

THE HOLY SPIRIT AND SPIRITS

IN HEALING NARRATIVES OF ZIONIST CHURCHES:

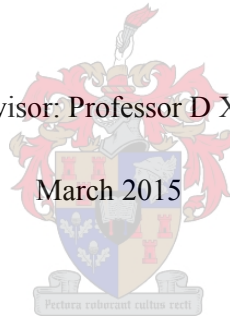
Generating a Grounded Theory of Mission Praxis from a Selection of Case Studies

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Declaration

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Ndiyabulela kakhulu. Baie dankie!

Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worked in us, unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen (Ephesians 3:20-21, KJV).

Abstract

Contemporary global Christian demography, it has been observed, indicates a significant gravitational shift towards a two-thirds global concentration. Characteristic of that majority is the proliferation of indigenous, independent churches. In the majority of the world, especially in Africa, one significant characteristic of such independent churches is the phenomenon of healing. That phenomenon, particularly in the Zionist churches, constitutes a prominent feature in the indigenous spectrum of the African Christian demography. Therefore, by examining a selection of case studies of the Zionist healing phenomenon at grassroots levels, this research sought to generate a grounded theory of mission praxis. This research focused on the Holy Spirit and spirits in healing within selected Zionists populations in the southern African context.

The research engaged the classical Grounded Theory Approach in investigating the healing phenomenon in the Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele Zionist churches in the Western Province, as well as in one Zionist church in Limpopo Province. Cumulative field data harvested from narratives of the Zionists themselves sought to capture an *emic* understanding of what happens before, around, in, during and after specific healings. Pilot research work facilitated the production of an appropriate ground-based bilingual questionnaire that was instrumental in the interviews and observations of individuals and church activities related to healing. A population of ninety adult Zionists were interviewed. Data collection and data management proceeded iteratively and simultaneously.

The research process – from data harvesting to open and selective coding, the abstraction of data-embedded concepts, theoretical sampling and the creation of the main categories – revolved around the question, ‘What is happening when healing occurs among the Zionists?’

Later, a thorough literature review of scholarly works, ranging from Adogame (2012) and Anderson, Omenyo and Oosthuizen to Sundkler and Xulu, enhanced the emerging ‘story’ of healing. The review, which also took account of the Biblical motif of *sozo* (σώζω), led to an identification, refinement, sorting and selection of the main emerging categories, that is, the principles or concepts, which are manifest in Zionist healing ministries. Thus emerged the theory that describes what happens in that healing process.

A grassroots *emic* understanding of the healing phenomenon emerged that was simple: the healing experience involves a spiritual search, a quest. Supplicants to be healed come expecting to be healed. Over eighteen million Zionists in southern Africa seek spiritual solutions to real-life problems, central to which is the need for healing. The Christian context of the healing experience

is associated with the activity of the Holy Spirit and spirits. A successful healing draws more people in and leads to church expansion, which is the primary mission of the Church.

On three conceptual levels this research refreshes the professional discourse regarding the Church and its mission in southern Africa, namely the nature of healing; the spiritual agents of healing; and finally, healing as a critical key in understanding the Church's contemporary mission and missional praxis. This research sought to clarify, amplify and apply that understanding for the benefit of the local and global Church.

Opsomming

Daar word waargeneem dat die verspreiding van die Christendom tans 'n beduidende ruimtelike verskuiwing ondergaan: waar Christenskap voorheen hoofsaaklik in die Weste beoefen is, is dit deesdae oorwegend in die ontwikkelende wêreld gekonsentreer. Kenmerkend van hierdie Christelike gemeenskappe is die verspreiding van inheemse, onafhanklike kerke. In die meeste gebiede waar die Christendom tans gekonsentreer is, veral in Afrika, is 'n belangrike fenomeen wat in sodanige kerke voorkom dié van genesing. Hierdie fenomeen, veral in die konteks van Sionistekerke, is 'n prominente kenmerk van die groei en verspreiding van sodanige kerke. Daarom het hierdie navorsing dit ten doel gestel om 'n goed onderlegde teorie oor die sendingpraktyk te ontwikkel deur op voetsoolvlak 'n verskeidenheid gevallestudies oor die fenomeen van genesing in Sionistekerke te ondersoek. Die navorsing het gefokus op die Heilige Gees en ander geeste wat 'n rol speel in genesing by geselekteerde Sionistegroepe in Suider-Afrika.

In die navorsing is daar van die klassieke Gegronde Teoretiese Benadering gebruik gemaak om genesing in Sionistekerke in die Wes-Kaap en Limpopo-provinsie te ondersoek. Deur middel van 'n iteratiewe proses van kumulatiewe data-insameling en -bestuur het die navorsing dit ten doel gestel om 'n *emiese* Sionistebegrip te verkry van wat rondom en tydens sekere genesingsessies gebeur.

'n Primêre loodsondersoek het die produksie van 'n volledig onderlegde, tweetalige vraelys gefasiliteer wat benut is as 'n instrument in die daaropvolgende onderhoude met en waarneming van Sionistiese kerklede. Onderhoude is met negentig volwasse Sioniste in Khayelitsha, Masiphumelele en Limpopo gevoer.

Die hele navorsingsproses – van data-insameling tot kodering en die abstrahering van konsepte wat in die data ingebed was – het op die volgende vraag berus: ‘Wat gebeur wanneer genesing onder Sioniste plaasvind?’ Tydens hierdie proses het die beginsel van 'n soektog herhaaldelik na vore gekom. Vier sodanige tipes soektogte is geïdentifiseer: die soeke na mag, na kommunikasie, na gemeenskap en na spirituele terapie.

'n Deeglike literatuurstudie van vakkundige werke deur onder andere Adogame (2012), Anderson, Omenyo, Oosthuizen, Sundkler en Xulu het die ontluikende “storie” of teorie van genesing versterk. In hierdie literatuurstudie is onder andere die Bybelse motief *sozo* (σῶζω) ondersoek, wat daartoe gelei het dat die hoofsoektog wat in Sionistiese genesingswerk manifesteer, geïdentifiseer en geselekteer kon word.

Op voetsoolvlak was die emiese begrip van die genesingsfenomeen wat na vore gekom het eenvoudig: Die genesingservaring behels 'n spirituele soektog. Kandidate vir genesing kom met die

verwagting om genees te word. Meer as agtien miljoen Sioniste in Suider-Afrika is op soek na spirituele oplossings vir alledaagse probleme. Wat beduidend is in hierdie soeke is hul behoefte aan genesing en veral holistiese genesing. Die Christelike konteks van die genesingservaring word geassosieer met die handeling van die Heilige Gees en ander geeste. Genesing wat ontvang word, betrek mense by die kerk, wat daartoe lei dat die kerk sy roeping kan vervul deur te groei en uit te brei.

Hierdie navorsing dra op drie konseptuele vlakke by tot 'n hernude professionele diskoers oor die kerk en sendingwerk in Suider-Afrika, naamlik die kerk en genesing, die spirituele agente van genesing en genesing as 'n beduidende sleutel daartoe om die kontemporêre sendingspraktyk te verstaan. Die navorsing het dit ten doel gestel om hierdie begrip te versterk en toe te pas ten bate van die plaaslike en globale kerk.

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Key terms

abaprofita, *abathandazi*, abstraction, African Christianity, alternative therapies, *amaZioni*, ancestors, bio-medical therapy, categories, Christian witness, concepts, constant comparison, discernment, divine healing, exorcism, faith healing, Grounded Theory Approach, health-seeking, holistic healing, holistic ministry, Holy Spirit, home care, mission, spirit beings, spiritual conflict, spiritual therapy, traditional therapies.

Abbreviations

AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
AIC	African Independent Churches, African Initiated Churches, African Instituted or African Indigenous Churches
GTA	Grounded Theory Approach
KJV	King James Version
MIC	Mission Instituted Churches
MMD	More than a Mile Deep (Distance Theological Education)
NIV	New International Version
ESV	English Standard Version
NRM	New Religious Movements
TEE	Theological Education by Extension
ZCC	Zion Christian Church
ZEMA	Zion Evangelical Ministries of Africa

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Chapter 1: The Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing in the Zionist churches

Nkosi sikel' iAfrika ... Yehla Moya Oyingcwele.
(Sontonga, 1897)

1.1. Introduction: From Great Century missions to indigenous missions

Global Christianity, it has been observed, has undergone a dramatic demographic shift since the Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2008; Gerloff, 2000; Isichei, 1995; Johnson, 2010; Kwon, 2006; Maxwell, 2006; Miriu, 2010). So dramatic has been the shift of gravity of Christianity from the global north (Europe and North America) to the global south (Asia, Africa and Latin America) that, for Africa, the twentieth century has been called “the fourth great age of Christian expansion” (Peel, in Isichei, 1995). Osea Miriu (2006) noted that “Africa is said to be experiencing the fastest growth of Christianity with 8.5 million converts per year”. This global shift in the centre of gravity of Christianity to the global south has been accompanied by simultaneously changing contours in world mission frontiers, according to Todd Johnson and Dana Robert (2010a; 2010b) of Boston University.¹ For one thing, while a major feature of the nineteenth-century flow of mission and missionaries was from the ‘west’ to the ‘rest’ (the two-thirds world), the twentieth century has witnessed a wave, or rather a series of waves, which has been called by many as “from everywhere to everywhere” (Nazir-Ali, 2009). Thus, from the centrifugal spread of mission (Jerusalem-Judea-Samaria-to-the-ends-of-the-earth), the shifting of the centre of faith may well have reached a point where someone’s ‘Jerusalem’ is another person’s ‘ends-of-the-earth’, and the ‘ends-of-the-earth’ are another person’s ‘Jerusalem’. For this roundabout change the phrase “mission in reverse” has been used (Oduro, 1984: 12).

Furthermore, in focusing on Africa, AIC researcher-author Robert Lang’at (2007), like many others, notes that “the centre of gravity of Christianity has not only shifted from the northern hemisphere (to the southern hemisphere) ... but has shifted, within the South itself, from the mission-founded churches to the African-initiated churches”. The proliferation of these latter-day churches has been attended to under the category bearing the nomenclature of African Independent Churches (AICs).²

¹ Todd Johnson and Dana Robert (2010) are Boston University colleagues of the South African-born missionary scholar on African independent churches, Inus Daneel. Daneel’s work on the Zionists provided much background information for the current research.

² The acronym ‘AICs’ originally stood for African Independent Churches (Daneel, 2000). While the ‘A’ (African) and ‘C’ (Churches) have not raised much controversy as terms, the ‘I’ has been read variously as a reference to ‘Initiated’ or ‘Instituted’ or ‘Indigenous’ (Masuku, 1996; Daneel, 2000; Bate, 2001; Venter, 2004). Allan Shaw (1994:239) notes that David Barrett used the term ‘African Religious Initiatives’. Turner used ‘Independent Religious Movements’, adding that “the term ‘African Independent Churches’ is showing signs of strain”. In this research the acronym AIC will be

This development of AIC over the last 100 years is of such unignorable significance in southern African Christian historiography that it has even attracted the attention of some well-known African academic and political elites.³ The AICs, wrote Pobee and Ositelu (1998:5):

represent a central development of Christianity in the Africa of the 20th century. This indicates that the landscape of world Christianity is changing. There is no way we can talk of world Christianity, much less Christianity in Africa, without talking account of this genre of AICs.

