relationships and then proposes a plan of action for healing" (Masamba, 1985:6).

Among the Zulu, when the illness of one of the family members was suspected to originate from one of the family members themselves, the whole family went to an *isangoma* so that the culprit could be identified. Such a culprit was seen to be an enemy of the community. These practices point to the African emphasis on community which should be taken seriously in the development of African pastoral counselling.

Credit must be given to traditional therapeutic techniques which usually emphasise the community context. However, African pastoral counsellors must be aware that "African traditional and prophetic therapeutic techniques do not usually deal with the analysis of a person's personality structure and deeper motives, with the resultant expansion of self-awareness and personality growth" (Masamba, 1985:10).

Therefore this study argues that pastoral care and counselling in Africa needs to build on the already existing approaches in African culture. The task is to build on and not merely applaud these existing approaches. For example, in utilising dreams and symbolic language in counselling, insight-orientated therapy should be utilised. In this way a person is made aware of his/her coping mechanisms while inviting him/her to deal with his/her inner feelings.

To place this discussion within the context of the Church, it must be acknowledged that the African emphasis on community and therapy within living community relationships, points to the fact that Pastoral Care and Counselling are ministries of the whole Church committed to a liberating, healing of persons and broken relationships and restoration of wholeness. Ministry work in groups is necessary in effecting therapy among people who so deeply cherish community. This will be expanded on in the next chapter.

3. "*Umuntu-Motho*" (A Person) - as a Foundation for Pastoral Counselling

It has already been observed that in African understanding the human being is perceived not within a static but a dynamic framework. Thus the human being is a dynamo, in constant dynamic interaction with others.

Bearing these qualities in mind, the person exudes "*isithunzi*" - "*seriti*". It is this *isithunzi* which makes the meeting of each person an unique encounter far different from standing and touching an object, even meeting an animal. The *isithunzi* "gives forth into the traffic or weltering pool of life in community the uniqueness of each person and each object. While physically its seat is understood to be inside the human body, in the blood, its source is beyond and outside of the human physical body" (Setiloane, 1986:13).

To draw implications for human behaviour: The essence of being a person is not narcissistic preoccupation but rather participation. There is emphasis on the centrality of human relationships. Therefore vital participation is at the core of the community, the group and the clan. In this dynamic encounter and relationship the *isithunzi* of the persons in dialogue or relationship plays a prominent role. The Zulu put it like this: "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*"(A human being is a human being in community).

African traditional insight here points to the essence of pastoral counselling. Martin Buber has spoken of the importance of I-Thou instead of I-it relationship in human encounter (Buber, 1958:3). Buber's work relates well to the African world-view as he emphasises human relationships instead of impersonal interaction, often the by-product of individualism.

The Human Potential Movement with its emphasis on personal awareness and therapeutic interaction points to this very thing. Therefore African pastoral counselling will need to emphasise, as it develops, the priority of relationships in the Christian community. Faith is not understanding something about God, it is a dynamic relationship with God. This relationship must then enrich relationships with other people. It would be pathetic indeed, if Christianity were to erode this rich African insight instead of enriching and deepening it.

4. Language and Proverbs

In counselling, language plays a significant part. The Zulu language, like many other African languages, is rich in symbolism and proverbs. Our study of the Zulu proverbs has demonstrated how effectively the language encapsulates the traditional psychology and philosophy of a group of people of the African family. Therefore, pastoral counsellors in Africa will need to understand the local language, as well as its nuances which often carry very valuable insights into the people's values, beliefs, inter-personal relationships, as well as a glimpse into their inner world. What then is of importance is that an African person using a proverb in a counselling conversation may be saying much more than may appear on the surface.

It would be almost impossible for future pastoral counsellors to learn such a pastoral art from books only. It is important, to use Anton T. Boisen's phrase, to learn "from the living human documents" (Boisen, 1963); in other words, from people with whom they converse. This then suggests the importance of learning pastoral counselling from actual human situations in Africa. This point was also emphasised by the first conference

of African pastoral theologians meeting at Limuru Conference Centre, Kenya in 1985 (Mimeographed Minutes to participants, 1985).

C. CASE STUDIES OF ZULU PARISHIONERS AND PATIENTS TO IDENTIFY ASPECTS OF CULTURALLY CONTEXTUAL PASTORAL COUNSELLING

Pastoral Counselling as a discipline within the corpus of pastoral studies warns against superficiality in pastoral approaches. On the contrary, people's deepest needs must be addressed within the Christian community. The skill of referral should enable the pastoral counsellor to identify for the parishioner or patient other available professional resources, as the case may be.

Several case studies are now presented in order to highlight the challenge to Pastoral Care and Counselling in the Zulu context.

Case 1:

Mrs Anna-Greta Chamane (not her real name)

A parishioner who didn't enjoy the church service any more

The Zulu congregation had embarked together with the young pastor on an extensive home visitation programme. The objective was to win members and also to bring back the backsliders. The young pastor had learnt from his lecturer in Pastoral Care the importance of a home visitation plan as well as the importance of listening to people to hear of their concerns.

The pastor and a group of women approached the home of the Chamanes from the side of the valley. The homestead was surrounded by tall grass, making if difficult to see an approaching person from a distance. Suddenly, Mrs Chamane appeared and began shouting "*Zungalali, zungalali*" (so that you may not sleep, so that you may not sleep).

It was difficult for the group to understand the meaning and relevance of this strange way of greeting visitors and welcoming them to the home. Although the visiting group was afraid, they all went into the house. They started singing a chorus. Later one of them started reading a passage of scripture, thereafter she commented on it, stressing that Jesus invites everybody to come to him in faith. When this short devotion was over, the pastor spent some time talking with Mrs Chamane. She in turn told the pastor that she too was concerned about the fact that she had not been attending at the local church for sometime. Then she further explained that this was due to a problem she would be glad to share with her pastor, if an

appropriate time could be arranged. The pastor said, he would be happy to arrange such a time. An appointment was made for a day that suited them both.

When Mrs Chamane turned up at the parsonage, the pastor was waiting for her. She didn't look neat. She was also a bit restless. She, however, appeared ready to share whatever was worrying her with her pastor. She related her story as follows:

> Long before you came to our parish I was a regular attender of services at the local church. But something has later developed which had made it difficult for me to participate in the worship. Every time that I am in the service during the time for listening to the sermon, it seems as if there is something moving up my chest and throat; it is something I cannot control. I feel an urge to make a loud sound *ngibhodle* (belch). I know that this would be loud and disturbing to other people. Therefore, I usually hurry to get out of the church, before this thing happens. I have become embarrassed, especially since everybody stares at me, when I stand up and leave while the pastor is preaching. But I know that no matter how hard I try to suppress it, I will not succeed. That is my dilemma, Mfundisi. I love the church. I want to be present in the worship service, but as I have told you, I become embarrassed when everybody looks at me when I go out during the sermon.

Analysis of the case:

A church which deals with people only in a superficial manner, interested only in whether they are members or non-members, would not appreciate the depth of the problem as stated by Mrs Chamane. Further, people who view the African culture in a negative way, will not try hard to find out whether the symptoms of Mrs. Chamane's condition points towards something positive or negative.

Positively, her condition could be seen as a quest and openness for a higher spiritual experience akin to some kind of semi-prophetic trance, perhaps to be followed with some kind of vision. A certain kind of orthodoxy dismisses such an experience for modern Christians. But the question arises: Whoever said human personality will not be "possessed" by divinity in a way that is not easy to explain, but at the same time meant as an occasion for new insights in the spiritual life. A closer look at the life of Anton Boisen, the founder of Clinical Pastoral Education, reveals that he had several episodes of what could be called psychiatric disorders, yet these episodes were occasions of deep personal and pastoral insights (Boisen, 1963).

On the other hand, the case of Mrs Chamane may also point to a need for Pastoral Counselling that would respond to deep-seated needs. A few possibilites will be mentioned here. Mrs Chamane may be in need of therapy. The question is whether worship services do respond to such quest for therapy. African Independent Churches realise the importance of

seeing therapy as an intergral part of worship.

This woman could be guilty. This guilt feeling, whether realistic or neurotic, could be triggering this somatic reaction - belching. It is possible that some parishioners come to church with psychosomatic disorders. Therefore, our worship, preaching and counselling need to be therapeutic. Concerning worship in particular, which Mrs. Chamane found difficult to attend, we note that:

> The basic pre-supposition...is that the service of worship, which had been distinctive of the Hebrew-Christian religion, is an outstanding example of the group therapy of which we hear so much today. It has, however, certain distinctive features. Its function, both without and within the hospital, is to perpetuate and re-create the moral, insights of mankind (sic) at its best... The service of worship thus serves to educate the conscience and to re-inforce the motives for victorious living (Boisen, 1960:84).

Besides the therapeutic feeling of being a participator in a group experience of people united by common ties of relating to God and to each other, insight is another feature of worship. People must be helped to gain new insights in their lives. Therefore, even Mrs Chamane must be helped to gain new insights into her condition. Diagnosis in pastoral work is not easy or automatic; the present case shows that even opposing diagnosis is possible. There is a need to work very hard with the person in counselling to identify the meaning of the observable condition; in other words, to diagnose the pastoral situation (Pruyser, 1976).

This case study shows spiritual, somatic, social and psychological aspects.

It is also significant to observe that this *ukubhodla* phenomenon is associated in traditional African society with symptoms which are a prelude to *Ukuthwasa* (the process of becoming a Diviner). The present study concludes that this *ukuthwasa* phenomenon needs a closer and more sympathetic pastoral psychological study than it has received so far, especially from missionary circles. Further, it is not only a pastoral psychological issue but primarily a theological one. Western theology that is presently dominating the scene is unable to deal with issues of this nature. African theology has to grapple with these contextual issues to help people feel at home (belonging) in the church. However, even at this stage, it can be accepted that what Mrs Chamane was going through was an intense and dynamic spiritual struggle; there was a deep need in her personality. The symptoms of an African traditional phenomenon need to be seen within the context of African Christianity immersed in a traditional milieu. Therefore, for Mrs Chamane, pastoral counselling should follow the rhythm of *Ukuthwasa*. A group palaver would need to be organised. Counselling and group singing would need to be arranged for the patient as a means of therapy.

Case 2:

Understanding of uncleanness and unworthiness for the Lord's Supper

One of the areas that has often been neglected in pastoral work among Africans is how their Christianity is rooted in the Old Testament, at times even more than the New Testament. This orientation colours people's expression of their Christian faith in the African context. Perceptive pastors will often observe this in their pastoral work.

Mrs G., a twenty-eight year old married Zulu woman with no children (married for four years), confided to the parish pastor that she had a problem that had affected her attendance in the monthly Holy Communion celebrations in the local church. She said that everytime on the eve of the Sunday when Holy Communion was to be celebrated, she would have her periods. She regarded herself as unclean and therefore did not partake of the sacrament. She was worried about this and was wondering why it was so. She even wondered whether it was perhaps due to her sinfulness in which case she wanted to be helped by the pastor.

The pastor, who had learned in seminary that the female natural monthly cycle was not a sin, nor was it uncleanness, proceeded to counsel the woman. He told her that she didn't need to keep away from the Holy Communion, if she was menstruating. She was created by God and God does not regard what He has created and what is redeemed in Christ as unclean. Mrs G. was happy to receive this assurance. She decided on her own that the next time when Holy Communion was celebrated, she would not keep away but would also participate. After a few months, Mrs. G reported to the pastor that the problem had ceased. She didn't have a problem in this area any longer.

This does not mean that she suddenly reached menopause at such an early age. However, in her own testimony, she did not regard her period as a stumbling block if it coincided with the celebration of Holy Communion. In fact her observation was that her periods were diminishing.

Anaysis of the case:

This woman's problem originates from her traditional Zulu understanding of uncleanness. Therefore, a pastor who is not acquainted with this background may view the problem faced by this woman rather lightly.

The problem this parishioner is having reflects the Zulu understanding of menstruation as a state of "pollution" (*umnyama*). The Zulu understands pollution as a "mystical force". *Umnyama* pollution is a state which one must always be careful of, for it is conceptualised as

a mystical force which diminishes resistance to disease, creates conditions of poor luck, misfortune (*amashwa*), "disagreableness", and repulsiveness (*isidina*), "thereby people around the patient (sic) take a dislike to him (sic) without provocation" (Ngubane, 1976:78).

A menstruating woman is said to have "contagious pollution", but is considered not to be as dangerous as that of a newly delivered mother (*umdlezane*) (Ngubane, 1976:79). Nevertheless, a woman in such a state is also expected to withdraw from some social contacts.

In understanding this Zulu woman's belief about menstruation, one can understand why she withdraws from participating in the Holy Communion. The sacrament is perceived to be an event of participation in deep human relationships with others - a social event par excellence. Of course, it is also union with Jesus Christ.

This case further supports the argument that people tend to understand their newly found religion in the context of what they had known in the past. In other words, it is the parameters of this cultural milieu which colours their perception of their religion and in order to deepen what they have recently acquired, this must be taken seriously in pastoral counselling.

Case 3:

A case of bewitchment

A senior theological student came to the lecturer in pastoral counselling with a burning question: He had visited a Zulu patient during an orientation to the Clinical Pastoral Education Programme. The patient, a middle aged woman, had raised a question that had concerned the young man as his Western orientated theological education programme did not seem to give him an answer. He related to his lecturer the woman's story as follows:

> My son, I don't want to blame the doctor and nurses for my long stay in hospital without a cure. They certainly are trying their best. The problem is that it is an "*isifo sabuntu esibi kabi*" (a serious African disease). I, myself, am a Christian, but these things do happen. There was a neighbour with whom we quarrelled. It started with our children. She then told me that I will see what she would do to me. While I was suprised at this threat, not long afterwards I became seriously sick. Worse than the pain I was feeling all over my body, there were creatures who came to suffocate me. They looked like people but were small. When I told people around me, they didn't see them. They also found it difficult to believe me. That is my dilemma. Sometimes, I don't sleep at all at night. The nurses don't seem to care too much for my plight. I have, of course, tried several medicine men before I came here. All in vain. I mention all these to you as a man of God. Perhaps you have some knowledge and "*amandla*" (power) to deal with such things (Orientation to CPE Programme, 1983, Umphumulo).

Analysis of the case:

Indeed, the student found the visit a challenge to his developing pastoral identity. What could he do with this traditional belief and concept of illness? He was not even aware of the fact that he could start with counselling this person to try and restore the broken relationship with her neighbour. This could even necessitate interviewing the woman with whom the patient is at loggerheads.

It would seem that quite extensive counselling is required, especially because suspicion of sorcery is involved. Nevertheless, the patient challenged the young man visiting her as a pastoral person not as a medical expert to diagnose whether this is a progressing paranoid state or neurotic suspicion of neighbours caused by exaggerated self-centredness.

The following, from a pastoral-psychological perspective, is a response to this case:

This visit raises the need to speak in an easy way to understand religious language. We need to openly acknowledge that the warfare in the personality of Mrs. S involves the whole person, both physically and spiritually. The belief that Christ came out victorious from the powers of darkness, should not be confessed as a creed only; it should also be a confession interwoven in the pastoral dialogue, which hopefully must bring therapy. Thus, adopting such an approach, the whole African "world" becomes a context for pastoral counselling. There is need to avoid being selective, picking, as reality, those things which can be "understood" from a Western perspective. Pastoral counselling should first meet this need, by accepting the person's belief system concerning diseases. Here is an ideal case of an interpretation of the concept of illness in a social anthropological manner. Evil is concretised in a traditionally acceptable mode as "there were creatures who came to suffocate me". Pastoral counselling that would be relevant in such a case would be the one which accepts the African world as it is. This includes such a concretisation of evil. Therefore, pastoral counselling with such a person would call for some form of exorcism as pastoral therapy.

Archbishop Milingo, a Zambian who developed his unique way of dealing with the sick and ended up being called by the Vatican to live in exile in Rome, says of exorcism:

> We must have confidence in God, and never lose sight of Him in all we do. Our connecting chain with Him is prayer. Then follows intimacy with Him. We have exchanged rights with God, and we can say 'In God's name let this be done' (Milingo, 1985:71).

There will also be a need for extensive counselling on restoratiofn of community and healthy neighbourly relationships.

Case 4:

Conflict in the relationship with the in-laws

An African pastor visited a 49-year-old Zulu man in hospital. The visit was later presented for pastoral analysis in a group session with colleagues.

The visit reflects the man's theology of sickness, understanding of prayer, lobola and his relationship with his rural family. This visit reported verbatim further shows that custom and culture play a major dynamic in the understanding and counselling of Zulu patients and parishioners. However, the cultural influence must not be taken to be the only influence on human behaviour. There are also individual dynamics in personality which influence persons' perceptions and behaviour (LeVine, 1973:71).

Conversation - reported verbatim:

Pastor 1:	"*Sawubona*" (translated good morning or good afternoon, lit. we see you), how are you today?
Patient 1:	Well, I am not as bad as the last time you visited me.
Pastor 2:	Yes. I am happy to hear that. I am also happy that I managed to come and see you today.
Patient 2:	You see, *Mfundisi* (pastor), we appreciate your coming here with the other Umfundisi. You see, if we were able to think properly (*ukucabanga kahle*) we would be turning to God, as you have been advising us. It is important for us to remember that even illness "speaks".
Pastor 3:	So you have an insight that illness is a reminder for a person to check his relationship with God.
Patient 3:	That is how I interpret illness myself. It speaks - it says: "Prepare all your things and be ready, if the word says 'come', you must come prepared."
Pastor 4:	Hm....hm...
Patient 4:	But most people do not understand this. They forget that this is a temporal home for us (*ikhaya njena lesikhashana*). Therefore, one must stay prepared.
Pastor 5: ,	If I have understood you so far, you are saying the right way of living is to have a right relationship with God. You understand sickness as a reminder for each person to check his/her relationship with God.

Patient 5: That is what I am saying Mfundisi. A person must always be prepared to meet God.

Pastor 6: I am happy to hear that you are concerned with your relationship with God. I am sure God is just as concerned with you and what you are going through with your present illness. He cares very much for your body too.

Patient 6: Yes, it is good to know that. I try to pray for myself here, Mfundisi. I am a Christian, a member of V. congregation. But it is difficult to pray here with some of these people who are drunk so often. Some of them come back drunk in the middle of the night. They don't want to see a person praying. They make all sorts of remarks. They sometimes say that I think I am something better.

Pastor 7: I realise that it must be difficult to pray around here in the ward.

Patient 7: Yes, it is. I have solved this problem by going to pray alone in the toilet. There is no other way because I need it.

Pastor 8: I understand, that was quite a thought on your part, I would encourage you to carry on like that. You can even pray silently under your blankets, if you find it difficult to wake up.

Patient 8: Yes, Mfundisi.

Pastor 9: Do you also read the Bible and partake in the Holy Sacrament?

Patient 9: Well, I do listen to the Word through the hospital broadcast system. But I can't read from the Bible myself. Since admission I can hardly read, it is my eyesight - concerning the Holy Communion, I can't commune, Mfundisi, it is because of the sixth commandment.

Pastor 10: So it means that you have access to the Word of God, but you don't commune because of your having transgressed against the sixth commandment - is that what you are saying?

Patient 10: Yes, that is true. I will relate the whole story to you Mfundisi. I was injured when I was still working in Johannesburg. I was about to be married. Unfortunately, that girl left me. After a long time (I was better then) I got another young lady. She became pregnant. Just at that time I began to pay *lobolo*, according to the Zulu custom. But soon her father disappeared. We only heard rumours, that he was in Durban. For years, he did not come home. His wife left home. Through rumour, it was also known that she was in the sugarcane fields near Tongaat. So I decided to take my girlfriend as my wife without paying *lobolo* nor with any wedding celebration in the church. This matter has worried me a lot, Mfundisi. It seems there is something wrong to start life in a family this way.

Pastor 11: So the problem of not paying *lobolo* has become a stumbling block for you to participate in the Holy Communion in the church where you visit.

Patient 11: Yes, Mfundisi, this is the problem. Pastor M. has tried hard to help me, because we have always been attending. However, the elders said, I must put right the matter first.

Pastor 12: You, yourself have been trying to find a solution but you haven't been successful so far. Is it not so?

Patient 12: Yes, I have tried hard. In fact, even before the elders spoke to me, I had given my in-laws eight cows. My father-in-law has come back from the city. But he still does not want to give me his daughter officially. My eldest child is now seventeen years of age.

Pastor 13: This matter of lobola has delayed you from having an official wedding for a long time now. You are quite worried about this. Is it possible to further persuade your father-in-law?

Patient 13: I have tried very hard. Mfundisi, you cannot land anywhere with one who drinks and also smokes dagga. He now says, he wants another cow. But where can I get that since I now depend on pension. Therefore, my problem remains for me.

