CUSTOMS, BELIEFS, AND CHRISTIANITY WITHIN THE LIFE OF THE BAKGATLA BA MOSETLHA

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF THEOLOGY IN SCIENCE OF RELIGION AND MISSIOLOGY FACULTY OF THEOLOGY

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SUMMARY

Christianity and African customs and beliefs continue to coexist in the African community. The community seeks to remain true to itself as far as customs and beliefs are concerned. This study seeks to explore the role of Christianity in the makeover of Africa, the subsequent degeneration of customs and beliefs on the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha and how Christianity affects the value of life of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, a section of the BaTswana people, is made up of several villages that are inhabited not only by the BaKgatla but also by non-BaKgatla who have been allowed residence there.

This research study has been undertaken by using the mixed methods approach with the use of computerised software to maximise the data collection, validity and reliability of the study. A grounded theory has been employed as it requires the researcher to constantly interact with the data from the beginning. Tribal council and village meetings have been attended and other methods have enhanced the process and the study immensely. It has emerged from the study that the tribe is as proud of their customs and beliefs as they are of the SeTswana culture. The presence of Christianity has muddied the waters for those with little background and leadership to provide guidance and direction to the tribe.

As a result of this a number of factors have contributed to the degeneration of customs and beliefs and the total collapse of tribal institutions of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. The indecisive tribal and village leadership and the unavailability of literature on the customs and beliefs of the BaTswana people have added to the unhelpful situation within which the people find themselves. The booming and unrelenting 'Jesus Ministry' and the emergence of local government have been some of the challenges facing the already handicapped tribe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to my supervisor, Prof. S.T. Kgatla, for his positive attitude, support, guidance and exceptional insight. Prof. Kgatla has been a compass in times of uncertainty and with humility, patience and respect has walked alongside me in this journey.

I am also eternally grateful to the Chief Nchaupe Makapan for his support, assistance and permission and access to the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha people. The chief has demonstrated leadership and love for the BaKgatla people by actively participating in the conversations to explore ways of empowering his people. The participation and eagerness of the BaKgatla people, the village elders and the tribal council are appreciated and treasured.

A special thanks go to Rre *Ngaka from Botswana, the Tswana traditional healer who greatly contributed and participated in the study. His insight and knowledge of the BaTswana customs, beliefs and traditional healing cannot be measured.

Acknowledgements also go to Tsholofelo Pitse, Abe Khunwana and Ramosweu Kubyane for their tireless efforts in the dissemination and collection of the questionnaires.

My gratitude also extends to the University of Pretoria, the Department of Science of Religion and Missiology, the Faculty of Theology and, more importantly, the library services. The time and support that they invested in me is immensely appreciated with the greatest humility I can muster.

Lastly, I thank God for my family, my wife, Mbali, and my daughters, Molebogeng, Masego, and Keotshepile, for their unwavering support even in the periodical loss of their husband and father to the research study and the countless field work. It can only be the amazing grace and the abounding love of God that saw us through the work.

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GLOSSARY OF THE SETSWANA TERMS

Badimo - ancestors

Bogadi – bride wealth

Bogosi - chieftainship, royal authority

Bogwera – male initiation rites

Bojale – female initiation rites

Kgosi (pl. dikgosi) – chief, king, headman

Kgotla - courtyard of kgosi, public meeting place, village section, ward

Kgoro - territorial division, ward

Lapa – family unit

Lekgotla - highest legislative, executive and judicial court of the 'morafe'

Lesika (*pl. masika*) – family group(s)

Malome - maternal uncle

Medimo - gods

Modimo - God

Modumedi (pl. badumedi) – believer, Christian person

Mophato – age-set, initiation

Morafe (pl. merafe) – chiefdom, tribe, nation

Motse - household, village

Pitso – gathering, convocation (of all adult males)

Rakgadi - Aunt

Seano - totem

DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS/TERMS

African – It speaks of a relation to, or characteristic of Africa, or its people, language, culture, geography, etc (Kanu 2014:5).

Beliefs – An acceptance that something exists or is true, especially one without proof: his belief in extra-terrestrial life | [with clause]: a belief that climate can be modified beneficially.

- Something one accepts as true or real; a firmly held opinion: we are prepared to fight for our beliefs | [mass noun]: contrary to popular belief existing safety regulations were adequate.
- A religious conviction: Christian beliefs | [mass noun]: the medieval system of fervent religious belief.
- (Belief in) Trust, faith, or confidence in (someone or something): a belief in democratic politics.

Customs - Refers to the habitual behaviour of a society. It represents the normal, typical, response of any social group to the normal conditions of life, interpersonal relationships and environment. It is the daily, immediate working out of the effects of tradition, ethics, religion, values and worldview.

The customs of any group are not a collection of oddities, or of odds and ends of unrelated behaviour. A people's customs no matter how diverse and unrelated they may seem to the observer are to varying degrees interwoven into a network of behaviour, personality, emotion and value system, which is unique of every society, and which constitutes its culture.

Customs are the individual habitual traits of behaviour by which people act out their culture, but a culture is far more than a listing of customs. It is a dynamic force rooted in the people's psychology, values and history.

Ethics – [Usually treated as plural] Moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or the conducting of an activity | the moral correctness of specified conduct: many scientists question the ethics of cruel experiments.

- [Usually treated as singular] The branch of knowledge that deals with moral principles: neither metaphysics nor ethics is the home of religion.

Schools of ethics in Western philosophy can be divided, very roughly, into three sorts. The first, drawing on the work of Aristotle, holds that the virtues (such as justice, charity and generosity) are dispositions to act in ways that benefit both the person possessing them and that person's society.

The second, defended particularly by Kant, makes the concept of duty central to morality: humans are bound, from a knowledge of their duty as rational beings, to obey the categorical imperative to respect other rational beings. Third, utilitarianism asserts that the guiding principle of conduct should be the greatest happiness or benefit of the greatest number.

Morality – Principles concerning the distinction between right and wrong or good and bad behaviour: the matter boiled down to simple morality: innocent prisoners ought to be freed.

- [Count noun] A particular system of values and principles of conduct: a bourgeois morality.

Religion – The dictionary defines religion as the 'the belief in and worship of a superhuman controlling power, especially a personal God or gods'. Although the meaning of the term may seem obvious, there is no generally agreed on definition.

Cox (2010:17), through an investigation and engagement with various works, provides a working definition of religion and believes it to be practical as 'it underscores the fact that scholars of religion cannot study religious experiences themselves, nor the postulated alternate realities, but can only describe the observable social facts surrounding what communities do or say in response to that which they claim to be real'. The first part of the working definition from Cox (2010:17) sees 'religion referring to identifiable communities which base their acts of believing and their resulting communal experiences on postulated, non-falsifiable alternate realities'.

Respect – Regard with deference, esteem or honour

Revere - Regard as sacred or exalted

Traditional – Denote indigenous practices and beliefs, facts, customs, often handed down from generation to generation, unwritten or written. As such, it combines the idea of the past, present and the future (Kanu 2014:5)

Venerate – Consider worthy of and regard with deep respect

Worship - Adore as divine, pay religious homage to

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Scramble for Africa

The Cambridge dictionary defines identity as 'the distinguishing character or personality of an individual'. It is what makes a person or group different from others, and establishes how one sees oneself in relation to society. In order for people to know their purpose and calling, they first have to know who they are. A loss of identity can be very devastating and destructive to an individual (unimaginable in the case of an African community) and can leave him or her paralysed, confused, disillusioned and unable to make progress or headway, especially when he or she is uncertain of what is to happen, as there is no reference point because all he or she knows is obsolete or irrelevant. It is critical for a person to have an understanding of who he or she is, what he or she is about and, most importantly, why he or she is on a journey and ultimately what his or her destination is. The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, a section of the BaTswana people, are a people standing at a crossroads, unable to decide who they are and where they are supposed to go as they have forgotten or are uncertain of their identity. This is probably as a result of a new religion that has been introduced as the true religion. They have lost their customs and beliefs that used to drive them and therefore have lost their identity. African religions, among the world's religions, are as old as Africa itself and define the people of Africa and without them African people have no identity. Everything the African knows about life is derived from religion. Most commentators (Setiloane 1975; Krüger, Lubbe & Steyn 2009; Lugira 2009) present Africa as knowing and pointing to the existence of a supreme being who is the creator and sustainer of all. This is not restricted to a section or portion of Africa but extends to the whole of Africa.

The arrival of Christianity in Africa as the 'other' by the native was bound for uncomfortable contact with the native or the other religions. Although monotheistic, it was far different and immediately created the 'us' and 'them' situation. It was quite an experience for Africans to encounter people different from them and who

acted so differently from them in many ways. The contact was often uncomfortable for the African communities. The expeditions to Africa saw not only the arrival of the missionaries, but also the arrival of traders and settlers, which in the end resulted in slavery and colonialism for the Africans. The reception was so welcoming and warm, as Lugira (2009:24) notes, that the expeditions usually included chaplains and priests sailing along the West and East coasts. They intended to bring Christianity to a continent that they believed had no true religion. The expeditions sought to stamp out African religious practices that they saw as superstitious and ignorant and they preached the Christian message to the people they met by taking advantage of African hospitality. Africans had welcomed the missionaries warmly, but that did not mean they were ready to give up their cultures, beliefs and land. There was a failure on the part of the missionaries to appreciate the African religion and culture on which the welcome was based (Lugira 2009:24).

It was from 1884 to 1885 when the world saw 13 European countries and the United States meet in Berlin (the famous Berlin West African conference, generally known as the Berlin Conference) to agree to the rules of dividing Africa, producing a treaty known as the Berlin Act (Iweriebor 2011). During the 19th century European countries staked claim to African lands in a rush to build empires and invited a new wave of Christian missionaries, who came bringing 'mission Christianity' with them. The so-called scramble for Africa saw African societies divided among the British, the French, the Germans and the Dutch, among others, who were all overwhelmingly Christian. Missionaries to Africa included not only Roman Catholic priests, as in the case of the Portuguese and Spanish, but also clerics and laypeople of various Protestant denominations, (Lugira 2009:24). Burke (1974) says that missionaries became the pioneers of empire; the church missions in Africa had grown from Livingstone's solitary witness to what was becoming an international crusade. In his letter, William Shaw notes in a letter on 28 December 1847: 'You will receive herewith a copy of the "Grahams Town Journal", with the "Gazette", containing the Governor's proclamations etc.; the tone and terms of which you will be glad to recognise as in good keeping with the moderation and Christianity of Great Britain'. Shaw continues to write: 'how I wish the expected new missionaries were arrived! We shall now have such openings we never had before in Kaffirland' (Sadler 1967:101). Sadler refers to a government notice that read:

Whereas the proclamation of the 23rd of December 1847 defines the future and rule of the Kaffirs in "British Kaffraria", and the Kaffir chiefs having submitted thereto, all missionaries are invited to return to their missions; and that no misunderstanding or misconception may arise, Her Majesty's High Commissioner gives notice that the land of their mission stations shall be held from Her Majesty and not from any Kaffir Chief whatever. Every facility will be given, and every aid afforded, to the missionaries, to the great objects in view, – conversion to Christianity and civilisation; and these laudable gentlemen may rely upon the utmost support and protection the High Commissioner may have it in his power to afford. (1967:101)

The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, their customs and beliefs, similarly to any other tribes in Africa, have been affected and impacted by the arrival of settlers, traders, missionaries, and new systems and developments happening in Africa. This has become more devastating for the people if the change is encouraged or seen to be encouraged by the tribal leaders and the chiefs, such as 'Pato', 'Kama' and 'Congo' as Sadler asserts (1967). In their address the chiefs encouraged the children of their tribes to learn and said that 'we old people, your fathers, would be glad to learn, but we are stupid' (Sadler 1967:71). Livingstone (199AD:12) takes it further by noting that Sechele, the chief of the BaKwena, said the following to him: 'Do you imagine these people will ever believe by your merely talking to them? I can make them do nothing except by thrashing them, and if you like I shall call my head men, and with our litupa (whips of rhinoceros-hide) we will soon make them all believe together', and often said, 'oh, I wish you had come to this country before I became entangled in the meshes of our customs!' Therefore, when beliefs and customs and all that define people's being and existence are removed, invalidated or altered in any way, all that remains is 'uncertain' people with no identity or future unless it is defined for them. Woodson (2012:6) writes that 'negros' that have been educated in the tenets of such a religion of the strong have accepted the status of the weak as divinely ordained, and therefore the unusual gifts of the race have not been developed, and an unwilling

world continues to wonder what the negro is good for. Such a person is hopelessly vulnerable and susceptible to any influence and abuse or manipulation. When people are told or taught that what they know and have known for their entire existence, their long-held customs and beliefs, their source of being, and their opium, is not true and is evil and pagan, then utter devastation is the result and the disruption is catastrophic.

In his book called *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, Woodson (2012:6) adds that the so-called modern education, with all its defects, does others so much more good than it does the negro because it has been worked out in conformity to the needs of those who have enslaved and oppressed the weaker peoples. He writes, for example, that the philosophy and ethics resulting from the Western educational system have justified slavery, peonage, segregation and lynching (Woodson 2012). In other words, the oppressor has the right to exploit, to handicap and to kill the oppressed.

Turaki (1999:11) believes that the missions to Africa have come under criticism from Christians and non-Christians alike as their approach to the study of African traditional religions and cultures have raised pertinent questions about the nature of the missionary presentation of the Gospel of Christ and the consequences of their missionary work. The missionary model of presentation has been overwhelmingly negative of the African pre-Christian religious and cultural heritage. They have operated under the belief that there is a discontinuity between Christianity and the African pre-Christian religious heritage, discounting the fact that the recipient was not in a vacuum, but already had an African traditional worldview, which is heavily loaded with both religious and cultural values and perspectives. Crafford (1996) introduces Levy-Bruhl's notion of primitive mentality, which states that the mentality of primitive peoples was prelogical because their thought did not always follow the commonly understood rules of logic due to their belief in the existence of mysterious forces that influenced people and because of their view that all things are in some way related to each other. This may be described as 'the law of

participation'. Furthermore, Crafford (1996) notes that Western and traditional thought patterns can be differentiated in the following four ways:

- Traditional thinking is holistic, seeing all things as part of and influencing each other and being influenced by forces beyond themselves. By contrast, Western thought is analytical, grouping entities together according to categories.
- Traditional communities have a collective sense, thinking and deciding together
 in community. Westerners are more individualistic, placing very high value on
 freedom of thought, hence Comaroff and Comaroff's (2001) concept of an
 autonomous person.
- Traditional people have a magical-mystical orientation as opposed to a logicalhistorical orientation of Westerners.
- Traditional people think in concrete terms while Westerners tend to think in abstract terms.

Krüger, Lubbe and Steyn (2009:34) point out that perhaps the interpretation and understanding of the word 'traditional' might have played a role in the approach and presentation of the Gospel by the missionaries. Krüger, Lubbe and Steyn (2009) explain that the word 'traditional' distinguishes the religious orientation of African people from other world religions also found on the African continent. However, this term can imply something that is unchanging, as if it were a closed set of beliefs or practices that is handed down from generation to generation. African critics have also suggested that the term refers to something static and unscientific. Like any religious system, African religion has always been a source of both constant and changing ways of being human in the world. The use of the term 'traditional' might therefore obscure the dynamic processes of religion in Africa. Critics further point out that the term 'traditional' originated from within Western anthropological circles and that religions such as Christianity or Islam are never referred to as 'traditional'. In this sense, the term may even be regarded as paternalistic, if not derogatory.

This study seeks to understand the effect of this replacement of African religion by Christianity for the African. The aim of the study is to investigate the relations, guilt or innocence, contribution, effect and impact that Christianity has had on the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, their customs and beliefs. As Kanu (2014) notes, unlike Christianity - Christian faith confesses Jesus Christ to be the sole mediator between God and mankind (Ferguson, Wright & Packer 1988:135) - and Islam, African religion is not composed of a single concept, neither does it have a founder or scripture or laid down liturgy or ritual. This is further complicated by the fact that Africa is a large continent with different tribes and belief systems, and as a religion embraces the totality of the life of Africans: politics, economics and social. Ferguson, Wright & Packer (1988:135) note that the Christian confession has traditionally implied the rejection of claims that a saving knowledge of God may be found in non-Christian religions. The journey for the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha to find their identity and locate themselves in life has never started. They have settled for an alternative that was already available, discounting the need to reinvent the wheel. As Cox (2010:129) notes, the code of ethics of the dominant religion controls the community. Christianity and the accompanying culture have become the official central religion for the people. The alternative religion has halted any need or inclination to interrogate, for introspection, as they could not attempt to find or seek to find an identity that did not exist. The past has been buried and forgotten for the sake of a newfound identity and future that has been unfolding and has seemed to stay and prevail. It has seemed easier to swim with the tide and join the changing landscape.

The call, therefore, by African theologians and scholars for the indigenisation of Christianity has sounded even louder, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. The merit in these calls states that Africans do not have to become Western in outlook in order to embrace Christianity. The move sees Christianity stripped of Western culture and coverings (Turaki 1999:17). At the moment the people have no (reliable) history or religion. All they have is a questionable past, questionable customs and questionable beliefs. The political, social and economic systems of the time have brought no relief to their plight. This has directly relegated them to assume the sub-human status and

devastated any hope of rediscovering their place and worth in the world as Woodson (2012:6) asserts. The BaTswana are among the many nations and tribes of Africa, located in the Southern part of Africa, that were not spared. They have also experienced the 'take over'. *Modimo* (meaning God for the BaTswana) was known as the beginning and the cause of human, animal and world existence, but not as a human being and even less as a father. It is generally believed that the first Christian missionaries were responsible for injecting the idea of person and father – which Marete (2009:107) notes of the Meru people's experience – into the *Modimo* concept of the BaTswana. The BaTswana concept of God is closely linked to their worldview. For them the maintenance of order in the universe is the central principle. The cosmos, gods, people and objects form a unity. This unity or totality not only forms the primordial foundation for everything but in itself also constitutes a being and an independent existence. This highest and most powerful existence is known as *Modimo* (Krüger, Lubbe & Steyn 2009:46).

The Tswana people, particularly the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, have been enjoying a life where *Ubuntu* (*botho* meaning the essence of being human) is a way of life. Tutu (2011:21) translates *Ubuntu* as the Xhosa saying that *Umntu ngumntu ngabantu*, which means that 'a person is a person through other persons'. According to Tutu, this means that each person needs other human beings for him or her to learn how to be human. No one comes fully formed into the world. Tutu says that the concept of *Ubuntu* speaks of how 'my humanity' is caught up and bound up inextricably with 'yours', and therefore says 'I am because I belong'. African religion, therefore, embraces the totality of life where everything is connected (politics, economics and culture) and losing that is a loss of life.

Every religion prescribes in some sense how the believer 'ought' to behave (Cox 2010:129). Ethics and morality for African religion are never an option or even an alternative to life and being as a human. They govern life for both the individual and society. One would not engage in an action or behaviour that contradicts or affects or oppresses the action and behaviour of others. The intersection of African

(traditional) religion(s) and Christianity, which included the culture of the people, influences the interpretation, understanding and ultimately the reception of one by another.

All that is left of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha is the name and not what used to define them as BaKgatla; their identity is left only in their name. There was little or no serious crime and there was respect for authority, family life sanctity and community structures, but that is no more. There is very little hope for a future for the BaKgatla peoples if the current trajectory is sustained and maintained. Christianity and colonialism have been accused of this degeneration or destruction of a culture, customs and beliefs.

1.2. Background

The researcher grew up among the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha and witnessed the degeneration of *botho* (the essence of humanity) at the expense of an advancement of a diluted, distorted and modernised Christianity, which can almost be said to be a Christian religion without Christ. The researcher has been intimately involved within the life and work of the church over the years both as a member and a leader, and believes that it is time for the Christian faith and the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha to intentionally create a space for introspection, the rediscovery and regeneration of deeply rooted identity.

1.3. Problem Statement

A letter to the editor of *Mahoko a Becwana* (a Tswana newspaper) was sent on 13 November 1889 by Thelesho Magonaring of Batlhware enquiring about the use and/or consumption of items such as cattle or sorghum that are sold or produced by traditional healers or rainmakers when *badumedi* (believers) 'do not agree with those practices' (Mgadla & Volz 2006:127). The letter illustrates the challenge facing the BaTswana and their grappling and confusion with the new faith, which in a way has

become the religion to replace the useless fabrications or unwritten scripture. At the time the theology of replacement raged through as all the people came to understand that their long-held religion was an abomination if not evil in the eyes of God. The replacement religion spelled confusion and life threatening consequences. Among other challenges facing African religion(s) in the context and life where community and *Ubuntu* are central is the concept of the autonomous person as Comaroff and Comaroff (2001) assert. This concept puts emphasis on an individual as opposed to a community, decimating life as the African people knew it. This was total devastation and somewhat of a death to the identity of the African. The odds were stacked against the African people.

The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha is a community of people with a system, values and a structure of authority and sees the chief as their leader, authority and mediator of the numinous, bestowed by God until the 'advent' of Christianity. Christianity was brought to Africa by well-meaning missionaries 'to a continent they believed to have no true religion' as Lugira (2009:24) asserts. The Christian religious system has taken precedence over all, unseating and undermining the authority of the tribal and community structures. The missionaries came in the name and authority of the true God.