These churches, initiated and founded by black Africans, springing up on African soil and spreading in the sunset years of what many missiologists writing on the expansion of Christianity since Kenneth Scott Latourette (1970) have called ‘the Great Century’, have been the subject of much research enterprise.⁴

For Robert Lang’at (2007) and Allan Anderson (1991; 1992; 2001a), the genesis and growth of these new churches has much to do with Pentecostal–Holiness movements, which were features of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Christian experience in the West. The first of these Holy Spirit movements in the West was the initial outpouring which found its genesis at Azusa Street, Los Angeles. Church historian Tony Cauchi (2011) has noted that the outpourings were accompanied by healing revivals. In the Americas, this momentous movement embraced notable revivalist leaders such as Charles Parham, William Seymour, Frank Bartleman and William Durham. Later, the outpouring included more pioneering revivalists, among whom was John Alexander Dowie. Dowie, who began to conduct ministries in divine healing in Chicago, Illinois, later sent missionaries to South Africa at the turn of the nineteenth century. In Europe, some of the leaders of this revival movement included such persons as T.B. Barratt, Lewi Petrus, Alexander Boddy-Evans, George and Stephen Jeffreys, and Smith Wigglesworth (Cauchi, 2011). These ministries were accompanied by great miracles and healings as well. It is these ministries, especially those of the Azusa Street and Dowie revivals, which, in a sense, fired the missionary flames to Africa (Sundkler, 1976:5).⁵ In southern Africa something new developed then – the rise of the independent church movements. During this same period, a Uitenhage Church choir master, Enoch Sontonga (1897), wrote the prayer song *Nkosi sikel’iAfrika ... Yehla Moya Oyingcwele*.

used to refer to them as ‘African Instituted or Initiated Churches’ - churches planted by black Africans, autonomous of foreign or missionary control and of predominantly black membership and leadership. In line with Oduro *et al.* (2008) and others, the churches established by missions will be referred to as Mission Initiated Churches (MICs).

³ The names of those who have presenced themselves at Zionist gatherings include P.W. Botha, F.W. de Klerk, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Nelson Mandela, Jacob Zuma and many provincial premiers.

⁴ The list of AIC researchers and authors is like a “who’s who” hall of fame, namely Sundkler, Oosthuizen, Clark, Daneel, Makhubu, Anderson, Masuku, Hayes, Kiernan (1995), Pretorius, Mukonyora, Bate, West, Kenosi Mfokeng and Nurnberger. Prominent research efforts have been made by universities such as Birmingham (Anderson), Boston (Daneel), KwaZulu-Natal (Oosthuizen) and the University of South Africa (Maluleke). Maluleke (2003), in *Frontiers of African Christianity*, edited by Cuthbertson and others (2003), bewails the lack of black scholarship in AIC research.

⁵ Sundkler (1976:5) in his *Zulu Zion* book, indeed acknowledged the link between what he called Black Zion and the apocalyptic healing movement formed by John Alexander Dowie.

Significant in the early studies of the African Independent Church movement is the seminal work of Swedish missionary Bengt Sundkler. His book, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948), is seen as key to drawing attention to the developments in the AICs.⁶ As has been indicated above, what was also notable about these growing churches was their association with the contemporaneous movement of the Holy Spirit at the turn of the twentieth century. Not long after Dowie set up the Christian Catholic Church (1993) in Zion, Illinois, representatives from his church were in Johannesburg and Wakkerstroom, baptising converts by total emersion as from 1903 and working among both whites and black Africans (Roy, 2000:101; Sundkler, 1976:30). It is about then, at the close of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, that most Pentecostal churches were established in Southern Africa. In that way the main features of Pentecostalism were introduced, namely baptism by emersion; faith healing; speaking in tongues (*glossolalia*); dreams; visions; and emotional extemporaneous simultaneous praying by the whole congregation. The church meetings were very lively participatory experiences, something which was noticeably missing in some of the Mission Instituted Churches.

Moreover, as with the first-century Pentecost experience, these Holy Spirit-led awakenings were inevitably accompanied by much operation of the supernatural gifts and especially the gift of healing.⁷ Later there also was concern about the activity of spirits, especially in the cases where such spirits were identified in the church. Admittedly there were some people, among them Sundkler himself, who initially had different (rather negative) views about the developments in the indigenous independent churches. But the characteristic feature of the AICs was their claim to being led by the Holy Spirit. The problem was that, attendant to manifestations of the Holy Spirit, there were activities of other spirits as well. There were also many questions about what was happening in these churches which, like the mainline Mission Instituted Churches, also called themselves Christian.

Whichever viewpoint or perspective one took on the issue of the AIC developments, the one area where the concerns about the Holy Spirit and concerns about the spirits converged was in the area of healing, that is non-biomedical healing or what one could call faith healing. Indeed, this one area has attracted the attention of many serious researchers and authors on AICs (Anderson, 1991; Bate, 1999; Bačeta, 2004; Lukhaimane, 1980; Makhubu, 1988; Ngada & Mofokeng, 2001; Oosthuizen, 1967).

⁶ Bengt Sundkler's book, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (1948). was based on thorough, direct observation-participation research among the Zulu in Natal. Sundkler followed this up with the book *Zulu Zion* (1976) - which included studies of the AIC developments in Swaziland.

⁷ Contemporaneous movements such as the great awakenings mentioned above were accompanied by manifestations of power gifts and miracles. Subsequent publications, such as *Leaves of Healing* by Alexander Dowie, recorded and encouraged such manifestations.

Concerning these developments, Oosthuizen (1968) authored a book with a title that summarised his view: *Post-Christianity*. Later, the same author conceded that the title “should have been *Post-Western Christianity in Africa*”, which would have reflected his view concerning the AICs more accurately.⁸ That view concerning the AICs in the mid-twentieth century was summarised by one AIC Bishop, N.S. Nongogo (1999), who, in a later publication, *Hearing the AIC voice* (Du Toit & Ngada, 1998), noted that “every aspect of African life was considered heathen”. Even where there was some strong divergence of opinion, the main questions revolved around the question of the role and activity the Holy Spirit and other spirits, with particular reference to faith healing. This is the relationship on which the current research focuses. The current effort has been an attempt to gain some understanding in this area – a grassroots understanding of what is happening from the side of the AIC members themselves. From that grassroots understanding the research seeks to generate a theory of mission praxis.

Given the expansion of AICs, and particularly the Zionists, across the southern African sub-continent and over the seas to Europe and the Americas, the research sought to understand and translate the implications of that grassroots understanding into broader missiological and theological horizons.⁹ So this research is an exploration of the fruit of the phenomenal spreading of Christianity, from the period of the close of the Great Century to the dawn of the last century and into this century. Inevitably, a hundred years after their appearance, the question about the AICs of “what is happening at the grassroots?” is a very appropriate one. Specifically, what is really going on when healing occurs among the Zionists? Answers to such questions are critical in understanding what has been happening and what is now happening since the great missionary conference in Edinburgh in 1910. An understanding of these issues will enlighten our thinking on missions, both at the local and global level of Christianity in the twenty-first century.

1.1.1 Background to the African Independent Churches

One way of appreciating the changes that occurred in the population of Christians in South Africa is to consider the overall increase in the Christian population in relation to the country’s population.

As illustrated in Figure 1.1, from just over 45.7% of the country’s population in 1911, the number of those who confessed the Christian faith in the risen Lord Jesus Christ rose to over 79% by 2001

⁸ Maluleke (2003:192), in *Frontiers of African Christianity* (Cuthbertson *et al.*, 2003), notes the admission of Oosthuizen about his research.

⁹ As will be discussed later, the Johannesburg-Wakkerstroom Holy Spirit movement spread into Lesotho, and then into what is now Limpopo and across into Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. The discovery of gold in Johannesburg (*eGoli*) had a strong pull on workers from all southern African countries. Many such workers took back home not only cash and commodities, but also the revivalist message, which they planted in their homelands.

(Johnstone, 1993). The sunset years of the Great Century also witnessed the expansion of Christianity inland through indigenous initiatives.

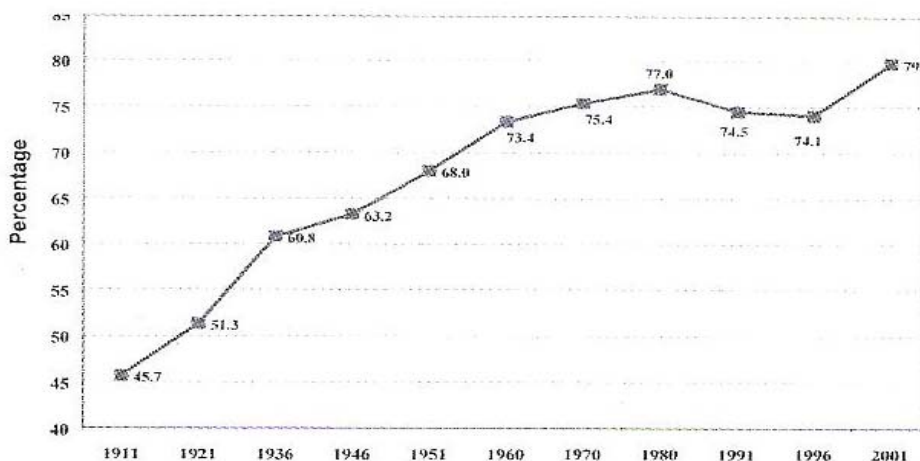


Figure 1.1. Percentage Christian: 1911 to 2001 (from Hendriks and Erasmus, 2001)

Another way to appreciate the changes is to consider the historical records of the population statistics in the last three and a half centuries paying attention to the AICs. Even when one admits that early statistics were only estimates, the significance of the rise of the AICs, and the Zionists, is undeniably remarkable.

The figure below portrays that phenomenal growth of the independent churches within the last hundred years.

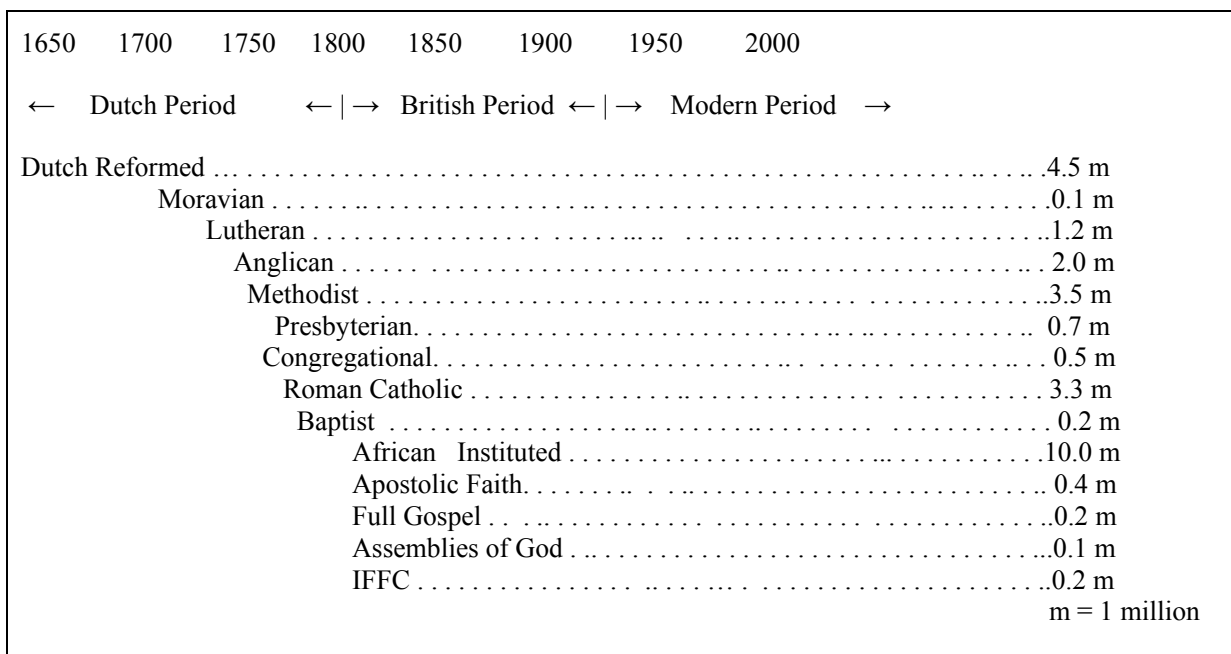


Figure 1.2 Timelines indicating the beginning of major Christian traditions in South Africa and the size of the communities (Adapted from Roy, 2000:x with permission)

Even at a cursory glance (Figure 1.2) the contrasts between the pre-1900 and the post-1900 growth in the AICs is very clearly noticeable. Further, the period of that increase in population occurred about the same time as that occurring in the other Pentecostal churches. The latter churches had some connection with the then recent revival movements in Europe and the Americas, as has been noted. Thus, any reading of these developments that links them to the church's emphasis on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and especially to the much-needed healing, cannot be considered too far-fetched. The zeal with which the indigenous people of Africa took the Gospel flame inland was behind that proliferation of the new churches.