Pastor 14: This must be difficult for you. Don't you think Mr. N. who is an *induna* (chief's counsellor) in your area can be of help in this matter? In fact, I am wondering, if you shouldn't avail yourself of legal assistance?

Patient 14: This is also what I am thinking to do. But one must be well first.

Pastor 15: It seems you now need rest. It was good to further get acquainted with you. I do intend to come back and talk further to you.

Analysis of verbatim:

The pastor has adopted the client-centred approach in the pastoral conversation and tries to use it in an African context. His style is non-directive to the extent of being disarming. There is hardly a response where the patient (client) argues with the pastor disagreeing with him. The pastor is sensitive to the contextual issues to which he needs to respond empathetically. He knows that the *lobola* custom is very important for the Zulu. Therefore, he manages not to gloss over the patient's worry concerning the fact that there has been no official traditional ceremony acknowledging and endorsing the new relationship of the couple. The union lacks a "blessing", not in church only, but in the family, clan and nation as well.

Further this visit demonstrates the importance of referral in counselling. The pastor knows that the traditional *induna* (chief's counsellor) is a key figure and one of the important traditional support systems in the community and he suggests his services. Therefore, he advises the patient to solicit such help as well, in an effort to solve his problem. On the other hand, the church elders' role seems to reflect a typical legalistic approach in the church which is not sympathetic to cultural issues. It is an approach which does not attempt to discover underlying cultural issues which are in fact part of the context in which pastoral counselling must be practised in an African milieu. For them the question is simply whether the person has been married in church or not to be allowed to participate in the Holy Communion. They

are unable to encourage this person to share with them problems he may be having in reaching the stage where his marriage is officially endorsed by the community, church and state. An intensive educational programme is generally still needed in African churches to educate lay people to be sensitive and caring towards their fellow church members who experience problems.

The patient himself demonstrates clearly some issues which many African parishioners still face, as they live a life which combines the old and the new. The *lobola* custom, for example, belongs to the traditional way of life. Even people who have become Christian and are educated cannot divorce themselves from this African custom of exchanging cattle before a marriage is solemnised. The person in this case study was not only sick, but was also very concerned about the type of family life he is having, if their life together has no blessing of the extended family, community and church.

It is significant from a pastoral psychological point of view that this personal issue surfaces during the crisis of illness and admission to hospital. It shows that the conflict is in the deep layers of this patient's personality.

A closer look at this person further reveals that his inability to pay *lobolo*, his present semi-crippled state, a rather poor relationship with his father-in-law, caused mainly by his bad behaviour, his present state of being hospitalised in a place foreign to his community and culture, all militate against his personality, causing illness. There is intense intra-psychic conflict. Pastoral Counselling must be able to respond adequately to these needs expressed directly or indirectly. Therefore this case itself supports the observation that moralising is not helpful. A different approach to pastoral practice based on rigid church discipline is recommended in dealing with parishioners. The case further shows that a legalistic approach and a "technological" medical approach can fail to effect therapy of the whole person, because the need for healing cannot adequately be taken care of, if the therapist focuses on one area only. Quite often there is a need for an inter-disciplinary team in the treatment of people. In this person's situation, the need for the role of a physician, pastor, nurse in the clinical setting, a community health nurse, social worker and *induna* (chief's counsellor), in the treatment, is evident. Therefore, essential for a pastoral counsellor in the African context, is the ability to perceive the need for referral and to identify contextual professional help as well as support systems.

A Western oriented pastoral counselling would not be able to seriously accommodate this man's concern with *lobolo* and for a marriage lacking the "blessing" of the extended family, community and Christian congregation. The therapy which this person needs would

have to be communal instead of being individualistic. Communal dynamics should be explored in this case. In order for his counselling to be contextual, the pastoral counsellor would need to build a team of elders which would form a therapeutic group. The members of this team would be representative of the significant support systems of the person - family, community and church. Concerning the family, the man's father-in-law should be counselled to realise that giving his daughter to his sick son-in-law is now part of the therapeutic process. All the elders must be willing to listen to the man, and pronounce a comprehensive family, community and church forgiveness: "We understand your situation. We will support you in achieving your goals. You are one of us."

Case 5:

A widow with a son serving a long term for his political convictions

A pastor visiting a rural hospital in Zululand was surprised to enter a big ward and find Mrs K., one of the parishioners in the parish where he also was a member. (The pastor is not serving as a parish pastor, because he is a lecturer in the seminary).

After some initial greetings and enquiry as to the present situation of the patient, Mrs K. proceeded to tell the story of her hospitalisation as follows:

> Mfundisi, I am so happy that you have come to visit us here. Being so far away from home, I feel lonely here sometimes (looks sad). The reason that I didn't go to U. Hospital which is nearer is because I had gone to a private doctor at K. and he recommended that I come to this hospital immediately and be admitted. (The pastor asked what her problem was).
>
> The doctor had discovered that my blood pressure was very high. The tablets that I was taking were not helping to control it, so I had this constant feeling of loss of energy. I felt as if I was dying. I know what started my present condition. I had received a letter from my son who is serving eighteen years prison sentence for his political convictions. I was worried whether I would ever see him again. After that letter I developed constant headaches. This is why I went to see the doctor and he advised my immediate admission. I am still worried about my son. He keeps telling us to be hopeful, but I am still worried all the same. We who belong to the older generation have problems to understand what is happening in the modern times.

(The conversation continued with the parishioner sharing with the pastor her problems, which she said she often did not share with people, even with her neighbours, because "one does not easily discuss such things".)

Analysis of the case:

Mrs K. represents the plight of many a parent in South Africa. This problem, of course, falls within the political sphere and solutions will need to be sought on that level. However, as pastoral counsellor, it is necessary to find out what is happening to this woman inter-personally and intra-psychically. Inter-personally her motherly instinct is denied normal satisfaction. She cannot have normal contact with her son. He lives in a far away prison. The one to whom she gave birth, the one whom she nursed, held in her arms, and put to sleep by singing traditional Zulu lullabies, is now so far away behind bars and inaccessible to her. This is coupled by her own inner fear of prison. This denial of her primary need to express her motherly care, causes acute conflict and severe personal stress.

Further, intra-psychically the event invades the whole area of her being human. With her own identity being put off balance, she begins to question the meaning of life as such. This intra-psychic disequilibrium even leads to the questioning of the purpose of creation. Hence she is very close to the existential question of a woman who was denied entry to a Dutch Reformed Church and who thus responded with anger and despair: "But God, why did you create us?" (Mthethwa, 1964).

Of course, the pastoral counsellor cannot change the situation of her son, but in the pastoral conversation he can help her to see, though even dimly that there is still a reason to go on like a brave warrior, even if it hurts rather badly. Pastoral Counselling has a role in cases like these, to restore hope where there is dispair.

Therefore, it is the combination of these above mentioned factors, inter alia, which contribute to the aggravating high blood pressure syndrome of Mrs K., now hospitalised.

Again, in this situation, the pastor must be skilled at referral. A critique leveled at counselling by social activists, that this discipline should address itself to changing social structures that are contributory to cases like that of Mrs. K. is partly valid. It is valid inasmuch as the care of persons needs to include working for a change in their living conditions. Further, pastoral counsellors in South Africa must work towards the establishment of inter-disciplinary support systems for African communities. However, working for change and a new society need not be at the expense of the victims of social, economic and political pathology. The victims need help to keep on living, as they work towards their liberation.

Education of African parishioners on the situation and needs of prisioners should be part of the parish programme. The parents and relatives of the prisoners must also be cared for

by the pastor and the laity. For this ministry a well organised educational programme in the parish is essential. Although Christian witness does have a role to play in a socio-political arena for liberation, the victims must also be taken care of by the Church through the various ministries of the Church.

It is true that the situation of this particular African widow could be the same in Ireland, the Middle East or Vietnam, but it is precisely because of this that this particular case should be included. As a contextual pastoral counselling is developed, it needs to be borne in mind that some counselling situations in the South African context will cut across a traditional African element and will show how the modern African is afflicted by modern socio-political phenomena. In summary, socio-political crises call for empathetic pastoral counselling.

D. PROFILES OF AFRICAN COUNSELEES

1. A type influenced by a survival of Zulu traditional culture

Although the case histories and verbatim material presented originate from the Zulu context, it is contended that there is some similarity with other nations in Southern Africa.

Making use of the research a hypothetical example of an African client as she/he presents himself/herself in counselling will now be constructed. This profile argues against merely "transporting" Western approaches to the African milieu. We recognise that this "model" must never prevent us from seeing each person as an individual.

1. An African counselee presenting herself/himself for Pastoral Counselling may appear hesitant and unable to articulate his/her problem. The uncertainty may also be reflected in non-verbal communication. This is cultural, for in the Zulu tradition you didn't look an authority figure in the eyes. Quite often you also needed someone else to negotiate your affairs with people in power. In inter-cultural involvement, this hesitancy could be misinterpreted as lack of good manners and politeness.

2. Mannerisms may also be different to those Westerners are familiar with. For example, an African expressing his extreme surprise over a matter or statement could shake his/her head. This is not (as one Westerner once misinterpreted this body language) a sign of disapproval but of surprise. Behaviour like this should be carefully observed as non-verbal communication.

3. Africans, in general, are religious people and accept authority from a supreme being. The African client may come to the pastor after she/he has been praying or has slaughtered a beast for his/her ancestors. She/He may also have had a dream or two which he/she believes say something of his/her situation. In counselling, the pastor must be aware of this dimension.

4. The African client has a good sense of morality which dates back to the traditional values which were introduced early in life; these become an integral part of the personality. There should be explorations as to whether these traditional values can be enhanced by the principles of Christian ethics.

5. There is in the African mind a deep respect for humanity. The person has something of God. Therefore, a human being deserves much respect, irrespective of the condition in which he/she finds himself/herself. It is other human beings who combine to make another one human too.

6. If the African client is a South African, he/she comes with a dynamic struggle not to lose his/her self-worth, for this is being attacked from all directions. There is constant threat of an inferiority complex. The struggle for self-worth has been a universal phenomenon in situations of oppression and denial of basic human rights. In the present study this attack on self-worth has been isolated in terms of migrant labour as an aspect of an apartheid society.

   The black Americans who were also being oppressed, restored their sense of self-worth during the civil rights movement in the 1960's. As Africans in South Africa are counselled, we notice that in spite of oppression, there is a continuous human resistance to sacrifice basic human worth. The person we meet in counselling is experiencing this dynamic struggle. He may be a worker receiving a very low salary at the place of work, a domestic worker ill-treated by a cruel madam, a professional denied further promotion because he is black. In counselling these people must be introduced to a different atmosphere, one in which their struggle to assert their basic human worth is supported.

7. The human being is human in community. The African person presenting herself/himself for counselling lives in a network of relationships. Not only does he appreciate these relationships but they are part of his identity. Therefore, when a person gets sick, he/she would tend to look for therapy within a group setting which would fulfill his identity within a group setting. In therapy the person and the

environment must be brought together. The palaver therapy which is emphasised in some African communities shows insight in dealing with persons whose self-identity emphasises life in community and the importance of relationships with others.

8. The African comes to counselling bringing with him/her the family system which is traditionally the norm among his/her people. He/she is a by-product of either a matrilineal or a patrilineal society. He comes as a son in a society in which being a son has to do not only with one's immediate family, but with the extended family as well.

   If a woman is married, she comes with her unique relationship with her father-in-law, mother-in-law and brothers- and sisters-in-law. This complex support system is an integral part of the person's existence. Therefore, the counsellor must bear in mind that these significant persons may play a part in influencing the behaviour of the client.

   Therefore, the pastoral counsellor must be empathetic, not only to his client but also to the members of the client's extended family. In Africa we counsel the person in the context of the extended family.

9. The African concept of illness and health should be borne in mind when one is counselling African patients. The person coming for counselling may be a total subscriber to the traditional view, while another may have had other influences and subscribe to the old view only in part. The other, though the incidence is rare, may be doubtful of the African point of view of causation of disease. Nevertheless, they are all convinced of the holistic view of life. The counsellor must take this seriously.

   As we consider the African view of sickness and health, it is important for the counsellor to bear in mind that he/she is not dealing with superstitious people who are also Christians, "but Christians who are approached by Christ, as they believe in Him through their idea of the world" (Nxumalo, in Masamba 1985: 35).

10. Though the African in the counselling situation is part of a community, and cherishes very much his life in community, the community is not a "tyrant". He/she also knows that individuality is also a reality. Therefore, it is impossible to abolish either the individual or the community. In counselling, the pastoral counsellor should be aware of both of these dimensions. The individual sees his/her life in the

light of the whole and develops a sense of duty and values in the context of the community. Nevertheless, he/she internalises these values as her/his own. The individual presenting herself/himself for pastoral counselling is keenly aware of his/her individuality, at the same time, however, he/she is aware that he/she lives and has his/her being in community which is "a world of ordered relationships" where all actions are integrated into the order of a cultural environment.

When the counsellor in the counselling situation suggests to the client a need to come to some decision regarding the issue at hand, he/she may observe some prolonged reluctance to do so and ascribe such hesitancy to passivity and insecurity. However, it rather stems from the need to synthesise opinions originating from different sources in the network of relationships. Further, whatever new insight has been gained must be tested in the light of influences from these significant others. It is not true to think that since the individual has to go through this synthesis and evaluation process, she/he has no individual freedom. It is quite possible that he may reject this or that opinion and opt for his own viewpoint.

11. African culture discourages a person from asserting herself/himself in telling of her/his achievements. Somehow, there is an underlying belief that what you have must be observed and remarked upon by other persons in this network of relationships. It is others who say: *Uyindoda mfana kasobanibani!* (You are a man, indeed, son of so and so!) This is a compliment which every Zulu male would cherish.

Interesting developments take place when Zulu enter the modern highly competitive labour or even professional market. Traditionally, one was not comfortable in "chanting" one's achievements. The person would rather say: "Give me a chance, you will see what I can do, I cannot boast about what I can do". (*Nginike ithuba wena uyozibonela ikhono lami umuntu akazidumisi*.) He/she may fail the interview and miss the oportunity to get the job. This would have happened, because the nuances of his/her African culture are misinterpreted. Pastoral counselling in the South African context pays close attention to the cultural nuances.

This observation relates to counselling in that at times the African client may be hesitant to give information about himself/herself, if the information might show worthwhile achievements. This hesitancy stems from these African values. An empathy of the pastoral counsellor is essential to help the person share more about himself/herself.

These African practices must not be seen as a stumbling block to the effective counselling of Africans; rather they suggest a need to be thoroughly aquainted with the African value systems and cultural norms.

12. Problems faced by a number of Africans presenting themselves for counselling do not stem from a tranquil environment where traditional African value systems and customs reign supreme. If it were so, there would certainly be less people requiring extensive counselling. There is a continuous threat of modernism with its disintegrative influence. Therefore, the counsellor in the African milieu must be concerned with the significant problems of individuals and groups in this specific context. Programmes in counselling must have a fresh "outlook that is radical and innovative enough to deal with the problems of the greatest number on a human scale. Such a psychology must treat the current findings of Western psychology as a theoretical and empirical baseline for imaginative scholarship on relevant issues involving individuals and groups" (Manganyi 1981: 84).

Part of the problems of modernism are migrant labour, poor housing and a wide-scale urbanisation. There are many social pathologies in South Africa today because:

> "...we in South Africa have joined the bandwagon of the industrialising nations of the West and are faced with the same dangers which led Emile Durkheim to write about the devastating effects of anomie. As economic prosperity increases, the disorganisation of society and its instrumental and institutional agencies in South Africa will occur at a more rapid rate. The "bondlessness" that Durkheim described as the lot of individuals when anomie sets in, will then have become a reality" (Manganyi 1981: 91).

It is true, as Manganyi later presents a diagnosis of the effects of modernism in African societies, that indeed there is a crisis situation in these societies.

There is at present alarming alcoholism, dagga smoking, escalating divorce rate, too fast and reckless driving, violence, teenage pregnancies, and many other social pathologies. The person coming for counselling may in some way or another be a victim or have a close relative suffering one or more of these social pathologies. This type of African counselee is specifically dealt with under a following sub-heading.

13. Pastoral counsellors have to deal with the real African in the counselling situation. It would be superficial and hence ineffective to deal with an imaginary and ideal

African Christian, from the perspective of Western Christianity. The average African Christian comes to counselling with an intense struggle of how to reconcile the old way of life - *amasiko okhokho bethu*, with the new.

It is termed a struggle, because in our experience most African Christians rather suppress the area of conflict between the old and the new. Many things happen in a clandestine manner. The resort to suppression rather than honest and open dialogue suggests that there is a conflict. African pastoral counsellors must take seriously the fact that:

> From the beginning until the present day there has been a resistance to Western Christian ways, in favour of "*mekgwa ya borra rona*" some of these *mekgwa* have been integrated into the Church. Others have been condemned. But their practice continues, sometimes openly. Without thought as to their relationship, "*mekgwa*" and the official ways of the Church exist side by side, as two suits to be worn on different occasions and sometimes even together at the same time (Setiloane 1976:225).

Earlier such a Christian way of life was called a "schizophrenic" existence. This term refers to the suppression accompanying this way of life. Failure to relate the old to the new and, unfortunately, fear to discuss the conflict openly and seek some kind of creative resolution of the issue at hand, leads to frustration sometimes expressed in unethical conduct often leading the parishioner to the counselling room.

14. Research among Africans reveals that child bearing is one of the priorities in the family. Childlessness is a serious disadvantage for the couple. In the past in traditional African society, when the woman was barren, the husband took a second wife. In this way a solution was found. In Christian marriage, however, this solution is no longer viable. Therefore, with some African couples childlessness may cause serious problems for the marriage. Quite often, this may lead to divorce.

    It is important for the African pastoral counsellor to bear in mind the African's view of the priority of child bearing for every married couple. The counsellor in the African context will have to work very hard to convince a man that he may be the one who is the cause of the childlessness. Further, he/she may work as hard to help the couple realise that having children is a gift of God, which no one can guarantee, except God himself. He/she will also have to guide the couple carefullly to accept that childlessness for the Christian need not lead to divorce.

15. An African woman client may come to the pastoral counsellor, especially in rural areas, presenting the problem that her husband who left home to work in the city does not care to come home any more. She may come presenting severe stress caused by this problem. The underlying problems could be: problems in raising children alone, financial problems, frustrated sexual feelings resulting in low self-image, insecurity, jealousy and anger.

16. The African client presents his/her problem to the pastoral counsellor using his/her mother tongue which is a heritage from his/her forbears. Quite often the problem will not be stated directly as this is part of the communication in most African languages. In the Zulu language, for instance, the following expressions could be used:

    (a) "*Sikhona njena namahlala khona*" (We are well although we carry with us our day to day experiences).

    In this connection, the counsellor must be sensitive to the fact that there are things worrying this person, although he/she has not specified them as yet. So then the skilled counsellor sensitive to the style of communication in the Zulu language may gently respond:

    "*Siyathokoza ukuthi niyaphila,kepha namahlalakhona kumelwe aphathwe*" (I am happy to hear that you are well, but there is reason to speak of the day to day experiences as well).

    The counsellor may have prompted the client to proceed to communicate what may be real problems. If the counsellor is not sensitive in this regard nothing could be shared and communication may be blocked.

    (b) "*Singakhuluma njena kodwa ngeke saziqeda izindaba*" (We can talk but we cannot finish all matters to discuss).

    Such an expression could mean that the client has something deeper to communicate. A sensitive counsellor could gently probe to find out, if there are areas which have still not been discussed in the counselling session.

(c) "*Angazi*" (I don't know).

The Zulu may use this expression at times not really to express that they are lacking of knowledge or information of a particular thing, but to express their present inability or even their unwillingness to give out the information that they already have.

The counsellor would again need to be patient and understanding of the inner dynamics in operation. He/she would need to be gentle, bearing in mind that the client has already expressed some hesitancy and reluctance to share a particular piece of information or standpoint.

(d) "*Umthandazo wami ukuthi noma umuntu enezinkinga ezingaka angaphelelwa amandla*" (My prayer is that even if a person is facing so many problems, one must not lose power).

Amandla (power) is a word a Zulu would use to express a variety of things. In this connection, for instance, the person would be referring to faith, love for the spouse, interest and ability to raise one's children, tolerance in a difficult situation, ablility to concentrate in one's studies and resistance to diseases. The word could mean other things as well. The pastoral counsellor would have to be sensitive to the variety of meanings that this word carries in the Zulu language.

At times a Zulu person could use proverbs in expressing what he/she feels. The counsellor must be able to understand what is being communicated through that particular proverb being used.