Knitter (2002:23) explores the concept of total replacement, suggesting that Christianity saw no value in other religions. He explains the attitude and thought of the early missionaries and settlers and notes that Christianity:

Looks upon other faith communities as so lacking, or so aberrant, that in the end Christianity must move in and take their place. As stated, this has pretty much been the Christian view for most of the church's history. It is still the attitude of many contemporary Fundamentalist and some Pentecostal churches. For much of the 20th century, especially because of the influence of a particular Swiss theologian, this was the perspective that inspired most of the Protestant missionaries who went forth to preach the Gospel. This theologian was Karl Barth (1886-1968), perhaps the most influential Protestant thinker of the past century. Although Barth was not a Fundamentalist, he did lay the theological

foundation for the Replacement Model for understanding other religions.

Knitter seeks to sum up the problem and the challenge facing African religion and other world religions. Beliefs and cultures have suffered and stand to suffer because this theology of total replacement remains and is sustained.

The arrival of the Protestant evangelists and settlers brought not only the subversion of the autonomy of the chiefdoms, but also the imposition of the new faith, the taking over of the land and the installation of colonial rule and formation of classes (Africans became labourers). Their interference brought the Southern Tswana to experience colonial capitalism first hand. Comaroff and Comaroff (2001:269) note this about the African tribes: 'Their chiefdoms were a substantial political presence on the landscape, their economies founded on cultivation, cattle, hunting, and trade'. Comaroff and Comaroff (2001:270) also discuss schismatic reality which was used by colonial societies to cast the line between black and white, ruler and ruled, and African and European in stone. Woodson (2012:7) takes it further by saying that the negro's mind has been brought under the control of his oppressor, that 'when you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary.' It is this self-defeating attitude and self-image that robs the BaKgatla of the opportunity to think innovatively and creatively. Their acquired education depresses and crushes any spark of genius, making them feel that they do not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other people. Authority has moved from the chief to the church, and the invocation of the name of God has paralysed even the tribal authority who have for generations always known and acknowledged God as the supreme authority over all worldly powers.

The attitude of the missionaries and settlers was not in the best interest of the African people. Hirsch and Hirsch (2010:236) believe that the people who call themselves Christians should identify with others, just as God identified with people. This will mean taking a given culture or people seriously and deeply investing in them. Christians will need to take significant time to understand their history, their stories, their heroes and their books in order to get their perspective on things. It is about becoming immersed in their lives. When Christians identify with a people, they will take this group of people's culture and concerns to heart. However, this approach that should have consumed the missionaries evaded almost all who came to Africa. This was indeed not the case for the missionaries and the settlers.

The subversion, imposition, taking over, installation and formation of Christianity took away or disrupted the most important link and connection (badimo) to Modimo for the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. In the Sotho-Tswana experience (as Setiloane coins it), society consists not only of men, women and children organised in hierarchical groupings, but also consists of *badimo* – the living dead whose intimate involvement in the details of daily life is taken as much for granted as that of an all-pervasive central government in a contemporary welfare state. They are as integral and as all pervasive as the ether to 19th century physics. Beyond and around them - beyond, yet all-pervading the whole cosmos – is *Modimo*, the great it and source of *bomodimo* (the numinous) and the protector and sustainer of all (Setiloane, 1975:21; 77). When one removes badimo from the social structure, who represented an authority that was just and equitable and empirical as the biologically living, the result is beyond devastation. Setiloane (1975:43) sees badimo as the natural guardians of harmony among men, implying that only with their favour can life be lived to the full - the health preserved and seriti (pl. diriti, meaning personality) maintained in proper balance. However, the whole system has collapsed and the uncertainty is immeasurable, leading to 'the code of ethics of the dominant religion controlling the community' as Cox (2010:129) notes. With the arrival of the new scripture came a new set of rules flowing from that scripture, thus influencing the reception and response of the receivers.

The chief is an integral link in the circle of life for the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha to provide leadership and guidance to the community, and who can only be approached by anyone as and when a need arises. According to Krüger, Lubbe and Steyn (2009:36), in the African tradition certain procedures need to be observed in order to gain access to a person of authority. For an ordinary person such contact can only take place through approved mediators or councillors. Christianity's direct access and liberty to the highest authority created an undefined and never before seen situation or phenomenon for this group of people. For those who always had a challenge with authority or systems this became a blessing and an opportunity, but for most it led to confusion of enormous proportions and at times led to devastating consequences for systems and communities. This directly affected systems and rendered religious leaders (priests and priestesses, healers, diviners, mediums, seers, rainmakers, elders and rulers), each with a special role in maintaining the spiritual life of the community and its people, irrelevant. This was the beginning of confusion and a loss of identity for the BaKgatla. This led to 'lawlessness' and abuse of the church by those who found an opportunity not to belong to a system, thereby using God and the church for purposes other than worship. This meant a revolution and abandonment of values, customs and beliefs that governed the tribe, relegating the chief and the tribal authority to an inferior position as Christianity had brought in a new and better faith and form of government.

As a part of this community, the researcher also experienced a huge movement from what the community once was to a community of individuals with no respect for authority or for one another. The community had elders who were parents to all children, which meant that all children were of the community and child rearing was the duty of the community. Parents and elders have lost their place within their families and communities and children have taken over through their political influences and their power in the world. This study therefore wishes to explore the extent to which external influences and colonial forces infiltrated the BaKgatla culture and changed their customs, beliefs and other religious practices.

In November 2017, according to an informant of this study, the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha system completely collapsed. The tribal council offices have been closed for months and it stopped functioning because of politics, corruption and elements who have benefited from the absence of order and community structures. The chief and the council have and continue to face persistent opposition from politics and different elements, some of which seek to benefit from illegal activities involving tribal lands and related municipal procurement initiatives. The death, collapse, ruin and obliteration of the tribal authority means a free for all for those who seek to benefit their lives and that of those closest to them. It is an 'our turn to eat' (Wrong 2009:14) moment and the future will have to find its own way.

This study is an attempt to investigate what has led to collapse in the chieftainship and the degeneration of the customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla and how far the BaKgatla have lost their customs, their sense of decency, *botho* and hospitality.

1.4. Research Questions

The primary question of this study is:

• To what extent has Christianity affected or added any value to the lives of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha as far as customs and religion are concerned?

The secondary question of this study is:

• What role, if any, did Christianity have in the collapse of the customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha?

1.5. Specific Aim

The specific aim of this study is:

• To explore the role of Christianity in the makeover of Africa and subsequent degeneration of the customs and beliefs of the Bakgatla Ba Mosetlha.

1.6. Conceptual Framework

The study will be conceptualised in terms of and based on the following frameworks:

• Exploratory perspective

The study will follow the interpretivist-positivist paradigm with a combined quantitative and qualitative approach, although the main approach will be interpretivist.

The study will first use the positivist approach in the form of a questionnaire to ensure the independence of the data, give space to participants and explore the world through their eyes.

The study will be approached with the following assumptions:

- Christianity has had a role in the compromise of customary life and beliefs of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha.
- Christianity has misused, manipulated and abused to further European agendas.

The following concepts will be analysed: African worldview, traditional religious practices, Tswana customs and beliefs, and the role of Christianity on the BaTswana people.

1.7. Research Methodology

The proposed research will follow a mixed method approach by implementing both qualitative and quantitative research methods in order to explore and investigate the role of Christianity in the degeneration of *Ubuntu*, and the customs and beliefs in the life of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. This approach will enhance the quality, validity and credibility of the research data. Literature written by missionaries and black scholars of the religion(s) and practice of the BaKgatla will be explored as a secondary source.

1.7.1. Research design

The study will follow a mixed methodological approach by conducting a quantitative, cross-sectional survey design in the form of a questionnaire and a qualitative, field research by means of semi-structured interviews. The survey will assist with the high measurement of reliability and validity of the data collected as it samples a larger population, whereas the interviews will bring more insight, information and detail to the survey, raw data and the social issues under investigation.

1.7.2. Selection of participants (sampling)

1.7.2.1. Population and study sample

The study will be conducted among the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha community, consisting of several villages under the leadership and chieftaincy of the Makapan family.

The study will use simple, random and convenient snowballing and purposive sampling in order to allow every member of the community to participate. Purposeful sampling will then be used to zoom in on those participants that are knowledgeable about the subject, have certain characteristics and would add valuable and credible input to the data collection process.

The study will be conducted in two phases: the quantitative component will be the first phase and the qualitative component will be the second phase. The second phase participants will be drawn from the first phase participants for follow-up interviews.

1.7.2.2. Sample size and selection of sample

The sample will require the participation of community members within the villages making the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. The survey will require at least 50 participants, while the qualitative component will require a minimum of 5 people from the sample with the following characteristics:

- Participants should be residents of the villages characterising the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha.
- Participants should have an interest and willingness to contribute meaningfully to the research.
- Participants should have some knowledge about Tswana customs and beliefs,
 Christianity and the customs and beliefs specific to the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha.

The following criteria are necessary for the purposeful sampling of the research:

- Participants must include at least a member of the royal family or of the tribal council, delegated to represent the family or house in the research.
- Participants must consist, among others, of community and village elders, or headmen or women.
- Participants must have participated in the questionnaire interview and have indicated their availability and willingness to participate in this phase.
- Participants can be anyone knowledgeable about or with the expertise and authority to represent the views of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha.

1.8. Assumptions

This study makes the following assumptions:

- All participants will answer all survey questions honestly and to the best of their ability.
- All participants have an idea or background of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha people, their history, customs, beliefs and African religion.

1.9. Data Collection

More information will be uncovered during the research period through available literature, interviews and discussions. This information might affect the data collection strategies of the study. Raw data and revelations from the process may affect the set questions, the schedule and an adjustment of the techniques.

1.9.1. Quantitative techniques

This study will use a questionnaire as its quantitative technique. The questionnaire interviews will include, among others, an email questionnaire and a printed questionnaire.

1.9.2. Qualitative techniques

This study will use two qualitative techniques: face-to-face interviews and field notes. The interviews will follow a selection from the survey questionnaires. This will employ the use of predetermined semi-structured questions for interviews and the participants will be encouraged to share as much information as possible on the subject matter. The interviews will be recorded for the trustworthiness and validity of the data.

Field notes will be used to gather more insight that will be important for the study through observations, experiences, reflections, informants, conversations and interviews. Raw data may come forward during the interactions that may require exploration and consideration.

1.10. Data Analysis and Interpretation

The process will require quantitative survey software to assist with the questionnaire (coding) for purposes of capturing the data for analysis. The qualitative process will include the use of memos to keep the research honest during the qualitative research process.

1.11. Triangulation of the Findings

This study will use triangulation to enhance the credibility, validity and reliability of the data collected.

1.12. Ethical Considerations

The researcher will require informed consent of the participants and engage with all participants with honesty and respect. The data collected and provided by the participants will be kept confidential, and the participants will be kept anonymous should they require anonymity. The researcher, the supervisor, and the dean of the department will have access to the raw data. Permission will be sought beforehand, should the need arise for the data to be shared. The relevant data will be destroyed, should any of the participants choose to withdraw.

1.13. Contributions of the Study

The study may lead to a deeper understanding of the role and relevance of customs, beliefs and the concept of *Ubuntu* for the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha in the context of Christianity and the rapid explosion of the 'Jesus industry' and the charismatic movements. It may also assist with redefining some sort of a structure for the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha and the wider community. The study will also help these people to have or know enough about their history to decide their own identity, way forward and, most importantly, the purpose of their existence.

There is a greater need for a definition of Christianity without the attached culture, the Church and its perimeters in order to curb the new phenomenon of prosperity at all costs, even when it means subjecting oneself to humiliation and danger. The relationship between the Church and the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha will greatly benefit the people as roles and relationships will be defined, and the tribal authority will be able to provide leadership and oversight, directly impacting social problems such as crime, and women, child and substance abuse affecting the communities within the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. This might also create a favourable environment for raising children, as children are regarded as the responsibility of the community. The communal structure would assist parents who are struggling with their children, and it could assist children who feel neglected, abused and parentless.

The study will also serve as a case study for more exploration and social development strategies to a greater community inside and outside of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha and into the world. It will assist the BaKgatla to reflect on and reconsider their options to forge a way to rediscovery and a redefined identity and place in the world.

1.14. Arrangement of the Study

The study is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction and lays out the background to the study that includes some literature review, the statement of the

problem and the research questions. It also explores the significance of this study and defines key terms and concepts.

Chapter 2 contains the review of literature and research related to the origins of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, their religion, beliefs and customs, and African traditional religion. Chapter 3 contains the review of literature and research related to Christianity, its belief systems and the missionary expeditions to Africa.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology and involves a discussion of the specific steps used in the literature review, collection and analysis of data for the study. The results of analyses and findings from the study are contained in chapter 5.

Chapter 6 contains a summary of the study and findings, conclusions drawn from the findings, a discussion of the findings and recommendations for further study.

1.15. Concluding Observations

The continued posture taken by African religion is not helpful to the African people, their customs and beliefs and, more importantly, their identity and way of life. The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha's position disadvantages the present and future generations and gravely affects the quality of life of its people and neighbours. The African religion, the BaTswana specifically, needs to define itself without the help of Christianity and find its place in existence.

CHAPTER 2: THE BATSWANA, THEIR RELIGION AND PRACTICES

2.1. Introduction

Many studies have been advanced and volunteered to explain and define the plight of Africa, its people and its religion. Although the available literature captures and covers a wide variety of these thoughts, theories and themes, Africa has to define life for itself. This chapter will focus on some of these themes as it relates to African religions. This chapter will allow for an extensive review of literature and research as far as the BaTswana, their religion and their practices are concerned. This chapter is divided into sections that explore African traditional religion, the BaTswana (their history and customs), and the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha (their history, 'situation' and beliefs). The review of literature on Christianity will be dealt with in chapter 3.

Christianity entered southern Africa in gradual stages thereby affecting the variation of adoption of the new ways by the Tswana communities. The south and east experienced the more dominant influence while the north and west were able to assert control over the spread of European culture (Mgadla & Volz 2006:123). The question, therefore, is how much of the new faith warranted the abandonment of the BaTswana's former lifestyle? The north and west were able to make the distinction between Christianity and European culture, Mgadla & Volz note, which would suggest that they were able to manage the adoption.

2.2. African Traditional Religions

The spread of Christianity was accompanied by new practices and beliefs. Cox (2010:129) notes that the code of ethics of the dominant religion controls the community. Therefore, the spreading of Christianity presented a challenge to the existing ways of life of the BaTswana, and it would appear, then, that African religion has largely succumbed to Christianity. However, it would be untrue to say that it has been supplanted or crushed out of existence (Kiernan 1995) as the

influence of African traditional religion or African indigenous religion (Adamo 2011) is still strong, particularly in desperate times and moments of crisis. The African Christian often 'reverts' to traditional customs and beliefs, which gives credence to the notion of religious pluralism for the African Christian.

2.2.1. Belief in God

Setiloane (1986) notes that African theology sees *Modimo* as the same as *Yahrweh* of the Hebrews and the God of Christianity, and that the one thing it claims is that it has a different perspective of this one and only source of being. Africans have always believed in and known of God, the supreme being, who is known by many names. The fact of the matter is that their belief is in God. Lugira (2009:43) notes the different names that people of Africa have used to refer to God: *Inama* - creator (Burundi); *Nzambi* - creator and ultimate source of power (Congo-Brazzaville); *Mumbi* - creator, maker, fashioner (Kenya); *Yataa* - the one you meet everywhere (Sierra Leone); *Modimo* - the greatest spirit (Botswana); *Mulungu* - creator (Malawi); *Mvelamqandi* - who appeared first, the power above, unapproachable, unpredictable, of no specific sex (Swaziland). To the Sotho-Tswana, Setiloane (1986) asserts that God is referred to as *Modimo*, which means the one who penetrates and permeates all being or existence.

The Yoruba peoples (Nigeria) proverb *Iwa ni csin*, meaning character is religion, and the Ghanaian saying *Gye Nyame*, meaning that 'except God [...] no one saw the beginning, none shall see the end, *except* God', encapsulate the African traditional belief in the supremacy of God. In their worship, they address their prayers to God, either directly or indirectly, through lesser gods or spiritual go-betweens (Lugira 2009:8). All African people believe in God, and they believe that God is the creator of all things, the sustainer of creation, the provider for the created, and the ruler of the universe (Mbiti 1975:49). Mbiti (1975) argues that African people are in agreement that nobody has seen God. Nobody can really describe God, yet, through their insights, they have formulated certain ideas about the nature of God. God is good,

God is merciful, God is holy, God is all-powerful, God is all-knowing, God is present everywhere, God is limitless, God is self-existent, God is the first cause (the original source and the beginning of all things), God is spirit, God never changes, and God is unknowable, unapproachable and the greatest spirit, and therefore the people cannot be in the presence of or in contact with God (Mbiti 1991:54-59). African traditional religions believe in a structured system of community where 'protocol' is paramount, and that is where the go-between (*badimo*) feature as intermediaries and not gods or equivalents of God (Lugira 2009:8;48).

2.2.2. Ancestor veneration

Setiloane (1986) argues that the question of the ancestors – the living dead (badimo) – 'has been wrongly approached right from the beginning' (29), the people who first brought it to the notice of the outside world were the missionaries and they were biased because they had an alternative agenda and programme of belief to promote. Moreover, the missionaries were from a different background and experience of spirituality, which they came especially to be advocates of. The question 'are ancestors worshipped or venerated (revered)?' lingers, and has not received the attention it deserves. Turaki (1999:36) raises more theological questions that provoke the mind and should unsettle the African theologian and scholar about idolatry and worship. He asks 'is the African religious experience idolatry or true worship of God?' (Turaki 1999:36).

Setiloane (1986) argues that Africans, unless they have grown to internalise the Westerners' views of themselves, strongly resent the suggestion that they 'worship' the *badimo* (the ancestors). The European word 'worship' does not properly convey the same meaning as 'service' (*tirelo*). The latter is rendered to *badimo* and is of the same quality and level as that rendered to one's parents while they are living. In SeTswana *re direla badimo* means 'we serve' (that is fulfil all proper duties towards; provide them with the necessities of life, food and clothing), but *re rapela Modimo* means 'we pray to *Modimo*'.

2.2.3. Worldview

In a sense all worldviews are potentially in opposition to each other and threaten social concerns. However, such privileging can be challenged and interpretation changed, often through engagement with alternative perspectives. Historically, religious worldviews have made claims to ultimate authority but even those have had to actively suppress challenges and accommodate them (Jones 2010:91). Turaki (1999) records and affirms Bediako's categories that define the basic worldview of traditional religions of man's kinship to nature and that everything works together and for the good of the other, being fully aware that all life and existence is finite. Realising the limitedness of all life, humankind has come to know that there is a power behind all life that is more powerful than itself and has found the need to have a relationship with this power or powerful being. Conscious of the reality of the afterlife and the spiritual world, the living dead becomes the connection that helps to realise the interconnectedness and the fine line between the physical and spiritual worlds.

2.2.4. Myths

Traditional African lore has always been passed down orally. There is no written set of beliefs and no 'holy book' such as the Bible or the Quran. Cultural beliefs and rules for the living are passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. Most African people have no written language, but members of the community are trained from childhood to perform prodigious acts of memorisation, reciting the whole history of the community for successive generations (Lugira 2009).

Every culture has its own mythology and it is now commonly accepted that myth can no longer be discounted as a mere fabrication of the fertile mind of primitive people that has been handed down from generation to generation. In myth there is something of a communal memory of the group as it grapples with its and all human origins, life on earth, being (what is the human person?) and even the hereafter. Christianity has become the major vehicle in the spread of the Hebrew myths of origin. Myths purporting to explain the 'origin of things', including people on earth, abound in Africa. Almost every group of people has its own myth, so much so that Robert Moffat (the first missionary of the London Missionary Society among the BaTswana) discounted them because they were parochial (Setiloane 1986). These myths have not been studied seriously by educators in the past because the 'Western' view of Adam and Eve, according to Setiloane (1986), has been accepted as superior, and accepted generally by the people of a dominant culture. Lugira (2009) believes that myths of creation tell of the sacred beginnings of the people. They usually centre on a supreme being who, according to African oral tradition, created the world. They recognise the special position that the creator has given to humankind.

2.3. The BaTswana and their Religious Practices

The BaTswana are proud of their traditions and the older generation often talks of the glorious past when the traditional values and norms were valued. They abhor discrimination in any form. They hold other people in the highest regard and believe a man's worth is measured by the way he treats others (*motho ke motho ka batho*). They believe in unity, as they say *se tshwarwa ke ntša pedi ga se thata* (meaning unity is strength). They rejoice, weep, fight and work together, hence the work groups of the *matsema*. It is an age-old custom of the BaTswana to care and provide for the old, poor, sick, disabled and the handicapped in their communities (Masibi, Coetzee & BaTswana Women, 1985:8).

2.3.1. Historical setting of BaTswana people

It cannot be said with accuracy or certainty as to the origins of the Sotho peoples to whom the BaTswana belong. The conventional view is that they separated from the main body of Bantu-speaking peoples somewhere in the vicinity of the Great Lakes of East Africa (Schapera & Comaroff 1991), feeding into the notion by Mutwa (1964) that humanity migrated southwards from the beginning. Schapera and Comaroff (1991) argue that the Tswana entered South Africa in three series of migrations (which cannot be dated), and notes that during the second wave the ancestors of the BaRolong and BaTlhaping settled along the upper reaches of the Molopo River, from which they gradually spread south and west, absorbing the Sarwa and Kalagadi predecessors. It was the third migration that saw the arrival of all other Sotho tribes. These tribes settled as a united body but rapidly broke into separate clusters. The main groups were the BaHurutshe, BaKwena and BaKgatla.