The author of the prayer guide book, *Operation World* (Johnstone, 1993:394), noted that the total Christian population in South Africa grew from 46.7% in 1911 to a peak of 79.8% in 2001. At the same time, the growth in the population of African Initiated Churches swelled to a point where 35% of all Black Christians were AIC affiliated (Hendriks & Erasmus, 2001:47). According to Hendriks and Erasmus (2001:47), that population was nearly 10.7 million Christian. The Statistics South Africa publication *Religion: Summary code list*, indicated that there were at least 4 500 different AIC groups, many of them carrying the name 'Zionist' (Hendriks & Erasmus, 2001:47).¹⁰ The other names used by the AICs included terms such as 'Apostolic', 'Spiritist', 'Catholic', 'Messiah' and 'Healing'.

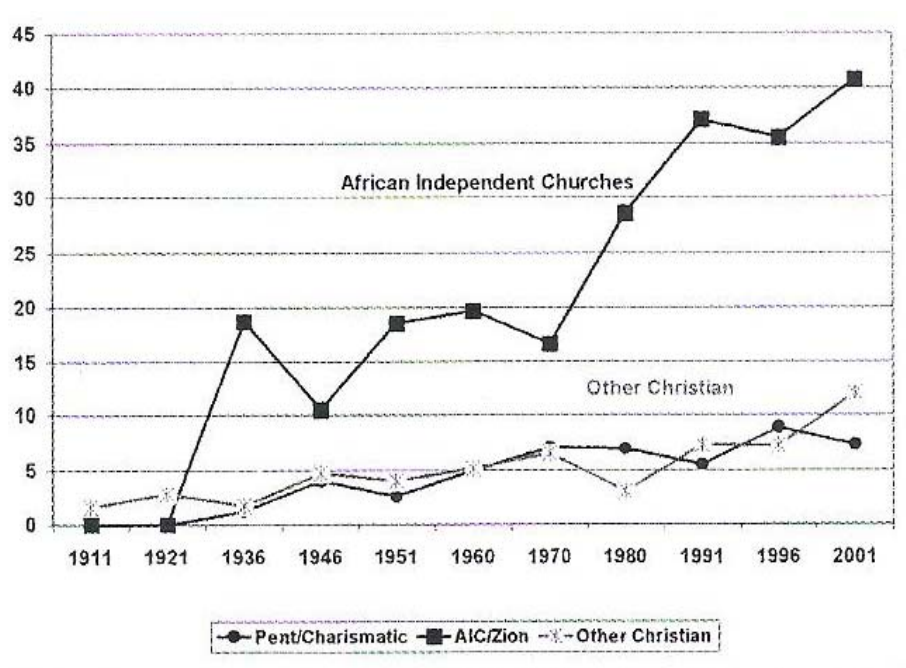


Figure 1.3 Christian population: Denominational share 1911 to 2001

The population increase is depicted graphically above: the rise in AICs is obvious. It is in this AIC growth that the phenomenon of healing featured in a notable way.

¹⁰ Hendriks and Erasmus (2001) have done researchers a good service in providing demographic data in the *South African Christian Handbook*.

There is another way to look at the statistics. Figure 1.3 above illustrates the AIC/Zionist share of the Christian population. Given a total South African population of 40.58 million in 1995 – even before the end of the last century – already over 25% of the nation’s population belonged to the African Initiated group of churches.¹¹ Such was the growth that has been noted, even by the leaders of the Mission Instituted Churches (MICs).¹² One prominent Cape Town-based MIC leader made an admission thus: “We have to acknowledge the fact that the greatest growth has happened among the independent churches – that probably the largest church in South Africa is the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) of Bishop Lekganyane” (Oosthuizen, Kitshoff & Dube, 1994).¹³ Another church leader conceded that “the numerical growth of these churches means that they have, in many parts of Africa, become the mainline churches” (Maluleke, 1997:17). Although some observers interpreted the growth of AICs as being a result of secession from the MICs – and thus a form of sheep stealing – Anderson noted the comment of one AIC leader, who said: “we do not steal sheep, we plant grass” (Anderson, 2001a:246). By 1996, the Statistics South Africa Religion record showed that some 10.5 million South African Christians were part of the AIC fold. That was about 35.5% of the country’s population (Hendriks & Erasmus, 2001:45). This phenomenon is what Anderson (2001a) called the “reformation in African Christianity”.

The AIC researcher and author Joel Kailing (1988), writing in the *International Review of Mission*, commented that the AICs were “growing at a startling rate” while the MICs were declining. The growth of the AICs, according to many researchers, was accompanied by an emphasis on the person and work of the Holy Spirit, as has been implied above. The AAIC leaders Ngada and Mofokeng (2001:10, 17) considered the movement of the Spirit as “the stirrings of the Holy Spirit” and emphasised “the central role of the Holy Spirit” in the rise and growth of the indigenous churches. That growth of the churches was also associated with the phenomenon of healing (Daneel, 1988; Maxwell, 2006; Oosthuizen & Hexman, 1989; Sundkler, 1961). Indeed, even Ngada and Mofokeng (2001:35, 36) could write in terms such as “healed by the Holy Spirit” and refer to “holistic healing”. As noted above, the prayer call was *Nkosi sikel’iAfrika ... Yehla Moya Oyingcwele* (Sontonga, 1897).

However, as indicated above, along with the work of the Holy Spirit there were also some activities that were not done by the Holy Spirit, but by other spirits. Even among some of the proponents of

¹¹ The figures described could be greater than those given by Statistics South Africa (1996). This is due to the very rapid establishment of the churches in various rural neighbourhoods in South Africa, about which exact records were not available.

¹² The term ‘Mission Instituted Churches’ (MICs) has been adopted from the book *Mission in an African way* by Oduro, Pretorius, Nussbaum and Born (2008).

¹³ Notably Tutu’s comments in the preface of the book *Afro-Christianity at the grassroots* (Oosthuizen *et al.*, 1994:viii).

the idea that all that was happening was of the Holy Spirit there were those who observed that some other spirits were also involved. There were indeed some occurrences and utterances within the AIC movement that some of the mainline church leaders could not understand or accept easily. For example, both Ngada and Mofokeng (2001:30) regarded the Holy Spirit as “a kind of ancestor spirit”. Furthermore, they claimed that the spirits provided protection to living families. While this will be considered in more depth later, it is important to note here that the existence of the spirits was related to matters concerning AIC healing. As if to make the issues more complicated, some AIC leaders believed that the absence of healing and the misfortune of illness were caused by these other spirits. At the same time, experiences within the African context did not deny the existence of evil spirits. But more of this later in Chapters 7 and 8.

The major AIC emphasis was and still is on the Holy Spirit. Writing about the situation in South Africa, Johnstone (1993:494) commented: “The Spirit of God is moving in all major racial groups, and with touches of revival in some areas. There are large numbers of believers in the country.” As was noted in the developed world, also here in Southern Africa, in the words of Pentecostal theologian Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen (1998), “it has been a case of *spiritus ubi vult spirat* – the Spirit blows where He wills”.¹⁴ Embedded in this term is the idea of the Church as a community in the communion of the Holy Spirit. Among the churches associated with it, the movement of the Holy Spirit was notably so, hence their being called the Spiritist churches.¹⁵ The term ‘Spiritist’ itself was not new. The term was used to cover the general Pentecostal revivals within the church in southern Africa and elsewhere.¹⁶ It was used increasingly to include the Zionist churches as well. The question may be asked: could this great church expansion have been a twentieth-century result of obeying the mission command, “Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost”?¹⁷ After all, by 1910 the world concern for mission had shown itself in the great awakening not only among students, but also among those who gathered in Edinburgh for the Edinburgh Mission Conference. Whatever the answer – and a return to this question will be made later in Chapter 8 (8:6) – for now what is more remarkable in all of this is that the expansion of the church came to pass in a very different, non-western European environment, on African soil, led by a different kind of people, namely the indigenous people of southern Africa.

¹⁴ This comment by Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, in his book *Spiritus Ubi Vult Spirat: Pneumatology in the Roman Catholic-Pentecostal Dialogue (1972-1989)*, will be considered again later in this research.

¹⁵ The transition and development from Mission Instituted Churches (MICs) to African Independent Churches (AICs) – terms used by Thomas Oduro and others (2008:6) – follows the typologies identified by Bengt Sundkler (1948), namely Ethiopian and Zionist (Anderson, 2001). The word ‘Zion’ is understood to mean God’s holy homestead, *umzi ka Thixo* – also understood as a place of healing (Pretorius, 2004:119).

¹⁶ Noteworthy are revivals that pastor Andrew Murray almost resisted in the church in Wellington, the MIC base.

¹⁷ As with other post-resurrection passages, the Matthew 28:16–20 pericope is key to mission.

1.1.2 Church expansion: The genesis and growth of the Zionist churches

Among the African Instituted Churches in Southern Africa, the most prolific and rapid church growth occurred within the Zionist churches.¹⁸ The Zionist churches trace their genesis from the ministries of pastors such as Pieter L. le Roux and Johannes Buchler of the Apostolic Faith Mission. Pastors Le Roux and Buchler conducted their ministries in Johannesburg and Wakkerstroom in 1908. Then came the Americans John G. Lake and Thomas Hezmalhalch, the former elder of the Alexander Dowie Zion City Church in Illinois in the United States. Evidently, the connection with the American church – the Christian Catholic Church in Zion – was strong. The Apostolic Church in South Africa also had connections with the already flourishing Azusa Street revival, among whose leaders was William Seymour (Anderson, 1991; Sundkler, 1976:13-67). On African soil the church developed into indigenous ministries led by men such as Daniel Nkonyane, Muneli Ngobese, Fred Lithuli and evangelists associated with the Wakkerstroom and Johannesburg churches. Later, the leadership of Edward Motaung and Engenas Lekganyane also featured in the movements. These leaders are remembered among the Apostolic and Zionist churches even today. Thus these leaders and others, women included, had strong connections with the revivalism movement that marked the beginning of the twentieth century.

According to Anderson, central to all this is the working of the Holy Spirit. Anderson wrote that “Sundkler (1961:242) observed that the Holy Spirit, *Umoya*, is the fundamental concept in Zionist theology” (Anderson, 1991:34). The church expansion in the Western Cape developed in a diversity of formations. That diversity of the Zionists of the Cape Flats has been captured in the expression, *iZion iyingwe enamabalabala* (English: “Zion church is like a leopard with many spots”).¹⁹ This expression characterises the “significant and numerous differences” among Cape Zionists (Lang’at, 2007:99, 101). An attempt to understand the Zionists, as they understand themselves, cannot avoid taking cognisance of this diversity.²⁰ Of the hundred different AICs recorded in the Cape Peninsula by Van Zyl (in Kitshoff, 1996:225), nearly 80% have the term *Zion* in their names.²¹ The other term frequently appearing in Zionist appellation is the term *Holy Spirit* (Roy, 2000:114). Thus the claim of the Zionists themselves is that there is an association of the

¹⁸ The term ‘*amaZioni*’ will be used to refer to the Zionists in plural, while ‘*umZioni*’ refers to a Zionist worshipper. When the late President Mandela addressed the ZCC conference in Moriah in 1994 he used the words: “Khotsong Masione! Peace unto you! Uxolo Mazayoni !” Traditions and religious practices of the Zionist worshippers are called *isiZiyoni*.

¹⁹ Pretorius (2004:341) identified and listed 369 different kinds of African Instituted Churches on the Cape Flats, of which 247, or 67%, carried the name *Zion*.

²⁰ Later in Chapter 5 it appears more sensible to view the MIC-AIC connection on a continuum in relationship to African traditional religions.

²¹ Van Zyl’s article, “Doing theology”, in Kitshoff (1996), explores the Biblical meaning of the term. While conducting the research, the author would ask the interviewee, *Ungum’Ziyoni?* (Are you a Zionist?) The usual response would be something like, “Yes, I am a Zionist, but not like the Zionists of Lekganyane”. If not a member of the Lekganyane church, the respondent would indicate his or her affiliation with a different Zionist group.