17. The other facet of the African client has to do with what could be called culturally determined transference, even counter-transference. By this is meant the projection of feelings by the client towards the pastoral counsellor, to such an extent that the counsellor may be seen as a father figure, even a husband (if the client is a woman).

This projected significant other - father or husband - may colour the flow of the conversation in the counselling situation. The counsellor may find that the person is not free to say certain things or pronounce certain words. Of course, in the African situation, this transference and counter-transference will be coloured by African culture with its values and norms.

This may be *hlonipha* (respect) traditionally accorded to the father figure. There were things you did not say to your father. The pastoral counsellor must be aware all the time of the influence of this custom to the nature of transference in the counselling situation.

18. Chapter IV of this study has traced the missionary approach in Zululand and further focussed on the style of missionary pastoral care. It was seen that church discipline played a significant role in missionary pastoral care among the Zulu. Research reveals that the heritage of the past plays a significant part in African Christianity. Therefore, among African Christian clients one notices that the person comes to counselling with an ecclesiastical influence of perceiving Christianity in terms of the law. One feels that if failures are stated openly, there is danger of action by the pastor and elders. Action would be mainly in terms of the law and thus punishment in church. Therefore, often one does not perceive the pastor as one skilled in the therapy of the soul, but quite often as the policeman of the church. The pastor is seen as one whose primary concern is upholding the law of Moses of which the church has become custodian. Therefore, in a counselling situation one may find a person working hard to protect himself/herself from a specific act which is perceived to be against a certain commandment. In such an action a person is acting like a patient refusing to be naked in front of a skilled surgeon who is ready to operate in order to effect a cure.

    Counselling with people who are influenced in this way, requires a lot of empathy and patience to walk with them at their pace. It needs to be borne in mind that in developing pastoral counselling in Africa, this ecclesiastical influence must be addressed with a theology that is clear on the relationship of the law and the Gospel, and the practical implications of this relationship. Further, a clear understanding of guilt and forgiveness is necessary as well.

19. In counselling an African, we must be aware that for him/her there is no compartmentalisation of life into several categories of religious, social, political and economic spheres. Life is holistic and religion permeates the whole of life. God rules over everything. Thus one often does not distinguish between religious and secular issues. This holistic approach to life colours the world-view of the African client presenting herself/himself for counselling.

    In summary, the African comes to counselling as a person immersed in his/her cultural milieu. The counsellor must be thoroughly acquainted with this milieu in

order for his counselling to be effective. Therefore, pastoral counselling in Africa must be contextualised. It must be a practice and discipline which takes the context, in all its dimensions, with seriousness. Everything that is part of a people's way of life should be taken cognizance of. The person's experiences in a specific cultural context are, indeed, intergral parts of his/her world. Counselling happens within a person's own frame of reference not an imaginary one or one forced on by other persons. In other words, pastoral counselling in Africa must not be abstract but practical and concrete.

In the next chapter the question to be raised is: What models are relevant in addressing the needs as expressed by a person in this cultural milieu?

2. A type influenced by modern dynamics of an interface of two world-views

The present research has discovered that a large majority of Zulu counselees live in two world-views. This context has an impact on all levels of their existence. There are points in this interface where there is potential conflict. These points of conflict contribute to an acceleration of need for pastoral guidance.

Thus it seems worthwhile to further outline the contexts that lead to conflict. A Zulu who has converted to Christianity is introduced to a different religious paradigm to that of his forbears, if they were non-Christian traditionalists. Later, reference is going to be made to specific religious points of contact and conflict. Modern education, as a by-product of the Western mind, offers yet another new conceptualisation of the world and reality. Education introduces the paradigm of competition instead of social cohesion. There is also an emphasis on progress and good life, mainly in a secular technologically oriented sense. Educated Africans are perceived as those who dress better and drive shiny, beautiful cars and have modern, beautiful, Western-style homes. Recently Government and industry have promoted this development with housing subsidies now extended to African employees.

The secular world-view also emphasises intellectual pursuits and a far greater freedom in individual initiative and decision making.

There is also a political area which humankind has to address in a modern way. To take an example, in the traditional Zulu life style, politics was a communal, national affair. Political activity was mainly an activity around the Royal Court. The king was perceived as corporate personality par excellence. Everyone looked up to him and his carefully

selected councillors for leadership and guidance in complicated decision making. Suddenly, in the modern era, the Zulu person, especially in an urban situation, is left mainly on his/her own to make decisions on crucial issues of life.

Industrialisation also influences Africans in the modern world. A person coming from rural and traditional Zululand comes to the city, much influenced by respect of elders, appreciation for direction and support of his/her peers (*ontanga*). In the traditional world-view, a person who does not comply with traditional norms is looked upon with much suspicion. In the urban area, this rural African is shocked to find out that in such surroundings each person seems to be on his/her own. People are no more satisfied to be equal, with society divided into main age groups - the elders and *ontanga*. There is rugged competition to be on the top. To be successful the person from the rural areas has to identify with these norms. This person needs guidance as he/she struggles to make sense of all this.

It would be important to conceptualise conflict characteristic of the modern world in Africa. John Cumpsty's conceptual framework in the scientific study of religion seems to be helpful. He develops his paradigm around belonging. He further states that there are three logically coherent types of religious tradition, namely, Nature Religion, Withdrawal Religion and Secular World Affirming Religion. A brief focus on the non-negotiable symbols and features, primarily of Nature Religion (African religion fits this category), and Secular World Affirming Religion (Christianity fits this category) would be helpful, utilising the following table from Cumpsty (1991:177):

PARADIGMATIC SYMBOLS AND CONSEQUENTIAL SYMBOLS AND SOME OTHER FEATURES OF THE THREE LOGICAL CURRENT TYPES OF RELIGIOUS SYSTEM

NON-NEGOTIABLE SYMBOLS AND FEATURES	NATURE RELIGION	SECULAR WORLD AFFIRMING RELIGION
Experience of Immediate World out there	Affirmed as of the Real	Affirmed as of the Real but is not Ultimate
Change and Determinism	Chance Excluded	Chance Present
Mode of Belonging to ultimately Real	Assumed must be maintained or repaired	To be sought individually
Nature of ultimately Real	No rigid distinction between personal and impersonal	Personal

Considering these paradigmatic symbols, it seems clear that a pastoral counsellor, especially in a mixed world-view situation, would end up being superficial if he/she

assumed a response before identifying the logical coherent type or types of religious system in which the counselee is operating. One would tend to be of the opinion that the Christian Church in Africa has not as yet adequately addressed the conflict inherent in the new context of an interface of two world-views. This conflict has to do with the dynamic interaction of the Nature Religion and the Secular World Affirming Religion. Quite often they exist side by side in Africa; some individuals try to embrace both. This does not happen without conflict. This phenomenon would merit considerable research in order to identify what actually goes on in such circumstances. The crux of the matter is the challenge to deal with this conflict in a creative manner. The first step, it could be suggested, is empathy in pastoral counsellors which would lead them to realise that theirs is to accept persons and try to help them, regardless of their current religious convictions. After all, it seems there is affinity in religion, for "religion can be said to be the quest for, realisation or maintenance of, belonging to the ultimately real" (Cumpsty, 1991;171).

Looking at these logical, coherent types of religious systems, it seems appropriate to bear in mind that there is a religious psychological experience called conversion. This experience suggests the possibility of a person moving from one system and adopting the other. However, the findings of the present research are that people seem not to unself overnight.

The following case studies illustrate where issues in a mixed world-view situation arise. It is these issues which in fact characterise the other dimension of the context for pastoral counselling in a modern African situation. What is reported here is an example of such issues. However, in real life situations a wide variety could still be forthcoming. There is no attempt to give ready-made solutions. The objective is to show where the issues arise.

Case Number One

A 23-year-old African theological education student from Northern Zululand came to the Seminary Rector's office to "ask for some help". He was much worried and, in his own words, "was becoming progressively confused". He had lost his paternal grandmother the previous day. Theological examinations were to commence in three days. These were final annual examinations. The whole community had tried to comfort him. they had prayed for him in the chapel service. He had also had a good discussion about the matter with one of his Western lecturers, who had advised him to put before anything else his objective of writing his final theological examinations and thus possibly qualify

for the theological Diploma. He had agreed to this advice since it was in consonant with his goal oriented life-style. However, the young student's father was a non-Christian traditionalist who insisted that things must be done "according to the ways and customs of our forbears (*izinto mazenziwe ngezindlela namasiko okhokho bethu*". The theological student had well integrated Zulu traditional culture and a devotion to Christian teaching. Respect for his traditionalist father was always unquestioned. But in this particular case, he was confused. The question was whether to listen to his goal oriented "call" or to the non-Christian traditionalist parent.

His father wanted him to come home immediately, before the funeral, so as to fulfil some ritual acts and chew special medicine barks (*aqugude amakhubalo*.

The pastoral counsellor in this particular case is faced with a typical situation of a counselee's existence between two world-views. Besides what he was taught in the traditional family, the young theological student could also have heard from lectures in pastoral counselling emphasising contextuality, of the importance of maintaining the extended family as an important support system. On the other hand, lectures in Christian spirituality could have emphasised individual initiative in spiritual growth and commitment to Christ and the *Communio Sanctorum*. Both emphases seem to be of value to the personality. However, the identified conflict seems to be real. It points to the challenge of integration in theological disciplines, in the praxis of pastoral counselling, as well as in life as such.

Case Number Two

A Christian businessman who had a prosperous business in Botswana, returned to Zululand when he fell ill. He had been a hard-working, self-motivated and goal-oriented person. He had worked hard to better his lot in life. One of his major activities was to see to it that his children received a good education. Fortunately, they all did, becoming professionals in various fields.

This man always said that the best lesson he had learned from German Lutheran missionaries was hard work and the work ethic.

When he got sick and had to return to his home in Zululand, the whole extended family tried their best to be helpful. He was taken to several Western medical doctors. The only person who seemed unwilling to help was his brother. The brother was soon

suspected of witchcraft. His bad relationship with his brother's family aggravated the situation.

The sick man was diagnosed as having cancer. He soon died.

It has already been mentioned that the sickness of the man brought the extended family together. Besides blood ties, they had a common commitment to one who had been such a pillar of strength to the family and was helpful in various ways to many of them. Unfortunately, however, immediately after the death of this man, misunderstanding and quarrelling arose among his children. The children, having received a good education and having adopted a Western style of life, were tempted to be greedy and seemed not to respect much of the traditional customs. They started to regard one another as having been assigned the lion's share in their father's estate. They were suspicious that their father had left a will which did not distribute the inheritance in equal shares.

Due to this unfortunate conflict in the midst of grief, one of the children got mentally sick and had to be admitted for treatment. She was discharged after three months. But the suspicion among them did not stop.

It was the daughter who became the main victim who approached the local parish pastor for counselling, "to bring healing to our confused *Umndeni* (extended family)", she said.

There are two areas facing the counselling pastor. First, he needs to understand the importance of the extended family in Zulu traditional culture. Second, he needs to be clear of the dynamics which bring an onslaught to these traditional values in a modern African context which has been influenced by many other foreign factors. The pastoral counsellor's task is, therefore, to contribute in this ongoing struggle in a quest for some integration or rationalisation.

Case Number Three

At Mpumalanga township, Zulu residents believed they had national solidarity, until they became politicised in the 1980's. They became divided into the followers of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha. The township became divided into rival camps.

It was during the middle 80's that at times there were calls to students to boycott schools as a political strategy and leverage for change. The following case study shows the dynamics of social change and escalated difficulties in decision making.

A 20-year-old male student had set for himself specific objectives for his educational programme. His father was a high school principal with a university degree, and his mother was a prosperous businesswoman. She had a thriving business in selling women's clothing and shoes. The family has a beautiful Western style house and two expensive European cars. In general, they kept a low profile in politics. The area of the township where they lived was mainly UDF territory. When there was a call to boycott school, all the local children responded.

This particular student had an intense struggle in deciding what to do. He himself believed that it was important to him to pursue his education in order to achieve his progressive educational goals. The family is progress oriented. The guiding philosophy is that each member of the family must achieve the best which life can offer. This family philosophy had been shared with the children from the time that they were young.

The student was then facing problems, primarily in two areas. He had come to internalise the family philosophy. His objective was to work towards achieving a high level of education in the engineering field. His hope is to be rich on his own. At the same time, there is a strong pull from his township peers to take a political stand. They believe that the most important thing is communal solidarity and a consolidated response to the "system".

The young student feels that although, by conviction, he would like to neglect the call of his peers and pursue his objectives, by doing so, he would be at great personal risk. As a Zulu, he also has a cultural commitment to his peers (*ontanga*) and also has been taught to respect his parents. The parents, themselves, felt unable to guide their son in the intense conflict which he was experiencing. As members of a local Methodist church, they turned to their minister seeking help.

The case study highlights the following points: First, it shows that a large majority of Africans in South Africa has embraced modernity. Research identifies not a few goal-oriented individuals who seek to make a better life for themselves by embracing what Western life can offer them to achieve this goal. However, such a pursuit, widespread as it is, is not without problems.

Case Number Four

The Zulu novelist Sibusiso Nyembezi in his *Mntanami, Mntanami* (1957) portrays a typical counselee, a type influenced by the context of an interface of two world-views. A Zulu family which is industrious and Christian, possibly descendants of *onenhlevu* (first Zulu Christians) had three lovely children; two boys and one girl. Everything seems to be going on very well in the family and this particular family to be the model of the community. The children also seem to be doing well in school, until Jabulani, the second son is found to have started the habit of smoking secretly. He is also found to be keeping bad company. The family tries in vain to talk him out of it. In fact, he soon begins to play truant and his school work degenerates and the teachers become very unhappy.

Eventually, Jabulani secretly escapes, boards a train and goes to Johannesburg. In the city he stayed without work for a long time. As he faced the reality of living in the modern city without work, and hence without any earnings, he becomes prey for bad company, a robbery gang with a hardened, notorious gang leader. Initially, Jabulani enjoys his new job, especially the assignments he is ordered to carry out. He enjoys monetary rewards and indulges himself in what he thinks is the good life. Eventually he ends up committing murder and has to face a murder charge. The judge's verdict was that he was guilty and, due to extenuating circumstances, he was sentenced to may years in jail, but not to capital punishment.

An analysis of the novel shows that Nyembezi has set a plot and developed a Zulu novel that portrays vividly, sociological, psychological and theological/pastoral issues which come to bear upon the pastoral counsellors in the African context today. The author is perceptive of the fluidity of the social conditions in Zululand and he does not romanticise the past. This does not mean, however, that he shows no appreciation for the rich cultural legacy of the Zulu. But Nyembezi is a realist who seems to be convinced that there are disintegrative factors which need to be tackled in an inter-disciplinary manner.

A context of an interface of two world-views would quite often leave people with a feeling of inadequacy, lack of confidence and guilt. Jabulani's parents, for instance, one would suspect, could have a deep-seated sense of guilt, wondering if, had they been more perceptive, could they not have done better for their son? The challenge for pastoral counsellors in this context is to guide parents as they struggle with their responsibility, as well as to deal with the youth who are overwhelmed with the many

challenges and options in a society in a state of flux. Pastors have to act with responsibility in this situation.

This state of affairs falls within the dynamic of the interface of two world-views, hence it is not without a great deal of conflict and unresolved questions. Therefore, this continuous difficult sorting out of things affecting all areas of life demands an informed contextual pastoral counselling. It should be, it seems, counselling which is able to keep abreast with the times and reflected social change in any given time. Pastoral counselling, therefore, cannot afford to romanticise the past. It may have to appreciate the legacy drawn upon it from the past as it deals with the present, yet continuously deal with reality as it is concretely manifested in life situations.

Case Number 5

Sipho was born in a traditional rural area in Zululand. His father was a migrant worker in the gold mines of Johannesburg. He was illiterate and a non-Christian. In the mines he saw that the educated Africans worked in better conditions than the non-educated. They were mainly clerks, "boss" boys and medical orderlies. He had a hidden desire that his son should not grow up and suffer like him. Therefore he sent his son to school in rural Zululand. When he communicated this decision to his wife, he had told her, "I want him to be educated for knowledge and not to be a Christian" (*Afundele ukuhlakanipha angabi yikholwa*).

Sipho did well at school until he entered a university and graduated with a Bachelor of Administration degree. After graduation he was employed as a senior personnel assistant to a manager in a large corporation in Durban. The manager was a white man. for some months Sipho enjoyed his work until he was gradually finding it difficult to work with his immediate senior, who had a lower education than his own. He was also angry that this man probably got the position because he was white and not on merit. He called this injustice. What made the situation worse was that he did not find anyone to talk to about this. When he talked to his pastor, he seemed to accept the status quo, and did not pick up questions which Sipho was raising.

Sipho was renting a house in a township during this time. When he had days off from work, he returned to his rural home. He was always available to fulfil his rural family's obligations, as son and family man. In the city he was feeling that he was a stranger. He was at home in his rural environment, where he felt the support of the

extended family. He sought to utilise his Christian faith as a resource to sustain him in his work situation, where he experienced rejection and alienation.

After some years the personnel manager retired, and Sipho was promoted to that position. He also got the corporation's housing subsidy and acquired a house in a city suburb. He no longer saw himself as an outsider in the city and work situation. At his place of work he became an integral part of the decision-making mechanism. The employees included Africans, Whites, Coloureds and Indians. The Africans were of Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu groups. Among the Zulu there were some from his home area. He had a challenge to relate in equal terms to all of them.

Sipho was further introduced to the inner mechanism of a highly competitive and goal-oriented environment. It was an environment where the acceptable vocabulary was to speak of management, administration, functions committees, efficiency, effectiveness, goals, objectives and strategic planning. In his traditional setting Sipho had been respected because of his family background. In the new appointment and work environment he had a task to prove himself capable and worthy to be accorded respect.

In the suburb where he lived, Sipho found that every person seemed to be managing on his/her own within the context of a nuclear family. This style of life is very different from the rural traditional setting where one has continual support from village elders.

The other area which was progressively becoming difficult for Sipho, was how to accommodate the needs of his extended family within a highly demanding work schedule. On one particular occasion he was summoned at short notice to attend a family celebration, which he was unable to do. He had enrolled as a participant in a managers' leadership workshop in Johannesburg, which he felt was of more value than his attendance at the celebration. The workshop offered him an opportunity for advancement in his profession. Nevertheless, the decision left him with considerable conflict.

Sipho also had a struggle in the area of religion in which he experienced two phases in his religious outlook. The first phase was his traditional Zulu religion, which blended well with his traditional world-view during the earlier years of his life. Later, with his conversion to Christianity, he was introduced to a pietistic personal faith which emphasises strict moral behaviour and a relationship with a God perceived as having a close relationship with the faithful. With his promotion at work, he began to struggle with

relating his faith to that environment. He began to ask questions of the justice of God and a series of other question relating to what God has to say of modern technological advancement and a goal oriented society. Regarding his living situation, he began to ask questions of the relevance of his faith in the suburban environment. The crunch point was reached in Sipho's life when he discovered that his pastor did not appreciate the dilemma he was facing. Further, his pastor did not help him in integrating his faith with the modern life which had become part of him. The issue that he was facing then was how his religious outlook could be integrated into progress and this world oriented milieu.

It seems essential to mention further that it was not only in the area of faith that problems arose in Sipho's life but also in the area of family relationships. As he grew up he had appreciated the support system of the extended family. However, he later found that its demands and expectations were becoming progressively difficult to accommodate within his new, sometimes hidden, yet deep attachment to progress and the desire to succeed.

Case Number Six

Nomsa, a highly-qualified nurse in a very busy hospital, lives with her family in a four-roomed house in a Durban township. Nomsa is an active member of the so-called "established" church. She has friends who, although they have been members of the "established" churches, have become disillusioned with these churches and with Christianity as espoused in them. Quite often in their discussions, Nomsa's friends raise the following questions: Why do Africans have so much more violence in the townships than whites, Indians and coloureds? Why do Africans seem to have so many more funerals every weekend than other racial groups? Why do Africans remain so much poorer than other races?

One of the friends came with a solution to the issues raised. She told them that she has a well-educated relative who had left an "established" church and was now a member of the Shembe church at Ekuphakameni. She was very happy that she had found a church which respected African traditional practices, (*bahlonipha ukugcinwa kwamasiko esintu*). Such an attitude and practice, she said, brought good luck and blessings (*umuntu kumlethela izinhlanhla nezibusiso*). She had observed herself that this particular family was indeed financially prosperous and the children were well-behaved and did well at school. Her answers to the questions which the group had raised were that Africans had so much violence because they had thrown overboard

their own customs and culture (*balahla wonke amasiko nempilo yesintu*) and embraced the western way of life. She wanted to advise her friends to follow her and join the Shembe church. Nomsa was led to a point of following her friends. This was a great temptation to her as she also has a deep desire for progress and a better life.