Setiloane (1975) uses evidence from commentators to argue that the Sotho-Tswana, who are said to be descendants from one ancestor named Mogale, settled in the whole area of the High Veld, from the Drakensberg to the border of south-west Africa. For many generations this was known as the land of the Bechuana, as the missionaries and the early travellers called it. Schapera and Comaroff (1991) similarly assert that the Tswana were already in the eastern half of their present habitat by about 1600 AD. During the next two centuries, each of the existing clusters became increasingly subdivided. Due to the whites moving northward from the eastern Cape Colony to settle in the northern Cape and Transvaal during the 19th century, the Tswana communal lands became locked in by white private property. Eventually, northern Bechuanaland became a British protectorate (present day Botswana) and the southern portions of the Tswana territory were incorporated into the Cape Colony and the Transvaal, which joined the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Africa Insight 1984).

The challenge facing the BaTswana was further exacerbated by the passing of the 1913 Black Land Act, which introduced the principle of territorial segregation between black and white people by demarcating and setting aside the existing black

areas for exclusive black ownership. The sale of white land was prohibited in subsequent legislation (Africa Insight 1984), which in a sense interfered with life as the BaTswana knew it. According to Breutz (1991), the 1913 Black Land Act was a vehicle for the Colonial Government to secure tribal land, which goes against traditional rules of land tenure which stated that tribal lands were not owned privately and only the yield of the family tillage was regarded as private property.

2.3.2. Social setting

The BaTswana living in a particular area or land acknowledge the supremacy of the chief of its ruling community, and constitute a single political unit under his leadership and authority (Schapera, 1938). They live in groupings as defined in table 2.1 (Setiloane 1975:21).

Table 2.1: Social Groupings		
Morafe (chiefdom)	The final living authority is the <i>kgosi</i> (chief)	
Kgoro (territorial division, ward)	Administered by the sons (and descendants) of the first <i>kgosi</i>	
Motse (household, village)	Headed by ramotse (father of the village)	
Mother's Family	The <i>malome</i> (maternal uncle) is the agent through whom the maternal family expresses its concern and exerts its influence over the whole life and development of its daughter's children, whether male or female.	

Table 2.1: Social Groupings		
Mophato (age-set)	From the onset of puberty for two or three years until the final bogwera (initiation), both boys and girls are subject to rigorous training which prepares them for adulthood.	
Seano (totem)	The members of such a wider group all regard themselves as intimately bound up, in some mystical way, with certain species of animal or object, known as <i>seano</i> (object of reverence), <i>sereto</i> (honour), <i>seila</i> (taboo), or <i>seboko</i> (praise). The name of the animal or object is used as a ceremonial or laudatory form of address. In the case of Bakgatla Ba Mosetlha, the totem is <i>kgabo</i> (monkey).	

2.3.2.1. The homestead

Magubane (1998) notes that homesteads traditionally have one or more houses and granaries in a courtyard surrounded by a reed or wooden fence, or earthen wall. A married couple often shares a house with younger children. Adolescent children of both sexes share a house, and unmarried adults are separated by sex. The houses are used principally for sleeping, storage, cooking and social activities taking place in the open courtyard. Members of the household built their own homestead and produced most of their food. Land, livestock and all property were administered by the household head, which allocated them to his dependants.

As head of the domestic group, he expected obedience, service, respect from his wives and children, and handled all legal dealings with outsiders. Prayer and sacrifice, performed on behalf of the household to the ancestors, were also his responsibility, though he in turn sought assistance from senior kin and clansmen in other households (Magubane 1998).

2.3.3. Various clans and groupings among the BaTswana people

Schapera (1936) and Setiloane (1975) outline the following as the main groups that make up the BaTswana people: BaHurutshe, BaTlharo, BaKwena, BaNgwato, BaNgwaketsi, BaKgatla, BaRolong and BaTlhaping, while Africa Insight (1984) adds the BaTlokwa and the Bafokeng to the list. Schapera and Comaroff (1991:4) provide more information about these groupings, and they are presented in table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Principal Clusters and Tribes				
Western		Eastern		
Tlhaping	Phuduhutswana – Taungs, Vryburg, Barkly West	Fokeng – Rustenburg, Ventersdorp		
	Maidi – Taungs	Mogôpa – Pretoria, Rustenburg, Ventersdorp		
	Rratlou – Lichtenburg, Mafikeng, Vryburg	Mmanamêla – Rustenburg		
Rolong	Tshidi – Mafikeng, *Lobatse	Modimosana – Rustenburg	Kwena	
	Seleka – Thaba Nchu, *Francistown	Mmatau – Rustenburg		
	Rrapulana – Lichtenburg, Mafikeng	Matlaku – Rustenburg		
	Tloung – Lichtenburg	Phalane – Rustenburg, Marico		
	Kaa – *Mochudi, *Ngwato, *Kweneng	Rustenburg	Tlhalerwa	
	Kubung - Ventersdorp	Rustenburg	Phiring	
		Rustenburg	Taung	
Hurutshe	Manyana – *Ngwaketsi, Marico	Mosêtlha – Pretoria		
	Mokhubidu – *Kweneng, Marico	Kgafêla – *Mochudi, Rustenburg	Kgatla	
	Gôpane - Marico	Mmanaana - *Kweneng,		

Table 2.2: Principal Clusters and Tribes				
		*Ngwaketsi		
	Moilwa - Marico	Mmakau - Pretoria		
	Khurutse – *Francistown	Motšha – Pretoria		
	Tlharo – Mafikeng, Vryburg, Kuruman	Seabe – Pretoria		
Nogeng	Lichtenburg	Waterberg	Bididi	
	Ngwaketse – *Ngwaketsi	Thethe - *Gaberones; Rustenburg	Tlokwa	
	Ngwato - *Ngwato	Motsatsie – Rustenburg		
	Tawana - *Ngamiland	*Gaberones - Marico	*Malete	
Kwena		Rustenburg	Tlhako	
		Potgietrsrust	Seleka	
		Rustenburg	Pô	
		Pretoria	Hwaduba	

During the 17th and 18th centuries the existing clusters became increasingly subdivided, and it was a constantly recurring feature in Tswana history for part of the tribe to secede under a discontented member of the ruling family and move away to a new locality. There it would set up as an independent tribe under the chieftainship of the leader, by whose name it generally came to be known. The BaRolong, for instance, broke up into the BaTlhaping, BaMaidi, BaKaa, and various other tribes still usually called BaRolong but more specifically identified by the names of their founders – Rratlou, Tshidi (Mafeking), Seleka (Thaba Nchu), Rrapulana, Modibowa, Mosadi (Schapera & Comaroff 1991). The BaHurutshe, who are said to have been the leaders of the final migration from the north, broke up into the Morden Hurutshe tribes (Manyana, Mokhubidu, Moilwa, Gopane), Tlharo, Khurutshe, and others (Schapera & Comaroff 1991). The Kgatla, who are an early

Indicates Bechuanaland Protectorate. The others fell within the Transvaal, Cape

Province and Orange Free State.

offshoot from the Hurutshe, broke into the Morden Kgatla tribes, known as the Mosetlha, Kgafêla, Mmanaana, Mmakau, Motšha (Schapera & Comaroff 1991).

Setiloane (1975) states that the BaTlhaping were settled at Dithakong when the first London Missionary Society missionaries, Evans and Hamilton, came to settle among them. Dithakong means ruins, suggesting that the BaTlhaping were of an earlier grouping of the BaRolong (Moffat 1904). The BaRolong broke up around 1760, after the death of their Chief Tau, into the Tlou, Tshidi, Seleka and Rapulane divisions (Schapera 1938). They were named after their respective leaders, who were all sons of Tau (Schapera 1938).

Mgadla and Volz (2006) record that Alfred Wookey, a missionary for the London Missionary Society, arrived in 1870 and was stationed at Kuruman, later at Molepolole in 1885 and then at Ngamiland from 1893 to 1898. Wookey recorded the words of an old man of the BaKwena named Mmopi, father of Seboni, who recounted the tribal chiefs lineages from Masilo of the BaKwena, to Sebele of the BaKwena, and the offshoots Khama of BaNgwato, and Bathoen of the BaNgwaketse (in Mgadla & Volz 2006). The old man said that 'we separated from BaNgwato who are our younger brothers through Mathiba. Mathiba bore Khama, and Khama bore Kgari who was the only one born among the BaNgwato after we had separated. Khama separated from Tawana, his younger brother. Tawana bore Moremedi (since a village was chopped [constructed] at his birth). Moremedi bore Letsholathebe, and then came Moremi of today' (in Mgadla & Volz 2006:279).

Similarly to Mgadla and Volz (2006), Schapera and Comaroff (1991) note that the BaKwena, another offshoot from the BaHurutshe, broke up into the Fokeng, Mogôpo, Modimosana and Phalane. A section of the Mogôpa subsequently seceded and moved westwards (c.1720) and this group of people, now known as the Kwena of Sechele, was the first important Tswana tribe in the present Protectorate. The Ngwaketse and Ngwato broke away from them not long afterwards, and the Tawana then broke away from the Ngwato (c.1795). The BaHurutshe, as often

accepted in oral tradition, are said to have occupied the area around Zeerust, which is known as Moffat's Kurrechane (Gaditshwene), for their traditional home (Setiloane 1975:15).

2.3.4. Totemism (seano, pl. diano)

The Merriam Webster dictionary defines a totem as an object (such as an animal or plant) serving as the emblem of a family or clan and often as a reminder of its ancestry. It is usually a carved or painted representation of such an object and one that serves as an emblem or a revered symbol. Schapera and Comaroff (1991) note that the Tswana are divided into approximately 25 groups, with 11 of these groups having a certain species of animal as its serêtô, seanô, seila or sebôkô (object of honour, veneration, avoidance or praise). These groups cut across the division into tribes. Livingstone (199AD) similarly argues that the tribes are named after animals which are represented in almost every tribe (those with the crocodile, elephant, ape, or lion as their totem). Every tribe also contains members of many different totem groups (e.g., 18 such groups are represented among the Tshidi-Rolong, 16 among the Malete, and 22 among the Ngwaketse). The veneration of an animal, plant or object has long been an important feature of Tswana society. Each person associates with a totem, and all those associated with that totem are said to be related to one another patrilineally, normally taking the totem of their father, and father's father. Many myths lace Tswana folklore, accounting for how each totem came to be adopted. Codes of behaviour have been drawn up around these myths and failure to observe them requires the perpetrator to undergo a purification ceremony to prevent illness or other misfortune (Magubane 1998). Setiloane (1975) adds that the seano object must not be eaten or touched (for its preservation), nor may any part of it be used (e.g., the skin for clothing), not even for medicinal purposes. It may be killed only if it manifests damage. The offence against any of these taboos (seila), even in the latter case, requires ritual purification.

Among the many taboos (*meila*), for the BaTswana it is a taboo for a man to enter the maternity hut. It also a taboo for a menstruating girl to enter a cattle kraal. A widower is forbidden to pass through a herd of cattle. Moreover, to kill a python is a serious offence since it is believed that this would bring illness to the tribe. A new mother is forbidden to prepare food for the family. Women who have had an abortion are forbidden to work in the fields since it is believed that they would harm the crops. To work in the crops these women must first be purified (Masibi, Coetzee & BaTswana Women, 1985).

2.3.5. The BaKgatla tribes

The BaKgatla are said to be an early offshoot of the Hurutshe and then broke into the modern BaKgatla tribes: Mosetlha, Kgafêla, Mmanaana, Mmakau, Motšha (Schapera & Comaroff 1991). The totem of the BaKgatla is the *kgabo* (the monkey). At first the BaKgatla tribes split into three branches: ba Mosêtlha, ba ga Kgafêla, and a third group, which later split into BaKgatla ba Mmakau, BaKgatla ba Motšha and BaKgatla ba Seabe (Breutz 1989).

There is very little literature about the BaKgatla grouping, except from government documents and oral history. Legassick (1969) asserts that the traditions of the Kgatla dispersal are even less studied than those of the Kwena lineage-cluster. Early settlements mentioned include that of Schilpadfontein (Pretoria District) and Dirolong (Rustenburg District), though there are deviant traditions suggesting a movement to this area from the Vaal sources, which is more likely to refer to a subsequent area of the Kgatla settlement. The Kgatla dispersal during the 16th and 17th centuries occurred predominantly over the area north of the Vaal and eastwards of the Kwena-lineage cluster. One Kgatla chiefdom, the Kgatla-Kgafela, moved into the Pilanesberg district during the 18th century.

2.3.5.1. Kgafêla

The BaKgatla Ba Kgafêla, under Chief Pilane, lived at Moruleng, Saulspoort, in the district of Mankwe. A tribal authority was established by a proclamation dated 19 June 1953 and amended on 26 October 1956 (addition of the State farm Boschkop). After the tribe had broken away from the Kgatla Ba Mosêtlha at Momusweng (near Makapan's location) during the first half of the 17th century, they settled for short periods at different places, which they passed on their way towards the north-west and the Crocodile River (Odi). During the first half of the 18th century Chief V. Kgwêfane took up his residence at Moruleng (Breutz 1989).

2.3.5.2. Mmanaana

The Mmanaana group is found only in Kweneng and Ngwaketsi areas of Botswana. BaKgatla ba ga Mmanaana migrated to Botswana from South Africa. It is the only minor ethnic group in Botswana that is settled in two separate villages under different paramount chiefs. The villages are Moshupa and Thamaga under BaNgwaketse and BaKwena respectively (Matemba 2003).

2.3.5.3. Mmakau

The Bakgatla Ba Mmakau under the chief's house of Motsepe at ga Makau in Sjambok's location, Hoekfontein farm, in the district of Odi, established a tribal authority by a proclamation dated 17 June 1960. The two Mmakau tribes descended from a chief they had in common, Motsepe, who was born some time between 1740 and 1760 and lived in Maharitse or Pokwe (Morulaskop west of Nylstroom). By his great wife he had two sons, Mosheledi and Mamonwana Sjambok Motsepe living near de Wild in Odi district, and one son by a junior wife, Mooketji. The oldest chiefs lived at Mabuakabang, near Bobididi hill, where they had relations to the Babididi or BaTlhalerwa tribe and later at Mogwete (near Premier Mine) until the time of Mmakau or Kau, a period which is not clear regarding succession (Breutz 1989).

2.3.5.4. Motšha

The BaKgatla ba Motšha tribe under Chief Moepi settled at Marabyane on Schilpadfontein, in Maubane's location in the district of Moretele/East, which is formerly known as the Hammanskraal area of the district of Bronkhorstspruit. Chief Thabane is usually considered the founder of the BaKgatla ba Motšha. A BaKgatla ba Motšha tribal authority was established by a proclamation dated 12 November 1965. The other branch of the tribe under Chief Moepi lived in Dihibidung on the farm Wynandskraal and the BaKgatla ba Mphe-Batho tribal authority was established by a proclamation dated 5 July 1959. The BaKgatla ba Motšha ba Maloka, a branch of the tribe under Chief Moepi, lived at Masobe on the farm Pankoppen in the Moretele district. Phopolo Maloka was Maubane's half-brother of the second hut. At the time of Mzilikazi's attacks and the dispersal of the tribe, they lived in Ube (on Boschplaats) near Wynandskraal. Maloka had trouble with immigrant farmers about getting farm labourers and the tribe left for Malokas Kop (south-east of Groblersdal) where they were neighbours of the baNtwane tribe who were originally the BaKwena (Breutz 1989).

2.3.6. BaKgatla Ba Mosêtlha

The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha are a tribe within the BaTswana family and are found in Makapanstad (also known as Kwa Mosetlha), north of Pretoria. Makapanstad consists of a number of villages, such as the Kgomo-Kgomo, Tladistad, Bolantlokwe, Dikebu, Moratele and Ngobi. They can be found in the North West Province of South Africa under the leadership and chieftaincy of the Makapan family.

Van Warmelo (1944) and Breutz (1989) locate the BaKgatla Ba Mosêtlha or Ba Mosêtlha in the district of Moretele, formerly known as the Hammanskraal administrative areas of the districts of Warmbad, Pretoria and Brits under the chieftaincy of Hendrick Mathibe Makapane, which has become a family name. The BaKgatla bina have the *kgabo* (the monkey) as a totem. There is very little literature

available about the tribe, as most of the information is oral, which runs the risk of disappearing with the departure of the tribal elders. The political organisation of the tribe is as follows: *dikgôrô*, sub-clans or wards, *dikgôrôana* and outpost villages (Breutz 1989). This information is illustrated in table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Political Organisation of BaKgatla Ba Mosêtlha		
Kgôrô	Kgôrôana	Kgosana
I. ya Mosâte	 baKgosing Madibu Motshware Tshwane Malope Matširima Moratela Mothiba Khunwana 	the chief himself Abel Musi Jacob Moshwara Kokê Tshwana Moeng Samuel Morekure Mokatsi Manne Makwape Mothiba Fani Khunwana
II. Mmêkwa (Babididi)		Ramoseki Mareme
(the tribal head counc	illor/ <i>motsêta</i> is chosen from this	clan)
III. Mosadi-moholo	 Masonyeng Maswana baMolêma Tsôpye/Rantsima (Babididi) 	Maifadi Setshedi Bokennen Musi Joseph Motaung
IV. Mmamarama	 Modikwe Radiale Pitse (baTlhako-ba-Mabe) baTlhako Kgokga (Ndebele) 	Kgope (died) Nicolas Sepeng Tshêrê Joseph Tabane Johan Tladi

2.3.6.1. Land

The tribal area is defined in the Tribal Authority Proclamation, which in 1957 included only tribally owned land, but in 1966 also included state land used by the tribe. According to Breutz (1989), the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha have land which they own but they also occupy land shared with the Odi district because of mixed populations, some portions of tribal land of the BaKgatla Ba Mmakau of Chief Motsepe and state land. In some areas the land remains outside of the tribal authority. In 1972 chief Makapane felt that the farm should be under the control of the tribal authority, but the magistrate at the time found a mixed population there, while the government intended to reserve other farms for progressive farmers only. For this reason some of the land is outside of the tribal authority.

2.3.6.2. Tribal finances

The chief used to receive tribute from his subjects in the form of cattle, corn, wild animal skins, ivory and ostrich feathers. He also kept most of the cattle looted in war, all unclaimed stray cattle and most of the fines imposed in his court. In return, he gave meat and beer to people visiting him, assisting at his court, or summoned to work for him, and rewarded his warriors and councillors with gifts of cattle. He placed many of his cattle as *mafisa* with poor men, who lived on their milk and ploughed with the oxen. In times of famine he provided the people with corn from his granaries, or purchased supplies to distribute as food and seed (Setiloane 1975).

2.3.6.3. Kingship and chieftaincy

Generally, in Africa a chief or king was the political head of a tribe responsible for the administration, public affairs and all governance related matters of the tribe. In South Africa, for example, the current perception is that kings and chiefs must be apolitical and ceremonial; this is alien to Africa. The African custom allowed them to act politically. Centuries before the advent of colonialism, Africans were satisfied and progressed under the rule of political kings and chiefs. According to Ndlela, Green & Reddy (2010:2), 'There were kingdoms and not republics, and chiefs also presided at traditional courts'. However, Ndlela, Green and Reddy (2010:3) believe that the hierarchy of traditional leadership and the use of titles of paramount chief, chief or headman is 'not traditionally African, and attributes that to the colonial imposition on traditional leaders was that they either willingly accepted the colonial forms of governance into their own,' or those that did not do so soon realised that the only way their leadership could continue was to give in rather than fight the introduction of colonial rule. The chieftaincy is a position, not only of political and spiritual power, but also of great answerability.

2.3.6.4. The role of the chief

In Christian theology, Christ is not only the head but also the whole body of the Church. Similarly, kgosi is the mediator of grace flowing from badimo (Setiloane 1975). Legassick (1969) defines the office of the chief as the ritual, judicial, administrative, economic and political focus of the community, and membership of the chiefdom involves first and foremost allegiance to the office of the chieftainship. In Botswana, the various pre-colonial Tswana states were autonomous or independent. Each kgosikgolo (paramount chief) was the head of his own tribe and did not owe allegiance to any other superior authority. In Setswana customary law, a kgosi is born and never selected. Upon the death or incapacitation of a kgosi, his eldest son from his senior wife automatically accedes to the throne. If the eldest son is still too young to assume the reins of power, his uncle would rule as a motshwareledi (regent). No woman can assume the position of kgosi. His subjects in a kgotla conduct the installation of a setswana kgosi where his uncle drapes him with a leopard skin. This is demonstrated by the fact that the chief, as head of the tribe, occupies a position of unique privilege and authority. He is a symbol of tribal unity and is the central figure around which the tribe revolves. He is a once ruler, judge, maker and guardian of the law, repository of wealth, dispenser of gifts, leader in war, priest and magician of the people (Fenrich, Galizzi & Higgins 2011). Setiloane

(1975:26) further outlines the roles of the chief. He is the apex of authority in the *morafe*, father of the people, presides over the *kgotla* (the highest legislative, executive and judicial court of the *morafe*), presides over *pitso* (the meeting of all adult males), gives judgement in the case of a trial, and is the chief officiant at rituals involving the whole society (Setiloane 1975).

Fenrich, Galizzi and Higgins (2011) note that while the *kgosi* has great powers and commands immense wealth, he also has duties and obligations to his subjects. In times of stress, such as drought, he redistributes cattle or grain to his subjects, and he has an obligation to protect his people, take care of the needy in society, and be hospitable to visitors. A *kgosi* is obliged to cooperate with his subjects as symbolised by the Setswana saying, *kgosi ke kgosi ka morafe* (which means that a chief is a chief by grace of his tribe). Ndlela, Green and Reddy (2010:1) add that traditional leadership has, particularly within the BaTswana people, 'operated on the principles of community participation, consultation and consensus', through an accepted level of transparency through the village council or open tribal consultative meetings.