Zionists churches with the Holy Spirit. As indicated above, by 1991 the number of different groups of Zionists was observed to total 4 500 (Hendriks, 1995:47, cited in Jürgen & Marais, 2001).

Among the Zionists, the group most visible and most written about is the Zion Christian Church of Engenas Lekganyane. Groomed in the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission under Edward Motaung, who was a disciple of Edgar Mahon of the Zion Church, Lekganyane's background was within the Zionists churches, which trace their roots back to Johannes Büchler and Pieter le Roux and the missionaries sent to South Africa by Alexander Dowie via the Chicago Zionist Church connection. Healing was already a prominent feature of the Zionist movement; for example, Mahon had been healed by Büchler (Roy, 2000:102). Lekganyane's break with Motaung was over the issue of the former espousing polygyny – hence the split with Motaung's Church and the founding of Lekganyane's Zion Christian Church in Thabakgone. Later, the Lekganyane group moved to Boyne, outside what was then Pietersburg (Polokwane). The church has also been classified as 'Spiritist' (Anderson, 2001a; Daneel, 1971; Turner, 1979). This is characteristic of Zionists, who not only perceive themselves as Spiritist, but also are known in the neighbourhood as churches of the 'Spirit'. That perception is held in contrast to the MIC establishments.

The 1991 census figures show that 9.7% of the black population of South Africa was ZCC members (CSS, 1992, cited in Anderson, 2001b). Already the population of the Zion Christian Church members was nearly two million (Anderson, 2000:41). On the increase in the population of the ZCC, David Venter (2004:30) noted that, by the turn of the twenty-first century, the church comprised approximately 80% of the AIC population.²² By 2008, the same church had a membership of more than four million, making it the largest AIC in Southern Africa.²³ In 2011, Statistics South Africa recorded the ZCC population as 11.3% of the country's total population (Venter, 2004:30). Of course, because of the kaleidoscopic (*amabalabala*) nature of Zionism in South Africa, the Zion Christian Church is one among many other Zionist churches (Kitshoff, 1996:2).

1.1.3 The Zionist churches: The Holy Spirit and healing

As has been noted above (in Section 1.1.2), one significant observation about the Zionists is the relationship between the growth of the churches and healing. Indeed, information on healing in these churches has been detailed and documented by many researchers (Becken, 1972; Dube, 1989,

²² In fact, every year at Easter time, the radio, television and newspapers do not lack reports on the multitudes of Zionists holding conference in Limpopo province. Their heavy motorcades even attract the attention of the national Traffic Department!

²³ However, in 1948, on the death of its founder, the church divided into two: the Zionist Christian Church and St Engenas Zion Christian Church (refer to Appendix 7).

cited in Kitshoff, 1996; Oosthuizen, 1968; Sundkler, 1961; Thomas, 1999).²⁴ Furthermore, such research seems to indicate that, in a very significant way, the practice of healing is one major growth factor of the independent churches. According to one Zionist interviewee, it happens that, once a subordinate Zionist church leader finds that he can exercise some gift of healing, such a leader then typically decides to break off from the church and sets up a new Zionist group. Such schismatic tendencies are exemplified in the way that Frederick Modise broke away from Lekganyane's ZCC in 1962. Modise's complaint was that the Lekganyane ZCC tolerated and participated in ancestor worship and ancestor veneration. Modise founded the International Pentecostal Church (IPC) in Meadowlands, Soweto. But essentially the fact was that Modise, himself a former minister in the ZCC, had discovered that he had some healing powers. That manifestation of the gift of healing undoubtedly presented a strong drawcard for a new following.

Another Zionist described how, when faced with much persuasion and even some pressure, many of those who merely go to visit the Zionist churches or to seek healing ended up becoming members there. Others joined the Zionist churches because they or their relatives had experienced some form of healing in those churches. Then of course others were born of parents who themselves were Zionists and they just continued the generational membership pattern. But whatever the motive for taking up Zionist church membership, there must be something that any voluntary visitor to and potential member of the Zionist Church was seeking or pursuing when approaching any Zionist church. The need for healing is one obvious outward indication of such search.

When healing occurs for the sick and their relatives, that healing is always attributed to the operation and involvement of the Holy Spirit. In speaking to the Zionists on whatever subject concerning the church, the participants' understanding always reverted to terms involving the church's relationship with the Holy Spirit. It was Johnstone (1993) who said that the Spirit of God was moving. It is significant that, amongst the independent churches, the Zionists identify themselves by using two names relating to God and the Spirit. One name makes reference to the Holy Spirit: they call themselves *iinkonzo zoMoya* – “churches of the Spirit” (Anderson, 1991; Venter, 2004:23).²⁵ As this research proceeded to probe deeper it emerged that, for Zionists, it was this self-identification that makes them different from the other churches, and even especially different from the MICs.

²⁴ This relationship has also been observed by the Catholic researcher Bate (1993; 1995; 1999).

²⁵ Allen Anderson's books carry self-explanatory titles: *Moya: The Holy Spirit in the African context* (1991) and *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa* (2000).

The other term which communicates Zionist self-identity is *iZion umuzi kaThixo* – “Zion is the household of God” or, simply, the City of God. For the Zionist, the place where the congregation gathers – especially at the church centres such as Moria²⁶ in Limpopo province – are places associated with the presence of God. For them, these places are referred to as *umuzi kaThixo*. If it is *Zion* then it is a household; then it is a holy place, a place without illness – a place of healing.²⁷ For many Zionists, the places where the Zionists meet and worship are very special. There may not be much visible activity there, but their mere presence in such a place speaks to them of some form of rest, repose and restoration, inclusive of some healing. Some Zionists’ places of worship are not scenes of intense movement and powerful preaching. Thus, in observing the Zionists gathered, whether the Cape Zionists or in Moria, even without seeing any spectacular or dramatic happenings, the continual grassroots research question prevails among Zionists: “What is happening here?” Could it be that part of the answer to the question is that, in the mind of the Zionists, being there, just sitting there, means being at home? In general, Zionists cherish being called *amaZioni* or *amaZayoni*, which connotes being citizens or members of the household of Zion. The Zionists themselves cherish this expression with some endearment. This preference has been confirmed by other researchers, including Pretorius (2004) in his work among the Zionists on the Cape Flats.

That such designations are also articulated with reference to the Holy Spirit is very important. Throughout their development, the Zionists have been a people who claim that their spiritual experiences are guided by the Holy Spirit. This is characteristic of people such as Elias Mahlangu (Zion Apostolic Church), Edward Motaung (Zion Apostolic Faith Church), and Engenas Lekganyane (ZCC) and his sons, Edward and Joseph. This distinctive characteristic is signified by the baptism, which they call “Spirit baptism” (Anderson, 2001a:99). In fact, a very interesting link that calls for investigation is the link between the Holy Spirit experience of the AIC founders and that of the MICs from whom they broke away. This evidently would shed some light as far as the operation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit are concerned, which include the gift of healing.

Some researchers on AICs have observed that South African Pentecostalism, of which Zionism is a part, bears some of the spiritual vestiges of its West European Holiness-Pentecostal parentage (Lang’at, 2007:97). Some of these vestigial linkages have been observed by Omenyo (2002) in his book *Pentecost outside Pentecostalism*. It was Omenyo (2002:73) who, following Baëta (2004),

²⁶ “Moria” is the spelling used at the Limpopo prince ZCC centre (Appendix 7). The Moriah of Genesis 2:2 is more than an allusion.

²⁷ Throughout his 2005 “African pilgrimage” with members of the Zion Christian Church, Müller (2011) found himself constantly urged to visit (and join?) the ZCC Zion City, Moria, in Polokwane.

called these AICs ‘Spiritist churches’ because, in their worship activities, they “invoke the Holy Spirit of God, or are to be interpreted as signs of the Spirit’s descent upon the worshippers”.

Given the background of such a purported Holy Spirit-AICs relationship, any research on the AICs inevitably draws attention to the relationship between the Holy Spirit and healing. But, since the context is Africa in the 1900s when these AIC churches mushroomed, the first church members were first-generation Christian believers with a background of African traditional religions, and hence the issue of ancestral spirits cannot be ignored. As in other missionary movements elsewhere on the globe, the movement of the Holy Spirit was and has encountered some frontiers associated with the existence of other kinds of spirits (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2008; Kärkkäinen, 2002b; Omenyo, 2002). The Zionists tend to perceive these other spirits in terms of beings in existence outside *umuzi kaThixo* (the house of God). In other words, within the *umuzi* umbrella it is safe; outside are the other spirits. On one level, the research participants’ perception of these spirits is that these are beings without bodies. At another level they perceive them as beings that inhabit certain living bodies – people, animals, birds, trees and river fountains. That inhabitation sometimes may be temporary or at other times permanent. The presence of such types of spirits has effects on the health of the inhabited – the physical and mental health of the living host person.

The admission that there exists such other spirits augments the importance of the issue of spirits with reference to healing, especially among the Zionist people. The belief is that, for one to be healed of illness or sickness, certain kinds of spirits must be appeased or cast out during a church service. Prayer ministry has to be offered in the Zionist church by the Zionist leaders. Indeed, spiritual confrontation is a common and familiar aspect of Zionist therapy. The church therefore offers spiritual deliverance. Can the existence and influence of spirits be limited to zones outside the church? Herein lies the problem: what is their relationship with healing? This is the problem that was under focal consideration in this grassroots level research.

1.2 The research problem

From various research efforts and studies of these prolific AIC church developments have arisen different perspectives concerning the relationships of the Holy Spirit, the spirits and healing. One such view is that everything that has been happening in these African-instituted and African-directed churches is attributable to the operation of the Holy Spirit and the Holy Spirit alone. This view is represented in part, for example, in the research work of Allan Anderson (2001a). In Anderson’s overall view the developments among AICs in Sub-Saharan Africa have expanded mainly because of the move by the Holy Spirit. Such a perspective is summarised in the words of Anderson (2001a:224):

The *sine qua non* of Pentecostal and ‘spiritual’ AICs is the power of the Holy Spirit. He is the one to whom credit is given for almost everything that takes place in the church activities.

The emphasis that the Holy Spirit is responsible “for almost everything...” represents a significant view shared by many AIC leaders. Such was the conviction of Anderson that he regarded the whole AIC movement as twentieth century “African Reformation”. Anderson’s 2001 book, which carries the title *African Reformation*, presents a panoramic survey of this genre of twentieth-century indigenous Christianity spreading across Africa. Significant for the current research is an earlier book, which has the title *Zion and Pentecost*. It notably is titled *Zion and Pentecost*, rather than *Zion versus Pentecost* (Anderson, 2000). Clearly, for Anderson and others, such an affirmative view, which accentuates the primacy of the Holy Spirit, is said to provide an explanation for the fast growth of the AIC population Africa-wide.

What is interesting is that such a view is in confirmation of and conformity with the views expressed by prominent indigenous church leaders. Two such leaders, namely Bishop Ngada and Bishop Mofokeng, expressed the same views in the following affirmation:

The theology of the African Indigenous Churches centres around the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. In everything our guide and our teacher is the Holy Spirit. It is the Spirit who assures us that the Bible comes from God ... It is the Spirit who heals us when we are ill, and heals our society from its social ills. Demons are driven out of those who are possessed and the hardest of hearts are melted and reconciliation is brought about – all because of God’s Holy Spirit (Ngada & Mofokeng, 2001:23).

These are statements of indigenous leaders who are in constant contact with the AIC people in their churches on the ground. From this, the observation can be made that there are those in the AIC leadership who clearly regard all that happens in their churches as being directed solely by the Holy Spirit. This *sola Sancti Spiritus* perspective, it is also logical to assume, is a persuasion that translates through into teaching and practice, *ipso facto* into AIC praxis.