It is unfortunate that these women did not share their problems with their theologically trained pastors. In their own words: "We felt that out pastors would not understand the depth of our dilemma. We also felt that our pastors would think we are to worldly to be thinking of these things. We are frustrated with our churches, but we are also ashamed of these feelings."

Case Number Seven

James, a 25-year-old theological student, completed his seminary training and was ordained and worked for a year before he got married.

When he found the young woman he wanted to marry, he faced a problem. The problem was that he had amassed neither cattle nor money to pay *lobolo* to the girl's parents. After agonising over the issue, he decided to approach his Seminary theological tutor and friend, a missionary from Sweden. After explaining his problem in detail, he asked for help with money to pay the *lobolo*. He was not, of course, asking for a handout. He would pay back the money by means of a stop-order arrangement with the central church treasury. His tutor was glad to help and agreed to the arrangement. The young pastor arranged with an older pastor colleague and friend to lead the traditional Zulu marriage negotiations (*abe umkhongi*) with his fiancee's family, who were living in an urban area.

It was only after all these steps had been taken, that James informed his father of the matter. He did this by writing him a letter. His father responded to the letter stating that he was much disturbed that his son had not sat down and discussed the whole matter with him before approaching his future in-laws. It became evident that his father's view and that of the village leaders was that the young man had violated "traditional marriage protocol". Defending himself, James said he knew that, as a pastor, his father received a very low salary and he thought he had been saving him unnecessary problems worrying about how he could financially assist his son. On the contrary, the old Zulu pastor believed that, as a father, he had to contribute "something" to his son's lobolo, even if it had to be a single goat.

This situation caused conflict in the family and a good father-son relationship deteriorated. The relationship was saved by the normally strong ties that existed between the two.

James had avoided sharing his problem with his father because, in his opinion, his father had already spent much of his meagre financial resources on his education. He felt it was unfair to expect further help from his father. His education in the primary, secondary and high school levels, as well as in the Seminary, had taught James to be independent. His father, however, was of a different opinion.

Case Number Eight

Mrs Mlilo, a middle-aged community health nurse, is also an active Sunday school teacher in a rural Lutheran parish. She had just completed a comprehensive home visiting campaign with community health assistants (*onompilo*), when she visited her pastor.

She told her pastor that during these visits, which were mainly in his parish, she and her staff had given talks on health and nutrition, in an effort to improve health conditions in that rural district. What had puzzled Mrs Mlilo, however, was that although she had tried hard to discuss practical and cheaper means of healthier living, most of the local people seemed to have a different agenda. They were more interested in discussing two projects with the local chief councillor (*induna*) had told them of. The first one was the new sugar cane project which the nearby sugar mill was introducing to the people. The second was ESCOM's electrification project which was bringing the hope that most of the local people would have electricity in their homes. People were more interested in talking about how they could achieve these things than they were in talking of cheap vegetables and cheaper means of cooking. Mrs Mlilo found it frustrating that she could not understand how local people set out their priorities. She approached her pastor to seek his advice.

Case Number Nine

A growing progressive development in educational circles in some South African universities is a concern to creatively address the rural/urban interface. This interface is, in fact, a challenge to all social-related disciplines.

An agricultural economist presenting a report on the role of agriculture in sustainable development, reported on a project which compelled him to review his approach and change it to accommodate what the local people had identified as priorities.

A project had been launched with the objective of improving agricultural methods and improving production among rural small-scale African farmers in southern Natal. Observing poor participation, the implementers of the project decided to conduct a survey, the results of which proved to be eye-opening. They found that what they, as implementers of the project, had given a high rating had, in fact, a considerably lower rating in that specific area of the district. People did not see agricultural activity as making a worthwhile contribution to improving their lot in life. Further, most of the respondents did not want their sons and daughters to follow an agricultural career, for example, as extension officers. They preferred their children to have careers in teaching or medical fields.

Subsequently, the leaders of the project had to approach the foundation which had funded it to agree to changing the project to accommodate the priorities of the local people. These included, among other things, a community hall and an organised educational programme for both youths and adults.

3. Abstraction from the cases of the modern type to difficult and crisis points and identification of the role of pastoral counselling.

The cases of the second type further portray an African context characterised by an interface of two world-views. A majority of Zulu counselees have to deal with this existential context. Therefore, the cases point to the "minefield" to which every theological centre in South Africa sends its graduating students.

The two major issues considered here are the almost hidden desire for progress and a genuine quest for meaning in the context of rapid social change. It is a quest which accommodates a yearning for full benefits in what can be conceived as the wholeness of life in the modern world. It seems, in this volatile situation, that there is a danger of acquiring one important thing while losing what one possessed as of value before. For example, returning to Cumpsty's paradigm, if one gave up a cyclical conception of time and opted for a linear one, personal points of conflict would be discovered. For example, in the former, life was evaluated in the present texture (how it feels now, harmony, prosperity, etc.), while in the latter life is evaluated in terms of goals

(success in terms of, or contribution towards goals) (Cumpsty 1991:43). It seems, on the surface, one would see such a conversion progression as necessary and as most reasonable, given the realities of the modern world and social change. However, there are questions of meaning which pastoral counsellors have to deal with among those individuals who follow the silent voice of desire for progress. They may step into conflict once they start identifying with what is going on in a context influenced by a Western oriented world-view. For example, this may happen when Sipho starts identifying with the philosophy of the corporation employing him. This could happen when he begins to discover that the philosophy of goals and objectives is not necessarily a panacea for all problems that may arise in modern industry.

Cumpsty observes:

> Within a goal oriented tradition it is possible for the goals to become pseudo. This happens when some measure of progress towards a goal, or condition for the existence of a goal, becomes a goal in itself. Examples of these might be profitability, productivity, freedom and equality (Cumpsty 1991:189).

In a situation of this nature, what is happening is that "there is failure to describe the goals in terms of the texture of their end point, failing to say what one is going to do with the end products, or the time saved, or to say free from what or for what, or equal in what. To be authentic, goals must be described in terms of their end point texture, what is it that is being sought" (Cumpsty, 1991:189).

To return once more to the cases, one observes that they, in some way or another, point to the reality of social change in Zululand as a microcosm of the continent of Africa. It seems that this reality cannot be escaped in pastoral work. It has been observed, for example, that there is no corner of South Africa today which cannot be reached by bus or radio, both of which are inventions of technology. This, therefore, leads to a complex interaction of the traditional and modern ways of life.

The interface of the two worlds generates a complex interaction between the traditional and the modern. The point being made in this dissertation is that this does not happen without strain, which manifests in different ways. The cases cited support this observation. Much of the strain experienced by Africans today derives from an open competitive structure of the society where a person can progress rapidly from his humble birth to a high office with modern bureaucratic structures (Lloyd, 1967:246).

In South Africa there are indications, as the political situation is normalised, that there is going to be more of this challenge. With *uhuru* (liberation), the task of the pastoral counsellor is not over. In fact, there is even greater challenge for guidance in decision-making.

In a situation of rapid social change, people do not tend towards sticking to the old and neglecting the present and the new. Instead, there seems to be a quest to deal realistically with the present. However, this study argues that questions from one's traditional background keep surfacing, at times in the most unexpected circumstances, as some of the above cases show.

Some of the cases point to conflict in families. Such conflict is a by-product of changing family relationships due to influences of modernity. One notices from the cases a considerable amount of social expectations and demands from the members of the extended family. However, individuals influenced by a desire for progress, find it increasingly difficult to respond adequately to these expectations.

In a situation of rapid social change, individuals would expect to acquire, like anybody else, material benefits and advancement opportunities in a modern society. Where these things are denied, people will explore every possible means to reach their goal. Some of these would be considered unorthodox by established Christian churches. It is important to note that the professionals in the case did not throw religion overboard but, instead, continue to seek answers in a religious paradigm.

Perhaps it must be admitted at this point that it would not be realistic to expect a resolution of the issues raised by the cases. However, it is important to illustrate where they should be looked for, as has been done in this chapter. Therefore, it seems the major task of the pastoral counsellor is to listen attentively to persons to hear their actual needs. In this task one must be sensitive to a person's pulse, in a social and spiritual sense. A contextual pastoral counselling can, therefore, neither neglect the traditional African background nor the realities of social change.

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CHAPTER VIII

TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT OF CONTEXTUAL PASTORAL CARE AND COUNSELLING MODELS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the second chapter of this study, a short overview of pastoral care and counselling as a discipline was presented. The investigation identified a practical theological discipline which emerged from a dynamic interaction with a vibrant liberal culture; there was an interaction of religion and culture. Such interaction generates enrichment, but at times a fair amount of conflict and even some confusion. Nevertheless, the discipline has continued to develop within this cultural matrix. The strengths and weaknesses of the discipline are found in this historical background. This dynamic interaction will continue to colour the discipline as it evolves in Africa. It is regrettable, however, that in the excitement and zeal to legitimise the cross-cultural value of pastoral care and counselling, there has been failure to identify areas of weakness as well. This weakness may lead people to make an unselective transference and adoption of insights that have evolved contextually in another cultural setting. Therefore the present research suggests the necessity of an ongoing constructive critique and a fair amount of creativity, whenever and wherever the West meets Africa. It seems in this process it is essential to keep universality and contextuality in a creative tension.

Bearing in mind the cultural context and its influence on people, it is argued that it is appropriate for pastoral care and counselling as a discipline to continually take seriously the cultural, social, religious and political factors in the context of its operation.

However, as this discipline develops it will also need to capture the reality of our world. It is a world of collaborating peoples therefore an inclusive one (Augsburger, 1986:18). As we face the threshold of the new, pastoral counselling has, perhaps as its main challenge, the rooting of other disciplines in the cultural context of theologizing and ministry, while it is at the same time open to a cross-cultural dialogue.

The person must be ministered to within the context in which he/she finds himself/herself. However, in regard to the counsellor's own context, it would be unproductive to merely accept uncritically one's own culture. It is of value to be critical of one's culture while clearly identifying the good and the bad in it. Thus the key distinction often made in pastoral counselling circles between sympathy, empathy, and interpathy is valuable in this discipline as one considers how to deal with people's cultural backgrounds.

The dynamics of these three words is worthwhile to keep in mind in the counselling encounter. "Sympathy is a spontaneous affective reaction to another's feelings experienced on the basis of perceived similarity between the observer and the observed." Empathy on the other hand is "an intentional affective response to another's feelings experienced on the basis of perceived differences between the observed and the observed". And interpathy is "an intentional cognitive and affective envisioning of others thoughts, world-view and epistemology" (Augsburger, 1986:31).

Though empathy and interpathy are much related, it seems as if interpathy is the one which is nearer our concept of personal counselling. For this discipline needs to be continually sensitive to those things which are particular, characterising a specific group and those which are universal. Therefore in facilitating the development of this discipline in the African context the danger of being parochial only, must be avoided. There is a need to be continually concerned with the global context as well. In this regard interpathy is most useful.

Today many African countries are greatly concerned with the development of social institutions which reflect authentic African social thought. This means that, for example, disciplines in pastoral studies, medicine, psychology and psychotherapy should develop methodologies that demonstrate the understanding of the person in context. For the patient is part of society, his personality development and behaviour patterns are partly influenced by his cultural environment.

As personality development is considered within the African context, it can be seen that the person is influenced in some way or another by cultural factors. Many of these are the heritage stemming back to the gifts of one's forefathers. However, the person is also influenced by multiple other influences which are generated in a society in transition, and these must be taken seriously in all genuine efforts to understand the African person, especially in a counselling context. The crux of the matter, therefore, is striving constantly to bring the African counselee and the pastoral counselling enterprise into contact with the insights of established pastoral care styles. In the development of pastoral counselling in Africa, this will be an ongoing, dynamic and creative process. The suggested dialogue may have potential to generate critique and creativity. In the following section this observation is further explored.

A. A CRITIQUE OF KEY FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOME WESTERN SCHOOLS OF PASTORAL COUNSELLING.

It is not the objective in this section to present a comprehensive critique of all western approaches to pastoral counselling, covering all the schools of pastoral counselling. A few

such influential elements will be chosen and engaged in dialogue from the Zulu perspective. The factors identified are perceived to be most influential in the emergence and development of pastoral care and counselling in the discipline's theory and practice.

1. Denominational Emphasis on Introspection and the Inner Life in North America.

Holifield (1983), in his excellent work on the history of pastoral care in America identifies the denominational emphasis on introspection and the inner life, as one of the motifs of Christianity in the "new world" which has influenced American practical theologians in the development of pastoral care and counselling.

He identifies Thomas Shepard who wrote Sound Believer : A Treatise of Evangelical Conversion, as representative of an introspective brand of Christianity, current at the time. The masters of introspection emphasised the importance of being able to map out one's development spiritually. People became adept at recognising the signs of salvation. This was linked up with what one could call psychology of Conversion (Holifield, 1983:27). In reviewing the history of pastoral care and counselling this influence must not be neglected.

This introspection can be seen as some form of privatisation of the religious experience. This reached its peak in the motif of an emphasis on one's "private" relationship with one's God and an emphasis on the clear experience of one's conversion followed by the identifiable stages of development. When this approach to religious experience is allowed to dialogue with the Zulu religion some areas of coflict emerge.

The privatisation of religion is difficult to accommodate in a religion which is holistic, like African religion. Religion among the Zulu as in all Africa is not privatised. A religious event is an event of the people participating in it. Religious celebration is mainly a family affair. Of course one can speak of one's relationship to those members of the family who have been elevated to the status of ancestors. The relationship could either be good (*ukubhekwa abaphansi*) (when the ancestors approve of one), or bad (*ukufulathelwa abaphansi*) (in which case they turn their backs in disappointment). In this regard then one could speak of personal responsibility but basically this relationship is perceived to be within an established communal relationship.

Already early in North American pastoral care and counselling, the danger of over-emphasising a personal religious experience as compared to religion in community - a

communal experience can be seen. In traditional Zulu experience, one fulfilled his/her religious obligation in community. If it was slaughtering a beast to solicit the goodwill of one's ancestors, one did so in the family. In fact it was the head of the family who took the role of a priest. As it has been stated earlier, religious acts were part and parcel of family activities. The fact that *Umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu* (A person is a person through other persons) was not only acknowledged but adhered to even in the holy matters of religion. The roots of pastoral counselling in some kind of invididual piety is foreign to the Zulu philosophy in life. It becomes apparent that in dealing with an African client the counsellor is dealing with a religious and a social being, who lives and has his/her being in community within a fabric of closely knit relationships. In other words, this view of life negates the Western world's rugged individualism.

2. The Psychology of William James (1842-1910) and John Dewey's Model of Education.

The psychology of William James was indeed influential in pastoral theology circles in North America. The typical by-product of this psychological school was progressivism. Soon progressivism in education was to influence educational theory and practice. It was at this juncture in the history of North American education that a radical approach to education was introduced. Learning was said to begin with concrete needs and learning was accelerated, as one looks into a concrete situation. It was further said that the good for the person was based on what was best for the community. Progressive education was based and organised under an open rather than a closed curriculum.

The psychology of William James and John Dewey's progressive education has indeed to a large degree influenced the model of Clinical Pastoral Education. This is the reason why the discussion became relevant for pastoral care and counselling.

There are a number of areas in this philosophy of education which relate very well to the African world-view. This philosophy of education is consonant with African thinking which tends to emphasise reflection, not for reflection's sake but for action. Reflection must serve the individual as well as the community. John Dewey's educational philosophy was critical of "ivory tower" education and instead emphasised actualization and socialization. This is akin to the African model of education, for example, the circumcision schools. The objective of these traditional schools is to help the participant achieve a certain degree of maturity in his/her person, in order to fit into society. This objective relates to the other one of helping the person to be disciplined and behave in a manner which is acceptable in that community.

Pastoral care and counselling influenced by this philosopy of education can be a tool of liberation and growth, especially in societies where oppression and denial of individual and community rights are rife.

3. The Model of Clinical Pastoral Education.

Clinical Pastoral Education has a twofold focus, namely, personal growth resulting in insight into one's personality which removes the neuroses of ignorance and the learning of skills in pastoral counselling. Clinical Pastoral Education is an educational model which is the best example of a model which emphasises learning in community. This type of educational model fits easily into a society that emphasises that *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (A person is a person through other persons).

Further Clinical Pastoral Education aims at helping people reach the highest potential in their personalities as persons as well as Pastoral Counsellors. It is an educational model which aims at liberating persons from whatever enslaves them. The person must be liberated to experience new life in a context free of social oppression.

> Clinical pastoral education was also formed in the historical context of social reform. The social gospel led by Walter Rausenbusch, called attention to man's (sic) responsibility to move institutions, as well as individuals toward the Kingdom of God. This joined with the Progressive Movement to fight the great economic injustices of the time. Continuing in this tradition the clinical training movement sought to reform religion (and theology) to make them more relevant to the needs of modern society... He (Boisen) was convinced that personality is social and that mental illness can only be understood as we take the social factors into account (Asquith, 1976:100).

This then was the original focus of CPE. Undoubtedly this focus fits in well with African thinking. In Africa one continually emphasises that the good life is not life in isolation, but is life in a community. One continually perceives and experiences life in relationships. However, there is another side of the picture. In the course of time, CPE lost its focus on the social dimension and focussed mainly on the individual and on education cum therapy. Consequently here lies the weakness of this methodology especially as it crosses cultural barriers. The focus on the individual can lead to the danger of becoming overly individualistic and thus fail to counteract narcissistic tendencies and attitudes. These emphases are foreign to the African view of life, as this study of the Zulu has shown.

Further, the focus formerly advocated by Anton Boisen of utilising the clinical pastoral experience as a context for theologising, was soon to be lost by many a

credited supervisor of CPE. The pioneer of this educational methodology was undoubtedly interested in ministry to people, but he was equally interested in theological development which emanated from one's experience with people facing various crises of life. Boisen insisted that he was not introducing any new content in theological education, but only a new method of theological enquiry (Thornton, 1970:210). Of course it is a fact that a method of enquiry does influence not only the new discovery in the discipline but also the manner of conceptualisation as well. Therefore, as a consequence to this, it can be seen that Clinical Pastoral Education has influenced the theory and practice of pastoral care and counselling.

Undoubtedly CPE is a sophisticated educational model which is heavily influenced by the North American conception of the person, which emphasises individual freedom and innate potential for self-actualisation. This is understandable in a culture which is highly optimistic. Thornton identifies the roots of the debate concerning the relationship between education and therapy, as he states:

> Ministry by definition is a people related profession. In people-related helping professions, not only one's knowledge and skills but also one's person determines the quality of one's ministry. Neurosis limits and distorts one's ministry as severely as ignorance of the theological, biblical, historical or practical fields. Neurosis is ignorance - ignorance of one's self and one's true inter-personal world. Theological education must overcome ignorance, in intrapsychic and interpersonal as well as the cognitive area of a minister's life. Recovery of the inherent authority of the ministcr awaits acceptance of this hard reality (Thornton, 1970:235).

At this stage it is necessary to identify areas in which CPE is consonant with the Zulu world-view, as well as to identify areas of this philosophy of education that are dissonant with the Zulu world-view.

CPE is indeed the product of North American optimistic view of the person. Ingrained in this American view of the person is the opinion of "the sky is the limit" philosophy. The participants in a CPE programme may hope to gain a hitherto unattainable goal of overcoming ignorance in intrapsychic and interpersonal dimensions, as well as in the cognitive areas of one's interpersonal worlds.

Indeed this is a lofty goal which one sets for himself/herself in enrolling in a CPE programme. However, in such an optimistic educational model, from the African vantage point, it seems there is a semi-mechanical approach to personal growth and change. It seems as if the person is pushed in certain directions to eventually fit (if successful) an already preconceived "liberated" person. Of course this is done with good intentions.

Nevertheless, one does notice a kind of self-made "piety", some kind of works-righteousness reminiscent of medieval monastic life. Interestingly enough, the uncritical supporters of the movement would oppose such an observation most violently, claiming that CPE aims at liberating the person to be his/her authentic self, as the person gradually sheds a facade he/she may have donned for too long.

A mechanical approach to a person is foreign to the Zulu. One's natural tendencies are perceived to be a gift from *Mvelingangi* as well as one's ancestors. Thus a person is approached with deep reverence of his/her personality for, after all, the person belongs to God (*Umuntu okaMvelingangi*). Secondly, one did not readily share deep personal things with strangers. Even if a person appreciates a community atmosphere, when it came to deep sharing one did so within the community of one's extended family. On the other hand, part of the philosophy of CPE fits into the African world-view, inter alia:

The emphasis on community: It has already been mentioned that African society emphasises community life. In a CPE programme participants who may have come from different places, having diverse backgrounds, are encouraged to form a community around their vulnerability and strength. It is a community of the weak; one may suggest that it is a community inspired by the motif of the "theology of the Cross". The ideal is a community of about six persons who care for one another as they attempt to understand inner conflicts in one another. They should also be willing to confront and challenge as well. Thus, such a community becomes a context which accelerates growth in each person. Sometimes participants testify that they feel this is what the Christian congregation should be like in a mobile industrial culture (Piper, 1972).