Van Warmelo (1944:4), who was the government ethnologist at the time, provides a genealogy of the BaKgatla. However, the accuracy of this genealogy, especially the earlier part, is in doubt, even for the chief Hendrick Mathibe Makapan. The genealogy is show in table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Skeleton Genealogy of Chiefs

- I. Mašiašebaru
- II. Mohale
- III. Phulane
- IV. Tahane Mośetlhe (no unanimity about this being one person). Dwelling at Malebônê, a hill 8 to 10 miles west of Warmbad, and there he died.
- V. Mmuši Continued to live in the same area, exact location unknown.
- VI. Setshedi Nothing is remembered

Table 2.4: Skeleton Genealogy of Ch	niefs		
VII. Malebe - Ruled at Khophung o	n Vaalbosbult 499, east of Pier	naars R	iver.
VIII. Šikwane – Nothing is remembered	Makanye - After Sikwane' became regent. Not long after spread that a lerole le lehwer dust) was approaching Voortrekkers, and virtually to under Makanye, to the North direction that Mzilikazi had crossed the Ngôtwane River the tripe was split on the is next. Makanye and the small on and it is thought they sett	terward ibidu (comment the who h West l alread er. Soon ssue of ller por	ds the report cloud of red caning the cole tribe fled, in the same dy taken and n afterwards where to go rtion trekked
IX. Ntšhaupe Tlhabane - Ruled for succession was irregular because d	· ·		
tribe was elsewhere. Because of a forca. 1874 the tribe moved to Mabo ground known as Madimatle.	ear of the Boers and lack of w	ater at	Mosêtlha, in
tribe was elsewhere. Because of a forca. 1874 the tribe moved to Mabo	ear of the Boers and lack of workse on Waterfall 1316, near chief Ntšhaupe had stayed be was recognised by the emigr	rater at the big	Mosêtlha, in g hole in the

XIII. Mathibe Hendrick (appointed 1927) – Married Dikeledi, daughter of Chief Ofentse Pilane of the Kgatla ba ga Kgafêla, Thipe and Tau as sons.

was now the farm of one Bezuidenhout.

2.3.6.5. The role of women and patriarchy

Although women are relegated to performing menial tasks in the home, this still has a special place in the BaTswana custom. Women's roles have ranged from educators and breadwinners to farmers and builders. As the wife and mother she is the centre of the *lapa* (household) and the family's quality of life depends on her. She plays the key role in the upbringing of her children from infancy to later childhood (Masibi, Coetzee & BaTswana Women 1985). Setiloane (1975) similarly argues that the wife is at the centre of the *lapa* and even in polygamy she is entitled to her own *lapa* which is named after her and consists of her husband, herself, her children and grandchildren who still reside by her. However, some scholars have discussed the injustices levelled at women in society. Nkomazana (2008) raises discriminations and injustices suffered by women. Nkomazana (2008) mentions that men automatically become the true voice, and women are ineligible for chieftaincy, excluded from decision-making forums like the kgotla, cannot divorce, are dependent on men, and are reared, taught and prepared for womanhood which limits their position in society. Denbow and Thebe (2006:142) highlight that betrothal is another point of contention as a younger sister may find herself taking her sister's place should her sister die before the marriage, and the families see this arrangement as fitting. Denbow and Thebe (2006:153) further point to the notions that have become ingrained in the minds of both men and women, and this is beautifully captured in the quote of Bessie Head to a paradigm of what it takes to be a 'good' spouse, namely that:

A woman always attends to her man regardless of when he returns home and where he has been. She is always prepared to cook for him, to wash his clothes, and to work hard to develop their household. She only complains about his affairs with other women if he neglects her or the children. She does not have affairs herself, or gossip about her husband, or bring his name into disrepute. Nor does she criticise him to his children or set them against him. When real problems arise in their relationship, she acts by reporting them to both families and enlisting their assistance as mediators. Where this is unsuccessful, the help of the local headman is enlisted. For his part, a 'good' husband may have affairs but he does not ill-treat, neglect, or fail to support his

family. He does not leave his wife, or live apart from her without cause, and he does not use her household property to support another woman. It is also his duty to report any marital difficulties (to their respective families) where they arise.

Denbow and Thebe (2006:154) also argue that adulterous actions on the part of men are still often dismissed with phrase such as 'a man is like an axe, he has to be borrowed from time to time' (*monna*, *ke selepe o a adimanwa*) and even at some marriage ceremonies, new brides are told to never ask a man 'where he is coming from (where he slept)' (*monna ga a nke a bodiwa gore o tswa kae*).

2.3.6.6. Religion(s) and practices

2.3.6.6.1. Religious duties

The BaTswana feel themselves to be very small in the sight of God. In approaching him they sometimes need the help of someone else, just as in social life it is often the custom to approach someone of a high status through someone else. For that reason, some African people make use of helpers in approaching God, although they also approach him directly. These helpers, may be called intermediaries. Some are human beings, while others are spiritual beings. The human beings include priests and priestesses (ritual leaders who oversee, administer and coordinate religious matters), healers (ritual leaders, medicine men and women, whose service relies on supernatural powers; in matters of health and well-being), diviners (ritual leaders whose special position is to unveil the mysteries of the past and future), mediums (people who can contact the spirit world, usually by being possessed by spirits, attached either to a priest or to a diviner), seers, rainmakers (perform rites of prayer or sacrifices offered to ensure that enough rain will fall at the proper times), or elders and rulers (father or mother of the people, symbol of ethnic unity, solve human problems, represent the people). Each of these has a special role in maintaining the spiritual life of the community and its people. These are often the ones who conduct the act of worship, whether formal or informal, and attend to the needs of their

community. People go to them and tell them their needs, and it is then their duty to approach God through prayer, sacrifice, offerings and the interpretation of visions or dreams. Among the spiritual beings who are believed to help people in their approach to God are divinities, some spirits, especially those of former national leaders and heroes, and those of the dead who are still remembered in the family. For national or communal needs, the people may address departed kings, chiefs, clan founders, or the divinity or spirit of the area (Mbiti 1991; Lugira 2009).

Kiernan (1995) adds that the living communicates with the dead by regular rituals sacrifice and invocation. The priest or officiant who is the family head, or the senior group representative when ancestors of larger groups are being addressed will be the ones leading these rituals. Through the medium of sacrifice, the living not only honours the dead, but also thanks them for the benefits received and pleads for future favour. The religious response is a specific sacrifice led by the priest to repair the relationship with the ancestors, while other steps are taken to heal the social rift.

2.3.6.6.2. Rituals

Rituals are defined as religiously meaningful acts that people perform in appropriate circumstances, usually following strict prescribed patterns. Rituals are a concrete expression of belief and take place during community celebrations and festivals for the purpose of thanksgiving, purification and communion (Lugira 2009). African believers, and indeed believers of all religions, feel that they have to show their faith in some way. They do this by worshipping the supreme being, by paying reverence to superhuman beings, and by paying due respect to their fellow humans. The African traditional religion worships God, the supernatural, the creator, the great spirit, and the unseen and unknown God.

Every African community and ethnic group has its own religious place and this place can take the form of a temple, shrine, altar, or natural religious site (including forests, rivers, lakes, trees, mountains, waterfalls and rocks). They are thought to be

the meeting places between heaven and earth and between visible and invisible worlds (Olupona 2013). In the liturgies of the African Initiated Churches, abundant opportunity is given for warmth, empathy and communal emotion; dancing and rhythmic movement play a significant role; prayer is said by all, loudly and together; and singing uses traditional melodies (Meiring 1996). Africans are dancing people and their religion is usually embedded in religious festivals, rituals and ceremonies. The religious music, dance and drama are powerful media of communication, especially in the traditional societies (Lateju 2012).

Christianity sets prayer as only to God and to no one else. In the African traditional religion, prayers are usually addressed to God, superhuman beings and ancestors (Lugira 2009). People in search of spiritual assistance for a variety of human needs address their prayers to the powers above. They address prayers either directly or indirectly through intermediaries for all spiritual assistance possible.

Music is an audible expression of African prayer. There are many religious songs in praise (and many other aspects and elements) of one's God and superhuman beings. The beating of drums and the playing of other instruments usually accompany songs. Whereas song is a religious expression in voice, dancing concentrates on expressing religious emotions, elegance and dynamism through bodily movement (Lugira 2009). Marete (2009) mentions that the singing of the Meru people in Kenya within the church is the same as that of the traditional religion, as evidenced in other African communities. A *maasai* always sings and dances, jumping up and down, during worship. The Psalmist agrees with and affirms singing, dancing and the playing of instruments during prayer and worship as this is about the feeling or expression of reverence and adoration for a deity. Lugira (2009) adds that music, either vocal or instrumental, usually accompanies African religious rituals. He notes that prayer, music and dancing enhance the effectiveness of ritual acts (Lugira 2009).

Sacrifice and offerings help to confirm the relationship between the supreme being, superhumanity and humanity. Music is used to praise the supreme being, the

superhuman beings and the ancestors. It is used as prayer in supplication for favours from heaven. The drum is the primary instrument used by African people. It is a key that unlocks communication with the spirit world. People beat or play drums to induce the oracles from high above through mediums. Sacrifice in worship in the African traditional religion can be said to be giving up something valuable in order to render homage to the superior being. For Christianity, sacrifice ended with the death, burial and resurrection of Christ. Christ, the advocate, occupies the realm and place of ancestors, diviners and all intermediaries in the African traditional religion. Therefore, when Christianity was brought to Africa this form of worship soon began to change (Pfeiffer, Vos & Rea 1975).

2.3.6.6.3. *Rites of passage*

Rites of passage are rites that have to do with the human life cycle. They are practices, customs and ceremonies that move people smoothly through the stages of life from beginning to end. These stages include birth and childhood, puberty and initiation, marriage, aging and death (Lugira 2009).

Setiloane (1975) notes that boys and girls of African communities go through a long and arduous process of initiation that starts at puberty and may last for two or three years before the final intensive period of between two and six months' training in the *mophato* (initiation school or circumcision regiments). The *mophato* is led by *kgotla* approved instructors (a respected man or woman who is very knowledgeable in lore, law and customs of *morafe*) with the oversight of the *ngaka ya morafe*. Van Warmelo (1944) observes that the normal interval between *mephato* is five to six years. The initiates or initiands, as Setiloane refers to them, are grouped together by gender (boys and girls separately). Children of chiefs and commoners or of poor and rich are grouped together and thoroughly drilled in *mekgwa ya bo'rra rona* (the ways and customs of our fathers). One aspect of the initiation is an intensification of the training of the girls around the home. For boys, the initiation may involve them taking part in the communal talks by the *kgotla* of the *morafe*, gathering firewood for

some feast, catching stray cattle which destroy the crops, or weeding the chief's fields. In 1944 at Saulspoort, the initiates built an extra classroom for the local tribal school (Setiloane 1975).

Very early on the morning of the last day of the *mophato*, the hut in which they have been taught is set on fire as if by accident, and therefore every vestige of their old clothing or any belongings they may have brought along is destroyed in the fire. As they approach the village, they are encircled tightly by the men of the *kgotla* where they are hidden from the public in one of the huts, and their relatives, especially the *malome*, bring them new clothes. Bullocks are slaughtered, women bring beer to the *kgotla* and the women's ululating heightens the excitement and joy of the day's event. The initiates come out dressed in new clothes for they have become new beings. They entertain the crowds with songs learned and towards the end of the day are called into the enclosure of the *kgotla* where all men a congregated in a *pitso*, presided by the chief, with the sole purpose of the public announcement of the name of the age-set, previously decided by the *kgotla* by the chief (Setiloane 1975). From now on they have passed from the status of *bacha* (youth) to full *botho* (humanity).

Van Warmelo (1944) notes that Thipe was the last of the chiefs to be circumcised, probably in 1884 at Ntshwahatšane. Breutz (1989) dates the last initiation in 1894 under the 'Mereleba' regiment, and this led to the holding of lodges to desuetude (Van Warmelo 1944). Van Warmelo (1944) and Breutz (1989) agree that the abandonment of the initiation rites was as a result of the influence of the Christian mission and were later changed to school-leaving regiments.

2.3.6.6.4. *Institute of marriage*

Marriage is a starting point for a new generation and brings two families into close relationship. Because of this, cross cousin marriage is specially favoured, as it reinforces bonds that are already strong. These marriages are sometimes arranged at infancy as the man's family 'marries for him', and provides *bogadi*. In other

marriages, the responsibility is wholly his. In the case of polygamy, the wives take precedence according to their order of marriage (Setiloane 1975). Traditionally a man's first wife is selected for him. If he could afford more than one wife, he chose others for himself.

Among noble groups with much property, wives to whom the man is related are preferred. Marriage to his mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, or father's brother's daughter means that the bride's wealth would stay in the byre shared by his father and his father's brother (Magubane 1998). The *bogadi* consists mainly of cattle, though some Tswana (Ngwaketse and Kwena in particular) include sheep. Today, when bride wealth is transferred, it can combine money and cattle as payment as agreed by the groups (Magubane 1998). In a letter responding to a debate that raged in the *Mahoko a Becwana* newspaper from the first letter in October 1883 by the new Tswana Christians on the relevance and meaning of *bogadi* (bride wealth), Chief Tawana Montshiwa wrote (Mafikeng, 15 December 1890):

To the Editor,

My fellow man, put these words in the newspaper of the BaTswana. Bogadi is not wrong, it should be paid. Of all Tswana things, it is the one that establishes and confirms marriage. Bogadi is paid by the person who is marrying the woman, out of gratitude to the child's parents who raised her, fed her, gave her a blanket, clothed her and so on. If bogadi is paying for a child, my people, it would not compare to being stood [in a wedding ceremony] in a congregation, where a minister takes money for the wedding. So, what is that money paid for? Does it not show that a marriage should be demonstrated by such proof and by the people who are witnessing it? Also, it is evidence to all of our black *merafe* that marriage should be confirmed by something important among them. We say that a cow is such an important thing, and we use it as proof. It is not buying; it is proof of the marriage. It is an important event among merafe. In the custom of the Europeans, if a man did not stand with his wife in the magistrate's office, or in church, it is said that she is not his wife. The children have no proof at all of their father, and he has no proof at all of the children. So, my people, Bogadi acts as such proof among us blacks. Bogadi should not be abandoned. It is not the buying of children. Bogadi is a confirmation of marriage.

- Kgosi Montshiwa (Mgadla & Volz 2006:161)

Setiloane (1975:30) notes the tenderness shown towards a son-in-law by his wife's relatives. According to one of the sayings: *Mokgwenyana bohweng ke sebabatso* (meaning, a son-in-law is treasured in his wife's home). A newly-wedded wife enters her mother-in-law's *lapa* wearing a shawl, which she is instructed never to take off except at bedtime. But the mother-in-law gently removes it, replacing it with a shawl of her own, or one specially made or bought for the occasion. Through this ritual of *go tlhobola kobo ya bongwetsi* (taking off the cloak of a newly-wed wife), the taboo which governs in-law relationship is removed. She no longer wears the shawl, she is no longer a *moeng* (stranger), but a *ngwana wa legae* (child of the home).

2.3.6.6.5. Misfortune and healing

African religion teaches that people are made up of moral, social, spiritual and physical parts. These parts function together. If any part is out of balance, the person may become physically ill or suffer spiritually. That is why conflict with another person may make someone sick or a moral misdeed may bring about misfortune (Lugira 2009).

Belief in *boloi* (sorcery, witchcraft) contends 'that specially endowed individuals to the detriment of ordinary people can manipulate evil forces in society' (Setiloane 1975). It holds that every community since the beginning of time has 'contained people with malevolent intentions, who cause havoc' during their lives and whose spirits after death select suitable individuals to possess and endow with wickedness (Holland 2001:7). Moreover, Setiloane (1975) argues that it is tempting to translate *boloi* as 'magic', but 'magic' must also be used, for instance, for the *setlhare* used by *ngaka ya pula* in making rain. The two are not morally in the same category. It is better to use *boloi* untranslated and to let its meaning be defined by its context. Table 2.5 presents many of the technical terms for misfortune as discussed by Setiloane (1975:44-54).

Table 2.5: Technical Terms (Misfortunes)		
Bolwetse	Disease	
Bongaka	Therapy practised by ngaka, pl. dingaka (doctor) with the use of setlhare, pl. ditlhare (medicine)	
Dingaka are of the following	g types:	
ngaka e tshontshwa	Herbalist who uses mainly <i>pitsa</i> , pl. <i>dipitsa</i> (boiled medicine) to cure	
selaodi, pl. dilaodi	One who divines with the use of ditaola	
senoge, pl. dinoge	One who smells out – divines without material means	
lethugela, pl. mathugela	One who divines through spirit possession	
ngaka e e dinaka, pl. dingaka tse dinaka	Horned doctor who uses <i>lenaka</i> , pl. <i>manaka</i> (horned medicine) to strengthen people and/or property against misfortune	
Boloi: sorcery practised by moloi, pl. baloi Baloi may be of the following types:		
ba pelo	Of the heart, causing a <i>bolwetse</i> , called <i>badimo</i> , or <i>kgaba</i> when occurring among kin, and sometimes called <i>lehutso</i> (evil wish) when used among non-kin.	
ba molomo	Operated by expressing displeasure verbally, i.e. oral sorcery	
ba bosigo	Night sorcery	
ba motshegare	Day sorcery	

The *boloi* of both the heart (merely by feeling offended and pained: puts *badimo* into him) and mouth (speaks in anger: you will see it) seem to be as a result of an offence by an elder for the former and the powerless, or poor for the latter. For the former, cure only comes from slaughtering an animal and the offended uses a mixture of the *moswang* (chyme) and *lekgala* (aloe) to wash the sufferer, and *pha badimo* for the latter (Setiloane 1975:49). *Boloi* of the day is viewed as much more serious compared to night sorcery. The motives of greed, envy and vengeance are much more prominent and the *moloi's* purpose is always to kill or injure as opposed to the night sorcery

which usually seeks to disturb the harmony and disadvantage and hamper progress. For the day sorcery, *sejeso* (cause to eat) may be known poisons.

Symbolism plays a very important role here. A piece of crocodile skin or tongue in food or drink turns into a crocodile in the stomach and eats away the intestines. Hair taken orally grows in the lungs and causes asthmatic condition or tuberculosis. A wife's perspiration or dirt from her body, served in her husband's food, makes him docile and half-witted, thus giving her power over him. *Sebeela* (to put down or away) is another form of day sorcery where the *moloi* can use the otherwise useful *ditlhare* for evil intentions. Thus, *sephephetho*, a bulbous root, negatively used can be used to 'sweep out' whole homesteads through causing an epidemic. *Go neela* (to set on) involves suitable treatment of a person hair, body dirt, footprint, shadow and other things related to the person's body, or by making a clay image of a person, it is possible to affect that person's *seriti*, so that all things, including living things and persons, react negatively towards him or her.

During a storm, a very skilled *moloi*, or a *ngaka* acting against a *moloi*, may direct the lightning to strike a particular person. In some cases a fire can be caused to start in a homestead without the introduction of an open flame (Setiloane 1975:53).

Traditional healers are taught and trained by their human mentors while qualifying as diviners or herbalists and later by their guiding ancestor spirits where to find particular herbs and portions that will cure illness, restore a husband's love or determine the sex of a baby. The witch has an equally wide herbal knowledge but only for magic with dangerous propensities, revealed to her through evil spirits. There are medicines for every complaint and aspiration, either dug from fields and forests by individual spiritual specialists to fulfil prescriptions for their own clients, or purchased from herbalists' shops in the cities of Africa. They include rare lizard fat, snakeskin, sunburnt beetles and spiders, lion lard, dried crocodile liver and baboon testicles, although most are of botanical origin (Holland 2001). Where *badimo*

are directly involved, *dingaka* play an advisory, if important, role. In the prevention and treatment of *boloi* their intervention is essential (Setiloane 1975).

2.3.6.6.6. Death, burial and life after

Death is the time when the soul leaves the body to become a spirit. African mythology allots a great deal of space to the subject of death. As soon as a person dies, his or her attendants fold his or her hands and feet in readiness for the manner in which he or she will squat in the grave. At the internment two ears of millet, two of maize and two of sugar cane, together with some melon and pumpkin seeds and a section of an ant-heap, are put with him or her in the grave. The ant-heap is symbolic prayer for the continuation of the community life and that the remaining offspring may continue to live in community where he or she has gone. Adult men are buried in the *kraal* to keep company of their cattle and mothers and women of great age are buried in the homestead (Setiloane 1975). According to Setoloane (1975), early in the morning of the burial of an adult, before the first rays of the sun are seen, a beast called *mogoga* (untranslatable) is slaughtered.

The burial ceremony is performed by all kin, each holding in the hand the chyme of the freshly slaughtered animal, which they throw into the grave, with the first petition directed to the deceased: *u re roballe* (may you sleep for us). Thereafter, the slaughtered animal is cooked and consumed, to be finished on that very day, with neighbours and village residents. It is, however, cooked saltless to indicate that no joy is derived from it. In dying, the individual has joined the world of the departed.

Dying is seen as going on a journey home. Thus, a burial becomes an enactment in reverse of the first coming of the people (the hole in the ground myth). The dead is buried sitting on their haunches with the utensils and accourrements they used in life: men with their entire warrior gear, their spears and assegais, and women with their dishes and hoes, mats and water pitchers. Seeds are also put in the grave. The parting words are in fact words of farewell to the one who goes on a journey with

the prospect of meeting some old acquaintances once there: 'remember us where you go! Ask them to send us rain and food and grab'. It is understood that the dead go to the hole that never gets filled, out of which the first inhabitants of this earth were led out by $L\hat{o}\hat{o}we$ (the mysterious one-legged, agent of divinity, who was merely an escort). Life there is understood to be ideal and desirable. It is seen as a world of mists with green fields, cattle grazing and people living in ease and harmony. In some way the life of 'down there' has control and power over the life of 'here above' on the surface of the earth (Setiloane 1986:19).