But the AIC leaders proceed a step further than the stand of *sola Sancti Spiritus*. This second step involves an acknowledgement that there are other spirits that are involved, both in the churches and in healing. Such a perspective that affirms the involvement of other spirits is noted in *African Christian Witness*, a book by Ngada and Mofokeng (2001:29-31). The authors were careful to create a subtitle for the book, namely “The movement of the Spirit in African indigenous churches”. The subtitle is indicative of the involvement of both a plurality of spiritual beings and their relationship to departed human beings. That relationship is said to give the spirits the existential and substantive identity of being “the spirits of our ancestors”. But the identity of these

spirits is not made clear. Nor is the status of such spirits clearly defined. Is it an acquired status? Or an ascribed status, or even a master-servant relationship with the living who are sick?

What complicates the matter is that many authors and researchers of AIC healing usually identify and describe only such happenings that are visual. Is the role of the spirits functionalist, symbolic or a deputation? Or, since healing presupposes some illness, is the involvement of spirits indicative of conflict in the spiritual realm? Some of the spirits are referred to by the use of two distinct terms: ‘ancestral’ on the one hand and ‘spirits’ on the other. This observation, as investigations later in this thesis will show, is very important. Often researchers and even ground-based church ministry practitioners make references to one side (the ‘ancestors’) without reference to the other (the ‘spirits’). This is where research problems arise. The one essential question that arises is: is there indeed a connection between the spirits and the ancestors? Also, is there a link between the spirits and the Holy Spirit? For the purposes of this research then, the key question remains as: “What happens during healing?”

Another perspective that engages with the problem of the Holy Spirit, spirits and healing is that which is represented by a group of researchers and authors such as Sundkler and Oosthuizen. From the outset, this perspective posits what may be seen as a view adversarial to what has been considered so far. This is clear from the literature produced by the relevant authors. Oosthuizen’s 1968 book on these independent churches carried a self-explanatory title, namely *Post-Christianity in Africa*.²⁸ The title itself summarises the views embraced by the author and others researchers concerning what is going on in the independent churches. This other group of researchers raises a different set of questions, which can be summarised by this question: “Can all that has been happening, especially certain kinds of services of healings, be attributable entirely to the operation of the Holy Spirit?” As shall be seen below, the views of Sundkler on this discussion are even stronger. His view is that, far from having any association with the Holy Spirit, the happenings and goings on in the indigenous churches are retrogressive – that they represent a bridge back to paganism (Sundkler, 1961:17, 196).

The existence of a multiplicity of perspectives concerning the AIC experience is not of itself disadvantageous to the discourse, or to any venture into ground-based research. Neither does it prejudice the objectivity necessary to engage in such research. In terms of the involvement of the Holy Spirit, basically one can countenance two groups of research. First there is the affirmative group of Allan Anderson, Inus Daneel, John Mbiti, Hennie Pretorius, John Pobee and others. Then

²⁸ Basically one can distinguish two groups: the affirmative group of Allan Anderson, Inus Daneel, John Mbiti, Hennie Pretorius and John Pobee, and the other group, which includes Sundkler and Oosthuizen. Other authors are in between. Some, such as Dumisani Dube, seek to formulate theologies out of the AIC experience.

there is the other group, which includes Bengt Sundkler and Gerhardus Oosthuizen. Another group consists of those authors who are in between, such as Dumisani Dube, Martin, Lukhaimane, Makhubu and others; then others, such as Nürnberger, engage through theological examination of the AICs' experience. Of course, over time, some of these researchers changed their views. Such is the position of Anderson regarding what happens in the AICs.

But, as has been discussed above, one thing which both Ngada, Mofokeng and most of the AIC leaders admit is the existence of *evil* spirits. The *amaZioni* lay people also identify some such spirits. As will be noted in this research, local *amaZioni* have local names that they use specifically in identifying such evil spirits.²⁹ Once such evil spirits have been so identified, what the Zionists leaders recommend is that “[t]his evil spirit or demon must be expelled” (Ngada & Mofokeng, 2001:31). In the healing process, then, the real issue is over how to identify (discern) which spirits are involved, how they operate and how they should be dealt with.

These same issues of the existence and identity of the spirits problematise the relationship of the ancestral spirits, the Holy Spirit and healing. The problem is not merely an epistemological one. In pursuing empirical research among the *amaZioni*, one witnesses an experience that can be both dynamic and life-changing. Necessarily then, the methodology that the researcher adopts has to uphold an objective and reflexive approach in engaging with the people. People come to church: those who are sick are prayed for and they are healed or are said to be healed. Some are not healed. In some cases, where the healing is said to have occurred, it is said to have been through the work of the Holy Spirit. In other cases the healing is attributed to other spirits. At times, the healing process is attributed to faith. Is it faith in the Holy Spirit? Or is it faith in the spirits? Which spirits? Or both?

Some very surprising findings came out of the research. They provided illumination for further questions, including: “What then is the relationship between the Holy Spirit, the spirits and healing in these indigenous and specifically in the Zionist context?” “What is happening in that occasion, process, presence and/or absence of healing?” Also, “What is it that can be said concerning this healing phenomenon as a whole?” This is a crucial matter because healing constitutes a critical and conspicuous part of indigenous church growth and mission.

In order to focus more on this problem, the current research sought to enter, explore and investigate the *amaZioni* healing experience at grassroots level through the narratives of the *amaZioni* themselves. In other words, at grassroots level, the question called for a focus on how the *amaZioni themselves*, from their own day-to-day experiences, understand the relationship between the Holy

²⁹ See Appendix 6.

Spirit, the other spirits and healing. What concerns, what approaches, what backgrounds, what processes and what kinds of people are involved in the whole healing experience? The aim of the research was not to attempt to prove a presupposed theory or theological position. Therefore, the research approach to this Zionists phenomenon was embarked on without any pre-made theoretical assumptions or presuppositions.

It is important to note that, although many AICs, in particular Zionist church planters, were not graduates educated of such theological institutions or in-service training establishments such as many MIC missionaries were, many of the indigenous pastors and evangelists learnt their ministries through hands-on processes and training. For many Zionist leaders, that training in ministry did not include a background of formal Bible college or university training: no Greek nor Hebrew language training, no expertise in Biblical exegesis, nor in expository preaching. Most understood the written Word literally. They spoke of their reliance on the Holy Spirit. Neither were they certificated interns of formal intentional church expansion programmes. Yet, as they went about in their day-to-day Gospel witness, they won many people to the AIC churches. As church planters they were not the only evangelistic agents calling the hearts and souls of people to a particular allegiance to God. They planted churches and, through their conspicuous healing ministries, they became major agents of church growth and mission in southern Africa and elsewhere.

Reading through the literature on the Zionists, one is made aware of the criticisms and reservations that have been registered concerning the Zionist ways of doing ministry, both in church and in mission practice. From the initial intentional attitude of refrain, which saw AICs being regarded in terms such as ‘primitive’ and ‘pagan’, it turned out that, over the period of the hundred years of their existence, there has come the gradual and general acceptance of the AICs as Christian churches.³⁰ This acceptance includes the Zionist assemblies as well. The acceptance has been built on the assumption that much, if not all, of the Zionists’ healing experience is of the Holy Spirit (Daneel, 1974; Lukhaimane, 1980; Makhubu, 1988).

But there have also been some continuing reservations concerning certain aspects of that experience (Müller, 2011; Oosthuizen, 1968; Sundkler, 1961). There are other views that posit the Zionists’ experiences as experiences not of the Holy Spirit, nor of spirits linked to ancestors, but as experiences of the *holy spirits* (lower case ‘h’ and ‘s’). Although the current research could not probe deeper into the implications of such views, it is important to note that such views could not be ignored.

³⁰ In some places the AICs have shown a statistical majority, which makes people regard them even as mainline churches (Maluleke, 1984).

What complicates the issue even further is that there are aspects of the Zionist ministries, especially certain particular healing methods, which have not been explored and investigated fully. Moreover, the literature on the AICs in general so far seems to cast little light on the kind of criterion that can be used to make an objective assessment of what, on the one hand, is of the Holy Spirit and what, on the other hand, is not. Or is there a position where both the Holy Spirit and other spirits meet, co-operate and collaborate? Some early researchers – Sundkler and Oosthuizen included – tended to relegate all that happens in AICs, and among the *amaZiyoni*, to what was “pagan,” or “post-Christian”, or merely “nativism” or “bridges” back to traditional religious practice (Anderson, 2001a:107; Venter, 2004).³¹ By the close of the twentieth century, however, there was a pendulum swing, especially in academia. There was the appearance of literature that showed sympathy and advocacy for almost all of the AIC practices.³² As has been noted, some of that literature has gone further in taking a position that claims that every AIC deed is the work of the Holy Spirit.³³

All these considerations then bring into focus the main issues, which are: “What is the relationship between the Holy Spirit and spirits in the phenomenon of healing?” and “What is happening when healing takes place in the indigenous church experience?” Since healing occurs among the people, what is their understanding of what is going on when healing occurs or is said to have occurred? In other words, what are their *emic* views of what actually happens during healing? These questions all converge on the main question of the relationship between the Holy Spirit and other spirits in the healing phenomenon in the indigenous church.

In the words of Maluleke (2003:203), in doing this kind of research at grassroots level “[w]e must constantly ask ourselves: ‘What is going on here?’”³⁴ Beyond mere observation, exploration and description of the research population, the research sought to develop an understanding of the phenomenon and then reflect on its critical implications in other areas of scholarly disciplines – theological, pneumatological and missiological areas of study. Moreover, since healing is a universal concern, the research sought to explore the implications not only at the local church level, but also for the universal or global church. This is where the major focus of the research developed from at the grassroots level. But how was that undertaking to be done? Before moving on to consider the methodological approach that was employed for this work, it is important to briefly deliberate the very rationale of the undertaking. What is the rationale for such an undertaking?

³¹ Sundkler and Oosthuizen are the main researchers to come up with these conclusions (Anderson, 2001:107).

³² In a preface to Anderson’s book, *Zion and Pentecost*, Maluleke noted that AIC research had reached the boundary of enlightening and informing on socio-political praxis (Anderson, 2000:11). Maluleke had in view a liberation agenda. More reflections in relation to seeking power will be provided later.

³³ An example of this is Lillian Dube-Chirairo, who, while praising the work of AIC leader Majecha as Christian, also proceeded to accept Majecha’s involvement with spirit mediums (Dube-Chirairo, 1999:234-239).

³⁴ Maluleke, in *Frontiers of African Christianity* (Cuthbertson *et al.*, 2003), is struggling with one barrier to research, viz. researchers’ neutrality.

1.3 The rationale for the research

The rationale for the current research is a composite of several factors and considerations. First of all, the relationship between the Holy Spirit and other spirits in healing is, to use Mouton's phrase, "a researchable problem" (Mouton, 2001). The process of obtaining some clarity concerning the research problem and then delineating the parameters of the research population were preliminary pragmatic steps towards undertaking the research. At a later stage the effort took cognisance of findings and writings from similar research done among the indigenous churches in southern Africa and elsewhere. Significant among such works are the ground-breaking studies by missionary Bengt G. Sundkler, beginning in 1948.³⁵ In addition, the current research undertaking could not ignore the works of such forerunners as G.C. Oosthuizen (1967), M. Daneel (1970), Allan Anderson (2000), T. Masuku (1998) and Lukhaimane (1980). From other areas of the African continent came the works of John Pobebe (1998), Cephass Omenyo (2002), C.G. Baëta (2004) and H.S. Kwon (2008). Indeed, at the turn of this century, Venter (2004:13) identified at least twenty-six institutions worldwide that housed a growing number of documents with historical and contemporary content on the African churches of indigenous origin.³⁶ In the local southern African situation, one significant research work was that done by Pretorius (2004), namely *Drumbeats: Sounds of Zion in the Cape Flats*. For that undertaking, Pretorius (2004:15) considered the grounded theory approach a "sensitising device" for the researcher. However, Pretorius did not have as one of his aims the development of a theory.