Traditionally for the Africans life was experienced in community from the cradle to the grave. For example, at birth one was not ushered into the world by a couple of nurses or a doctor in a highly "sterile" and technological atmosphere, but one felt the warmth of the hands of a group of community midwives who delivered the babies at home near the hearth and warm fire. There was also community around the onset of puberty, preparation for marriage, and even at death.

Relationship with one's peers - *ontanga*, was emphasised. It was *ontanga* who were always willing to challenge a member who acted contrary to the norms and values acceptable to the nation. Participants in a CPE programme, therefore, act like one's ontanga - who challenge and support. This study reveals that this philosophy of life is not foreign to African practice. Thus, with careful adaptation CPE can be utilised fruitfully in the African context.

4. Carl R. Rogers' Person Centered Therapy

Person-centered therapy has grown out of active involvement with other people. Traditional African therapists do not develop their skills from an isolated theoretical base but rather from an active involvement with people, helping them. In fact, as the person learns the new art, he/she learns important lessons about himself/herself as well. Therefore, one of the primary focuses of training is to train the future therapist to focus not only on the experience of others but also on his/her own experiences (Holdstock, 1981:31-46).

The similarity of Rogers' counselling theory and practice to the African context is most striking as one observes the procedure of the healing session of the African traditional therapists:

> Similar to Rogers' theory which developed and is constantly defined on the basis of continuing and active involvement with others, indigenous healers too operate in a highly personalised world in which even inanimate and supernatural forces are personalised. Not only the indigenous healers, but most people in Africa, have a personalised notion of the universe. Chance does not exist for them. Everything can be explained by such forces and energies as ancestral and nature spirits, witches and witch familiars (Holdstock, 1981:31-46).

The African notion of causality is important to note in this regard. For Africans nothing happens that does not have an explainable cause. Chance is not accommodated in such a system of thought. Instead, one lives in continuous relationship to outside forces far superior to personal power.

Further, another aspect of the person-centered therapy which is easily related to the African world-view, is the openness to being holistic. The present author does not wholly agree with Len Holdstock that Rogers is able to accommodate the holistic approach as fully as he states. It is clear that Rogers accommodated the rational and the emotional in his theory. In fact, quite often Rogers speaks of wisdom of the body as well (Rogers, 1959). This study found that a holistic approach must accommodate the spiritual dimension as well, and Rogers is open in accommodating the religious-spiritual dimension. This is possibly an influence of his own family background or even from exposure to Eastern religions during his student days when he visited China. However, the present author does not agree that "the person-centered approach...is indeed a spiritually based theory" (Holdstock, 1981:33). Rogers' views seem to be primarily based on a positive humanistic view of humankind rather than any reliance on an external supreme power.

One aspect difficult to relate to the traditional Zulu world is its emphasis on the individual and what could be called "individualised therapy". Although the Zulu understanding does fully acknowledge individuality it emphasises life in relationships. Therefore it is a challenge to therapy to take seriously the multi-faceted relationships as well.

Indeed, the basic premise of the person-centered approach is respect for and acceptance of the other person's reality (Rogers, 1952, reprinted 1986). This is what has been called for in inter-cultural exchange in mission work, for example, in Zululand and in pastoral care in the so-called "younger churches" in Africa and Asia. Therefore Carl Rogers becomes relevant to Africa when he asserts his basic premise that in person-centered therapy the acceptance of the client and his/her reality is of paramount importance. African tradition is much more generous on this score, for the other person's reality is readily accepted. This may be the reason why *izangoma*, sometimes called *izihlanya* (one who is mentally disturbed), are nevertheless acceptable socially. In fact, they are traditionally accorded a place of respect in society. However, no one who has not received this special gift of *Mveliqangi* and ancestors (*abaphansi*) could claim to understand the reality of an *isangoma*. Actually it is remarkable that the *izangoma* and lunatics - real *izinhlanya* are accorded special acceptability because in the Zulu understanding they are what they are because they have been touched by Divinity differently from ordinary sane people. Such a view of the person emphasises most powerfully the innate dignity of all persons and the religious nature of the human being whose nature and existence has to do with relationship with Divinity.

The area of basic trust of the person in counselling, a continuous, positive regard of the person's potential, is familiar to the African world since, in traditional African thought, much emphasis is placed on the dignity and worth of the human being regardless of his/her station in life. The Zulu say: *Umuntu akalahlwa* (the human being is not for throwing away). Therefore, even those who have deterioriated tremendously are not for "throwing away". This is so because the dignity and worth of *Umuntu* is not measured by his/her achievements or profession but is inherent in being human - "*Umuntu okaMveliqangi*" - "the person is God's, they would say. The Tswana, one of the groups of the people of Southern Africa, go a step further and say "*Motho ke Modimo*" - A human being is sacred like *Modimo* (Setiloane, 1986). Therefore, in dealing with another person, no matter what his/her status and condition, you are entering holy ground. This insight points to one of the most significant characteristics of healthy pastoral counselling. African wisdom has it that no matter what moral mess the person has put himself/herself in, he/she should still be appreciated with respect because his/her innate

human dignity calls for that. This insight of the nature of the person tells us that pastoral counselling should not be manipulative, oppressive, abrasive, overly directive or even authoritative. Instead, pastoral counselling must be permeated by genuine acceptance and willingness to enter the other person's frame of reference.

In therapy itself, there is a striking affinity between Carl Rogers and the traditional healers. A study by Len Holdstock (1981) identifies this relationship. While the person-centered therapy emphasises that the counsellor should provide a climate of unconditional acceptance for the nervous client with conflicting intra-psychic and inter-personal relationships, the Zulu *inyanga* treats his patients in such an atmosphere. In fact, the creation of such an atmosphere is perhaps the leading tool in this therepeutic relationship. In the present author's research work in Zululand, visting several *izinyanga* and observing their approach in the treatment of their patients, this observation has been verified beyond doubt.

Perhaps the most baffling success story of the *inyanga*, in spite of the dedication of the modern community health personnel to achieve a high standard of health in Zululand by the year 2000 (a World Health Organisation objective), can be attributed to this emphasis on creating an atmosphere of trust and acceptance by these traditional healers. Indeed modern Westernised health workers and pastoral counsellors trained in a Western orientated context can learn from this.

Person-centered therapy emphasises empathy, acceptance and genuineness in a counsellor. These qualities easily fit into the Zulu understanding of the dignity of the person and his/her being human in his/her existence within a fabric of relationships. As pastoral counselling is developed and intensified in the African context this "bridge" of contact should be utilised.

5. The North American Encounter Group Movement: An Assessment from an African Perspective

The growth group's movement, which is called by different names, has been one of the outstanding phenomena in human behaviour of this age. No doubt, the North American generation is one which is hungry for genuine human qualities of relationships. It is not surprising, therefore, that people have become involved in this movement with such enthusiasm. One who has always been in the inner circle of the leaders of the movement, gives a vivid assessment of the movement from a North American perspective:

> This is, in my judgment, the most rapidly spreading social invention of the century, and probably the most potent - an invention that goes by many names. "T-group", "encounter group", "sensitivity training" are among the most common. Sometimes such groups are known as laboratories in human relationships or workshops in leadership education or counselling. When it deals with drug addicts the group is labelled a synanon, after the Synanon Organisation and its techniques (Rogers, 1979:1).

The philosophy of the group movement has been applied to various settings. It falls outside the scope of this discussion to review the history of the movement, but it is important to note the overall objectives thereof in view of an African assessment. In spite of the fact that this movement has used various labels for the phenomenon, it was training in human relations skills (hence "T-groups") which pioneered the movement. The so-called "encounter groups", which originated mainly from Chicago, were primarily aimed at personal growth and the development and improvement of inter-personal communication and relationships. They also had more of the experiential and therapeutic orientation than groups originating in Bethel, Maine (Rogers, 1970:4).

There are basic practical hypotheses which tend to be held in common in all these groups. Through a facilitator, a psychological climate is established in which there is genuine freedom of expression. Once such a climate has been created, people feel free to express their honest feelings toward one another. As this is happening, mutual trust is established. Such an atmosphere is conducive to sharing at a deeper level. Consequently, people begin accepting themselves. The acceptance is emotional, intellectual, even physical. This self-acceptance is the springboard to genuine communication between people. The overall objective is that the group experience should carry over to one's relationship to spouse, children, subordinates, colleagues or peers, and even superiors (Rogers, 1970:7).

From the African perspective it is very easy to see the value of this movement. African life is life in community. Therefore in an African understanding the group experience is an opportunity to let the *isithunzi* (human aura or the core of being human) of one person interact in a healthy way with others. Naturally, one would grow in such an atmosphere. However, the opposite is true for the person who interacts negatively with *izithunzi* of other persons. For example, a human being who kills another human being suddenly carries the most negative *isithunzi*. Humanly speaking, according to the Zulu, this person is perceived in very negative terms. He/she is said to have *igungo* - pollution due to having been a murderer. Therefore, among the Zulu the nature of human interaction is taken very seriously.

However, it seems the Zulu understanding would have problems with the movement when it becomes pseudo-scientific and moves away from its primary objective to be humanising, emphasising the most important human values. From the African perspective it is natural and salutary to emphasise community and life in relationship with peers and members of the extended family. The problem, however, arises again as it has been identified in CPE, when in the encounter group movement the human being is treated in a "semi-mechanical" manner. What the African view is critical of is acting as if persons should fit into preconceived pigeonholes of how individual personality should manifest itself in human behaviour. Dealing with persons seems to demand a fair amount of openness, freedom and diversity. However, bearing the weaknesses in mind, African assessment almost intuitively appreciates the contributions of this movement.

There is need to consider how encounter groups can enrich the lives of individuals and congregations in Africa.

First it must be appreciated that Christianity in Africa can indeed be much enriched by positive human behaviour, like emphasis on community. Emphasis on community can be practically implemented by establishing encounter groups in congregational settings. These encounter groups could emphasise mutual growth and therapy. Of course, the leader or facilitator should be a person with training in understanding group processes.

The philosophy of the encounter group movement is not totally foreign to the African world-view which is so often associated with the genesis of persons and other things. Africa is often associated with nurturing basic characteristics of human beings over against dry, rationalistic ideas, which are often prone to dehumanise persons by eroding human personality through the process of denying the holistic nature of human personality. Carl Jung agrees:

> The predominantly rationalistic European finds much that is human alien to him (sic), and prides himself on that without realising that his rationality is won at the expense of his vitality, and that the primitive part of his personality is consequently condemned to a more or less underground existence (Jung, 1965:245).

Community life and group support are basic human characterisitics. Rugged individualism is foreign to the nature of being human.

6. Pastoral Care and Counselling Models in the Zulu Context

This section will identify key directions which pastoral care and counselling must take as it develops an African context.

(a) African Bridges for Pastoral Care and Counselling

Practical theology is interested in the growing field of African theology because African theology brings to the surface "bridges" for pastoral care and counselling. This label refers to those behaviour patterns among Africans, particularly among the Zulu, which must be attended to carefully in order to facilitate care; if neglected, caring would be superficial and irrelevant. Some of these "bridges" will now be identified.

(i) Pastoral counselling within a religiously charged atmosphere

> Religion for the African is that which regulates the whole of life. It intervenes in all his (sic) activities, even in his (sic) political life... In Africa, there is communion between being and nature. Traditional religious concepts unite being... Religion is belief in the infinite and the finite, a belief in that which still lives and that which has died... It is a dialogue with the ancestors, forces and nature, including human beings... (Jean Pierre N'Diaye, in Masamba, 1972:63).

Research and pastoral work among the Zulu testify to the validity of N'Diaye's observation. Religion traditionally permeated the whole of life. This is one bridge that must be utilised in the healing of personality in conflict among the Zulu. Pastoral counselling which has evolved from a highly secularised environment need not be transplanted blindly into an environment that is greatly influenced by this outlook on life. In the counselling of African clients, if their religious convictions were neglected counselling would be superficial, if not irrelevant.

It is not a matter of simply using words. On the contrary, it means acknowledging that religion forms the core of this being of an African client. It further means an intentional utilisation of symbols, meditation and myths in the African tradition. All these must work together to bring therapy to the religiously rich personal world of an African client. Therefore, contrary to some views in pastoral counselling developed in a secularised context, there should be a great deal of freedom in utilising religious symbols in the Zulu context.

The pastoral counsellor should bear in mind that, in fact, in this world-view there is no separation of the religious and the secular. The introduction of Christianity in Africa was through Western patterns of doing things. There is a sense, therefore, that the Zulu were, in the process of being Christianised, introduced into a dichotomy of human existence, namely, the separation of the religious and the secular. In this study it is proposed that the caring ministry of the pastoral counsellor should be in the vanguard of the restoration of wholesome human patterns of living. This study further proposes that this must be done also, perhaps primarily, in the context of the caring ministry in Africa. In order to achieve this, "bridges" must be taken seriously.

(ii) Community and extended family emphasis

This study has shown that for the African, life is in community. African nature cannot take being alone and isolated. Numerous incidents have been reported of Africans abroad whose loneliness became intolerable to the extent of triggering psychiatric disorders. Therefore, when a pastoral counsellor in Africa is encountered with a person whose psyche has been tortured to the extent that he/she has opted for some counselling, consideration must be made of therapy which would take seriously community and extended family existence. This is essential because these patterns of existence are strongly "stamped" in the African psyche.

(iii) The Zulu world-view

It is worthwhile at this stage to identify the overall uniting bridge in the counselling of Zulu clients. This is the Zulu world-view. This is an all-encompassing term referring to the manner of presence in the world that people have. It is a philosophical survey of the world as a whole (Concise Oxford Dictionary). Therefore a particular person's world-view is "a way of seeing the world... a thought pattern that focuses on everything and searches for reality as a whole" (Nxumalo, in Masamba, 1985:29-45). The Zulu, for example, have a certain way of interpreting reality and making sense of their being in the world. This will naturally include their values, ideas and beliefs. Therefore, as one counsels Zulu clients, this approach to life will keep on unfolding. This study considers a people's world-view as a bridge to reach out to them in counselling.

Identification of these bridges makes it clear for pastoral studies that people must be approached appropriately and reached where they are, if pastoral care and counselling is to be effective. It is indeed common that "many a cleric expects the faithful to think and to see the world as he has been trained and expects the faithful to be on the same wavelength (sic) as regards religious ideas" (Nxumalo, in Masamba, 1985:30). Experience shows clearly that such an attitude often leads to irrelevance in pastoral ministry in Africa. After all, the basic philosophy of pastoral counselling negates this attitude and approach from the very beginning. Pastoral counselling, which this study has revealed has been greatly influenced by the philosophy and practice of person-centred therapy, emphasises that the counsellor ought to pay full attention to all that the client shares. In this way, the pastoral counsellor shares in the world and frame of reference of the client. Therefore, in counselling, we have no right to pronounce what is shared by the client as absurd and not worth much attention by the "enlightened" ones.

It is important to see the traditional Zulu way of perceiving reality not as a contradiction in dealing with reality, because no one is justified to make such value judgments of a people's articulation of the perception of reality. Instead, it ought to be admitted that the Zulu thought patterns must be seen and compared as "parallel modes of acquiring knowledge, two well articulated systems of thought" (Nxumalo, in Masamba, 1985:34). The Zulu have a certain way of interpreting the reality of their being in the world.

Therefore, this attitude of acceptance of the Zulu client can be regarded as a bridge for the pastoral counsellor to reach the psyche of his/her parishioners rather than merely being superficial and failing to engage seriously with people's perception of reality.

(b) Encounter Groups and the Zulu Congregations

In our assessment of North American encounter groups movement, it became clear that the philosophy of the movement does to a certain degree relate to the African experience of life in extended family and in community. It is now the objective of this section to identify how the methodology could be utilised and adapted to the Zulu context. Areas identified where the encounter group methodolgy is utilised are not necessarily comprehensive; there could be other possible applications of the methodology.

(i) Group Therapy and the Zulu

"Therapy is always necessary where there is sickness. We need to recognise that there is no purely physical illness nor mental illness, but that all illness is an experience of the whole person, whether the symptoms happen to be on the organic level or on the level of mind" (Wise, 1956:7). In other words, this observation points to the close relationship between the organism and its environment. This becomes interesting for religion since it is concerned with the human being's relationship to God, the person himself/herself and other human beings - in family or community.

Sickness is not only personal, it can be communal and societal as well. The chapter on Migrant Labour in this study highlighted the pathological condition of the black worker today. It pointed out the pathology of the society in South Africa. This pathology is primarily promoted by the apartheid system. Thus the black worker ends up carrying a heavy cross of the psychological pathology of alienation, the symptoms of which are, often anger, insecurity, anxiety and violence. Albert Nolan's diagnosis is accurate:

> People are alienated or estranged from one another when they treat one another as mere things rather than as persons, as objects rather than as subjects. People are alienated from themselves and from their humanity when they begin to treat themselves as mere objects. Alienation destroys *Ubuntu* (Nolan, 1988:80).

Clinical psychology, one of the allies of pastoral counselling, reveals that alienation is a human reaction to what is perceived deep in the personality. The South African society is plagued with alienation. It affects the oppressor and the oppressed (the architect of apartheid and the victim). Hendrik Kotze, the director of the Unit for Clinical Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch, states: "South Africa has one of the most psychologically sick societies in the world". He goes on to say: "The problem had reached alarming proportions and was manifesting itself in alarming statistics (Star, 26.10.87, in Nolan, 1988:81). According to Kotze, the root causes, inter alia, are "the socio-political climate... a materialistic lifestyle among whites, and also striving for a high standard of living... pressure to excel, conditions of proverty and often social disorder (Star, 26.10.87, in Nolan, 1988:81).

Alienation in the South African context is a by-product of political measures which includes the institutionalisation of racial discrimination, violence, detentions and other forms of restrictions (Argus 9.9.87, in Albert Nolan 1988:82).

Alienation in the South African society has reached a stage when it manifests itself in a variety of physical symptoms. Many diseases in our society are the manifestation of the living patterns of the society. Heart diseases and hypertension among the black male population in South Africa have been observed as a manifestation of deeply seated societal pathology. Given the structure and lack of support systems, especially in urban areas, it can be understood why the statistics for the disease are so high.

In the light of these problems among others , it is proposed that instead of the Zulu Congregation perceiving its central identity as a community of *umthetho* (law) and *Umthetho -Sisekelo* (Constitution), it should rather perceive the core of its identity to be a therapeutic community. An aspect of the mission of this community would be to help people retain their sanity in the midst of an insane society. Therefore, synchronized counselling which seeks to bring therapy to people's *Ubuntu*, is called for.

The analysis of the word for pastor/minister, *Umfundisi* in Zulu, shows that the word carries with it the conotation of a pedagogue. In the light of what the present research reveals, this study opts for the title *inyanga yomphefumulo* - the physician of the soul - or *Umphilisi* - the healer. This title reflects the fact that the pastor who empathetically practices the pastoral care and counselling ministry is indeed a healer .

Therefore, in making the African congregation a therapeutic community, a pastor would need to be skilled himself in human behaviour, group dynamics and holistic therapy. Such a pastor would be in a position to help the laity to capture the vision of developing the congregation in the African milieu to become a Christian "extended family" where each person is accepted as he/she is. Beyond acceptance each person must be offered an atmosphere of healing and growth.

Central to the guiding motif for pastoral care and counselling, is the observation by many pastoral psychologists that acceptance is of intricate

value to the creation of healing relationships. Commonly relationships if healthy, contribute to wholesome living. Carrol Wise's observations are on similar lines:

> There are then two basic conditions under which man (sic) may live. One is described by the words community, belonging and fellowship; the other is described by isolation, enstrangement and aloneness. There are various degrees of these conditions and most of us have experienced them all at various times. Fellowship is essential for health; isolation leads to illness in one form or another. In fostering the experience of Christian community, the Church provides a foundation for the development of wholesome, mature persons and the prevention of much illness, hence becoming a powerful healing force in society (Wise, 1956:129).

The Zulu traditionally emphasised relationships in the community - extended family and family. Thus these emphases are of great use in maintaining a wholesome life.

The Zulu congregation needs to utilize the traditional concept of the deep appreciation for relationships in the extended family and community. This should be coupled with the appreciation of each person's *ubuntu* (humanness).