CHAPTER 3: CHRISTIANITY AND ITS BELIEF SYSTEMS

3.1. Introduction

Pfeiffer, Vos and Rea (1999) define a Christian as a person who belongs or is devoted to Jesus Christ, and Christianity is said to be the 'religion founded by Jesus Christ'. Following his ascension, the apostles in the power of the Holy Spirit preached in his name. The disciples taught that he was God's son, the Messiah; they gathered a community of believers and they exhorted all to a holy life.

Christian faith confesses Jesus Christ to be the sole mediator between God and humankind (I Timothy 2:5; John 14:6; Acts 4:12). This confession has traditionally implied the rejection of the claims that a saving knowledge of God may be found in non-Christian religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism (Judaism requires separate consideration, so too to some extent does Islam given its original partial dependence on Judaism and Christianity) (Ferguson, Wright & Packer 1988). According to the Bible, God alone is to be served (Exodus 20:3-7; Deuteronomy 16:21-22; Luke 4:8).

The idea of any other religion being credible became compromised for the Christian missionary. They came as part of the Great Commission of Jesus Christ in Matthew 28:16-20. Knitter (2002:3) highlights a text that creates a problem for Africa and a dilemma for the Christian missionary who considers African traditional religions to have a saving knowledge of God. The Lukan text reads: 'There is no salvation through anyone else, nor is there any other name under heaven given to the human race by which we are saved' (Acts 4:12). In the Gospel of John (3:16-19) a whole series of texts is epitomised in the following verses:

For God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life. For God did not send his Son into the world to condemn the world, but to save the world through him. Whoever believes in him is not condemned, but whoever does not believe stands condemned already because they

have not believed in the name of God's one and only Son. This is the verdict: Light has come into the world, but people loved darkness instead of light because their deeds were evil.

Missionaries felt as if they had a calling to evangelise the world and point people to the light. Adamo (2011) asserts that during the early days of missionaries and settlers, there was no acceptance of any existence of anything called African history and African traditional religion and consequently the one without history cannot have religion. Christians became the chosen who must bear the responsibility of pointing the world to the light. This almost constitutes religious exceptionalism. Jones (2010:60;91) argues that 'cultures and social groups who lay claim to a sense of uniqueness or "chosen" status, typically construct an oppositional worldview. That is, they view the world around them as divided into those like themselves and all "others". This oppositionality is essential in reinforcing the "chosen" worldview's authenticity. Religious and non-religious cultural groups throughout history, including the ancient Jews, the Romans, Victorian English imperialists and of course the Nazis, have made claims to being "unique", "special" and indeed a "chosen" people. It is a recurring ideological device to demarcate a cultural group or set of beliefs as separate from the rest and typically in opposition to competing beliefs. Being unique or 'chosen' would often denote 'us' and 'them' or 'others' creating a sense of separatism. There will be that sense of the other as a non-believer, and anyone who does not belong would almost automatically be of the other side.

3.2. Christian Missions to Africa

Moffat wrote in his farewell letter after visiting his parents on 31 August 1816 in preparation for his work as a missionary:

Mr Kitchingman and Mr Pratt both take wives along with them, but from particular reasons I go alone. I made it a matter of prayer to God, and from clearest dictation of his Providence he bids me go alone; and he who appoints crosses and disappointments also imparts resignation and grace sufficient unto a day. So I am bold to appoint the language of Eli, and say: 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.' My dear parents, such language may seem strange unto you, but it's interpretation is known unto me in a measure, and what we know not now we shall know hereafter. My present feeling with respect to my undertaking is that I long to be gone; I long to be engaged in the blessed of saying to the heathen, 'Behold your God!' Do not think that the future scenes cast me down. No! Behold I go full of hope, transported at the prospect of being counted worthy of undergoing a few transient troubles for his sake, who for our sake became poor, who for our sakes was despised and rejected, was crucified and slain. No, my Redeemer! Let me not sink, let me not faint. Oh! That when I die, I may die fighting in the armies of the living God. (1904:24)

This quotation can be said to represent the missionaries as they left all they knew for Africa. However, Majeke (1952) brings a different perspective to the picture and points out that the coming of the missionaries to Southern Africa at the end of the 18th century coincided with the first occupation of the Cape by the British. The missionaries were a British product and this was not accidental. She notes that earlier in the century the Moravians had been their forerunners and had established a mission station among a group of the already weakened Khoikhoi (known as Hottentots) at Baviaans-Kloof, later known as Genadendal or Vale of Grace. She argues that the main missionary movement, led by the London Missionary Society, was a British one and was in full force during the period of military conquest in the first half of the 19th century. She concludes by adding that it is important to know the womb from which sprang the missionary movement in Southern Africa and all the colonies of the British Empire, for Southern Africa was but one of a vast network of missionary activity. To understand its function it must be viewed as part of a great historical movement: the expansion of capitalism.

The Reverend William Shaw started his mission work in Caffraria and had entered the following in his journal on 24 June 1823:

I have received the sanction of Lord Charles Somerset to commence a Wesleyan Mission in Caffraria. I am just now extremely busy with this. I have every reason to believe our first station will be with the chief named Congo, whose people inhabit a strip of fine country of about 60

miles along the coast and 30 miles inland, the western tip of Congo's country adjoins the colony, having its boundary the Keiskamma. The site of our mission station will probably be not more than 100 miles from Graham's Town and about the same from Salem (Sadler 1967:49).

He continued to note that 'through the good hand of God upon me, my life was not only preserved while travelling on horseback among barbarous and savage men and wild beasts, and travelled through the country towards the coast where the district under the jurisdiction of chief Pato, son and heir of old Congo, who was killed some years ago in a war with the colonists, who acceded with evident pleasure to our commencing a mission among them' (in Sadler 1967:49). Despite the 'good missionary work' Shaw was doing, his view of the African and probably his gospel message left a lot to be desired. He noted on 3 November 1823 that

There are now five schools established containing in all about 300 children, of whom 88 are Hottentots and slaves, several of them adults. The children are induced to appear at school and at divine service clean and decent. You may perhaps find some difficulty in believing, what I assure you is a fact, that they appear as decent as the poor children attending any village Sunday school that I ever saw in England, and yet this are proverbially filthy Hottentots (Sadler 1967:50).

Shaw also noted the arrival of the reverends Stephen Kay and W.J. Shrewsbury who were to go to Hintsa country in the Caffreland (Sadler 1967:50).

Christianity is argued to have made its rapid advances precisely because its emissaries, the missionaries, were so closely linked with the whole apparatus of colonial rule. This further raises a question debated among historians of whether this missionary advocacy effectively influenced the partition of Africa or whether the missions were merely manipulated by European statesmen for their own secular aims or ambitions (Gray 1990). This is illustrated by De Kock (1996) who takes note of one Wesleyan missionary John Ayliff. Ayliff wrote in 1835 that 'they are now reaping the reward of their iniquity...They have rejected the Gospel which was benevolently sent unto them...and now they have the sword' (1996:43). Sir Harry

Smith, who was in the habit of demanding the vanquished Xhosa chiefs to kiss his feet, had the following to say to his defeated adversaries:

Your land shall be marked out and marks placed that you may all know it. It shall be divided into counties, towns and villages, bearing English names. You shall all learn to speak English at the schools that I shall establish for you...You may no longer be naked and wicked barbarians, which you will ever be unless you labour and become industrious. You shall be taught to plough; and the Commissary shall buy of you. You shall have traders, and you must teach your people to bring gum, timber, hides, etc. to sell, that you may learn the art of money, and buy for yourselves. You must learn that it is money that makes people rich by work, and help me to make roads. I will pay you. (De Kock 1996:44)

There is a great sense that the missionaries were not entirely about evangelising and saving souls for Christ. Uka (1989) believes that the missionaries were part of the larger programme of European colonisation of Africa, and continues to say that their activities cannot be properly appraised unless seen in the light of their connection with the European trader, diplomat and settler. This view is also expressed by Gray (1990) who says that Christianity made its rapid advances precisely because its emissaries, the missionaries, were so closely linked with the whole apparatus of colonial rule. This is also evident in Porter (2004:136) who takes not of Reverend William James Shrewbury's (WMMS) record following the Sixth Frontier War in 1834. Shrewbury says that 'I have been much opportuned by Col. Smith, now commanding the Forces to put on paper a few thoughts, concerning the mode of conducting the Kafir War. Though I refused to bear arms, I did not think I should be justified in declining this service to my king and country in such an extraordinarily critical period' (in Porter 2004:136). The reverend offered advice and a suggestion in a brief and trenchant paper, for example, that 'the chiefs who have invaded the colony to forfeit their chieftainship, and their people to forfeit their country, their arms and their property. This accomplished, the righteous British law, and the equity of British judges may decide the rest' and in Article 3 he notes that, 'the actual murderers of British subjects, to be everywhere demanded; and when obtained,

executed on the spot, that the Kafirs may see that murder with Britain is an unpardonable crime' (Porter 2004:132). The allegation from Shrewbury may or may not have represented the mind of the missions or even of the settlers. He can even be interpreted as a fanatic, as his paper bore sadness and all elements of hate. The hate speech continues with rhetoric unbefitting a person who is supposedly bringing Christ to the savages, which led to his demise and dismissal.

Thus, Uka (1989) argues that it becomes difficult to isolate Shrewbury as a fanatic or suppose that the missionaries were independent from the traders and settlers. Immediately after the Frontier War, in the House of Commons, T.F. Buxton and his friends secured the establishment of a select committee to consider a wider global question: 'what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British settlements are made and to the neighbouring tribes, in order to secure them the due observance of justice and the protection of their rights; to promote the spread of civilisation among them, and to lead them to a peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion' (Porter 2004). Porter concludes that the purposes of the select committee's paternalistic toned report were clear: 'whatever may be the legislative system of any colony, we...advise that, as far as possible, the Aborigines be withdrawn from its control' and placed in the 'more impartial hands' of the imperial executive officials (2004:143).

Given that the missionary societies originated from and were funded by the British government, this almost insinuates bias on the part of the missionaries and shows that they were part of a larger programme of European colonisation as Uka argues. Uka (1989) highlights the assertion of bias on the part of the missionaries as they were not clearly and openly against imperialism and their voices were not forcefully heard on issues of colonial abuse and misuse of the Africans in their own land. The missionaries did not, in most cases, affirm Christian commitment to justice for the weak and the Christian obligation to protest against injustice and exploitation.

Ekeke and Ekeopara (2010:210) attest to the missionaries' and settlers' belief that 'the concept of God is not strange to Africa and in traditional Africa there is no atheist'. Mutwa (1964:535) similarly asserts that 'we can trace our religion, culture, mythology, legends and history back to tens of thousands of years in the past, farther back than any other known civilisation on earth, to the later stone age' as he lambasts Christianity and Islam. He continues to point out that although missionaries thought of Africans as heathens and pagans, the Christians and Muslims themselves were heathens and pagans some two thousand years ago, which means that Africa had been in a relationship with the supreme being long before the arrival of the evangelists and settlers, and much longer than Christianity. Africans have always known and believed in the supreme being, who is the creator and sustainer of all life, who is the source of all living and whose life existed from the dateless past. He is self-existing and his power sustains the universe.

Lugira (2009) affirms and testifies that African people whose cultures are organised as monarchies with a king at the head usually conceive of their God as the supreme king. As there can be only one supreme king in a community, Africans have traditionally concluded that there can be only one supreme being for the entire human race.

3.3. Missions to BaTswana

Livingstone, of the London Missionary Society, encountered more of the BaTswana after reaching Kuruman from the Cape, their farthest inland station from the Cape. He turned northwards to the Bakuena or Bakwain country and found Sechele, with his tribe, located at Shokuane. After some time, he went northwards to visit the Baka and Bamangwato, and the Makalaka (Livingstone 199AD:8). The impact of Western civilisation on the Tswana, notes Schapera and Comaroff (1991), coincides with the beginning of the 19th century, beginning with the Tlhaping in 1801, as they were the most southern tribe. The Kgatla-Mmanaana encountered Western civilisation and a

mission station was established in 1843 due to sporadic visits from traders, hunters and explorers.

Humanity within the many African communities, including the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, has considerably lapsed, partly because of the initial thought by the Protestant evangelists and the European settlers that they were bringing God to Africa – to the heathens and pagans. This was also made worse by a tendency, particularly by the missionaries and settlers, to value the written word over oral traditions. This impacted the African communities as it gave credence to what the missionaries had and gave an advantage to scripture, and thus influenced the reception of Christianity and the accompanying culture. The BaTswana people were not spared, as illustrated in their letters to the *Mahoko a Bechuana* (Mgadla & Volz 2006) newsletter from 1883 to 1896. The letters illustrate the challenge, confusion, struggle and uncertainty facing the BaTswana people.

In a letter, Mrs Moffat (in Moffat 1904:256) writes of her visit to Chonwane:

We did not come to your old route to the Maretsane, but farther west, which made our stage only five hours to Lotlakane, where we got water, though at some distance from the road; and again started about four o' clock, and arrived at Molopo about dusk. I was perfectly enraptured on entering the first valley (Maanwane) of the BaKgatla: at it being necessary for me to get out of the wagon on account of the rugged path, I could examine the shrubs to my great delight.

Moffat (1904) continues to note that in early 1847 a general meeting of those engaged in the Bechwana Mission was held in Lekatlong and on his way back Robert Moffat visited some of the Batlhaping villages along the Kolobeng River. A severe contest was going on between heathenism and Christianity. A little company of believers had, however, been gathered in each place, and were ministered to by native teachers, who had spent a few months in training at Kuruman. These people were feeling the pressure of the surrounding heathenism and were proposing to move to Kuruman.

Every religion prescribes in some sense how the believer 'ought' to behave (Cox 2010). Ethics and morality for the African religion were never an option or even an alternative to life or being human; they govern life for both the individual and society. African religion would not engage in an action or behaviour that contradicts or affects or oppresses the action and behaviour of others. The intersection of African (traditional) religion(s) and Christianity, which included the culture of the people, influenced the interpretation, understanding and ultimately the reception of one by the other.

3.4. The Holy Scriptures

The Dictionary of Theology defines scripture as the historic Judaea-Christian name for the specific literature that the church receives as divine instruction, that is, as God's own witness to himself in the form of human witness concerning his work, will and ways, and how humanity should worship him (Ferguson, Wright & Packer 1988:627). The Bible remains central to the Christian religion and is defined as a collection of sacred writings of the Christian religion, comprising the Old and New Testaments. The collection of sacred writings of the Jewish religion, also called the Hebrew Scriptures, is known to Christians as the Old Testament. It is usually referred to as the word, specifically the word of God with images of scripture or scriptures in the New Testament and the law in the Old Testament. The New Testament refers to the Old Testament (or parts of it) as 'oracles' from God, 'thereby designating the Bible [collection of books of the Old Testament made by the Jews, and of the Gospels, Acts, epistles, and the book of Revelations made by the early Christian church] as a direct pronouncement from God and a message to be heeded as a divinely inspired record of God's revelation of himself and of his will for mankind' (Ryken, Wilhoit & Longman 1998; Pfeiffer, Vos & Rea 1975).

3.5. Christian Worldview

The Christian worldview approach seeks to emphasise a Christian way of seeing, understanding, interpreting and approaching the totality of human life from the perspective of Christian history and biblical principles and values. It is an attempt at developing a definite understanding of what Christianity and the Bible says and teaches about all human activity and endeavours in life. In short, it relates the Christian faith and life to real life situations and to all human learning and art (Turaki 1999). The Holy Scriptures shape, pattern and condition the Christian worldview. Culture and religion(s) receive their light and guidance from scripture.

3.6. The Church

The English word 'church' is derived from the Greek adjective kyrikon (kyriakon) which means 'belonging to the Lord'. The substantial form can be rendered simply as 'the Lord's house' and is used to designate a Christian place of worship. In the New Testament, however, 'church' comes from the Greek ekklēsia that never refers to a place of worship but refers to an assembly of people. In the overwhelming majority of cases, ekklēsia indicates a local company of believers (Pfeiffer, Vos & Rea 1975). 'Church' in the sense of a religious community distinct from Israel is clearly already something to do with the Jewish Christian communities after Jesus' death: they were not founded by Jesus but came into being with reference to him, the crucified one who is alive (Küng 1995). Küng (1995) continues and defines 'church' as a community of those who believe in Christ, Congregatio or Communio Christifidelium: the community of those who have committed themselves to the person and cause of Jesus Christ and who bear witness to its as hope for all men and women.

The Great Commission does not make Christianity a missionary religion. It is such because of its source, nature and total design. The apostles became missionaries not because of a commission but because Christianity is what it is and because of the indwelling Holy Spirit who is the spirit of missions (Pfeiffer, Vos & Rea 1975).

Humankind is sent into the world as a unit to work and do the will of God. Christians are sent, which means the work is not theirs. They have no other business here (of their own) but of the one who sent them. The mandate or instructions come from the one who has sent them: 'Love God...and love your neighbour as you love yourself' and 'teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you'. This is what Jesus said to his disciples.

It is, it seems, to be in the nature of human beings to know better (to rebel). The sender did not factor in the circumstances; therefore, the commands can be changed to suit the terrain as humankind has progressed (notwithstanding the ability to discern). As an individual, it does look gloomy, but the Church can only give glory, thanks and praise to God. The Church as a people of God, the community and body of Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit is sent into a world that is plagued by injustice and corruption and divided between the haves and the have-nots.

3.7. Rituals

The dictionary defines a ritual as a religious or solemn ceremony consisting of a series of actions performed according to a prescribed order. The only sacraments of the New Testament church are thus baptism and Eucharist. McGrath (2001) notes that there is a debate around this topic among scholars, with Roman Catholic and Protestant understanding regarding the definition and number of sacraments differing. The debate, he notes, even prompted the Council of Trent to react to the Protestant approach to the sacraments by saying that: 'If anyone says that the sacraments of the new law were not all instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, or that there are more or less than seven, namely, baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and marriage, or that anyone of these seven is not truly and intrinsically a sacrament, let them be condemned' (McGrath 2001:517)

3.7.1. Baptism

Küng (1995) notes that one belongs to this new community of believers (Jews who recognised Jesus as the Messiah) when one has publicly demonstrated one's faith through a distinct rite of initiation: that of baptism. Küng (1995) refers to this as the first basic symbol of the new faith community. Baptism is often categorised into three views: first, the complete immersion held by the Baptists and others signifying the believer's identification with the death, burial and resurrection of Christ; second, the pouring of water signifying the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the believer and his infilling with the Spirit; and third, sprinkling water maintaining that baptism signifies the cleansing away of the believer's sins by the blood of Christ (like the Reformed, Methodists and Anglicans). This immersion is for those who have reached maturity to take responsibility for their faith and infants are baptised by having water poured or sprinkled over them (Pfeiffer, Vos & Rea 1975).

3.7.2. Eucharist (Lord's Supper)

In the Church, one usually finds the central symbol of the cross or the crucifix which depicts the heirophany of the death of Jesus, a manifestation of the sacred which is told again and again in the sacred stories of Christians and re-enacted ritually in the Eucharist celebration. During the Eucharist, the believing community remembers the time of the heirophany. The priest lifts a loaf of bread or the wafer and announces: 'on the night in which he was betrayed, our Lord Jesus took bread, broke it, gave it to his disciples and said, "This is my body"'. Space and time are transcended in the ritual moment as believers re-experience the presence of the sacred reality (Cox 2010).

McGrath (2001), however, asks: 'in what sense is Christ present at the eucharist?', which is an assumption prompted by the words 'this is my body' (Matthew 26:26). He notes that the words 'this is my body' have been the cornerstone of traditional Catholic views of the real presence, and Luther seized upon them in his defence of the real presence, and purports that Zwingli argues that the Eucharist is 'a memorial of the suffering of Christ, and not a sacrifice', and that 'there are innumerable passages in Scripture where the word "is" means "signifies". Küng (1995), in

response to his own question, 'what holds the Christian community together?' puts the celebration of a meal as the central element, as people gathered regularly in private houses for prayer and the 'breaking of the bread' and 'partook of food with glad and generous hearts'.

Therefore, Jesus did not invent a new rite, but dared to give a new interpretation to the old rite at a dramatic moment. He combined a new symbolic word with the old symbolic action. The words of Jesus spoken on this occasion did not drop as it were from heaven as sacred words of institution. They fitted easily into the course of a festal Jewish meal regulated by ritual, of the kind that is partly still customary in Jewish families today:

- The word over the bread takes up grace before the main meal, where the father of the house says words of praise over the bread, breaks or tears it, and shares pieces of it with the others at the table.
- The word over the wine takes up the prayer of thanksgiving after the meal, where the father of the house circulates the cup of wine and has everyone drink from it.

Similarly to this bread, Jesus' body would be broken, and similarly to the red wine, his blood would be shed. Küng (1995) asserts that Jesus gives his followers a share of his body given in death (in Hebrew or Aramaic 'body' or 'flesh' always mean the whole person) and his blood shed for 'many' (an inclusive term meaning 'all').

3.7.3. Worship

Worship is represented in the Bible principally by two words. In the Old Testament the Hebrew word *shaha* (used more than 100 times) is used, meaning 'to bow down', 'prostrate oneself' (Genesis 22:5; 42:6; 48:12; Exodus 24:1; Judges 7:17; I Samuel 25:41; Job 1:20; Psalm 22:27; 86:9;). In the New Testament the Greek word *proskyneo* (it

appears 59 times) is used, meaning 'to prostrate oneself' and 'do obeisance to another' (Matthew 2:2, 8, 11; 4:9; Mark 5:6; 15:19; Luke 4:7-8; John 4:20-22).