The expansion of AICs has been a feature of Christianity not only in southern Africa, but also in East Africa, West Africa and in Europe and the Americas. For the researcher, the close proximity and accessibility to the research population, the local *amaZiyoni*, therefore provided encouraging and positive motivation for embarking on further research. The most accessible part was, of course, the location of Masiphumelele, which is in the southern suburban area of the Cape Peninsula. Also close by is the Baptist Church ministry to HIV/AIDS (Living Hope) patients from Masiphumelele and the surrounding neighbourhood. That mainline church, which acknowledges the operation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, also runs a clinic situated in the heart of the township. As such, it sometimes was easy to have very informal data gathering meetings with the Zionist church in Masiphumelele and also to consult with the Living Hope institution. The same applied to

³⁵ Sundkler began work among the Zulus much earlier than the year 1961. His work of observations and data collection was spread over some years. The year before 1961, in Cape Town, British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan had spoken of the "awakening of national consciousness in peoples who have for centuries lived in dependence" and warned: "The wind of change is blowing through this continent" (Boddy-Evans, 2012).

³⁶ Interest in AIC literature has led to the establishment of study material centres at the universities of Birmingham (where Anderson took up a lectureship) Edinburgh (where Kwame Bediako was a visiting lecturer), KwaZulu-Natal (with Oosthuizen and Nürnberger and others), and the University of South Africa in Pretoria.

Khayelitsha. There was the constant interface with students at the Africa Theological College. These contacts assisted in developing insights into the resident population's way of life, their livelihood and struggles with critical health issues.

In the second place, the fact that AIC expansion has reached the formerly main mission-sending countries (Europe and the Americas) renders the churches to be interesting subjects of missiological research.³⁷ From the mid-1950s onwards, church expansion took a significant change from the normally centrifugal mission movement since Pentecost. The movements on the global mission map have changed. As indicated above, one person's 'Jerusalem' has become another person's 'ends of the earth'.³⁸ In their book, appropriately entitled *Mission in an African Way*, Oduro, Pretorius, Nussbaum and Born (2008:2) noted the contribution of the AIC diaspora to First World nations. This obvious aspect of AIC mission visibility and expansion represents a "powerful missiological presence" (Oosthuizen, 2003:318). This growth among the Zionists was observed by Lukhaimane (1980) and applauded by Anderson (2001a). They "went on growing and changing the face of African Christianity without any reference to western missionaries whatsoever" (Anderson, 2001a:251). Could this expansion then be related to the relationships between the Holy Spirit and other spirits in healing?

Concerning mission, a very important observation was made by two Dutch missiologists, JAB Jongeneel and Van Engelen (1995). Jongeneel and Van Engelen pointed out the contrasts between missiologies "from above" and missiologies "from below".³⁹ The former, according to the two missiologists, "think of the kingdom of God from within the church", while missiologies "from above" as a rule think of the "church from within the kingdom". Could it not be that here, at the grassroots level, is the key to understanding how a mission grows and expands into the world? Is that not the level at which people are in fact 'doing theology', albeit not written theology.⁴⁰ It was Jongeneel and Van Engelen who suggested that grassroots research of the aforementioned AIC "mission initiatives" would reveal a way in which combinations of missiologies from above and missiologies from within are possible at the same time. As will be discussed later, this raises the possibility of reflecting on emerging mission models. One such is the missional model proposed by

³⁷ Pobe and Ositelu (1998:52), amongst others, noted that, in Amsterdam alone, the number of congregations planted by the church leaders from Africa already had increased to 20 AICs by the turn of this century.

³⁸ The text in Acts 1:8, which suggests a movement of the Gospel from Jerusalem to the "ends of the earth" indicates a movement from the area where Christ was known to where He was not yet known. The movement of AIC missionaries into the western world is a movement to areas that are seen as areas which have become largely post-Christian.

³⁹ Jongeneel and Van Engelen (1995) authored a paper, "Missiology: an ecumenical introduction: Texts and contexts of global Christianity", in Verstraelen, F.G (ed.) *Contemporary currents in Missiology*, 447-457.

⁴⁰ Although the term 'doing theology' has been used in a variety of ways, here it simply refers to the way that *amaZioni* show their beliefs through their activities. For the same activity Daneel (2007) used the term "enacted theology" to refer to the way the Zionists live or act out their beliefs.

Darrel Guder (1998) and others.⁴¹ After all, in considering the mission of the church, the emphasis is on the church being a witness there in its own 'Jerusalem'.

There is a further case for embarking on the current research. This has to do with research concerning the Holy Spirit–healing focus. The necessity of a specific Holy Spirit–healing focus cannot be over-emphasised. While researchers such as Omenyo (2002) and Kärkkäinen (2005) have done much to enlighten the movement of the Holy Spirit at the global level, there is much that awaits exploring and study on the local and grassroots level. It is here that the research struggles in distinguishing a diversity of minutiae of spiritual phenomena. At this level, as Venter (2004:13) rightly observes, there still is a need for some real consensus on the terms and theories that can be used in AIC studies. Hence the current research engaged with the Grounded Theory Approach.

Again, in terms of the theology of the AIC healing phenomenon, there has not been a rigorous formulation or systematisation of theories through which the AIC developments can be understood pneumatologically and missiologically. But, of course, since Sundkler's work there has been a movement from a phase of research that seeks to draw typologies about AIC experience to a research phase that has the generation of a theory of praxis as its goal. In that phase there has been an emphasis on what the research population 'does'; and then deducing some understanding of what is happening from that practical activity.

Admittedly, some researchers have produced (separate) studies in the areas of mission (Anderson, 1996), theology (Daneel, 1988; 2001), culture-sensitive healing (Becken, 1984) and ecclesiology (Daneel, 1974; Pretorius, 2004). However, much of that descriptive work has not extended to the point of providing some focused storyline or theory on the essential relationship between the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing. Needless to say, much of such effort, though bearing much merit, is limited by each author's *etic* perspective. In addition, the limitation on such effort is compounded by the authors' constraints in articulating the research in direct local vernacular language. The current pursuit proceeded as a venture in that direction – to capture the *amaZiyoni* perspectives, their viewpoints, of what is going on when there is an operation of Holy Spirit or other spirits in healing.

The pneumatological concern for identifying what is attributable to the Holy Spirit and what is not may be seen as another fact propelling this research. The concern is the positive need for believers themselves to recognise the work of the Holy Spirit in given AIC contexts. In a later book, *Bazalwane: African Pentecostals in South Africa*, Anderson (1992:116) argued that anyone who

⁴¹ A book which is worth for engaging with and reflecting on the missional church is *Treasure in clay jars*, edited by Lois, Y. Barrett (2004).

does not recognise the work of the Holy Spirit in the Zionist and Pentecostal churches is missing the point. In doing the empirical work it soon became clear that the Zionists are not all the same with regard to matters of the Holy Spirit. On the ground one finds some Zionists who adopt a particular approach concerning the Holy Spirit, the Bible, the commandments and how the written Word applies generally in life. They hold a high view of the Bible and the commandments. There are many Zionist individuals and pastors who were very welcoming and cooperative ecumenically. So welcoming were the Zionists in two churches in Khayelitsha and in Masiphumelele that their pastors even invited the researcher to assist them in conducting teaching sessions and seminars on the subject of the Holy Spirit and other spirits. That there are specific concerns about this will be considered further (Sections 8.2.6 and 8.2.8).

However, critical to this concern of attributing credit to the Holy Spirit or to other spirits is the need for caution. In the Scriptures there is a call to caution when dealing with such spiritual matters. One such instance appears in Mark 3:29, in the words: “But whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will never be forgiven; he is guilty of an eternal sin.” In Matthew 12:32 this is rendered thus: “...but anyone who speaks against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, neither in this age nor in the age to come”. So the research had to proceed with much caution and reflexivity. In proceeding along the Grounded Theory approach there had to be an exercise of much reflexivity and great effort to avoid enslaving the research to preconceived assumptions. That exercise of reflexivity was useful both in the analysis of the data collected and in the development of emerging categories. This does not make the investigation and study of matters of the Holy Spirit and spirits in the AIC context an easy undertaking.

The effort towards understanding and identifying the work of the Holy Spirit was one side of the challenge to be overcome. The other side was the challenge to understand and identify the spirits or other spirits. There was a strong motivational factor: who are the spirits? What are their names? How do they operate? One Zionist characteristic, that of being *iyingwe yamabalabala* (like a leopard with many colours), raises some epistemological problems: given that so many spirits exist, how does one know and identify the nature of the spirits associated with healing in the Zionist churches? Reflecting on, for instance, one account from the Scriptures (Mark 5:9), one finds that the spirits that were in the insane man identified themselves as “Legion; for we are many”. In some cases of illness associated with spirits, the patient may be host to a multitude of indwelling spirit beings. Such situations presented real challenges both to the healing practitioner and to the researcher.

Moreover, had the researcher engaged in an investigation of only one kind of Zionist church, such work would probably have been an easier undertaking. But, as mentioned previously, Zionist churches exist in multifaceted forms. How then does one know what or which kind of spirit or spirits is or are involved in (which kind of) healing, in which church? Furthermore, if and when there is some healing, what kind of healing is it – biophysical, spiritual, psychosomatic? Did the healing involve an outwardly visible change of form – for example, a handicapped person in a wheelchair or on crutches was healed, stood up and walked unassisted? Or was the healing not visible – such as the cessation of internal bleeding? Or was it the discontinuation of mental or body pains? These are the kinds of situations that lay in the field.

In practice it became necessary for the research to examine the degree of affinity to or association of indigenously initiated churches to African traditional religions (ATR). Such examination had the potential of enlightening the relationship between that which is of the Holy Spirit and that which is of the other spirits, whose base may be in local traditional religions. Such an examination of possible links with traditional forms of healing rituals was inevitable, given the context of an indigenous population, a population with not more than a century of active continuous contact with Christian spirituality. In this respect, the research undertook some continuous observation, investigation and constant comparison of the participant population's beliefs and practices. Over time, that effort assisted in gaining insight into their *emic* understanding of the spirits involved. In due course a glossary of the names of the spirits accumulated.

The challenge facing many well-meaning first-generation believers in this AIC context, the majority of whom have come from various ATR backgrounds, is to understand the relationship between how those spirits operate in ATR practice and how they operate in relation to the Christian faith. One way this is done is to identify and categorise all the healing in the AIC settings as part and parcel of ATR healing praxis. Some available research has followed this view (Dube-Chirairo 2000:294; Matsepe, 2004:310).⁴² Matsepe, for instance, wrote a paper on the Zionists in Botswana. The title of the paper is *The appropriation of African traditional healing by the Zionist Churches: A challenge to the Mission churches*. As with other authors of the same perspective, Matsepe's thesis is simple to understand, namely: What happens in African-initiated church practice is an "appropriation of African traditional healing". In this way the Zionists are seen as picking and choosing such practices of traditional religion as are appropriate and using them as therapeutic solutions in their (Christian) churches. From this perspective, then, the AICs and Zionist churches are seen to be more successful in the healing ministries than their MIC counterparts. Thus the

⁴² Dube-Chirairo's (1999) work, *African women spirituality: A study of the role of women prophets in Zimbabwe*, reflects on the healing sessions conducted by AIC women in Zimbabwe. Later, Dube-Chirairo (2000) produced a paper - *Mission and development in the Zvikomborero Apostolic Faith Church*.

Zionist churches exist as a ‘challenge’ to the mission churches. A *challenge* it may very well be, but is it an *appropriation* of traditional healing?

Other researchers have endeavoured with the problem of how to understand the relationship between the AIC and ATR in connection with healing. As indicated above, for Allan Anderson (2001a), the AIC developments were, as his book indicated, an “African Reformation”. But if so, one has to note, as Pobee (in Anderson, 2001a: xi) did in the same book, that the “AIC represents a challenge to ecumenism and ecumenical movement”. For many researchers this is a problem, a problem that the current research on the *amaZioni* narratives attempts to enlighten.

In his paper on independent churches, Johannes Metz (2008) quoted an AIC man called David Ubielo, who made a self-confession: “I am the witch in the Holy Spirit.”⁴³ Such a confession represents an understanding of a spiritual fusion between witchcraft and the Holy Spirit. Indeed, in one interview with a traditional medicine man (*isangoma*), the man claimed that his healing powers were given to him by God. Among the indigenous churches are those who attest to a collaboration between their spiritual powers and God’s power in healing the sick.