This study reveals that the appreciation of the positive aspects of the African traditional background must reach its climax in being put to practise in a Christian congregation. For what was only in part and unfulfilled should be fulfilled in Jesus Christ, the Bridegroom of the Church. To put it into the words of Vincent Mulago:

> The life-relationship on which, among the Bantu, the unity of communities and individuals is founded, this communication which is sharing in life and in the means of life, this effort towards optic growth, self-transcendence and enrichment, find a sublime and transcendent realisation in the Church of Christ, which is also a community of life, whose vital principle is sharing in the life of the Trinity, humanised in the Word of God made Man (Mulago, 1972:157).

The life-relationship and communication in the African context can be utilised effectively in a congregational setting, for study of traditional African anthropology and psychology has revealed that a healthy interaction of persons generates a wholesome healing force. As a thou meets another thou, to use the language of Martin Buber, *izithunzi* calls for another *isithunzi* and in a

mysterious way a context for therapy is established. As the pastor in a congregation establishes groups either for therapy in regard to specific problems or groups for caring and growth, he/she would need to be aware as counsellor and group facilitator that the healthy interaction of persons generates a healing force. This healthy trend has not been pursued adequately in the African context. People appreciate "deeply" the *isithunzi* of others, yet the therapeutic value of being in the presence of the resurrected Christ as people share common faith, still remains latent. The presence is so powerful that even the suffering, rejected African cannot resist it.

> And yet for us it is when he is on the cross,
> This Jesus of Nazareth with holec' hands
> and open side like a beast at a sacrifice:
> When he is stripped, naked like us,
> Browned and sweating water and blood
> in the heat of the sun,
> Yet silent,
> That we cannot resist Him.
> (Setiloane, "I am an African", as quoted by Dickson, 1984:195).

All these observations, therefore, lead to the conclusion that group therapy, where pastoral counselling would focus on the group with a similar problem or crisis experience, could be utilised extensively in the African context. This would be a move away from a focus on individuals per se. Therefore, the pastoral counsellor could have widows, indunas, parents with problem children, parents with detained children, school drop-outs and any other problem areas, together receiving group counselling as well as exposing them to therapeutic group interaction.

Group counselling is one approach which has great potential for Africa, for it fits into the acceptable traditional approach widely known and practised in the Continent. "The process of palaver therapy varies from culture to culture... In some groups... the diviner's or the traditional healer's diagnosis is the starting point. In some other societies the elder of the clan takes the place of the diviner" (Masamba, 1985:6).

Groups meeting for therapy need not only comprise people with similar problems. Traditional African practice shows that healthy persons interacting with those in need of therapy generate a healing force. Therefore, people facing some form of crisis were not isolated but drawn to the middle of the group to be recipients of this healing force.

There is a lot of potential in groups, for therapy and learning on a deeper level. For instance, Black congregations still need to explore the potential in the Methodist class meetings. It is the utilisation of the group system where the strong generate power to the weak.

B. THE ISSUE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR PASTORAL COUNSELLORS AND ZULU COUNSELEES

Pastors ministering to Zulu parishioners according to the findings of the present research, minister to people enmeshed in a mixed world-view situation. Therefore, the questions of the non-directional or person-centred approach become even more pertinent. In fact, the issue of the identity of pastoral counsellors in the midst of varied counselling approaches is indeed crucial. It is, of course, a challenging insight that aspects of the social sciences are helpful even in ministry, as they help in the understanding of people. The best example of this is Carl Rogers' psychotherapy. However, as many pastoral counsellors embrace the Rogerian methods, what remains as unique pastoral contribution? A critical investigation of the concept of responsibility for pastoral counsellors and counselees will serve to respond to this concern, and shed light on this pivotal point of pastoral counselling as a task of a Christian community.

Views of three theorists in the field of pastoral counselling are presented in connection with the issue of responsibility. After a presentation of these views there is a specific focus on Zulu pastoral counselling with regard to the issue of responsibility within this cultural milieu.

Jay Adams is perhaps the leading critic of modern pastoral counselling. Adams believes pastoral counselling has become too dependent on psychotherapeutic techniques. This is unsatisfying to many conservatives; they find this adoption of psychotherapeutic techniques clashing with scriptural principles. Genuine responsibility is undermined by the idea of acceptance (Adams, 1970:83). Adams' understands the responsibility in the Christian context to be "...the ability to respond as God says man (sic) should respond to every life situation in spite of difficulties... Responsibility is respond-ability: the God-given ability to respond to any situation of life in accordance with the commandments" (Adams, 1970:83). It seems as if in Adams' conservative model of pastoral counselling there is no room for non-judgmental listening while giving a person room to manoeuvre independently, albeit with the guidance of the pastoral counsellor. Further, Adams perceives no ambiguity in Christian ethical demands at all times in every context.

Further, in Adams' views, there is a very close relationship between responsibility in pastoral counselling and confrontation. The pastor as a shepherd had a task to revive the soul and peace of heart and mind, for these are still basic needs of the task that the pastor cannot delegate to a psychiatrist. Responsibility is perceived in a confrontational style (Adams, 1970:67).

Paul Pruyser, a clinical psychologist who worked closely with theologians and chaplains at the Menninger Foundation Clinic in Topeka in the United States of America, expresses concern with ministers' uncritical utilisation of psychological methods in pastoral counselling. On the issue of pastoral responsibility he says that for pastors it must emanate from their own pastoral identity. Therefore, pastors should adopt the use of pastoral diagnosis (Pruyser, 1976:30). He further argues that the ancient confessor-parishioner roles must help modern pastoral counsellors to retain their correct roles. For "the mutual roles in the parishioner-priest were clear-cut and highly standardized, if not ritualized. Even the anti-casuistical Protestant pastors and parishioners felt tied to them for centuries after the Reformation" (Pruyser, 1976:35). In a confessional one was engaged in the discipline of having one's conscience examined. The priest too, was consciously engaged in this examination of conscience.

Pruyser, although he challenges pastors to be mindful of the "roots" and is appreciative of the ancient shepherding tradition, is able to identify the weakness of this model. He states:

> One difficulty with the pastoral office and the investigations engendered was its tendency to be authoritarian. Some pastors directed too hard and barely listened to their charges. As Michelet points out, too many priests seem too fond of directing, women in particular, in a blatantly too paternalistic way (Pruyser, 1977:36).

It is this rather directive style which has the weakness to be abrasive. This has, therefore, often influenced modern pastoral counsellors to prefer a client-centred non-directive pastoral counselling.

Pruyser continues to argue for the place of spiritual direction which would include giving solace in bereavement, helping a person sort out the pros and cons of a career choice, assisting a parishioner through a crisis of illness, disaster or war. The pastor would need to make some assessment of the problem before he/she could decide on the proper intervention (Pruyser, 1976:37).

Clients turning to pastors for help do so for several reasons: "They want their problems sized up and tackled. They want their tradition to speak to them, they want to discuss

themselves in familiar terms, they want a glimpse of the light of their faith to clarify their predicament" (Pruyser, 1976:48). When people knock at pastors' doors, therefore, they are basically seeking theological answers, for they have raised theological questions.

Paul Johnson shows how responsibility is at the core of pastoral counselling. He observes:

> Personal responsibility is therefore an essential therapy, probably the most essential of all possibilities for decisive change. In terms of growth, counselling is a way of facing problems together to gain new understanding and develop new responsibility where constructive solutions can be worked out by appropriate action (Johnson, 1953:97).

Carried on further, this observation brings to the surface the difference between directive and non-directive client-centred counselling. The directive counsellor takes control of the interview, asking leading questions, he/she conducts an investigation along the lines which are perceived to be leading to therapy and relief from a specific predicament. Unfortunately, "he (sic) takes the authoritative role that he (sic) knows what is best for the person before him (sic) (Johnson, 1953:97). The non-directive counsellor, on the other hand, "places responsibility upon the person to lead the conversation according to his (sic) interests, to tell what he (sic) is ready to admit, to discover his (sic) own insights, choose his (sic) own goals, and decide what steps he (sic) will take in working towards them" (Johnson, 1953:98). Evaluatively, Johnson perceives a controversy at the extreme points of both approaches. The whole directive method does violence to the person by the coercion of the counsellor. In other words, the person's own responsibility is suspended. On the other hand, a wholly non-directive method leads to passivity of the counsellor. The rich theological and pastoral legacy on which the church community has so much at stake, is left untapped. This would be pastorally irresponsible.

After this identification of the crux of the matter, there is now a need to return to the Zulu context and to critically investigate the issue of responsibility in a contextual manner. It seems it is necessary first to state the problem and then to return to the theorists whose views have been presented, before broad original views are suggested.

Zulu parishioners and patients quite often present problems which have their origin in living in a situation of an interface of traditional world-view and Western world-view. Cases which illustrate this have been presented in this study. When these parishioners are involved in a pastoral counselling session, the issue of what can or cannot be integrated in the new life situation surfaces. There is adequate evidence from the South African context as one looks at African Christian communities that people do not unself overnight and adopt a new lifestyle.

The issue then is what the pastor has to say when his/her Zulu parishioners come struggling between these two world-views. It is back to a struggle which is similar to that which Paul faced with the nucleus of the church in the early Jewish Christian communities of his day.

Pastoral counselling philosophy seems to suggest that this task of discernment belongs to the community as a whole. Thus responsibility in common and in pastoral counselling sessions belongs to all the people of God, both the laity and the ordained.

Specifically the task has to do with what can be integrated and which must be continuously identified and encouraged. On the other hand, the task has to do with what has to be rejected because it cannot be integrated. This pastoral care task brings the pastoral counsellor in Africa very close to his/her colleagues in Black and African theology since their enterprise to be justifiable also has to do with discernment. The enterprise outlined here cannot justifiably be ideological. It seems it should be motivated by an existential honesty and commitment to the struggling person striving for an integrated lifestyle and a responsible life in relation to God.

Responsibility has been located at the centre of the pastoral counselling enterprise. The pastor's responsibility, however, needs to exclude authoritarianism. Yet there is a professional responsibility to identify what can enrich and be enriched by Christianity. What can be enriched and can enrich Christians as individuals and communities has been identified in this study as "bridges". The bridge metaphor is purposely used to capture that imagery of a free, uninhibited flow which enriches instead of impoverishing.

It is important at this stage to try to be explicit and to identify some cases which portray the suggested paradigm. In an unpublished paper entitled "The Impossibility and Necessity of African Theology", John Cumpsty identifies the problem of African theology to be its attempt to "accommodate a symbol which gains its meaning within a dualistic view of reality to a monostic one rather than accept the world-view and symbol together" (Cumpsty, Unpublished paper). He further shows how impossible the task is, of attempting to put together a monostic world-view with a dualistic one. Precisely because, as he observes:

> In a monostic world one can have avatars but not incarnation as that was understood in a Hebrew world-view. Similarly, in a dualistic world-view, one needs resurrection if one is to overcome, immortality will not suffice. Only by blurring the meaning of symbols can they be thought to fit in both worlds" (Cumpsty, p.5).

This observation hits the nail on the head also in regard to pastoral counselling in the African context. Is such an enterprise aimed primarily at blurring cardinal Christian symbols

as there is so much digging into the African past? However, Cumpsty seems to bring some hope to contextual African counselling when he states that, on the other hand, he himself has long empathised with the project that is African theology, for it operates where real people live (Cumpsty, p.5). The present study identifies in toto with that spirit.

It is true, as Cumpsty also observes, that the question of reality is basic in world-views and thus leads to the three pure types of religion. Thus the fundamental difference between African and Christian religion is that one is monostic and time is cyclical (biological, perhaps astral). "Belonging is assumed but must be maintained. Reality may be modelled in ways which appear to an outsider as either personal or impersonal" (Cumpsty, p.9). On the other hand, "in Religion of Secular World Affirmation, reality is dualistic, time is linear (perhaps creation to destiny), belonging is not assumed but must be sought, ultimate reality must be modelled as personal" (Cumpsty, p.10). In this type "the mode of engagement with the immediate world out there, it being secular but real, is to take hold of it and conform it to the will of the ultimately real" (Cumpsty, p.10). In the Religion of Secular world-affirming type, permanent survival after death is in some sense a crossing of the transcendence gap to the ultimately real (Cumpsty, p.11). Whereas in nature religion, if survival after death is to be modelled it must be as remaining in the reality, eg. as an ancestor (Cumpsty, p.9). One could go on and on as Cumpsty does identifying the diversity in the types of religion, but the point has been made of the nature of the diversity. In this study we have discovered that what unites all of them is a quest for meaning and, in Cumpsty's observation, a quest for belonging.

The crux of the matter in the African context, especially for pastoral counselling, is what happens in the traffic dialogue and conceptualisation between the Nature Religion and the Religion of Secular World affirmation. In specific and concrete terms, what dynamics are in operation in the Zulu convert in his/her conversion and during his/her lifetime as he/she seeks to be faithful? It is the finding of this study that this very important area has not been paid adequate attention in the Christian church. The cases that have been presented in this study point to this very issue. The paradigm of a scientific study of religion which has been briefly referred to points out clearly that religious systems are characterised by specific world-views. It is, however, difficult to say where the one which comes first stops and gives room in toto to the new, to which one becomes a devout convert.

In the pastoral counselling enterprise responsibility in Africa will have to do with the question of being ferried to, and finding a home in the cosmic Christ. But pastoral counselling needs to deal also with human creativity in the enterprise, the depth of which goes back to one's forebears. The problem with Western theologians and missionaries seems to be in their thought patterns which lead them to think that the relationship between one type of religion

and another is in straight lines. Responsibility in sorting out, a task which has earlier been called "discernment", needs to consider seriously these rather meandering lines of the progress of the new African convert and the saint. Above everything, it seems what is necessary is a sharp scientific religious investigation (a model of which was referred to earlier) and a heart which empathises with African Christian adherents as they strive to make meaning of the new in the shadow of the past. A case study will help to further explain this observation:

Recently, a young African pastor related the following story:

He had for several years been working with a very faithful retired African evangelist (Catechist). One day he had an urgent errand, so he went to his home during the week, something which he normally did not do. When he came to the evangelist's home, as he entered the gate which was by the cattle kraal, he saw a large cross made out of ash on the ground. As he approached the home, he saw a large group of people, mostly women, and he noticed that they had been having a worship service together. He could recognise that some were prayer women from his parish and others were Anglicans, Methodists and Zionists. Some had travelled from other Lutheran parishes which were more than thirty kilometres away to come to this evangelist's home. As a person trained in pastoral care and counselling, he adopted a method which he felt would not alienate the evangelist and his followers: he did not confront him on doctrinal lines and church polity but, instead, just talked to him about his reason for coming to that home. (Umphumulo Informant, 1991).

This case raises several questions. Why did the evangelist make an ash cross by the gate? Did the symbol of the gate have something to do with Jerusalem, or heaven, or perhaps the pool of Bethesda? Was it by coincidence that this cross was also near the cattle kraal? (The cattle kraal is like an altar to the traditional Zulu religion.) Why did the evangelist dress in a green and white gown instead of his traditional Lutheran one?

This evangelist was a devout Christian but it seems he was dealing with the richness of the symbols from his traditional African religion and those from the Christian tradition. Prayer women, from three so-called established churches, found his model attractive. He seemed to speak to their needs in a society of uncertain transition. In this small group, brought together by a need to belong and a quest for health, they found solace. The young pastor, however, reported that the women were shy about it. They did not expect their pastors to arrive there and find them seeking help in an "unorthodox" manner.

This case points to the realistic task of the responsibility of the whole community to be involved in discernment. The community referred to above also had this task. In this task the discovery will be of those things which cannot be integrated. It seems cardinal points of what cannot be integrated (non-negotiable) has to do with Revelation, Christology, Salvation and Eschatology. It should be noticed that these so-called cardinal points have to do with a sense of direction and commitment. Other non-negotiables could be added, but no-one, it seems, could be denied a place in the company of the saints because he/she believed (contrary to scientific evidence) that the earth is flat and not round and that protection from lightning can be gained by burning an old tyre and placing it in front of one's doorstep. To a modern scientifically influenced person that may be naïve in the extreme. But this has nothing to do with salvation and belonging to a *communio sanctorum*. Therefore, the task ahead of pastoral counselling in Africa is a long and ongoing one. In spite of that, however, it needs to be fulfilled in a relaxed and therapeutic way since what is at stake is the growth of the parishioner and the realisation of the richness of the world around him/her and a growing relationship to God.

This study has been critical of the effectiveness of an authoritative and directive approach in pastoral counselling. It has pointed out that this can be associated with a legacy of missionary approaches and a paternalistic style. Later on African pastors themselves were not immune to these influences. A non-directive, person-centred approach in pastoral work is considered appropriate. Nevertheless, there is a need to go further than this, to balance things up.

In spite of the fact that a more directive approach of the past seems not to have been totally ineffective among Christian communities in Zululand, it does not seem appropriate to suggest a regression to the rigid church discipline of the past, in modern Africa. In pastoral work in Africa, it seems necessary to keep abreast with social change and people's needs and aspirations while being sensitive to their traditional background. Since a Christian congregation is a living unit representing Jesus Christ in the world, Christians have an obligation to be supportive of one another. This is especially the case, it seems, with converts and physically, emotionally or spiritually weaker members. In the accepted tradition of most denominations, the pastor, by the authority of ordination, acts on behalf of God and the Christian community. He/She has been set aside for the pastoral office to guide, lead and counsel others. While other congregation members have full-time occupations for a living, the pastor is paid for the congregational shepherding task. Therefore, there would be occasions when the pastor would have to take the initiative and act in authority in the name of God and the congregation. This would be the case when some members would need specific guidance. On these occasions the pastor would take responsibility and act. He/She would

need to be directive with much sensitivity and wisdom. Person-centred pastoral care need not totally exclude this dimension in ministry. On occasion it may be necessary for a pastor to say to a parishioner: "For this particular act which you are now confessing, it would be appropriate to confess and receive forgiveness publicly." From a theological and pastoral psychological point of view, there is room for public confession and public forgiveness. This practice is consonant with African traditional palavers to restore good relationships, especially among members of an extended family. The climax of the ceremony was a traditional ritual of *ukuthelelana amanzi* (a symbolic act of washing hands, an offer and receiving of forgiveness).

Even when it is not public, there are occasions when the Christian community, through the authority of the pastor, relieves the conscience of the individual. The contribution of a person-centred approach in all this is that the pastor should have been so focussed on that particular individual that he/she would have really been heard and his/her specific needs identified.

C. GROWTH GROUPS IN A ZULU MILIEU

Growth counselling is a relatively new area in pastoral counselling. However, the emphasis on growth and becoming is as old as the Gospel in Christian circles. The following is a useful definition:

> Growth counselling is a human potential's approach to the helping process as the liberation of the fullest potentialities at each life stage, and the creation of a person - enhancing society in which each person will have the opportunity to use his/her potentialities... Growth counselling is both a way of seeing people and a way of helping them (Howard Clinebell, "Growth Counselling", in Masamba, 1985:45).

This idea of facilitating growth in persons by creating a network of groups, will fit well in an African context. In fact, such groups in a Church setting can even prevent the need for counselling. According to Howard Clinebell, this could be due to the fact that "they would allow persons to use more of their inner strengths and potentialities" (in Masamba, 1985:45).

From the perspective of African wisdom, it could be said that it wouldn't primarily be due to the person's use of their personal inner strengths and potentialities, as it would be due to the support system of being in the presence of a caring group, the nurturing of which is reminiscent of traditional *ontanga* (peer group) and the warmth of the extended family. Growth counselling in the Zulu context would have to relate to the traditional emphasis on group support. Nevertheless, an emphasis on facilitating healthy communication goes a long

way in the path of therapy. This approach in the Zulu context would mean nurturing wholeness focused on the life cycle. It would bring to life the traditional concept of *ontanga*. It will emphasise the importance of seeing each life stage as an important opportunity for a growth facilitating ministry. It has been correctly observed that each life stage is a crisis. Yet this series of crises offers at the same time heightened opportunities for new insights in life (Lidz, 1968:70).

The Zulu pastor has an opportunity, if he utilises this model, to be a facilitator of growth in the congregation. Therefore, as he/she follows the route suggested by this model, an elitist mentality is avoided in the Zulu context. In the spirit of the New Testament, which relates well to the African deep appreciation for community, pastoral care becomes the calling of the whole congregation. Each member is encouraged to be actively involved in the Christian community's task of caring, nurturing and healing. This would happen within a network of caring groups. Thus, the clergy's task is to train, coach and inspire others in their calling (Clinebell, 1984:34). Such an emphasis would accommodate the deep African appreciation for community and at the same time it would act as a leverage in the abolition of passivity in African congregations of the so-called mainline churches, an ambiguous legacy of the missionary past.