These two words are consistently rendered in the English versions by the word 'worship', which in old English was spelled 'worthship', denoting the worthiness of the one receiving the special honour or devotion. The two terms 'worship' and 'worthship' may be seen together in the grand description of the 24 elders falling down before the one who sits on the throne (Revelation 4:10-11; 5:8-14) (Pfeiffer, Vos & Rea 1975).

3.8. Doctrine of Death and Afterlife

According to Pfeiffer, Vos and Rea (1975), death is the cessation of natural or animal life, the state of having ceased to live and that separation, whether violent or otherwise, of the soul from the body whereby life as an organism is ended. Pfeiffer, Vos and Rea (1975) also note that death has been variously defined as a 'disunion of the body and soul' (Tertullian), 'departure of the mind from the body' (Cicero) and 'the suspension of personal union between the body and the soul, followed by the resolution of the body into its chemical elements, and the introduction of the soul into that separate state of existence which may be assigned to it by its creator and judge' (A. A. Hodge).

Death may be thought of as that experience in which one's connection with the world of life is broken off or terminated. Theologically, it is the last event in the probationary history of the individual man (Pfeiffer, Vos & Rea 1975). In Biblical usage the word has four main senses. Physical death generally denotes the irreversible cessation of bodily functions (2 Samuel 14:14; Romans 6:23; Hebrews 9:27) but occasionally the gradual weakening of physical powers (2 Corinthians 4:12, 16). Spiritual death describes man's natural alienation from God and his lack of responsiveness to God.

3.8.1. Heaven

Heaven is the eternal and transcendent world that is the abode of God, the angels and the glorified believers. The most frequent association with heaven is that it is the place where God dwells. Compared to the relatively planet descriptions of heaven as a place, the Bible gives little information about the activity that transpires there. Activity in heaven consists almost entirely of worship (Revelations 4; 5; 7:9-12) (Ryken, Wilhoit & Longman 1998).

The Christian conception of heaven is essentially that of the eschatological realisation of the presence and power of God and the final elimination of sin. The most helpful way of considering it is to regard it as a consummation of the Christian doctrine of salvation, in which the presence, penalty and power of sin have all been finally eliminated, and the total presence of God in individuals and the community of faith has been achieved (McGrath 2001). Ryken, Wilhoit and Longman (1998) note that the two dominant human responses to new life in heaven are joy and satisfaction. The joy of heaven's inhabitants is pictured by the intermittent scenes of praise in the book of Revelation, along with the white robed conquerors waving palm branches (Revelation 7:9) and the guests at the wedding supper (Revelation 19:1-9).

3.8.2. Hell

The best known Biblical image of hell derives from a deep, narrow gorge south east of Jerusalem called $g\hat{e}$ ben hinnōm, 'the Valley of Ben Hinnom', in which idolatrous Israelites offered up child sacrifices to the gods Molech and Baal (2 Chronicles 28:3; 33:6; Jeremiah 7: 31-32; 19:2-6). Josiah defiled the valley to make it unacceptable as a holy site (2 Kings 23:10), after which it was used as a garbage dump by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. As a result, the valley of Ben Hinnom became known as a dump heap and the place of destruction by fire in Jewish tradition. The Greek word *gehenna*, meaning 'hell,' is commonly used in the New Testament for the plane of

final punishment and the word is derived from the Hebrew name for this valley (Ryken, Wilhoit & Longman 1998).

McGrath (2001) points to the medieval view of hell in Dante's Divine Comedy in which Dante says, 'Abandon hope, all ye who enter here!'. However, the very idea of hell has been subjected to increasing criticism of which two points should be noted.

First, hell's existence is seen as a contradiction of the Christian assertion of the final victory of God over evil. This criticism is especially associated with the patristic writer Origen, whose doctrine of universal restoration ultimately rests on an affirmation of the final and total triumph of God over evil. McGrath (2001) notes that in the modern period, the philosopher Leibniz identifies this consideration as a major difficulty with the doctrine of hell that, 'It seems strange that, even in the great future of eternity, evil must triumph over good, under the supreme authority of the one who is the sovereign good. After all, there will be many who are called, and yet few who are chosen or saved'.

Second, the notion of vindictive justice seems un-Christian to many writers, especially in the light of many New Testament passages speaking of the compassion of God. A number of writers, especially during the 19th century, found it difficult to reconcile the idea of a loving God with the notion of the continuing vindictive or retributive punishment of sinners. The main difficulty is that there seems to be no point to the suffering of the condemned. Basil says that it is:

Equally impious to say that evil has its origin from God; because the contrary cannot proceed from the contrary. Life does not engender death, darkness is not the origin of light and sickness is not the marker of health. Now if evil is neither uncreated nor created by God, whence comes its nature? That evil exists no one living in the world will deny. What shall we say, then? That evil is not a living and animated entity, but a condition of the soul opposed to virtue, proceeding from lightminded persons on account of their falling away from good. Each of us should acknowledge that (*s*)he is the first author of the wickedness in him (*her*).

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research methodology for the mix methods design of the study regarding Christianity, and customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. The aim is to investigate the relations, guilt or innocence, contribution, effect and impact that Christianity has had on the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, and the collapse of the customs and beliefs within the tribe.

The approach has allowed for a broader and deeper understanding of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha's experience and understanding of the African and Christian religions, their self-identity individually and collectively as a tribe, and their customs and beliefs. The study provides a way to develop a theory from the data in order to understand why the BaKgatla are where they are and why they respond to external forces in the way they do. The review of literature has provided invaluable insights into the life, history, customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla ba Mosetlha, the history of Christianity and the vehicle or mode used to transport the Christian religion.

The data collection techniques that have been used in the research are questionnaires, participant observation, group discussions, literature or documentation analysis and semi-structured interviews. This chapter discusses the overall procedure that has been followed in data collection and processing.

The study has required a wider consultation as it involves individuals constituting a community and tribe, which is made up of villages. The design has allowed the BaKgatla people from all villages to contribute or participate in the study.

The mixed method approach implementing both qualitative and quantitative research methods with further reliance on literature written by missionaries and black scholars has been appropriate to enhance the quality, validity and credibility of

the research data. As the study is about understanding the complexity of human behaviour and experience, the mix methods design ensures that the data is triangulated and allows the research to zoom in and out to better see the picture under study. Quantitative methods support the 'ability to generalise findings to the general population', while qualitative methods 'contextualise problems in narrative forms' (Pinto 2010:7) and using the two provides for a deeper understanding, contextualisation and informed development of interventions (Pinto 2010).

4.2. Review of Related Literature

The literature and research related to the problem under study was sourced from the Research Commons Centre, the Special Collections Africana within the library of the University of Pretoria and the Special Collections section within the University of North West Library (Mafikeng).

The literature has provided a context and a background into African and Christian religions including the BaTswana peoples, and particularly the groupings that make up the BaTswana. The literature written by missionaries and black scholars has added invaluable insight into Christian missions to Africa, the settlers and the interest or role of the Western world in Africa. Howard (2018:101) describes the purpose of the literature review as 'put[ting] the research study at hand into perspective', which means understanding what has been written about the subject and 'discover[ing] any relevant material that could enhance the research'.

4.3. Study Participants

The sample was drawn from the population of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, taking into account the number of villages making up the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. As the study is about the essence of the life of the tribe, participants had to demonstrate the following characteristics:

- Be resident and belong (have roots) to any of the villages characterising the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha;
- Have an interest and willingness to contribute meaningfully to the study;
- Have some knowledge about Tswana customs and beliefs and of those specific to the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha and Christianity;
- Be a member of the royal family or of the tribal council, delegated to represent the family or house in the study, community and village elders, or headmen or women;
- Participate in the questionnaire phase in order to be considered for the second phase; and
- Be anyone knowledgeable or with the expertise and authority to represent the views of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha.

The study was conducted among the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha community, consisting of several villages. As the study required participants to have certain characteristics, permission was sought from the chief for it required the participation of the tribal council, village heads and elders, and the BaKgatla peoples. Questionnaires were distributed at the tribal council meetings and the village lekgotla meetings. The researcher attended and addressed the meetings to explain the aim of the study and respond to questions and provide more information. The researcher's contact information was distributed and participants were informed of the researcher's availability to call back anyone willing to engage, discuss and even pursue any related conversation, and further willingness to visit per invitation any village to address and clarify any questions about the study. The study was conducted in two phases. First was the quantitative component and second was the qualitative component. The second phase participants were drawn from the first phase participants for follow-up interviews. The questionnaires were distributed to allow every member of the community to stand an equal opportunity of participation, and purposefully zooming in on those participants that were knowledgeable about the subject and who would add valuable and credible input to the data collection process.

The second phase participants were carefully chosen so that the interviewees would be made up of the mature aged, those in tribal leadership, the young, women and those with a high interest in the study. An exception was made in this phase to include a ngaka (traditional healer) from Botswana who did not participate in the first phase as he is not a member of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha.

4.4. Survey Research Sampling

The researcher is an objective and (subjective) passive observer who merely facilitates the interview. A cross-sectional survey design has been used for the collection of data as the study is about a large group of people made up of villages. Du Plooy-Cilliers and Cronje (2014:149) view a cross-sectional survey as a very useful tool 'to gather data about people's attitudes, opinions, impressions' and 'provide quantitative or numeric description of the trends, attitudes or opinions of a population' (149). The population in question is the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha tribe consisting of several villages spread out over a larger area of the current North West Province of South Africa. The villages vary in size, from ones of a few thousands to the main one consisting of over 15 000 people, according to the 2011 census (Statistics South Africa). A questionnaire was the most plausible method to reach a broader population, collect more data from individual participants. This method allows for a 'large [amount of] data [to] be collected and the data can be standardised' (Du Plooy-Cilliers & Cronje 2014). It also allows for views to be gathered that may represent the worldview, perception and outlook of a people. Survey research would also assist in testing theories, assumptions and perceptions already formulated about a problem, people or a phenomenon. To mitigate against the use of English in the survey conducted among the BaTswana, the questionnaire provided definitions and explanations of concepts. It was also possible for respondents to ask questions while completing the survey. This was especially important for the elderly and interpretations and translations were provided when

required. This was done in order to minimise incomplete forms and encourage participation and honest responses.

The reason for use of scales in the survey was to measure the extent to which certain information is known. For instance, in the case of this study, one had to indicate whether 'Christianity is not above African religions' and the yes/no response would not provide a clear picture of the level of knowledge as it relates to the BaKgatla people. A 'not sure' or undecided provides a better picture for greater analysis and communication of findings.

4.5. Field Research

4.5.1. Grounded theory

This qualitative study has been undertaken using grounded theory methodology as it seeks to 'create new thoughts and patterns of argument' and 'theories are scarce and in need of development' (Strydom & Bezuidenhout 2014:165). The study is related to a tribe on a journey of rediscovery and is an ongoing process which argues and calls for the grounded theory method, as the researcher is not testing a theory but rather aims to formulate one. The assumption that Christianity is responsible for the state of affairs and circumstances of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha requires testing and formulation of a tested argument and thought. The method is the most appropriate as the study is concerned with human behaviour and requires data collection through semi-structured questions, observation and social interaction, and ultimately helps to formulate a theory. Grounded theory is a 'systemic yet flexible method that emphasises data analysis, involves simultaneous data collection and analysis, uses comparative methods and provides tools for constructing theories' (Bryant & Charmaz 2011:165).

The study has been conducted using grounded theory with a constructivist approach; the study begins with 'gathering inductive data but relies in moving back

and forth between data gathering and analysis' (Bryant & Charmaz 2011:166). The setting for the study is the natural environments of the participants where the researcher observes and interacts with the participants, as the design and study is 'interested in the depth of human experience, including all the personal and subjective peculiarities that are characteristic of individual experiences and meanings associated with a particular phenomenon' (Strydom & Bezuidenhout, 2014:174). The subject of study is a matter so personal and close to the hearts of the participants that it evokes emotion and passion, which in itself advocates for grounded theory.

4.6. Data Collection

This section will outline the data collection sources used in the study.

4.6.1. Instrumentation

4.6.1.1. Questionnaire

The study has used a survey method, found in Appendix C, in which questionnaires were the only instrumentation used. To keep track of the data, the researcher used the Mobenzi Researcher (www.mobenzi.com) and a Samsung Note Pro tablet. The questionnaires were distributed through the tribal council and through villages' lekgotla. The village elders, headmen and women and council members were the first to participate and take the documents which included the chiefs lineage as recorded by Van Warmelo (1944) the purpose of which was to test the record and invite feedback from the participants and the tribe.

4.6.1.2. Interviews

The study has used an interviewing method, found in Appendix E, with the interviewer and the interview questions as the instrumentation. The interviews

followed a selection from the survey questionnaires of a least 10 people from the sample. To keep track of data, memos were used to capture any research thoughts during and after each interview.

This employed the use of predetermined questions for interviews and the participants were encouraged to share as much about the subject matter as possible. The interviews were recorded for trustworthiness and validity using a Samsung smartphone recorder and a Phillips Digital Tracer (recorder).

4.6.1.3 Observations

As the study seeks to formulate a theory, social interaction and observation became immediately relevant and memos were used to record thoughts, concerns, reflections and emerging codes, categories and theories.

4.6.2. Procedures followed

A letter requesting permission for the study was written to the chief and the tribal council, and approval was given (Appendix A1). The researcher gained audience with the chief to introduce himself, the study and listen for any conditions, instructions, and requests, and then attended the tribal council to introduce the study. Since the study was about the tribe, their history and their future, it followed and seemed proper to encourage council members, including headmen and women, to fully engage with the study and participate in it.

4.6.2.1. Questionnaires

The questionnaires were distributed to the council, some were left with the clerk of the tribal office and more were made available for 'lekgotla' meetings in the different villages. The researcher requested and gave contact information of village heads to arrange visits when required.

The questionnaires were returned every Monday at the tribal council meetings, with the researcher in attendance as an observer. The meetings were attended by village heads, some of whom were at an advanced age which meant that they required constant reminding and assistance in completing the questionnaires. Due to the slowness, misplacement, damage, and incomplete questionnaires, Mobenzi Researcher software was used to assist the process. Participants were able to complete the questions electronically.

4.6.2.2. Interviews

The interviews included telephonic and face-to-face interviews to mitigate against the challenge of distances, availability of participants and conducive settings and environments. The participants included young and old people from different villages. Participants were occasionally suddenly unavailable at the time set for interviews due to personal commitments, and unforeseen and unplanned obligations. The dates and times were set between the interviewer and participants to meet for the interview at locations and mainly at the homes of the participants in their respective villages. The interview questions were made available on request for participants who felt the need to better prepare themselves. The process was made in order to increase the possibility of participation and reduce any burden and stress placed on the participants.

During the interviews, the interviewer introduced and restated the aim of the study, reaffirming the confidentiality of the process and went through the consent form. The participants were asked permission to have the conversation recorded for the purpose of the study. The interviewer at this point reemphasised the confidentiality of the recording and the reasons for the conversation to be recorded. In the event that a participant did not wish to be recorded, a request was made to leave the questions there and have the participant answer the question in written form. A further request was made to take notes and the type of notes taken and the purpose thereof was explained.

4.6.2.3. Observations

Memos were constantly used in the study as the researcher observed and interacted with the BaKgatla in conversations, meetings and observations. Regular attendance of tribal council meetings and visitation to the village lekgotla' meetings added valuable insight into the life of the tribe, the processes, procedures, meetings, leadership, decision-making processes and thought patterns. The observation process accounts for the back and forth movement between 'data gathering and analysis' (Charmaz 2011:166).

4.7. Data Analysis

This section explains the procedure followed in the analysis of the data, presents the main categories and themes that emerged from the data, and offers a 'discursive' analysis and interpretation of the findings. The data sets used in the analysis were analysed, namely a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and observations. The approach to the data has employed both substantive and theoretical coding as the researcher worked with the 'data directly, fracturing and analysing it,' beginning with open coding to allow sampling and selective coding that allowed for 'constant comparison of incidents (indicators)', until no new properties emerged to allow for the production of a hypotheses or theory (Bryant & Charmaz 2011:2).

4.7.1. Procedures followed

4.7.1.1. Questionnaire

An exploratory perspective with an explanatory approach was employed in the analysis of the data collected through a questionnaire fed into Mobenzi Researcher data analysis software as and when the questionnaires were returned. The questionnaire was distributed through the tribal council and village *lekgotla* meetings

as well as electronically to reach as many BaKgatla people as possible. The explanatory approach was used instead of the confirmatory model as the latter is often linear and employs statistical summaries to confirm hypothesis. The exploratory approach was used to 'maximise what is learned from data', and required 'adherence to scepticism to measures that summarise data since they can sometimes conceal or even misrepresent what may be informative aspect of data' and openness to create room for 'unanticipated patterns' (Hartwig & Dearling 2011:2).

The statistical data summaries (graphs) from the analysis software were analysed visually and statistically individually, first, to understand what the individual graph says, and second, to look for relationships between the individual variables and to know more about the data.

4.7.1.2. Interviews

The interviews were conducted in Setswana to encourage participation and avoid misinterpretation and misunderstanding of words and phrases that meant that the researcher identified keywords and phrases for translation to allow coding. The interviews happened at different times allowing the researcher to reflect and edit the questions as theories emerged from the data. The researcher listened to the recorded interviews after each interview, identified and listened for patterns, keywords and phrases and generated codes, formulating categories while ensuring relevance to emerging theories before focusing on a particular problem (Bryant & Charmaz 2011:13).

4.7.2. Presentation of data

The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha tribe have found themselves in a situation where they cannot explicitly define who they are, what they are about and how they are to be and act. The people found themselves between two religions: one with their own

customs and beliefs that encompassed their being and Christianity that seemed to replace African religion and left widespread confusion and devastation. Leaving behind and denouncing their sense of being created a people confused and unsure of where and what is to happen and created a fertile ground for adopting anything that resembles stability and following anyone who sounds credible, especially when the name of God has been invoked.

4.8. Reliability and Credibility

To ensure and enhance credibility, validity and reliability of the data collected, triangulation methods for the study were imperative. Results from each methodology (the survey, literature and interviews) were compared to find similarities in order to establish validity. This has been done to ensure that the research findings accurately reflect the situation being investigated.

4.9. Ethical Considerations

The researcher required informed consent from the participants and engaged with all participants with honesty and respect. The informed consent forms (Appendix A) were distributed together with the questionnaires to the interviewees. Consent was also sought in the questionnaire for any participant to be considered for the interview, of which the participant had to respond affirmatively. In the survey questions and the electronic survey the first question also asked for consent in addition to the consent form. The data collected and provided by the participants has been kept confidential throughout the study and cannot be disclosed. Access to the raw data is limited to the researcher, the supervisor, the expert coder, and the dean of the department. Permission will be sought beforehand should the need arise for the data to be shared. The raw data remains the property of the department and will be destroyed should the participant choose to withdraw from the study.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

The data being analysed in this study was acquired through field observations, conversations, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The aim of the study is to investigate the relations, guilt or innocence, contribution, effect and impact that Christianity has had on the degeneration of customs and beliefs within the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha communities. The study aims to specifically address the role Christianity and its emissaries have had in the takeover of Africa (politically, economically, religiously and culturally). The study and the tools used have sought to answer the following primary and secondary research questions as set in the first chapter:

- To what extent has Christianity affected or added any value to the lives of the Bakgatla Ba Mosetlha as far as customs and religion are concerned?
- What role, if any, did Christianity, or the Protestant evangelists and settlers, have in the collapse of customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha?

The chapter presents the results of the data analysis and findings by using graphic representations.

5.2. Research Survey

5.2.1. Response rate

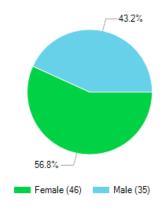
In the survey research, 300 questionnaires were distributed and 82 have been captured. The rate of response was very slow given the distance between villages and the time taken to complete the forms. The forms were returned in drips and drabs making the process of collecting one form at a time while travelling long

distances very challenging. The rate of response has resulted in some forms being left behind and awaiting pickup.

5.2.2. Demographic data

As shown in Figure 5.1, 56.8% of the respondents were female and 43.2% of the respondents were male. This reflects the communities in which the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha are located.

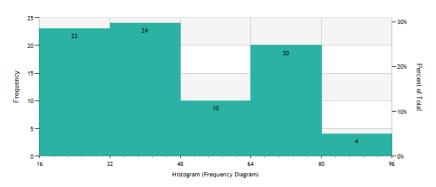
Figure 5.1: Gender



This is a reflection of society today even beyond the BaKgatla peoples as there are more women in most communities than there are men. When one looks at the age of the participants as represented in Figure 5.2 below, it becomes clear that a bigger number of participants were between the ages of 16 and 47. The group also represents a large number of people who were eager to learn and participate more in the study. There was keen interest in this group to be part of conversational sessions.

The group is followed closely by those participants who were between the ages of 65 to 80 that were keen to participate in the study. The respondents between the ages of 48 and 64 made up the minority mainly because they were either 'unavailable', 'busy', or did 'not see the point' of the answering the questionnaire. Alternatively, they did not return the questionnaire forms.

Figure 5.2: Age

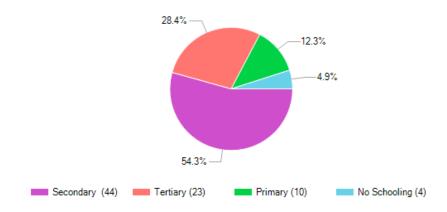


There were four elderly persons over the age of 80 who were excited and keen to share more on their customs and have requested that the researcher consider a book to record the fading customs and beliefs of the tribe.