Other views rather see the ATR and AIC healing powers in a kind of continuity and discontinuity. Daneel (1987; 1988), in his extensive research on the Zionists in south-central Africa, drew a conclusion more on the side of discontinuity between African traditional religion and AICs.⁴⁴ This was part of the observation in Daneel’s book, *Quest for Belonging* (1987). To Daneel, that “quest” of the Zionists did not involve turning back to traditional healing or witchcraft practices. However, Daneel also noted that there were some Zionist people who did not think of their relationship with spirits that claim links with the ancestors as problematic. But is that the only perspective to such a relationship?

Further views envision a situation of continuity between traditional and AIC practice. In the ensuing research there were respondents who spoke of the spirits as working in cooperation and collaborating with the Holy Spirit. Such functional cooperation is said to exist between the Holy Spirit and other spirits in healing and other avenues of daily life. But how does one know what is really happening? In doing grassroots-based research one is under pressure to understand the distinctive operational factors or forces in the spiritual realm. It happened on several occasions that an interview participant rigorously claimed that the spirit manifesting in him was that of his ancestor. On a number of such occasions the participants were also keen to point out what they saw

⁴³ For the researcher, however, such a confession can be taken as a useful confession in that it is an indication of the acknowledgement of the existence of both the Holy Spirit and of witches.

⁴⁴ Daneel’s visits to the (ATR) Mwari cult in the Matopo hills in western Zimbabwe are noted. The worshippers there were Ndebele, who are an emigrated part of the Nguni people. The Xhosa of Eastern Cape are also Nguni.

as examples of corroborative practice in the Christian scriptures. One passage that was cited was 1 Samuel 28. In that consultation initiated by king Saul, they said, the witch at Endor raised the spirit of the (dead) prophet Samuel. The spirit of Samuel spoke to King Saul.

The existence of other spirits is a reality evident in the Scriptures. Indeed, even in religious books of many (not all) religions the existence of spirits is not denied.⁴⁵ In the interviews with the *amaZiyoni* there was the same belief that spirits do exist.⁴⁶ The issue of spirits forms part of the discussion in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

The empirical dilemma facing the research is complicated by the fact that the concerns to be considered – that is, the Holy spirit and spirits – are first and foremost essentially spiritual and not visible. They are not tangible concrete matters. What is, or may be, visible are the effects, the results. Healing, where it occurs, is certainly one such result. If research proceeds in relying only on one set of narratives (such as David Ubielo), the problem is not entirely solved. The advantage of grassroots interviews and observations is that multifaceted sets of data could be collected, analysed and assessed. The ensuing data management process, which was repetitive and cumulative, reduced what would otherwise be a complicated dilemma.

Indeed, in some situations the participants assisted in the process of clarifying the practice of their Zionist church teaching and the practice of polygyny. The participants' comments were that polygynous practice was a submission to the desires of the flesh rather than a show of proper spiritual maturity. There was one church leader in such polygynous relationships. That church leader had a reputation of possessing not only healing powers but rain-making powers as well.

Pentecostal missiologist Kärkkäinen (2002a) wrestles with the problems of pneumatology and of discerning the spirits. In his book, *Towards a pneumatological theology of religions: A Pentecostal – Charismatic inquiry*, Kärkkäinen considers the experiences of the Holy Spirit in the light of Scripture globally as shown in the writings of several authors. His conclusion is presented in a summary that emphasises one resolution: the one sure work of the Holy Spirit is manifested in the convincing and conversion of people. This means that salvation is a key indicator of the Holy Spirit's work. "Certainly the Spirit must sigh in words unutterable for the salvation of human beings" (Kärkkäinen, 2002a:194). Here at least the helpful idea is that of the identity of the Holy Spirit with the salvation of people. That concern for the salvation of the people is certainly concern for mission.

⁴⁵ Similarly to the seven churches in Asia, John acknowledged the existence of spirits: as evidence, he wrote, "Dear friends, do not believe every spirit but test the spirits to see whether they are from God." (1 John 4:1).

⁴⁶ Appendix 6 gives a list of the types of spirits identified by the *amaZioni* within the southern African context.

A further factor that encouraged this work was the search for an insider, non-partisan perspective. The existence of a diversity of perspectives concerning the spirits may be due to the fact that some researchers proceed on a theory-proving rather than theory-generating enterprise. Others bring their own preconceived assumptions to the research field. In this way the research effort runs the risk of being partisan even before it begins. The problem is the intrusion of “observer-based theological constructions” (Maluleke, 2003:176). On such researchers, commented Maluleke (2003:201), “their own voices are actually drowning the sources”. How this comes about is worth noting.

Could this be due to the fact that much AIC research has been conducted by outsiders who are neither first language speakers nor trained in the local languages of the *amaZioni*? Language inability in southern Africa can be one negative factor. The other is a geographic barrier – where one lives. Most *amaZioni* are still primarily dwellers of the historic townships. Then there are socio-economic barriers. The *amaZioni* have been and are basically a population of workers. These barriers have to do with the historical socio-political experience of the country. In some places Cape Town looks like any of the world-class and First World cities – Amsterdam, London, Sydney or Tokyo. In other places Cape Town looks like a Fourth or Fifth World city: its shanty towns, open toilets, sewage spills, sounds of gunshots, the floods, the red-light districts and the drug zones, with one out of five people dying from HIV/AIDS.

As for some Zionist non-urban or rural centres such as Moriah, where the thousands of Zionist worshippers gather, it is an open-air experience. There are no camp tents to shelter under from the wind and the rain. Some research findings have not seriously considered the way these real barriers influence the researcher’s perception of what is going on. In trying to understand the context of the substantial population, the research could not afford the luxury of ignoring the specific situations and contexts of the Zionists in southern Africa. The Zionists’ self-understanding of reality does not ignore these specificities of the context they live in.

Yet, as implied above, the southern African context is one of contrasts and complexities. In the urban setting there are contrasts as well. For instance, in Cape Town, the suburb of Constantia certainly does not look like Khayelitsha; neither is Fish Hoek the same as Masiphumelele – though the latter are neighbours less than five kilometres from each other. Proceeding with the Grounded Theory method then required taking cognisance of the physical and non-physical space, the verbal as well as the non-verbal communication systems of the substantive population. How does it feel to be sick and live in a shanty town in Khayelitsha? How does one survive there? When the misfortune of sickness attacks, who are one’s friends? Where does the sickness come from? For many residents of Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele the real home is far away – in the Eastern Cape,

Gauteng or KwaZulu-Natal. Sickness and death have many far-reaching implications. These contrasts and complexities highlight the need to know as much as possible about the substantive population. Chapter 3 therefore is an attempt to provide some microscopic views of the places where the Zionists actually live. In those situations, healing and non-healing indeed are serious concerns.

In this research a close familiarity with the African traditions also proved to be a positive factor. At the same time it is important not to project one's own theological views into the research (Garner, in Venter, 2004:63).⁴⁷ as the process of data management then would be compromised by a lack of objectivity. To get out of this hermeneutical crisis, Garner (in Venter, 2004) suggests a different research strategy – grassroots research using multidisciplinary surveys.⁴⁸ What is needful, it has been suggested, is research that seriously takes into account the AIC context as a whole. To be able to do this it was necessary to engage with as much of the already available data in the research. Data communicates. It forms part of the whole experience of being an *umZioni*.

It was also necessary to allow the AIC 'insiders' – the *amaZioni* pastors, church members, affiliates, lay people as it were – to *speak* for themselves. In this way the potential for capturing an 'insider' voice was augmented considerably. In this way one moved positively towards attaining a non-partisan view of what was happening. The Grounded Theory method deliberately chosen and used here was well adapted to fulfil this whole purpose. It also facilitated going a little further to generate a theory that will enlighten further studies of the experience of the *amaZioni*.

The research also sought to obtain some clearer theological viewpoint of the participants concerning what is happening in healing in indigenous churches. On the one hand, this need is due to the problems that arise in connection with the Biblical convictions of the people. Convictions such as the trinity doctrines held by people like Ubielo David, and confessions such as those noted by Johannes Metz (2008, 201-217) present a need for clarity about whether all that is going on in all these church groups is of the Holy Spirit (one of the Godhead, Creator) or of the other spirits (created beings) of the ancestors or traditional religion. Or is there something that the participants call a synthesis of theological views, a mixture or hybrid of religious views? Is there some validity in the accusation that some AIC experiences are a drop into syncretism.

On the other hand, to quickly accuse all AIC forms of worship or healing as syncretistic is not good scholarship. This position arises from an acknowledgement that God is working with His people at

⁴⁷ Garner (in Venter, 2004:63) of course used ethnography as well. Hence his paper *Ethnographic and survey methods*, is included in Venter's book, *Engaging Modernity*.

⁴⁸ Garner, in Venter (2004).

grassroots level among the *amaZioni*. What the missionary Paul said in the city of Lystra may well apply here: God “has not left Himself without a witness” (Acts 14:17). Furthermore, even at grassroots level, in the way the people express themselves, there is some theologising going on. The sovereign Lord has been working in all the nations by the Holy Spirit – all over amongst the AICs as well. The *amaZioni* narratives revealed much evidence of God working in their situations, in some instances very difficult or impossible living situations. One way, among many others, would be to receive the *amaZioni* narratives as representing what has been called an *enacted theology*, which simply is “the enactment of the Christian Good News” (Daneel, 2007). In short, what the people believe in is understood by how they actually live – how they behave and carry on acts of day-to-day life. Their ‘theology’ then represents how they face life problems and find solutions to them.

One of those problems is the need for healing itself. Therefore, in this research, by listening to, observing and participating with the *amaZioni*, by constant analysis and constant comparison of what is said, the researchers was able to develop a grassroots inner understanding of what was going on. For this research it meant going beyond simply identifying continuities and discontinuities between AIC praxis and ATR praxis.⁴⁹

In his work among the *amaZiyoni* in the Western Cape, Pretorius (2003:4) correctly perceived that “many erroneous perceptions exist about the Zionists ... [including] ... poor or unfair projection of AICs in theological research”. Of course some of that bad press, Pretorius adds, is from some of the mainline church leaders as well.⁵⁰ When Pretorius (2004) carried out his research using Grounded Theory there had been little published employing that method with the *amaZioni* of the Cape Flats. So one can imagine how much less attention the area of the Holy Spirit, the other spirits and healing has received in terms of specific and ground-based research.

Another motivation for engaging in research in this area is that the Zionist outreach represents one of the cutting edges of mission advance. The term ‘mission’ itself will receive much more attention later. But for now, ‘mission’ can be defined in terms conveyed by the Great Commission passages, such as Matthew 28:18-20, John 20:21 and others. But even before the New Testament understanding of mission it is possible to consider the Genesis 3 account. Scripture speaks of the Creator seeking lost creation – of God seeking the lost (Genesis 3:9). As such, mission is God’s mission, *Missio Dei* (Bosch, 1991; Jongeneel, 1997). Mission is also understood as the

⁴⁹ Caution is appropriate at this point: some statements from some such “insiders” as Bishops Ngada and Mofokeng have not served to clarify the issues. For instance, the two AIC leaders speak of their “dependence upon the Holy Spirit through our ancestors” (Ngada & Mofokeng, 2001:25).

⁵⁰ Archbishop D. Tutu prefaced the book *Afro-Christianity at the Grassroots* (Oosthuizen *et al.*, 1994: vii) with an admission of being “arrogant and supercilious” concerning the AICs in general and the Zionists in particular.

proclamation of the Good News, as well as engaging in the endeavours to meet the needs of the people to whom the church ministers. It is also *Missio Triune* – about the Godhead bringing the knowledge of Christ to every nation by the power of the Holy Spirit (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:8). Missiologists have recognised the involvement of the Holy Spirit in the revivals at the close of the nineteenth century in Europe and America. The revivals led to what became the “Great Century” in world mission (Latourette, 1975). Then appeared the era of the indigenous churches and their mission endeavours into the world.