D. THE CARE OF WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS IN A ZULU CONGREGATION

A study of Zulu traditional practices reveals the care of widows within a society which emphasised community and kinship ties in acceptable relationships. This assurance for care gave security to a woman in a society in which a woman was regarded as a minor in terms of legal status. Her matters, especially in terms of property, had to be delegated to a trustee decided by the lineage, often the late husband's brother.

Therefore, basically, the *Ukungena* custom (leverite), was primarily mooted for the protection of widows. Christian missionary practice has tended to see such practice as a satisfaction of male lust and forgot totally the attempt to care for the widow within the extended family. A Lutheran missionary, who may have been ahead of his time, wrote, in assessing polygamous unions and the responsbility of the husband:

> Polygamy in the old Zulu society with its strict laws and stability could not be ascribed to any kind of licentiousness or just to insatiable male desire. It was too well guarded and surrounded by rigidly observed laws and it entailed too much responsibility and economic consequences and lifelong ties (Helander, 1958:21).

The point being made in this context is that wherever the introduction of Christian faith has taken away what acted as a support system in a traditional society, an even more wholesome substitute must be discovered and developed in the church. The congregation, therefore, should develop a contextual support system methodology for its members. The point at issue, of course, is the widowed members in the congregation and community.

In these groups the pastor would have to be well informed of the dynamics of grief and bereavement. He/she would have to be versed in the psychology of this reaction to crisis and would have to be able to understand grief and bereavement within an African sociocultural matrix. Group interaction would have to take this aspect seriously. The pastoral counsellor as group facilitator will need to alert members to this.

There are two areas of focus which such a therapeutic group in the area of bereavement and grief could have. The first one aims at promoting healthy grief work in the African context. Healthy grief work or good grief (Westberg, 1976 edition) means that ability to psychologically and spiritually say goodbye to the deceased. It is psychologically being able to allow nature to take its course in bereavement. The point is made mindful of the fact that unhealthy grief work can lead to neurotic behaviour (Westberg, 1954).

In one of the cases (Case No. 1, p99) presented in this dissertation there was a patient who shared his dilemma concerning his illness. It was clear to him that he was sick, and being sick many people had advised that he goes to hospital. He had done so. However, the doctors and nurses could not usher in healing. His assessment of the condition was that he was sick and could not be healed, because he had not gone home after his mother died. It is essential that a son who is not a delinquent returns home for *Umsebenzana* (slaughter of a beast for the deceased parent). Here we have a case of a person whose physical condition is affected by an unhealthy grief process. If his psychological condition is not attended to, he may even develop neurotic symptoms.

Another recent experience of the author further verifies this condition of the relationship of grief to the physical condition of a Zulu client. A woman in her late fifties lost her husband. The author was invited to officiate at the funeral. He talked briefly to her and her family after the funeral. A month later he met her in town. She told him that she had been to the doctor because she felt sick all over her body. She had sleepless nights. He started talking to her. In the conversation he assured her that it was wise of her to come to see the doctor. She needed to take all her medication with trust as to its effectiveness. However, she must continue coming to Church and worshipping and having fellowship with members of the congregation (group interaction). He further invited the parishioner to come and talk to him

should she deem that this was necessary. The pastoral counsellor suspected that perhaps what exacerbated the woman's dilemma was that she had observed that in traditional society, *Ontanga* played a significant part when one was faced with a crisis situation.

In conclusion, the role of supporting psychologically and spiritually the bereaved belongs to the congregation. It will certainly demonstrate practically the caring motif of those who have been called to form a fellowship of believers in a Zulu milieu.

E. THE HEALING MINISTRY RE-DISCOVERED IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT

A wide variety of theological studies, and studies in the area of practical theology in particular, support the fact that the healing ministry is basically an integral part of the great commission of Jesus Christ to His disciples. Church history, however, bears witness to the decline, if not plain neglect, of this dimension of ministry in different eras of the Church. In the South African context the mission societies who came to evangelise the Africans were primarily influenced by pietistic circles in Europe and America. The guiding motif was the mission to "win souls for the lamb" and the primary objective was conversion of the Africans. This resulted in very little work being done in the area of healing. Of course, service in the area of mission hospitals where the Zulu were introduced to Western medical science and the Gospel must be excluded. In the province of Natal alone, the Lutheran Missions had thirteen such hospitals. Methodists, Anglicans, Roman Catholics and various missions of the Evangelical tradition had many hospitals as well.

Among studies in the healing ministry of the Church is the one called the Tubingen Consultation (1965). This study considered inter alia the healing ministry, cross-culturally emphasised the centrality of the healing ministry for the Church.

> The Christian Church has a specific task in the field of healing. This is to say more than simply that the Church has a duty to support all that contributes to the welfare of man (sic). It is not to say that there are insights concerning the nature of health which are available only within the context of the Christian faith. The Church cannot surrender its responsibility in the field of healing to other agencies (Tubingen Report, 1965:35).

Observation of the practice of churches in the modern secularised world, shows that it is becoming progressively difficult for Western Christians to conceive of healing outside a Western technological scientific mode. The Zulu concept of illness and health shows, however, that from this perspective and world-view a social and spiritual concept of illness is still a reality. Considering illness in a cross-cultural perspective, it becomes clear that

societies which have neglected the social and the spiritual aspects of illness are the poorer for it.

In 1967 the Missiological Institute at Umphumulo in Natal organised a Consultation which focussed on the healing ministry of the church. A central finding of the Institute on healing was stated as follows:

> The healing ministry is the work of the Christian community or congregation which seeks to make man (sic) whole in every part of the being - body, soul and spirit (Matthew 10:5-8, Luke 10:9). The healing ministry seeks to bring men (sic) into living fellowship with God and each other. All men (sic) are sick and are often out of fellowship with God and with each other. The healing ministry includes all methods of healing, both medical and non-medical (Lislerud, 1967:174).

It is particularly significant that in the Message to the Churches from the Missiological Institute (1967), nothing is mentioned of the African traditional background and how it relates to the healing ministry, and why it is important to take it seriously.

Our concern in regard to this Consultation is that in spite of the fact that some lecturers did alert participants to the importance of the African traditional background, the re-discovery of the importance of this traditional background for the healing ministry seems to have not been forthcoming. Only one recommendation was addressed to this issue and does not seem to go far enough. It is stated thus:

> That the ideas and practices of the traditional African medicine and of the African Independent Churches be studied sympathetically by the Church in order to see how far these can be used in the healing ministry (Lislerud, 1967:171).

There is a need to systematically identify how the African traditional background relates to the concept and practice of the healing ministry of the Church. The Zulu traditional background demonstrates a holistic view of life and a religious outlook that permeates the whole of life. It also brings out a concept of illness that emphasises the social dimension. This view should not be eroded. Instead it should be utilised in the ministry of healing. For instance, in this context, the reality of evil forces is accommodated in the people's world-view and belief. By evil forces are meant the destructive actions and attitudes in human relationships - jealousy, hatred, hostility and other negative factors. Therefore, one was convinced of the existence of the *Umthakathi* and his familiars.

In the healing ministry which has a counselling facet, it must be remembered that Africans perceive life, inter alia, as a struggle in the realm of power. There is within people a

dynamic and ongoing, often unarticulated, relating of power to power (*Amandla namandla*). Therefore, healing in the African context would need to take seriously the question of exorcism - confronting power with power. Here the laying on of hands and prayer is being referred to. This will be the arena of operation of deeply spiritual persons with sympathetic understanding of the African background.

Further, the healing ministry in the African context, like counselling, will have a lot to do with the social context. The questions of relationships within a certain community must be taken seriously in the healing ministry.

The success of the African Independent Churches to attract many an African member from the so-called "established mainline" churches has to do with their almost intuitive ability to address the African traditional background. Other churches will do well to explore this field in their endeavours to be contextual.

F. DYNAMICS OF ZULU FAMILY LIFE AND COUNSELLING

The development of contextual pastoral care and counselling practice and African pastoral studies will have to take seriously the dynamics of the Zulu form of family life. It is life in relationships of the extended family - the *Umndeni*. Pastoral work among the Zulu points to the existence of the *Umndeni* even today.

There is a need therefore to ascertain the value of the African traditional practices in the light of contemporary society with its volatile dynamics; in such a context pastoral studies will have to be developed. The traditional Zulu family was one of the support systems which offered the person a healthy atmosphere for growth. Unfortunately, with modernisation the impact of the extended family has largely diminished as a support system. However, the value of the extended family has not been removed in toto.

In 1963 the All African Conference on Christian Home and Family Life set up a model for the development of pastoral studies in Africa. The participants did not only analyse such issues as customary marriage, *lobolo*, polygamy, the essence of Christian marriage, population, education and family planning, trial marriage, divorce and remarriage, prostitution and single parenthood, but it also called for appropriate family life education and counselling services within the churches in Africa (Masamba, 1985:2). This study supports such an approach as it has been found that a holistic approach is the most relevant in an African context.

It is appropriate at this time to identify areas in which pastoral studies in the area of African family life should be developed. These are the following: marriage and traditional life in Africa, the role of the *lobolo* custom, the understanding of the psychocultural dynamics in marriage, economic and political dynamics and influence on marriage, divorce and polygamy (especially in view of its persistence in the Zulu society today).

Further there is a need for the development of a concrete and relevant ministry to the Zulu adolescents today, particularly in South Africa with its society in turmoil - politically and socially. This study among the Zulu has clearly pointed out the traditional strong ties existing among *Ontanga*. Further, it identified relevant group guidance focussed on acceptable behaviour at every stage of human development. Contemporary church and society would do well to learn from this traditional model. There is a need to develop growth groups utilising group dynamics to offer guidance to young people. These groups would be led by a trained facilitator to offer a wholesome atmosphere for personal maturation and group counselling. Such groups, especially in a Church setting, would be surrogate extended family. In like manner they would be centres of support, enabling individuals not only to experience most needed peer support but also challenge and healthy confrontation in dialogue. This engagement would certainly create a psychosocial atmosphere conducive to personal growth and thus better functioning in society.

The traditional African family life model also has some far reaching implications for therapy in family life pathology. One of the challenging areas today for pastoral counselling among the African/ Zulu is a hitherto unknown divorce practice. Research reveals that this phenomenon is escalating today. While this has been an observable phenomenon in the western world, in spite of the proliferation of counselling centres, it has been virtually unknown in African societies. It seems as if western individualism contributes to this social pathology. In traditional Zulu society, one has his/her being in a network of relationships in the extended family. Therefore, marriage was not an affair of two people who ultimately formed a nuclear family. Instead, starting from the marriage negotiations - *lobola* - it was an affair of the boy's and the girl's extended families. This study therefore concludes that Zulu pastoral counselling should accommodate this African wisdom.

Applying this to a practical counselling case:

A young Zulu couple after several years of Christian marriage, began to experience serious marital problems. These problems had primarily to do with the fact that the wife had just discovered that her husband had another woman in the city where he was working. He had even had a child with this woman. The child was staying with the mother. However, the

man had responsibility to support this township family. All these arrangements had been made without the knowledge of the rural family. This therefore caused severe marital conflict. The couple, being Christian, reported the matter to the local African pastor for marriage counselling.

The pastor had been trained in a Western oriented context. Therefore he utilised a Western oriented model of marriage counselling which aimed at helping two individuals to reach some form of reconciliation. The objective of the Western model is adequately summarised as follows:

> The goal of marriage counselling is to help the couple involved to work out solutions to their problems to the advantage of each one both interpersonally and legally. This may mean continuing the marriage , but it also includes the possibility of separation and divorce. The counsellor, in accordance with basic counselling principles , sets the couple in a permissive context where they choose whether to stay together or to part company... the overall goal of the religious counsellor is to help individuals to "wholeness" (Stewart, 1961:81).

The African context calls for a different model in addressing marital conflict. Looking at the case mentioned, the husband who had got himself into trouble had given *lobolo* to his wife's family. The finalising of the payment of *lobolo* happened after a series of negotiation sessions by the *Umkhongi* - a person responsible for this negotiation. It was after a mutually agreeable settlement that the young woman was given to him as wife. It is important to note that in this traditional practice the whole extended family and clan was involved. In fact, the ancestors were involved as well. Marriage negotiations and the act of marriage itself is a religious affair. Therefore, where a crisis strikes, counselling should involve the two extended families as well. The Western model of counselling does not particularly help in this situation.

A contemporary case from a Zulu setting clearly illustrates these observations:

Recently a marriage was solemnized in a Lutheran Chapel. The pastor, who was a marriage officer, was a humorous kind of person. His rather exaggerated humour became contagious. The service lost the dignity it deserved as a religious occasion. (This is not a rare case among African Christians who often perceive such occasions as moments of humour and rejoicing rather than moments of involvement of Divinity in one of the most important human activities.) The father of the girl, who had been outside, was hastily invited to go to the front of the Chapel to address the audience. (Perhaps the expectation being that he would add yet another dose of humour that would thoroughly please the guests.) The words and reaction of this elderly gentleman were revealing indeed of how Africans traditionally

understood marriage to be a deeply religious affair. In the present case the Christians seemed to have viewed it in a secular way.

The words of this elderly Zulu gentleman will be quoted verbatim in vernacular. A translation will follow later:

> *Yini sekwenzenjani kuthiwe angize lapha phambili? Ngizokwenzani lapha? Kuthiwa angithini? Nisho ukuthi sengingabiza abakithi lapha endlini kaNkulunkulu na? Impela indodakazi yami lena, kanti mina akufanele ngisukume esiqcawini ngibize abakithi khona, sengengababiza endlini kaNkulunkulu na?*
>
> English rendering:
>
> What has happened that I am hastily told to come to the front? What have I to say? Do you mean to say that I can call those of my kin (who have passed away) in the house of God? It is true this is indeed my daughter, am I not supposed to stand up in front of my hut and call up my ancestors? How can I stand here in the house of God and call them?

To return to the counselling case. The African marriage counselling model should take seriously the extended family involvement. The woman in marrying a man, accepts that she is taking a step by means of which she becomes fully "engulfed" by his family. She is taking a real "exodus" from her family. She is going on a long journey, symbolized by the Zulu word used for marriage - *enda*. Therefore, marriage is traditionally not a couple affair. It is a matter involving two extended families. Therefore, when marital conflict reaches the stage exemplified by this case, it seems apparent that both extended families should be involved as a support system. Further, they should be consulted in an attempt to find a mutually acceptable solution. Of course, it would not be possible to involve everyone, but the main thing is that as the couple struggle to find a solution, people who were involved in the lobola negotiations should again be allowed to offer support in time of crisis. This model fits in a context where people live and have their beings in a network of relationships .

Thus, the pastoral counsellor in the African context is challenged to be skilled to work not only with the couple in marital conflict, but with the extended families as well, who continue to be an important aspect of the context which contributes to the individual's self-perception. This means that if reconciliation were to remain on the level of two single individuals an important aspect would have been neglected, and one would not realistically expect lasting results. Practically, if both extended families are neglected, it would mean that there would continue to be influential pulls from different directions.

In order to adequately utilise creatively this pastoral counselling model in family counselling, a familiarity with family systems and their dynamics is essential. The interaction of the in-laws with each individual spouse must be sympathetically understood as well. Such counselling, at least in the African context, would be perceived as thoroughly immersed in the cultural heritage of the people. Thus, with the exception of those people whose traditional background has been greatly eroded, this model of counselling will be found relevant. Therefore, such an approach besides contributing towards solving the problem at hand, would contribute towards a healthily functioning family as well.

G. THE TRAINING OF PASTORAL COUNSELLORS IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COUNSELLING CENTRES

African traditional society has always had useful support systems, as this study among the Zulu has shown. Theologically speaking this should be characterised as a manifestation of the work of God the Creator maintaining His creation. Support systems were of great assistance in the prevention of disintegration in society. With Christian westernised education and industrialisation, however, the formerly secure support systems were threatened, even eroded. The present African Christians are faced with the challenge to intensify the development of support systems within the context of their mission of koinonia. There cannot be any effective Pastoral Care and Counselling unless there is effective training in this discipline. The first effective step to take is to take the African milieu seriously as the context to be appreciated, challenged and generally engaged in the counselling process. There is a close relationship between observations made in pastoral counselling and those made in pastoral counselling education. (Compare project in the pastoral supervision of African theological students in training for Pastoral Care and Counselling ministry, Msomi, Umphumulo, 1983).

It is essential, at this stage, to first consider the definition and nature of pastoral supervision as the most important methodology in training in this field of pastoral studies. This study has shown that pastoral supervision is not only useful as an educational methodology, but it is also useful as a leverage to bring out contextual issues that need to be addressed.

For a long time, even dating as far back as the Clinical Pastoral Education pioneer - Anton T. Boisen - there has been limited documentation of the theory of the methodology of pastoral supervision in pastoral studies. Therefore the authors who are quoted in this section can be regarded as pioneers in the field. They did not only utilise the methodology (as many a supervisor of CPE has done) but committed it to documentation.

Doran McCarty defines pastoral supervision as a means of providing support systems for the enrichment of personhood... and assisting in the performance of tasks (McCarty, 1978:18). Counselling would be one such task. Unfortunately McCarty's definition does not come out clearly on the educational or training aspect. George Hunter defines pastoral supervision as "an experienced minister enabling another person who is serving as a minister to reflect in such a way upon the tradition his/her spirituality and presenting occusion for ministry that appropriate resources are employed and effective action taken" (Hunter, 1982:8). Kenneth Pohly defines pastoral supervision as "a method of doing and reflecting on ministry, in which a supervisor (teacher) and one or more supervisees (learners) covenant together to reflect critically on their ministry as a way of growing in self-awareness, professional competence, theological understanding and Christian commitment (Pohly, 1977:64). In relating these definitions to pastoral counselling it can be seen that pastoral supervision is a methodology and process in education and training by means of which the supervisor (teacher) helps the student find meanings about himself/herself as well as about the dynamic interaction between the learner - the pastoral counsellor and the context in which he/she operates. Further he/she begins to learn something of the dynamic interaction of the person in counselling with the context that forms his/her world. Indeed this educational methodology, largely an informed artform, has the potential to stimulate the student in pastoral studies to raise contextual observations and issues.

Among issues raised in some research and pilot projects in pastoral supervision and counselling in the African context are the following: contextualisation, integration, the importance of using the African language effectively and creatively, the role of traditional religion in the pastoral ministry, legalistic tendencies in African Christianity, authority, the role of prayer, the role of pastor, understanding of the healing ministry, confrontation and supervision, theology of suffering, the wholeness of life and other issues. These issues are representative of issues arising in the training of pastoral counsellors in an African milieu. Some comments on each of these will serve to highlight the dynamics in operation.

1. Contextualisation

When the student begins to attempt to put into practice in the field, those theories he/she has learned in a classroom setting, he/she begins to realise the importance of skills to adapt to the local setting. To give a practical example: A student in pastoral counselling in an African context was excited with the Rogerian person-centred therapy and began to utilise the reflective method while visiting African patients. He was, however, overwhelmed with the passivity that this approach seemed to generate. He soon concluded for himself that an adaptation of the method to the cultural context of

Zulu patients was essential. Therefore, he selectively began to utilise a story-telling method whereby he also shared somethings about himself, thus encouraging African patients to share with him. This changed the pace of communication. Hitherto reserved people began to open up.

The other aspect of contextualisation has to do with peoples' belief systems which calls for a contextual approach. For example, a person who believes that he/she is bewitched calls for a pastoral approach that would take seriously belief in bewitchment adopting a relevant approach.

2. Integration

One of major aspects calling for careful attention in pastoral counselling supervision is integration of one's theological and pastoral outlook. Theology must not remain in isolated fragments but must be a dynamic system constantly engaged with one's personality and the context of ministry. This would happen in one who has gone beyond a mere accumulation of Western theories and developed one's own theological approach. Therefore, mature supervisory work with pastoral students can be a most powerful leverage in the development of a contextual theology and pastoral studies.

3. Importance of Using African Language Effectively

One of the most essential things in counselling is effective communication. The pastoral counsellor must be in a position to understand all the nuances of the language of the client, as well as the non-verbal communication. The Christian Church in the African context has suffered from a rather careless use of African languages. This is reflected in some Bible translations and hymn books as well as in sermons. Careful attention to the African language makes for effective communication. Earlier in this dissertation the important role of Zulu proverbs in communication was discussed. Therefore the supervision of pastoral counsellors in the African context should include guiding them to take seriously and struggle to penetrate with understanding those areas of communication where African proverbs have been utilised. It is important to do so because quite often the proverb is used to summarise a deeply felt emotion. For example, a Zulu person could say: *Ukubona kanye ukubona kabili* (literal translation - to see once is to see twice). The person may be expressing deep disappointment and a solemn resolution never to commit that particular act again. A contextually informed counsellor would be able to focus his/her counselling on the disappointment and resolution. Of course other feelings could surface as the pastoral counsellor converses

with the client. Even guilt feelings could be present in the situation of the client utilising this proverb. The trainee pastoral counsellor should be warned to avoid premature conclusions. Each case must be listened to with empathy and a deep desire to fully comprehend the person's frame of reference.