The tribe has always advocated for education and has encouraged all children in all communities to be in school, to a point where they have had designated persons to attend to families with children who refused to attend class or bunked school. Most people attended school and the bigger portion of society finished Grade 12 (then Standard 10). About 54.3% of participants attended secondary school of which 28.4% have a tertiary qualification (these groups represent the ages of 16 to 64). The 12.4% and 4.9% represent the elderly (those above 65 years of age).

The group reflects the past where difficulties and challenges of the apartheid years called for many to seek employment. Education was not easily accessible and available during the apartheid years, particularly for those in rural areas and those who laboured on farms and in mines. Some of the factors included forced removals and relocations.

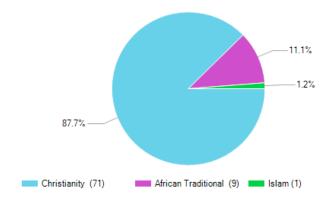
Figure 5.3: Education



5.2.3. Religion

The chart below depicts Christianity as the major chosen and accepted religion for the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, having denounced, discounted, invalidated and relegated African traditional religion. However, when one considers the patterns in the data, the exploratory data analysis, one begins to notice that the 'more one knows about the data, the effective data can be used to develop, test and refine theory' (Hartwig & Dearling 2011).

Figure 5.4: Religion

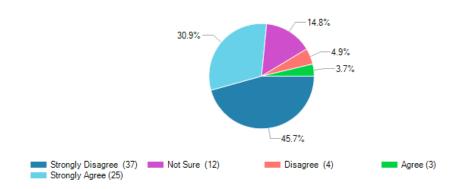


Upon closer look at all of the data, the picture changes to religious pluralism, where Christianity and African traditional religion are components intertwined and practised with the same devotion.

The reason for the obvious choice of Christianity can be ascribed to the fact that Christianity is seen as the replacement religion, the new religion, the religion of the day, and the most canvassed religion that many have been born into. Christianity is associated with civilisation, development, education and enlightenment. To justify the argument of religious pluralism, the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha have not deviated from the customs and practices of the BaTswana people. The belief in ancestors, traditional healing and customs is only discounted or impeded by a lack of information on the customs and beliefs, bogus healers and moral decay within the tribal leadership and communities that make up the tribe.

The notion of religious dualism is also supported by responses to the questions of 'Christianity as a replacement of other religions' and 'Christianity is not above African religions'. The responses in a sense cancel out Christianity as the 'choice' religion. Out of the respondents, 33.3% and 66.7% of the people believe that Christianity is one of the world religions and not a replacement for African religion. The 33.3% of the participants may also account for those who believe or have been taught that BaTswana customs and beliefs are against God, and are evil and obsolete. As a spiritual people, it is not an option for them to go against God. For the question about whether Christianity is not above African religions, 45.7% of the respondents disagreed with the question and believe that Christianity is above African religions even if it is one of the world religions. Only 30.9% of respondents said that Christianity is not above African religions while 14.8% were not sure of the truth of the matter. Figure 5.5 below demonstrates the uncertainty in the minds of the BaKgatla in response to this question. This reinforces the notion that Christianity has been seen as the true religion, and explains the attitude and response of some African chiefs and Sechele, the chief of the Bakwena, who according to Livingstone (199AD), offered to convert the people through litupa (whips of rhinoceros-hide) and often said: 'Oh, I wish you had come to this country before I became entangled in the meshes of our customs!.' This seeks to explain the inconsistencies in the responses to the questions about religion.

Figure 5.5: Christianity is not above African Religions



When confronted with a biblical question about the creation story of Adam and Eve in Genesis 2 (whether the story is a myth or fact), 46.9% of the participants strongly disagreed that the story is a myth, 13.6% of the participants were not sure while 27.2% of the respondents maintained that the story is a myth. The people were split between seeing Genesis 1 and 2 as stories of creation while 15% pointed to the BaTswana creation myth.

5.2.4. Customs and beliefs

The majority of the people believe and still follow and passionately practise the SeTswana customs and beliefs. The customs and beliefs seem to be infused into their DNA, as the acceptance and reception of Christianity have not translated into taking a new shape or adopting a different way of life. It is important though to note that some of the respondents understood customs to mean daily routines and way of life, including drinking traditional beer to attending weddings and funerals. The following questions were posed to participants:

- Do you believe in the ancestors?
- Do you believe in traditional healing?
- Do you believe in the authority of the chief and tribal council?
- Can illness or misfortune arise from the displeasure of the *badimo* (ancestors)?
- Are seers, healers and diviners relevant today?

The responses indicate that the BaKgatla people have always treasured their customs and beliefs, reinforcing the concept of religious pluralism. They overwhelmingly responded affirmatively to the questions on the use and practice of customs and beliefs. When asked about their belief in the ancestors, 74.1% of the participants said that they believed in the ancestors. What is up for debate is the understanding of the ancestors' role as it relates to the Christian religion. Out of the respondents, 60.5% said that they believe in traditional healing and often use the services of healers, even when they are devoted Christians and born again. An element of fear hangs in the air for the people as there is the nagging understanding of the presence of the spiritual world that is intimately involved in and connected to the lives of the living hence the need for the rituals, intermediaries and a real recognition of the presence of evil in the world.

Participants were asked about their use of healers, medicines and rituals. The responses highlighted the state of affairs in the lives of the BaKgatla. Often it was only a single individual within a household who chose to abstain from healers, medicines and rituals because of the new found faith. There was an even split between those respondents who religiously followed the prosperity gospel or the new phenomenon of charismatic ministries. The use of and participation in healing and prosperity ministries saw two extreme responses: those who are involved are utterly immersed within it and those who do not use it almost despise this ministry. There is no middle ground. The table below illustrates the level and extent of use of the customs and beliefs by the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. For instance, only 32% of the people do not believe that *boloi* (sorcery), *sejeso*, *sebeela* and *go neela* can be cured

without *ngaka* (healer). When asked whether *go rola* (*tlhobola*) *thapo*, *go tlhatswa sesila* (cleansing) is against God, 69% disagreed with the assertion, which means that rituals are not viewed as against God.

Table 5.1: Use of customs and beliefs

	Never	Occasionally	Often	Very often
Healers, seers, diviners	53%	24%		24%
Medicines, herbs	41%	31%	3%	26%
Rituals, veneration	31%	32%	12%	25%
Attend rituals	33%	31%		36%

The role of the chief and the tribal council (considered by the people as the custodians of the customs and beliefs) is as important as the customs for the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha as illustrated by their response to the questions about the authority of the chief and of the council, the use and practice of the customs and beliefs as well as the significance of the customs for the people. Out of the respondents, 76.5% and 77.8% believed in the authority of the chief and council respectively with 23.5% and 22.2% responding in the negative. Those participants who believe in the prosperity gospel mostly responded negatively and have also rejected the African religion, which is intriguing. Most of the respondents (79%) said that the authority of the chief must be restored while the difference is split between those who assert that it should not and those who believe that the chieftain is irrelevant for life today. Many of the BaKgatla respondents claimed to know and practise the customs and beliefs of the BaTswana, with 64.4% claiming to know the customs and 75.3% saying that they believe and practise the customs, although 37% of the respondents said that information about the customs and beliefs is not

available. The respondents hold the view and maintain that it is still the responsibility of the tribe to raise its own children.

The role and place of the ancestors remain a mystery for the tribe with many requesting more teaching and literature on the subject and customs generally. When asked whether ancestors are intermediaries between God and the living, 42% of respondents strongly agreed, 11.1% agreed while 35.8% of respondents strongly disagreed and 11.1% disagreed with the question. When considering this information one must remember that the respondents who believe in prosperity and charismatic ministries completely reject and denounce the traditional religion to the point of it being labelled as devil worship. Even in this polarised environment, 61.7% of the participants said that they believe that illness or misfortune can arise from the displeasure of the *badimo* (ancestors). This often limits the options for the people to even entertain the thought of seeking to know God for themselves.

5.3. Observations

The researcher attended tribal council and village *lekgotla* meetings to observe the proceedings of the gatherings as conversations around the administration of the affairs of the people happened. The researcher also attended these meetings to introduce and define the purpose of the study and distribute the questionnaire, and make arrangements for village visits and interviews. There was a glaring concern in the forums of unrefined leadership and a lack of capacity building. Some of the meetings and deliberations were often disorganised and there was a vacuum of leadership. Those in positions of responsibility did their best given their circumstances. People were often thrust into the fore to lead at times because they were the youngest or could read and write in English. The meetings were often conversations headed in whichever direction the attendees took them and no form or rules of debate were employed. These observations illustrate the challenges facing traditional leadership and their communities and their efforts to keep their communities and customs in the face of 'free' will and life beyond moral intelligence.

This misdirection and disorganisation are as a result of the collapse or move from the systems that defined and directed the life of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha to a 'civilisation' that is not clearly defined. The BaKgatla had tribal systems and a social structure (royal school, initiation schools for male and female, dikgoro) that directed their daily life and affairs. First, the Tswana family systems and lineage provided for the sanctity of family life. Parents and children knew and understood their roles and responsibilities. Second, dikgoro guaranteed a voice for all peoples within the BaKgatla communities and provided a structure for the tribe. A *kgoro* made sure that all knew and understood where they stood as far as protocols were concerned, through lekgotla engagements. Lastly, initiation schools and the royal school for the chief's sons instilled pride in the young about their identity and image. The royal school served to prepare those earmarked for leadership and especially chieftainship where they were taught and taken through laws and customs of the BaTswana, and were taught how to administer the tribal affairs, including the dikgoro, court systems and lekgotla meetings. Young chiefs were taught about the customs that included the rituals that the Tswana embraced from generations past. The royal and initiation schools for the tribe are no longer operational, which in a way has produced devastation for the tribe.

The 'collapse' has meant that the people have to wade in and practically create footpaths as they go along. The leadership of the tribe is not based on talent, skill, capacity and consensus, which means that people are often thrust into positions of responsibility with the hope that they will transform into mature and responsible leaders. Moreover, there are those who demand or push their way into these positions because of the guaranteed better life and power that accompanies such positions. In a sense the tribe somewhat expects to operate as optimally as past generations did with the collapsed systems. Life has become more complex and the systems have never adapted or improved to deal with new and unique challenges such as municipalities or the arrival of non-BaKgatla people and information settlements which ideally for the BaKgatla would have meant that all such peoples,

including the municipality, would have required the authority of the tribe to settle and operate in and on the BaKgatla territories.

The following observations were made throughout the study:

- The tribe has lost control over foreign or outsider residents within its villages.
- *Dikgoro* has lost its shape and *kgoro* leaders have lost control over their people
- The *morafe* have a muddied view of governance and structure.
- The chief is vulnerable and susceptible to attack and influence and has no strong counsel around him.
- There are unclear and undefined policies, roles and authority, and the 'wrong' people are in critical positions.
- There is a lack of informed leadership, management and implementation of policies and decisions.
- Meetings are directionless with no clear purpose. Agenda items are repetitive, discussions and conversations are unmanaged and lead nowhere.
- There is a pool of wise men and women, but it is disjointed and uncoordinated.
- The emergence and introduction of municipal and local government has complicated and clouded an already murky environment.

These observations raise a lot of questions about the tribe, the importance and need of their customs and beliefs and whether they still know, understand and practise the customs and beliefs. The role of the chief and the tribal council and its structures also comes to the fore: is the chief and headmen still in a position of authority? The researcher visited several villages and noted that the people in authority have been left to find their way as they lead their people and convene crisis, change and decision-making meetings out of their limited skills, resources and information. However, some of the meetings were seriously concerned about the disappearing culture, customs and long held beliefs of the tribe, but the people were desperate for leadership and direction.

5.4. Interviews

Semi-structured questions were used for the interviews. The interviews were mainly directed at the tribal leadership and filtered down to the general population of the tribe. The response and eagerness of the respondents to participate was beyond measure, but the challenge was the arrangement and time management of such interviews. 'African time' and village life always took precedence over personal time for interviews. People would confirm availability and the researcher would travel for interview meetings only to find the participant cooking at a funeral in the village or absent or unavailable because of community or family engagements. The setting would often be at the participant's family home under a tree with interruptions. At times villagers joined the interview which led to conversations often taking different turns and levels.

The interview questions included the following:

- Who are their BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, and where do they come from?
- What do you know about the arrival of Christianity to Africa, Southern Africa and to the BaTswana people?
- What do you think of community versus the concept of the 'autonomous person'?
- What knowledge do you have of the BaTswana customs and beliefs?
- What do you know about traditional healing and medicines?
- What do you think about religious pluralism?
- Has colonialism, slavery and Christianity affected life in Africa, the customs and beliefs of the people?

5.4.1. Participants' backgrounds

The participants were members of the tribe resident within the villages that make up the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. They showed an interest and willingness to contribute meaningfully to the research and had some knowledge about Tswana customs and beliefs. Participants consisted of community and village elders, or headmen or women. Some of the participants appeared to be knowledgeable and could be said to have authority to represent the views of the tribe.

5.4.2. Impression of the interviews

The interviews produced a positive impression. The participants responded positively with vigour, passion and showed insight into the BaTswana culture and life. The eagerness to participate, learn and contribute was beyond measure. Although the interviews happened in natural environments like in participant's homes, villages and telephonically, the excitement was palpable. The interviews sparked a new wave of pride for the people who registered an overwhelming interest in a conversation and knowledge about the Tswana customs and beliefs. The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha people are proud of their identity and culture, customs and beliefs.

The responses of the participants were almost always similar and they expressed the same concerns and dreams. For that reason this study deals with the responses and findings collectively.

5.4.3. The interviews

All the participants expressed an interest to further engage on the subject of Tswana customs and beliefs and have shown a need for information to be able to fully learn about who they are and further inform and educate their own people in their respective villages. Several questions were canvassed with the participants. When asked about the authority of the chief and the tribal council, the participants

affirmed that the authority of the chief and tribal council is very important and respondents almost insisted that the authority be fully restored and respected by the South African government. Most of the participants' felt that the chief should be allowed to operate fully as intended and a clear line should be drawn between traditional authority and government.

Many of the respondents did not have a good idea of the real or true identity of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha and from where they originate. Many of the interviewees spoke of the places from which they or past generations relocated. The BaTswana history is scarcely available and much of the information can only be found within the special collection sections within the libraries, which sums up the challenge facing the tribe. There is interest and willingness to learn and know about anything BaTswana but the obstacles are currently difficult to overcome for the people.

On the question of customs, the responses painted a different picture about the people and their knowledge of what their customs and beliefs are. The understanding of what constitutes customs and beliefs differed from one person to another. One participant explained the Tswana customs as still speaking the Tswana language to attending community gatherings such as weddings. The understanding and knowledge of the Tswana customs and beliefs was rather vague or hazy for many, and this can be attributed to some people's reluctance to participate in these customs in an effort to avoid being seen as having limited or a lack of knowledge about their tribe, its customs and beliefs.

The lack of knowledge has created a sense of uncertainty for many of the respondents and most especially for the leadership when they have to make decisions. There is constant speculation of what should be discussed in critical meetings and conversations but none can speak with outright conviction and authority on what the Tswana customs and beliefs are. Leading for many of the headmen or women becomes a challenge. Many if not most of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha have very little understanding of their customs and beliefs, and they are

hanging on to what they heard and the little they learned from past generations. This can be explained in two ways. First, there is a lack of literature on the subject and informed leadership. Second, there is a lot of yearning and eagerness to participate in engagements about the customs and beliefs. The people's, and more importantly the chief's, invitation to lead conversations and provide resources gives hope and is a course for celebration for the tribe as this means that all is not lost.

The conversation around traditional healers and medicines highlighted the longing and yearning of the people to remain true to who they are. The participants affirmed the need and use of traditional healers and medicines with 85% of them stating that they still use traditional healers and medicines. However, due to the emergence of 'false' healers and medicines many have discontinued this service but still believe in and use traditional medicine. A knowledge of herbs and medicines is considered wealth for the life of the people and there is an urgent need and priority to collect and document the information for future generations and to guarantee the future of the tribe.

Attendance and participation in ritual ceremonies is closely guarded and a secretive affair. This is due to the stigma that is often attached to rituals and misunderstandings can easily emerge to a point of association to witchcraft, Satanism and all evil and the dark world associated with the Antichrist. Some of the participants disclosed that they frequently attended and participated in rituals. Of those who said that they did not attend and participate in these rituals, one respondent immediately noted and understood that many people do not really know what constitutes rituals as many members of the tribe participate frequently in rituals such as cleansing after a death within a household and slaughtering of livestock during funerals and other community activities.

Christianity, creation and colonialism were also discussed and the participants could not separate Christianity from missionaries, settlers and the accompanying culture. As a spiritual people, they did not question or go against anything that could lead to an offense against God, including questioning anything purported to be God's word. Christianity, the missionaries, the settlers and the accompanying culture were a package and was seen and accepted as such by many. This in a sense explains the Bakwena Chief Sechele's alleged utterances to Livingstone (199AD) that 'Oh, I wish you had come to this country before I became entangled in the meshes of our customs!' This can also account for the responses, reception and demeanour regarding Christianity, missionaries, settlers and the accompanying culture of many of the chiefs and community leaders across the continent.

The participants responded to the creation story with visible and outright uncertainty and were quick to admit that they were not sure which of the creation stories (from Biblical to African religions) was true. There was speculation and guessing even when discussing the Biblical versions of the creation narrative. The assertion is that the Bible says so, and therefore it has to be true. The biggest challenge for the participants was choosing between the Genesis 1 or Genesis 2 narratives to represent the true story of creation. To further complicate the picture, outright confusion became apparent when Adam and Eve's story was brought in. There is a serious lack of knowledge and understanding about the Bible, Christianity and the role and place of God in the world. The respondents have been left to their own understanding of the Bible, Christianity and God.

Religious pluralism is often an automatic response and way of life for the BaKgatla people. Many are devout Christians but happily observe and practise their traditional beliefs and customs. The people seem to have unconsciously assimilated Christianity into the traditional religion where God and ancestors are present and important for life. The acceptance of ancestors by many Christians was evident, as many of the respondents reverted to ancestors, rituals, traditional healing and medicines when they faced challenges. There is religious coexistence of Christianity and African religion, albeit unconsciously highlighting the challenge of limited information. Some of the African Independent Churches have incorporated *bongaka*

in the systems and life. One particular church is mostly dominated by *dingaka* in their leadership and most of the operations are led by *bongaka*.

The role and impact that Christianity has had on the customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla people is clearly visible in that many of them assume or believe that Christianity has come to or meant to replace the African religion, the traditional religion and the customs and beliefs long held by generations. However, the replacement model is unclear in the minds of the people and is often left to speculation and guessing for individual members of the tribe. What is apparent is the fact that God is not the preserve of any religion; God has always been and is for all. For one of the participants Christianity changed into a messy business where deception and greed was often the motivation for the emergence of the booming charismatic movements. The battles for positions and power have taken a centre role in the life of many churches including the mainline churches. This has greatly influenced and altered the way of life for the BaKgatla people.

One of the participants said that 'humanity is gone, customs went with the old, and Christianity has changed' when concluding the interview. The assertion represents the confusion about and desperate need for leadership and informational meetings and conversations.

The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha have a good chance of turning their situation around as there is willingness to learn and engage. They have expressed the importance and need for their customs and beliefs. The observance has never ceased although with limited and fragmented information.

5.5. Case Studies

5.5.1. *Ngaka

5.5.1.1. Participant's background

One of the interviews of this study was *Ngaka, who is a traditional healer from Botswana and comes from a generation and lineage of healers. For the purpose of the study, the traditional healer is referred to as *Ngaka as his name cannot be revealed. Ngaka is knowledgeable about the BaTswana people, their customs, beliefs, taboos, healing and medicines. He is a church leader in an African Independent Church and strongly believes in God and the ancestors.

5.5.1.2. Goals for the interview

The researcher approached the interview with specific aims or goals in mind. First, the aim was to get the perspective of a traditional healer on the relevance and importance of customs and beliefs and second, the aim was to get his understanding of the trade *bongaka* and its significance and role in a tribe. The interview was also aimed at getting a view on Christianity and the church as it relates African religion.

5.5.1.3. Impression of the interview

The impression of the interview was positive and the response and contribution were above expectation. Ngaka eloquently explained the SeTswana customs, healing and the role of Christianity. He was very knowledgeable and in touch with reality. The participant was eager not only to share but also to contribute in order to impact the lives of the people for the good. Ngaka offered to visit the tribe to impart his knowledge with the people so they can better understand who they are and where they come from in order to better know and decide about their future.

5.5.1.4. The interview

The interview began with a discussion about the challenges and risks facing people who openly talk about traditional healing and beliefs. Ngaka explained that:

The consultation of traditional healers is a private and personal affair; it is a family secret. The argument is that lest you expose yourself to dark forces and enemies. The apprehension to talk and disclose consultation and use of traditional healers and medicines is well grounded, as witchcraft is real for many.

As Ngaka pointed out, many people do not want to believe that witchcraft is real but they do not want to die. The conversation was centred on the importance of customs, traditional healers, ancestors, medicines and beliefs and taboos. The conversation was also focused on the role Christianity plays in the life of the BaTswana people. The use of both religions by the BaTswana could not be ignored as it became apparent that pluralism is real for the BaTswana.

On Christianity and the church, Ngaka felt that Christianity has greatly affected and impacted the traditional customs and beliefs of the BaTswana people. The African religion has as best as is possible incorporated and assimilated Christianity to allow life to continue as some aspects of this religion could not be left behind. The challenge for the African has been to deal with Christianity that almost always changes or evolves rapidly and Ngaka believes that Christianity in its current form is diluted; it is not what it was some time ago. In a sense the participant struggled with the rapid change while the Bible, which the religion is based on, has not changed, meaning that today's Christianity is not real.

He noted that the booming charismatic movement often advocates for the abandonment and demonising of traditional customs and beliefs. He explained that 'salvation' comes when one is born and is not what the charismatic leader says. 'Salvation' according to Ngaka is given at childbirth, when God allows people in the world to be free. According to Ngaka's discourse, the eruption of the charismatic movements is as a result of rigidity, legislation, schisms and systemic formations of the mainline churches. For instance, at childbirth, a wooden pillar was placed across the door to signify birth and that served to warn visitors to the homestead that there

was a child who was not ready to meet the outside world. It also served to protect the child and its mother from any interference like people in mourning or any other that could compromise the health of the child and its mother.

On the question of customs and beliefs, Ngaka noted that 'we [the BaTswana] have lost our value' as the identity of the BaTswana lies in their customs and beliefs. Ngaka said that a MoTswana without customs is like fish out of water as the loss means that they have no past, no history, no reference and therefore no identity and cannot possibly know where they are headed. The rituals like those concerning dead people's clothes, births, spouses and mourning were there for a reason. Now he notes that people lose their spouses and days later they are back in their daily routine without cleansing, which can often explain some of the illnesses within communities today.

The role of ancestors featured greatly in the conversation about traditional healing. Ngaka noted that ancestors are vital for the life of each MoTswana and are active in all aspects of life. He asserted that all life including ancestors are inter-related and work together for the good of all. *Bongaka* and *badimo* relate very closely and are very important for BaTswana. Ngaka has a critical role in the life of the tribe, and among the roles of the *ngaka*, they teach, guide, heal and promote the customs.

The respondent mentioned that *ngaka* is called and *bongaka* is sacred. It is a foreign phenomenon to see traditional doctors advertising their trade. Authentic doctors are found through word of mouth and never set a price but take a cow which in monetary terms could be any amount. The royal house had traditional doctors for the tribe who participated along the chief during rituals like rainmaking and the cleansing of villages.

Ngaka mentioned an important fact to note about the role of traditional doctors, and that is that they never caused rifts but worked towards the harmony of body, soul and community. A true *ngaka* can never cause conflict or disharmony, and/or harm a person.

The interview was successful and helped the study to achieve the set goals. The interview provided invaluable insight into customs and beliefs, traditional healing and medicines. *Bongaka* appears to be an important component of the life of BaTswana and the African religion.

5.5.2. *Modisaotsile

The participant requested to respond to the interview questions in writing, which is in sync with his character and person. It was an opportunity to have his thoughts as he is a person with interest in debates and conversations about society.

5.5.2.1. Participant's background

*Modisaotsile (not his real name) is a member of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha tribe resident in Makapanstad. He is a member of the Rastafarian society with sharp views on the tribal affairs, the government and the church. Modisaotsile belongs to the royal *kgoro* (ward) and is a vocal character who seems ostracised and almost appears to be the black sheep of the family. He, however, appears to have some grounding and insight into the matters related to society, including politics.

5.5.2.2. Impression of the interview

The interview was very insightful, thought-provoking and necessary. The participant confidently wrote what he believes to be fact. A verbatim transcript of his answers to the questions is available, which is very helpful. The responses and the outcome are pleasing for this study.

5.5.2.3. The interview

Looking at the interview, one gets the sense of the expanse of ideas, views and insights out in the tribe about God, customs, culture, society and life. The interview showed how much there is to know about the BaKgatla people and the customs.

Modisaotsile said that the BaKgatla have been gravely affected by the missionaries, the settlers and the accompanying culture. He believes that Africans have been disadvantaged and have subsequently lost everything: their identity and land. He still believes that the customs are important for the tribe. For him Christianity has taken a lot from the continent, relegating the people to second-class citizenry.

5.6. Conclusion

The findings point to one main thought when one looks at all the data. Syncretism or hybridism comes out head over shoulders in many respects. The people have managed to amalgamate the two religions and even those who claim allegiance to Christianity have often in times of trouble reverted back to African religion, some through consulting mediums or traditional doctors often in the dark of night. This would include even the clergy and revered pastors, who are often accused of using magic or medicines on the people. The people have noticed the need and importance of both religions for their lives; they both have their use. The two religions, Christianity and African religion, are vital for the life of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha tribe. The emphasis by the people on education and the rediscovery of their customs and beliefs while they are committed members of their denominations and Christian faith groups speaks volumes of the significance of these religions for them.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Summary

6.1.1. Purpose

The study has sought to answer questions and address certain assumptions relating to the way of life of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha and to African Traditional Religions. The Scramble for Africa by the European nations and the arrival of Christianity in Africa have given rise to questions about the motive of these nations and the role Christianity has played in the subsequent collapse of the traditional customs and beliefs of the African communities, specifically the BaKgatla, a section of the BaTswana. These has led to a loss of identity as a result of this replacement religion. As Lugira (2009) notes, Christianity was brought to a continent believed to have no true religion with far reaching consequences. Every religion often prescribes in some sense how the believer ought to behave (Cox 2010). Accepting Christianity as the dominant or true religion meant acceptance also of the accompanying culture. To fully belong to the new religion or accept the new life meant denouncing the old and all its accompanying culture, customs and beliefs. The study has sought to determine whether Christianity is in any way responsible for the collapse of customs and beliefs within the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, and has looked at the effect and level of the absence of the customs and the relevance and need of African religion today.

The collapse of the traditional religion of the BaTswana, specifically the customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla people, due to the arrival of the new religion, which was said to be the true religion, heralded devastation for a people who had to denounce, turn away from and repent in order to embrace the new religion. The BaKgatla found themselves in an unknown territory with no reference point desperately seeking leadership and direction to a new life, which could only come from the missionaries who were the messengers of God. The people swallowed and accepted everything that was brought by these heralds who represented God. The acceptance included

the accompanying culture. The introduction of the settlers and traders in instances by the missionaries meant that the settlers and traders became part of the package.

The study has attempted to answer the following questions:

- To what extent has Christianity affected or added any value to the lives of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha as far as customs and religion are concerned?
- What role, if any, did Christianity have in the collapse of customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha?

It can be said from the literature reviewed that the missionaries were sometimes used as vessels in the softening of the people to accept the authority, power and the culture accompanying the settlers and traders.

6.1.2. Literature review

6.1.2.1. African traditional religions

The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha had a system of beliefs before the arrival of the missionaries, the settlers and traders, and the Western civilisation and accompanying culture. They knew of God the supernatural being who is the power behind all life and the creator of all. African religions knew and believed in the interconnectedness of all life working together for the good of all life. The traditional concept of God for the African is of God with no gender, which meant no children. God is not a being but an invisible power in Africa, whereas ancestor spirits continue to exist near their descendants, appearing to the living in dreams as regular people who eat, drink, smoke and argue. That is why, in many African communities, personal belongings such as blankets and cooking utensils are buried in graves alongside deceased relatives who will continue to need their practical tools and comforts after death (Holland 2001).

African religions were not considered 'true' religions until they were recently included in the list of world religions. This has meant that from the arrival of the missionaries, settlers and traders, Western civilisation and culture to the 19th century, the religion has suffered tremendously and the people immeasurably. The fact that Christians accepted and used the term 'kaffirs' (meaning unbelievers that was previously used by the followers of Islam) and ultimately referred to a region as Kaffraria is evidence of the worldview and position taken by Christianity and the terrain facing the African. Christianity was in the eyes of the missionaries, settlers and traders and the West the true religion that was to replace all other religions.

African traditional religion believes in a structured system of community where protocol is paramount and that is where the ancestors and intermediaries feature within the life of the African people. The social groupings of the BaTswana people illustrate the importance of protocols within the life of the community. Ancestors become critical for the existence and harmony of the tribe. There is order and purpose to all life and customs and beliefs of the people. Conscious of the reality of the afterlife and the spiritual world, harmony is paramount for the tribe and disturbance or imbalance can have catastrophic consequences in the form of illness, bad luck or even death within the tribe, family or household. There is a fine line between the physical and spiritual worlds.

6.1.2.2. Christianity

Unlike for the African traditional religion that has no founder, Christianity was founded by Jesus Christ and thereby Christians confess Jesus Christ to be the sole mediator between God and humanity. The confession implies and rejects the claim that a saving knowledge of God may be found in non-Christian religions. The Lukan text says that 'there is no salvation through anyone else, nor is there any other name under heaven given to the human race by which we are saved' (Acts 4:12). Christianity has become a religion to replace all others in order to lead everyone to the light. There was no consideration or even a small possibility for any other

religion to have reason or credibility for existence. This informed the missions to Africa and informed the attitude with which to approach or consider African religions.

The settlers, traders, and the Western culture also accompanied Christianity and made it impossible for the African to distinguish between the religion and culture. The missionaries represented not only the Christian religion but also their constituencies and respective countries. This became evident in the responses and behaviour of some missionaries who advocated for the interests of their home countries, to an extent of land grabs, relocations of the people, establishments of governments over the people, and use of the military as a means to advance colonial interests. Gray (1990) notes that Christianity made its rapid advances precisely because the missionaries were closely linked with the whole apparatus of colonial rule.

The missionary societies originated from and were often funded by respective countries, which almost insinuates bias on the part of the missionaries. Uka (1989) asserts that the missionaries were part of a larger programme of European colonisation as they were silent on issues such as imperialism, colonial abuse and misuse of Africans in their own land. The BaTswana peoples welcomed the missionaries and settlers, as they were almost a package deal. They welcomed the missionaries because they came in the name of God and they understood that the missionaries would be teaching them about this God that they had traditionally known as the only one God and the supreme being for the entire humankind. The failure to seek to understand the African religion meant that Africa had no recognised religions. The missionaries, with no consideration of a possibility of an existent religion, had a task before them of introducing and teaching the people about God; all that existed was superstition, paganism and even barbarism. Christianity as a religion has no room for religious pluralism. MoTswana had to denounce and leave behind all they knew for the new religion.

6.1.3. Methodology

The study used the mixed method approach to the problem under investigation. In the quantitative approach members of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha who are still resident within the villages making up the tribe were given a survey questionnaire. The questionnaires were disseminated through the tribal council and the village territorial meetings for adequate representation. The questionnaires were analysed using Mobenzi research software. The qualitative research employed the grounded method involving structured interviews, observations, the use of informants and case studies in its approach. This approach meant that the researcher was present in the tribal council and village *lekgotla* meetings as an observer and to conduct the interviews.

6.1.4. Findings

The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha are a people proud of who they are despite the fact that many do not really know their customs and beliefs that well. They believe that the Tswana customs and beliefs are important for their lives. They showed keenness and eagerness in learning about and practising their customs and beliefs. The need for education on SeTswana customs came out as very important in all the data collected, citing the lack of education as the chief reason many follow and fall for anything on offer. The use of customs and beliefs has suffered immensely over time due to a lack of information, no documentation of traditional customs and beliefs and no safe keeping of records and information. A reliance on oral tradition in the face of civilisation has greatly impacted the keeping and protection of their sacred customs and beliefs. The people have emphasised the need to retrace and rediscover their identity, customs and beliefs as they are beginning to realise and recognise their significance. One area of concern for the tribe is the total disregard of certain rituals such as cleansing ceremonies after deaths by those who consider Tswana customs

and beliefs as devil worship. The customs and beliefs are a significant part of life for the BaKgatla people and therefore very important and necessary for the tribe.

Christianity has played some part in and had a profound effect on the collapse of the customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. Through the mainstream churches Christianity has advocated for a life prescribed by the religion and required a life free of African customs and beliefs. Charismatic movements who view customs and beliefs as demon-possessed and ungodly have aggressively advocated for the discarding of African customs and beliefs. The rapid rise of the charismatic movements means decimation of what's left of the customs of the BaKgatla people, calling for education and the restructuring of systems if the customs will survive and have a place in society. For these members of the charismatic movement, where the movement is or whether it follows personalities is of little concern. When one prophet, pastor, or apostle falters they quickly follow the next popular character or personality at a huge cost. No scandal or controversy seems to deter or slow the rush. This became evident when the chief and the council requested the researcher to provide recommendations to the tribe. The African Independent Churches have somehow managed to assimilate customs into their services to a point where some use traditional healers and medicine. Christianity is as with customs and beliefs very important and necessary for life for the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha. Both religions serve the same purpose and they point to God as the supreme being who is responsible for all life.

The two religions, Christianity and African religion, have an important role within the life of the tribe and add value to the BaKgatla people. The people have managed to amalgamate the two religions and make them relevant for their life and existence. The use of customs, participation in traditional and Christian rituals, veneration of ancestors and consultation of intermediaries testifies to syncretism as a response to the challenge of dealing with the two religions rather than having to choose between the two religions.

6.2. Conclusions

The study and the findings have brought the following conclusions:

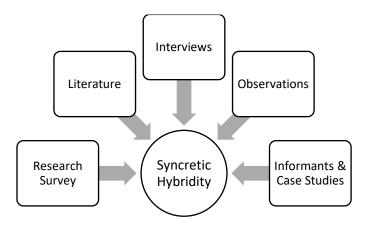
- Different religions continue to compete for the position of a 'true' religion and therefore assume or take an oppositional posture while professing to be the 'chosen' religion, perpetuating religious exceptionalism.
- The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha's life includes the use of both Christianity and African religion as they both add value to life. Syncretism and hybridity are automatic and happen unconsciously for the people. It is a response to life and the challenges accompanying everyday life.
- The lack of education and literature, the reliance on oral tradition and modernism is responsible for the loss and systems collapse of the customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha.
- Christianity is responsible for the collapse of customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha tribe.
- The charismatic movements continue to vilify African religions, particularly the customs and beliefs of the African people.
- The discontinuation of age-sets and the royal school for sons of chiefs leaves a vacuum that remains vacant and undefined.
- The local government, the municipality to be precise, continuously undermines the authority of the chiefs and their tribes.
- Traditional customs and beliefs define the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha, their past, present and future and cannot be separated from the people as the customs and beliefs form part of and account for their identity.
- Traditional customs and beliefs, the chief, headmen and women, the governing structures as well as the social groupings and social life are vital for the BaKgatla people.
- Land remains the cornerstone for the health of tribes, communities and people.

6.3. Discussion

The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha tribe have found themselves in a situation where they cannot explicitly define who they are, what they are about and who and what they are to be and do. The people have found themselves between two religions: one their own with customs and beliefs that encompass their being and Christianity that seems to replace African religion, leaving widespread confusion and devastation. Leaving behind and denouncing their sense of being has created a people who are confused and unsure of where and what is to happen. This creates a fertile ground for adopting anything that resembles stability and following anyone who sounds credible especially when the name of God is invoked.

In the process of responding to the research question 'to what extent has Christianity affected or added any value to the lives of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha as far as customs are concerned' and to find out 'whether Christianity has had a role in the collapse of customs and beliefs of the BaKgatla people', the following information as shown in Figure 6.1 has emerged.

Figure 6.1: Syncretic Hybridity



The dictionary defines syncretism as an amalgamation or attempted amalgamation of different religions, cultures, or schools of thought, or the merging of different inflectional varieties of a word during the development of a language. The

dictionary defines hybrid as an offspring of two plants or animals of different species or a thing made by combining two different elements (a mixture). The BaKgatla people have 'unconsciously' amalgamated African religion with Christianity to develop a system possible for their existence. They have not completely abandoned the African religion as is often thought. The religion is well alive. The introduction and administration of Christianity has affected the way African religion has had to receive, consume and apply the new religion. Christianity came with an oppositional worldview, and as the replacement religion, has advocated for the denouncing of customs, beliefs and practices for one to be part of the chosen, pointing the world to the light.

Syncretism and hybridity have invited criticism and objection as concepts to be used to define the situations as presented by African and Christian religions and have been tolerated for lack of better concepts to define the relationship. Syncretism is seen 'to imply inauthenticity or contamination' while hybridity in religious discourse as 'the postcolonial concept of hybridity is adopted as a strategic and less-biased measurement to address the confluence of progressive religious ideas and practices towards the formation of a new or transformed religious or spiritual formation' (Nel 2017:5). Christianity is not the sister religion to inform other religions but one of the world religions. The difficulty for the Christian religion is to view itself as one of the religions pointing to the concept of salvation as present in other religions. The passages from the Bible highlighted by Knitter (2002) that 'there is no salvation through anyone else, nor is there any other name under heaven given to the human race by which we are saved' (Acts 4:12; John 3:16-19) directly raise the eschatological question and subsequently the concepts of heaven and hell.

Hybridity in the case of the BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha is unconscious and organic. Kitiarsa (2005) notes in relation to language that 'by means of a mixing of various languages co-existing within the boundaries of a single dialect and gives birth to new forms of amalgamation rather that contestation'. The BaKgatla find themselves in a multi-religious space, consciously and unconsciously mixing together the

African religion and Christianity to their desired taste and form, although handicapped by the frills that Christianity has draped on them. The practice of BaTswana customs and beliefs gradually faded away as production spaces for the African religion were phased out as obsolete to the new 'efficient' system.

Turaki (1999:29) sums up the discourse between the two religions by pointing out that 'the interpretation of the concept of salvation in the traditional religions by some African theologians and scholars gives room for some Africans to reason that what Christianity has and offers as salvation is already present in the traditional religions.' This therefore suggests that the Christian concept is to be interpreted as 'of another kind', emphasising the equality of all religions. Turaki continues to assert that this view ultimately leads to pluralism and parity of all religions. According to Turaki (1999), 'the theological premise in this area is the acceptance of the universal grace without Jesus Christ of Christianity or the universalism of salvation without Christ'.

Where you stand determines what you see and Tutu (2011:5) notes 'that the accidents of birth and geography determine to a very large extent to what faith you belong. The chances are very great that if you were born in Pakistan you are Muslim, or a Hindu if you happened to be born in India, or a Shintoism if it is Japan, and a Christian if you were born in Italy' and we should not claim exclusiveness 'to a monopoly of truth of our particular faith.' Even in the Christian faith God made all humankind in his image, 'thus investing us all with infinite worth' (Tutu 2011). Tutu concludes that our God (Christian) would be too small if he was not also the God of Gandhi, thus affecting the exclusive image of Christian heaven and hell.

6.4. Recommendations from the Study

1. Given the existence of different religions emphasising the belief in a supreme being – 'God', within society, further studies should be undertaken to explore religions with the aim not limited to the possibility of working together but with a view also of amalgamation of religions or points from within the different

religions. The study would seek to define who, what the supreme being is and how this being should be viewed and understood. This would assist with the deeper understanding and role of such a being in existence, and how creation including humanity relates to that being. Further studies should be undertaken to define the hybrid religion and the significance of the practices of African, Christian and other religions of the world fostering coexistence and reducing oppositional worldviews.

- 2. The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha should establish a library, which would serve as the information hub rich in literature on and personnel well versed in the customs, beliefs, life of the BaTswana people and the history of Africa and its people. The tribe must encourage the art of writing, and creation of teaching informational aids with the aim of educating the BaKgatla people about their history, life and their customs and beliefs. The process should be intentional to a point of supporting and encouraging the youth to read, study and create cultural centres which would encourage people to learn about the SeTswana language, dress, food and lifestyle.
- 3. The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha Tribal Authority must solicit assistance from researchers and higher institutions of learning in the review and development of policies relating to tribal governance and local government with the aim of developing policies that will transcend or suit the present context. The process will see the tribal leaders and the people being educated about laws and customs and how such laws and customs relate to the Constitution and the law of the land.
- 4. The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha should intentionally undertake to educate people and define roles, forums and have conversations about rituals still observed but misunderstood by many within the tribe. There should be conversational engagements within the villages about rituals, their need and significance and which if any is still relevant and important for life. Further studies should be

undertaken and literature be generated to provide further understanding of the rituals and the role of traditional healers, medicine and healing. This will also remove the stigma attached to the use of traditional medicine, herbs and healers and diviners.

- 5. The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha should plan for the training of headmen and women, council members, and village *lekgotla* members on traditional affairs. The responsibility to teach and inform about traditional affairs has somehow moved or shifted to government which mean that possibly non-experts on African Religion are responsible for defining and regulating the BaTswana customs and beliefs. The tribe should intentionally formulate a team to research and create a record which captures and defines the tribe and its way of life. The research team would inform and advise the processes and education of the people and about the tribe and SeTswana culture and heritage.
- 6. The BaKgatla Ba Mosetlha tribal authority must seek assistance from higher learning institutions to facilitate a programme or forum for conversations about religion(s) with religious leaders within the communities making up the tribe. The tribe must have sessions with the religious leaders within the communities making up the tribe, amongst others to have conversations about matters affecting and facing the communities and the tribe. This will help the tribe understand the role the church plays within the tribe, serving also as a peerreview process for the religious leaders. It is extremely important for the tribe to define itself and also understand the place and role of Christianity within society today. The conversation with religious leaders is imperative for existence. The programme or forum will provide the people with more information on religions and particularly Christianity, this will help and also protect the people from Christians without Christianity.
- 7. Further studies should be undertaken to define the parameters of Christianity as a religion, and to study, explore, explain and define the new phenomenon of

charismatic movements within the Christian faith that often do not represent Christianity. Christianity has become what the beholder wishes it to be, and can be said to be diluted, a Christianity without Christ.

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APPENDIXES

- The Informed Consent Letter
- Letter of Permission for the Research Study
- Research Questionnaire
- Structured Interview Questions
- Research Survey full-computerised report
- Case Study 2 (*Modisaotsile)