4. The Role of African Traditional Religious Outlook in Ministry

Research work among the Africans clearly shows that traditionally they have always had a deeply seated religion. Therefore, the pastoral counsellor in the African context should be trained to take a people's religion seriously, for to the African his/her religion is an integral part of his daily life and also death. The supervision of trainee pastoral counsellors should stress this. This needs a particualar emphasis for too often a people's traditional religion has been perceived by many a Christian to be demonic instead of viewing it as a means of giving meaning to an otherwise chaotic existence.

Counselling with African Christians should be open to the depths of African Christianity. In this way the trainee counsellors will grow in being relevant to the context of their pastoral counselling.

5. Authority and Pastoral Supervision

Pastoral supervision especially in CPE, takes seriously the students style of relating to authority figures. Two extremes seem to be the main focus: firstly, passivity in relation to authority, and, secondly, a person presenting a rebellious attitude to authority figures. Many a client is influenced by a basic Freudian theory of the father-figure. In the supervision of students peership with the supervisor is perceived to be the highest point of growth in relationship to authority. The focus of the latter is a move away from dependency to maturity in relating to authority. The student pastoral counsellor moves away from dependency to "the experience of peership, which is one of accomodation, give and take and mutual interdependence". (Powell, 1975:45-49). The issue arises in training pastoral counsellors in the African context because the perception of authority is often different from the Western view. A vast area of the relational pattern is coloured by the *Ukuhlonipha* (respect) custom. It is quite easy to misinterpret this *hlonipha* with passivity. Nothing could be further from the truth. In training African pastoral counsellors this different style in relating to authority should be kept in mind.

6. Legalistic Tendencies in African Christianity

A considerable portion of this study has been given to the discussion of the role of Church discipline as some form of pastoral care and counselling (Chapter IV). In the development of Pastoral counsellors in the African context, a careful look at the legalistic tendencies should be borne in mind. Where people think of Church discipline as a way of dealing with sin, it becomes almost impossible to introduce approaches of pastoral counselling. Pastoral counselling operates within an atmosphere of acceptance and empathy. Of course, this does not mean condoning sin. It means that the pastoral counsellor believes that within the atmosphere and dynamics of acceptance and empathy and appropriate judgement, the client gains new insights into his/her condition intra-personally and interpersonally.

7. Role of Prayer in Crisis Situations

One of the expressions of African Christianity is prayer as communication with God in various human situations. Quite often when the pastor arrives in a home where some crisis has occurred, Africans will ask him/her to lead them in prayer. The pastor is seen as a person of prayer. Prayer is perceived to be communication with God. It is most needed in times of crisis and suffering.

The strongest power of African Church life comes from the women membership. In any denomination they are by far the highest numerically and of course, the most active. There is a strong emphasis on their role as prayer women. The names by which they are called among the Nguni people show this. They are called *abathandazi* (prayer women), *0mame besililo* (prayer women), *abasizikazi* (female helpers). Their helping in the congregations and parishes is associated with praying for the sick and those facing various other problems in life. Undoubtedly in African Christianity as it is evident also in Zululand, prayer plays a most significant part. Prayer is associated with *amandla aphezulu* (heavenly power). It is clear as one watches Africans praying in a place where they are not intimidated by the presence of a Westerner or a Western trained pastor, that they long for prayer which is a free expression of their religious feelings, and which is an expression of catharsis. Prayer is perceived to be therapeutic. Careful observation will reveal this, although Western missionaries have had a strong influence in moulding African Christians in their patterns. African women have resisted this and have remained spontaneous in prayer. People like Mia Brandel-Syrier have observed and been struck by this phenomenon.

> The general atmosphere of a Manyano is one of weeping and sighing. The air is heavily charged with intense emotion. Women stand up and speak out their troubles, sometimes wailing or screaming, sometimes in frenzied whisperings. Their bodies tremble... (Brandel-Syrier, 1962:34).
>
> Later she observes:
>
> If Europeans would only once stop thinking about what Christianity should give to the African women, and would begin to listen to what they say themselves, as to what they want or expect from Christianity, maybe they would then see that if they concentrate too exclusively on winning the world they lose the soul. If Christianity cannot catch "what is just in us", that is, if Christianity cannot nourish African spirituality, the African soul will remain starved of its spiritual food and will turn to older sources (Brandel-Syrier, 1962:214).

Prayer in African Christianity is an access to spiritual food. The pastoral counselling student, therefore, should be guided to regard a person's request for prayer with the highest esteem. Secular tendencies that could see this quest for prayer in crisis situations as naïve and as a defensive mechanism in facing the reality of suffering, should be avoided. Through prayer the pastoral person can facilitate a trusting relationship with the African client by meeting him/her on his own ground.

8. The Quest for Healing

Zulu concepts of illness and health have been presented in this study as a case study reflecting African concepts of illness and health. This understanding of illness and health is holistic, reflecting a deeper concept of health and healing than a mere somatic concentration. Therefore, working with African patients makes one conclude that during illness people are pre-occupied with a holistic and dynamic quest for healing. Their inner arena seems to be dynamically involved with a religio-physical quest, which a secular medical approach cannot satisfy. The case sudies point to this. Further the fantastic success story of African Independent Churches with their emphasis on healing supports this observation.

In the training of pastoral counsellors in the African context, therefore, a clear emphasis needs to be put on the relationship of pastoral counselling to healing. This study proposes that all counselling has a relationship to healing, since the resolution of conflict, either intra-psychically or inter-personally has a healing effect. However, in the African context quite often a client will expect an explicit accomodation of the facet of healing. It is quite common for a client to ask the pastor to pray for him/her for a specific ailment. These requests emanating from a holistic view of life should not be neglected or plainly denied. There is a need that every pastoral counsellor is practically guided as

he/she deals with clients to accomodate their quest for healing as well.

9. Theology of Suffering

In the African context especially in South Africa, African people are constantly faced with the issue of suffering, primarily emanating from apartheid and racist policies. People are constantly asking an agonising "why?". The question whether articulated or not remains to be - "On whose side is the God of justice and love?" "Is God on the side of the oppressor or the oppressed?" In pastoral work among Africans in South Africa it is not rare to hear the existential question - "*Kodwa yena uNkulunkulu uthini ngalesisimo esiphila kuso?*" (But what does God himself say of the condition of our existence?). If the person is not a Christian but a traditional believer in African religion, he/she could ask the existential question: *Kodwa abakithi bangifulathele kanjena kwenzenjani*? (Why have my ancestors turned away from me?).

The pastoral counsellor in training will need to be guided to deal with this aspect of existential enquiry which will surface again and again in dealing with African clients in South Africa. This needs to be mentioned because a burning desire for social change need not lead to a neglect of caring effectively for the victims of an oppressive society.

The training of African pastoral counsellors is presently a pioneering venture. This study has shown that our present society will continue to need support systems and healing institutions. The Church is such an institution. The problematic areas identified in this chapter are by no means comprehensive. This was not the intention. The aim was to identify issues that may arise and were identified in a pilot project in the education of pastoral counsellors in the African scene, in order to highlight the challenge of contextualisation.

As contextual pastoral counselling develops consideration will need to be made of the development of pastoral counselling centres. These centres will broaden the churches' work in contemporary society. Undoubtedly there is a need to be careful and creative, so that these structures remain contextual and relevant. Chabani Manganyi, a pioneer in psychotherapy and clinical consultancy in South Africa clearly supports and encourages the development of counselling practice and the establishment of counselling centres. His observations are also relevant for the Churches.

Training facilities, mental health professionals, public mental health professionals, public mental health education and what is more, employment opportunities for black

professionals are needed. The private practice of psychotherapy and other forms of clinical consultancy is not yet a realistic option for black professionals. For a considerable time to come the role of black clinicians will be limited to institutional settings such as psychiatric hospitals (Manganyi, 1981:100).

Manganyi identifies the need and thrust for psychological counselling in South Africa. However, he is also keenly aware of the limitation in resources in the black community to establish fully fledged counselling centres. This is the situation among the Churches as well. In spite of this limitation, avenues for the development of a contextual pastoral counselling practice in the African context should be explored.

This study has concentrated its focus on the Zulu, in an effort to identify what could be called "bridges" (in the cultural outlook of the people) for introducing effective contextual pastoral care and counselling practice in Southern Africa. As was stated in the introduction, the Zulu are a group of people within the large family of the African people. Therefore, quite often reference has been made to Africans as such. Although this study has primarily focussed on practice within a Christian tradition, our finding is that as a people's cultural outlook is respected and taken seriously, a holistic contribution is made. It is a contribution which goes beyond Christian circles to humanism which will bring dignity to the hitherto despised persons. Indeed, as Manganyi observed, this is why many of us are convinced that "Africanisation" in studies and practice will go beyond an apartheid society, whereas rightly, people are presently preoccupied with liberation. Manganyi observes, and the present author agrees with him:

> I think Blacks understand intuitively that black consciousness will have remained a dismal failure if it had failed to develop beyond its erstwhile preoccupation with race. The prospects as I see them are for a humanism that would come into being and thrive as a new cultural belief system which Dreyer Kruger and I have described as Africanisation ... It certainly is not naïve or idealistic to believe, as I do, that we Blacks have an historical advantage that propels us towards this humanism, a challenge which the exponents of Afrikaner *Volks-nasionalisme* have failed to grasp (Manganyi, 1981).

Pastoral counselling in Africa, in order to give itself credibility as a contextual discipline, will need to address itself to human issues and needs in a holistic manner. Therefore, the potential is there for a discipline that has relevance for the whole community, in a society whose fibre of humanism is eroded by many factors. It will need to essentially develop as a discipline which takes seriously that people exist within a specific cultural milieu. To reach them, this specific cultural milieu should be taken seriously. However, romanticising of the past for its own sake, should be avoided.

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CONCLUSION

It has sometimes been problematic as this study progressed to decide whether to retain the present tense or to shift to the past tense. This has been because traditional values and outlook have not remained intact. There has been considerable "transformation" in African societies, among the Zulu in particular, due to the dynamics of social change. However, there is still a considerable reservoir of the traditional heritage which has survived despite foreign influences. Social change in Zululand, as in the rest of Africa, brings a new challenge to pastoral counselling. This dimension was identified when profiles of African clients as a type influenced by modern dynamics of the interface of two world-views was presented.

This study has revealed that, deep down in many Zulu Christians there is a quest that the message of the Gospel (Good News) should resonate in their "psyches" as it responds to deeply felt needs. Their needs arise from their own existential milieu, at once rich in its cultural heritage and poor from the eroding oppressive and dehumanising forces so violently attacking it. This sounds a warning to theologians and pastors that to neglect this deep quest is not only unwise but suicidal of what the Christian Church perceives as the core of its identity - the redemption and liberation of the person in toto. Neglecting this will cause many Zulu Christians to increasingly perceive Christianity as the last remnants of superficial trappings of a colonial era doomed to disappear.

By implication, the study points out the centrality of a discipline - pastoral care and counselling within the corpus of theological thought. This discipline needs to be rooted in the African milieu. African culture is a dynamic historical reality. Through the illustrations of several case studies from Zulu parishioners and patients, it was argued that the Church is the poorer for neglecting pastoral care and counselling. The theological enterprise as such, would also be poorer for neglecting this discipline. Salutary theologising is one which takes seriously the two poles, namely, the message of God and the existential cultural reality. The existential cultural reality includes the reality of social change as well. Therefore, pastoral care and counselling has a pivotal role in the Church, as well as in the pastoral studies enterprise in Zululand and in Africa itself in toto.

From the findings of this study, therefore, it can be concluded that a holistic and contextual pastoral care and counselling would be one which takes seriously the cultural context which includes people's traditional background. In this traditional background aspects which have been called "bridges" in cross-cultural pastoral care and counselling were identified. The individual's cultural background is one of the important aspects in understanding personality dynamics, and

this must continually be borne in mind when approaching a client in pastoral counselling and listening "deeply" to his/her needs. This thesis highlights the most important areas in the Zulu traditional background: The Zulu understanding of humanity (*isintu*) and humanness (*ubuntu*); the religion of the people; Zulu concepts of illness, and health; the understanding of life as life in community, hence the deep belief in the communal existence; the emphasis on the extended family; age group support systems; emphasis on one's relationship with ancestors, hence the understanding of life as life in relationship with the living and the dead. All these, inter alia, are roots in the cultural heritage which should not be neglected in pastoral counselling within the African context.

It was also discovered that the language of the people should be taken seriously, as an important aspect of counselling. This study substantiated this argument by drawing from Zulu proverbs which illustrate vividly the ability of the African people to convey philosophical and moral tenets by means of proverbial expressions.

The religious systems of the Zulu can be characterised as a religion which permeates the whole of life. Pastoral care and counselling in Africa would need to take this nature of African religiosity seriously if it is to reach their deeply felt personality and spiritual needs. This should be borne in mind in approaching an African client whose frame of reference is permeated by a deep-seated religious stmosphere.

Missionary approaches in Zululand were observed and characterised in this study, as having been over influenced by the Western missionaries' own cultural background. It was argued that rigid church discipline that has become an ambiguous legacy in the African churches is a by-product of missionary culture-shock in a cross-cultural exchange situation.

The study has further identified the danger of unselective Westernisation in religious and social spheres, as this leads to the undermining of healthy traditional social support systems. These support systems, in fact, could have been encouraged and enriched in Christ. Westernisation has often eroded African values. Thus we have experienced the phenomenon of preaching to and counselling people whose fabric of humanness is progressively eroded. The migratory labour system is one such corrosive element, since it adversely affects family life and personality integrity.

In pastoral work among Africans, as among any other people for that matter, the counsellor is not dealing with a tabula rasa. This is a crucial insight and has far reaching implications and consequences for pastoral work and pastoral studies. Western missionaries, being children of a

dominating Western culture, were shocked by an unfamiliar world-view in Africa and thus reacted with rigid church discipline. On the other hand, pioneer African Christians showed strange "schizophrenic'" behaviour, such as being one thing in the Mission Church, yet another at home or in private. Deep down in their psyche people felt there was still something lacking. To take one example, on the mission farms one still found people who resorted to traditional Zulu means of healing as they were convinced they had *izifo zabantu* (African diseases). They felt that the Mission Church did not adequately address the needs of the whole person. This study identified that the Zulu concept of illness and health is embedded in a holistic view of the human being.

The findings of this study are that the Zulu understanding of illness and health is "healthier" than the Western scientific and technolgoical approach, if the latter lacks a holistic and person-centered approach. Such a technological approach may become depersonalising, especially when it excludes the spiritual values of the person. On the other hand, the Zulu understanding acknowedges the existence of powers which can influence the person positively towards health, or negatively towards illness. This view seems to be closer aligned to the Judaeo-Christian tradition, especially in its pre-Constantine form. The present study concludes, therefore, that there is more to the origin and treatment of diseases than the germ theory. Pastoral counsellors are challenged to understand the person, in the counselling relationship, within his/her context which may have a specific understanding of illness. Concepts of illness and health within that specific context should not be seen as merely naïve. Each concept of illness and health points to the understanding of the dynamics in operation in an intra-psychic and inter-personal dimension in a specific milieu.

This study has pointed out the need to look seriously into the area of a contextual healing ministry, as part of a dynamic religious ministry to people. The danger of seeing the healing ministry as a superfluous appendix was highlighted. Zulu traditional society has a useful social support system which saved people from neuroses and disintegration. The traditional leaders and medicine men, for instance, played a significant part. The contribution of the extended family cannot be over-emphasised. These support systems saved people from feelings of insecurity and thus contributed to personality, health and equilibrium in social adjustment. It is necessary, therefore, to pay attention to this phenomenon in developing a contextual pastoral care and counselling.

The study concludes that contextualisation in theology and pastoral studies does not automatically exclude Western tools, merely because they have evolved in a foreign context. On the contrary, some of these "discoveries" do have universal relevance. In Chapter II a survey of counselling within a North American milieu was presented. It was concluded that certain insights,

relevant in terms of relating to the African social and psychological view, could be freely used in the African milieu. In this study the example of a useful paradigm, adaptable to other contexts was presented. This was Anton Boisen's emphasis on learning through the reflection on the "living human documents". He emphasised the case study method.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

1. Pastoral Counselling and the African Novel

One of the literary sources that has been widely used in Africa to portray the dynamics of social change in the encounter between Westernisation and the African traditional way of life, is the novel. African novelists like the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe and the South African author in Zulu, Sibusiso Nyembezi, vividly portray the dynamics of social change through the medium of the novel and short stories. Of course, the novelist also aims at entertaining his/her audience. Thus the characters need not be carbon copies of real life people. However, looking at the dynamics of social change in the African context, African novelists present very useful insights. Research in this field could analyse these literary sources to discover whether issues raised can be addressed through the insights of the discipline of pastoral care and counselling. Such research would fall within the umbrella of contextualisation in pastoral studies in Africa.

2. Personality Pathology and Therapy in the African Context

Another area which would still merit further research is personality pathology and therapy in the African context. For instance, how does one draw the line between so-called evil possession and psychiatric disorder? The present study found that Western theologians and missionaries haunted by such problematic issues were tempted to refer to all such phenomena as demon possession. For instance, there was very limited empathy for the church member who becomes an *isangoma*. "Is such a person not in need of spiritual and psychiatric therapy?" Through such a judgmental attitude the Church of Christ in Africa is deprived of the opportunity to be a dynamic, therapeutic institution with the ability to address the needs of the whole person.

3. Relationship of Culture and Liberation

The issue of the relationship of culture and liberation merits further research as well. If personality integrity promotes healthy relationships, would it not be a tool for liberation to

encourage those persons whose culture has been despised and rejected to rediscover what is healthy, wholesome and good in their traditional culture? Further research would have to address the question of how the African cultural heritage can be encouraged wherever such insights are salutary to an African Christian lifestyle. Research would also need to show that different emphases in African traditional culture need not be divisive. Further, it needs to be clearly shown by research that African theology and African pastoral studies need not contribute towards isolation of African theologians, but instead could highlight within a global perspective a uniquely African contribution, to enrich the whole of humankind.

4. Pastoral Care and Counselling and African Christianity

The present study which has highlighted important aspects of traditional Zulu culture, has also shown that the Zulu have received their Christianity within a specific cultural milieu. This suggests that such Christianity in Africa, if it is dynamic, would naturally take a certain form which demonstrates a natural hue. The dimension of this African Christianity and full implications for a contextual pastoral care and counselling would still merit further research. This research would in the long run contribute creatively to a growing African pastoral care and counselling as well as to the whole wide field of African Christian studies.

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ANNEXURE

PASTORAL CARE REPORT

It is best to write up this report as soon as possible after the pastoral visit has been made so that details remain fresh in your mind. Turn it in to the lecturer for his comments as soon as it is written. In order to honour confidentiality, **DO NOT USE THE REAL NAME OF PERSONS YOU VISIT**; use a pseudonym.

Report number:_____

Your name:_____ **Hosp:**_____

Parish:_____ **Date:**_____

Name of Pt. or initials:_____ **How many others involved in the pastoral dialogue?**____ **Length of visit:**_____ **Approx. age of person visited:**____

Married, Single, Widow, Child:_____

1. General description of situation and concerns of person visited (use reverse side if you need more space).

2. Brief narrative account of your pastoral conversation: (Note: <u>All</u> subjects. Underline subjects you felt were most signficiant to person.)

3. Your evaluation of the pastoral conversation:
   A. The nature and character of the person's relationships with those nearest to him (family, for example).

   B. His/hers with you.

   C. Yours with him/her. (How did you feel in the visit? How did you feel about or towards the person you were visiting? Be as honest as possible with yourself, note ambivalences.)

   D. The Spiritual Concerns of the person. (How does he relate his present situation to his religion? How does he use the resources of his religion to deal with the present situation?)

E. What, in your judgment, are the spiritual needs of the person?

F. How do you propose to minister to the person on the next visit? (Be as specific here as possible. Indicate not only what you want to talk about, but what you hope he may talk about, or what understandings you hope he may come to and how you propose to help him come to them.)

G. How do you see your encounter and dialogue with this persons theologically - what theological themes surface for you?

H. What issues are raised for contextualisation in your Pastoral Ministry in Africa?

I. What questions do you have about either the problems of the person, how to understand him better, your own procedures? - which the supervisors may be helpful with. List them here.

4. Include some portions of the dialogue in verbatim (use separate paper and translate to English).