Furthermore, mission inevitably involved confrontation – particularly spiritual confrontation. In the Scriptures, examples of this confrontation are evident in the experience of the apostle in Ephesus (Acts 19), followed by apostolic instruction to engage in spiritual warfare (Ephesians 6:10). The apostle Paul wrote: “I have fought with beasts at Ephesus” (1 Corinthians 15:32).⁵¹ The reference to “beasts” seems more easily understandable in terms of battles with the spiritual powers that were manifesting themselves among the Ephesians (Kruse, in Carson *et al.*, 2004:1204).⁵² The Bible record is clear concerning the existence of such adversarial spirits at work in the world. In a similar way, therefore, it was a grassroots understanding of spiritual powers and how they operate within the context of the *amaZioni* experience. After all, an understanding of spiritual warfare is crucial in mission advance.

Anderson (1991) has produced some very useful literature in this respect, namely *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African context*. In Chapter 5, Anderson deals with the problem of the spirit world. In a later book, *Zion and Pentecost*, Anderson (2000) commits a whole chapter to the subject of the Holy Spirit operating among the *amaZioni*. The very next chapter is on evil spirits, spirit possession, exorcisms and deliverance. Obviously, for Anderson and many other AIC researchers, these two areas of spiritual power and conflict are of great strategic importance in the advance of mission within the African context, especially if mission is understood in terms of the advance of God’s Kingdom on earth.

There is another sphere in which to consider the AIC experience. This is in the area of ecumenism. The indigenous churches do not exist in a vacuum. They are related to other churches as well. The connection that the Zionist churches have to ecumenism is important. It is one relationship that the research seeks to understand from the grassroots. Even where the researcher met some closed doors on a couple of church fronts, many Zionists generally he was welcomed openly and received cooperation. The issue may hinge on the question: “Does God indeed work in and through those

⁵¹ Beasts are taken as reference to spiritual powers behind the idols of Diana and the imperial cults in Ephesus (Winter, 1994:1184).

⁵² The comment is by Colin G. Kruse in the *New Bible Commentary*, edited by Carson *et al.* (2004).

who may not be part of one's group, one's church?" The disciples in Mark Chapter 9 forbade someone from casting out evil spirits in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. Their reason: "He was not one of us" (Mark 9:38, NIV). He was separate – neither working nor walking with the disciples (Mark 9:38).

The African-instituted and African-led churches have, by analogy, not been 'walking' with mainstream Mission-initiated Churches. According to Sundkler (1961) they were called "separate" churches. Turner (1979, in Anderson, 2001a:11) labelled some AICs as *syncretist* and *synthesist*. The Zionist self-understanding of the house of God, as in the Old Testament, earned them the title "Hebraist". But, in the context of the text in the Gospel of Mark, that man who was casting out demons, although he was not part of the Christ company, was not working against the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. For this reason the happenings in the Zionist Churches merit some serious grassroots-level research to unearth data and insights that point out the ecumenical consanguinity of AICs and MICs. Could it be that the invitations to preach and teach in some Zionist churches signalled openness to ecumenical fellowship in the same Spirit? Notably, there is one Zionist pastor who is actually involved in the distribution of audio-Bibles from the ecumenical Bible Society of South Africa. As shall appear below, the research unveiled more of what is happening ecumenically at the grassroots level among the *amaZioni*.

1.4. Methodology and characteristics of the Zionist population

This study basically is qualitative research dealing with case studies of the *amaZioni*. As shall be seen later, data collection was done through interviews with some 90 participants, observations and memoirs, photographs, Zionist literature and artefacts used in healing. Zionist healing practices were observed and noted. What was crucial was to attend to the wisdom of the Zionists, their emic understanding of what happens during healing service – in short, their story concerning healing.

Up to now there have been some references to the decision to use the Grounded Theory approach in relation to the Zionists. What follows is a presentation of the rationale and résumé of the methodology and its appropriateness for application among the *amaZioni*. It is obvious that the decision for this particular approach was one choice among many competing approaches. Above have been cited references to its usefulness by such researchers as Venter (2004) and Pretorius (2004), who have tended to persuade its adoption for this undertaking.

1.4.1 Grounded Theory and interdisciplinary approaches

In adapting the Grounded Theory methodology, the intention is not to make any concessions to the social sciences as such. But the strategy was to use “the handwork of the social science ... in an interdisciplinary way”, as Dingermans (1996:91) suggested in his paper, “Practical theology in the academy”. For this reason the research had to take cognisance of the particular real-life circumstances of the Zionists – those peculiar socio-economic situations in which their health-seeking activities occur. The inclusion of information on Masiphumelele and Khayelitsha, rather than just being borrowing from a phenomenological approach, was useful as an inductive way to gain insights into the concepts and emerging themes pertinent within the local population. The very nature of Grounded Theory raises the exigency of considering those situations. Besides, once it became clear that the research had to aim at a holistic kind of data gathering, all information and any aspect that related to the population had to be taken into consideration. Hence it really is a summary of what the situation is where the Zionists have their dwelling. In many research probes among the Zionists there tends to be a quick gloss over these realities and the context that constitute an essential part of the substantial population.

1.4.2 The research instrument: creation of an instrument within a context

Furthermore, for this research, the creation of the necessary research instrument, the questionnaire, had to involve some degree of participation by the more informed members of the research population. The *amaZioni* themselves had an input in checking that the research questionnaire was addressing relevant real-life areas concerning the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing. The questionnaire actually first was formulated in the vernacular. Several consultations with the Zionist pastors and church leaders were followed by drafts and discussions over the type of questions that would fine-tune the appropriate engagement and aid in probing the population at hand.⁵³ From that original vernacular (*isiXhosa*) draft came a translation into English. As will be discussed below, it was this instrument that was employed in the preliminary (pilot) research.

The questionnaire began by asking open questions, then probing deeper as the research and interactions with the participants developed. In the preliminary stages the questions were centred on the main investigative question – “What is happening here among the *amaZioni*?” The questionnaire then raised issues that could not be answered without considering where the participants live, how they live, what the dormant influences are in the participants’ lives and in

⁵³ It was through this context-relevance exercise that it became clearer that, beyond the fact that spirit beings do exist, the local *amaZioni* actually have specific names for those spirits. The names reflect the character of each spirit and its mode of activity.

their life environments.⁵⁴ In this way it was possible, as it were, to ‘enter’ into being immersed in the experience of the *amaZioni* in Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele. Such readily available data was useful in the ensuing analysis and reflection.

As the research progressed, the interview questions became more sharpened, more focused, more refined. They included reflections on the participants’ input and responses. The instrument used in the pilot research was refined using such inputs.

1.4.3 Grounded Theory approach: data collection and data management

The Grounded Theory process involves a movement from a phase of data collection to one of data analysis and abstraction from that data. As such, there was an accumulation of detailed data about the *amaZioni* people. The rapid accumulation of data was not surprising, given the willingness of the participants to provide more information than what the questionnaire prompted. As will be shown later, concepts began to emerge from that detailed data. Arising from this experience came a more refined process – the creation of categories by which to understand what happens in healing. The process involved a movement from an examination of the practices and normative ideas of the people to theory generation and recommendations.⁵⁵ It was this part that took much time and effort, much to and fro movement within the population.

This research followed the systematic methodological principles set forth by grounded theorists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967). Although there was a lot of repetitive going to and from and between the field data office data management, in summary there were some basic steps. These steps included data collection, note taking, coding, memoir transcription, sorting out the codes or concepts into categories, and then developing the main principle. That main principle sought was the one that would sum up or embody what happens when healing takes place (Dick, 2005b). Often these steps occurred reciprocally in a simultaneous process.

The memoirs were basically collections of ideas, impressions and views about the data that the researcher presented or picked up during and after interviews, observations and during data analysis. Some concepts arose out of the making of the memoirs – concepts such as kinship, language, customs, household and family belonging. Gradually, such a group of concepts would lead to thinking of community as a category. These memoirs later proved to be very valuable in

⁵⁴ One could not ignore, for instance, the participant population’s sociopolitical experience: over 90% of the population comprised Xhosa-speaking people who had previously been affected by apartheid, held urban service-oriented employment, earned a low income, and supported mainly the African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance.

⁵⁵ Dingerms (1996:92) quotes a phrase from Browning and calls this movement “strategic practical theology”.

recalling and reflecting on the situation on the ground and making further abstractions of more concepts.

Much later the process began to reach saturation. Then it was enriched by beginning to incorporate literature resources. At this stage the aforementioned exercise of holding back on the literature was in operation. But, as the categories emerged, the literature contributed much in enlightening the process. Literature was included since, as Glaser (1978) says, “all is data”.⁵⁶ It was integrated into the research without assigning it any significant priority over the field data. Thus, data concerning the socio-economic context of the *amaZioni* was taken into account so as to reflect on this peculiarity of the Zionists.

1.4.4 Choice of Grounded Theory approach

From what has already been said it is easy to see why the Grounded Theory approach was chosen. It is a choice involving two aspects – the Grounded Theory approach versus other approaches, and which stream to follow within Grounded Theory. On the whole, the fact that the final theory would have to emerge from the data on the ground encouraged adopting this approach.

In relation to other approaches, Grounded Theory has several obvious advantages. First, the approach emphasises discovery and emerging theory development. It is developed from the ground-based empirical data. Furthermore, as will be seen later, this approach provides checks through a process of constant comparisons (Charmaz, 1983). In their book, Glaser and Strauss (1967) indicated the principles that guide theory generation proceed, although not necessarily in an inflexible manner. This is the message that is conveyed when Glaser and Strauss indicate that they wanted to stimulate other theorists to codify their own methods for generating theory.⁵⁷

In a valuable annotated bibliography of the various publications on action methodologies, researcher and author Bob Dick (2005a) points out the arguments in favour of such an emergent approach vis-à-vis theory construction. Grounded Theory had the capacity to avoid forcing a hypothesis or theory on the empirical data. In other words, with Grounded Theory one does not have to resist the temptation to find data which is in agreement with one’s preconceived theory.

Another advantage is that, with Grounded Theory, both qualitative and quantitative data can be used. As Glaser (1978) said, “all is data”. Data was sourced from the *amaZioni*’s input at church,

⁵⁶ Glaser presented a number of teachings, namely, “The literature review in Grounded Theory”, and “Grounded Theory is the study of a concept!” The researcher found these lectures on how to engage with the data and literature very informative and enlightening of a methodology that would otherwise have appeared difficult.

⁵⁷ Ralph Larossa’s (2005) paper, “Grounded theory methods and qualitative family research”, further enlightens the grounded theory processes.

on the way to services, at service stations, in their shacks, on South African Broadcasting Corporation television, in song and dance, in written constitutions and unwritten ones, and from dress forms, photographs, rituals and healing services. It was not limited only to qualitative research. Finally, as shall be discussed later (8.4), the emerging theory had possibilities of application on a wider horizon than that of the original population. Perhaps the strength of this approach is that it focuses on the participants' main concerns at grassroots level. It does this by constantly seeking answers to these kinds of questions: "What is going on?" and "What is the main problem of the participants and how are they trying to solve it?"

The second aspect of the choice can be summed up by the question: "Which Grounded Theory?" What were the options: Glaserian? Strauss and Corbin or Charmaz?⁵⁸ Or a combination of the three? The simplicity of open coding and selective coding rendered the Glaserian option a better pragmatic choice to work with for the kind of substantial population in hand.⁵⁹ Furthermore, in practice, the need to do more constant comparison – which is one of the key strengths of this approach – tended to argue in favour of the Glaserian or classical procedure. The procedure allows the research to really focus on the participants' perspectives rather than on that of the researcher.

Secondly, the analyst who follows the Strauss or Charmaz options has to use axial coding. Using axial coding, Ezzy (2002:91) has warned, tends to run the risk of focusing on "issues related to his or her own interests rather than the issues and concerns of the participants".⁶⁰ In this critical Zionist situation, that would defeat the purpose of this research.

For this work among the *amaZioni*, the advantages of the Glaserian Grounded Theory approach (or classical approach) lay in the fact that the researcher could afford to remain disciplined and yet access the potential to be creative with the given context. The whole process of description-abstraction and induction presented an opportunity of seeing a storyline, a theory, developing and emerging from the data.

However, in practice this did not render this approach an easier option. In fact, to move from description to abstraction at first seemed to be an impossible task. But it was the preferred choice, since in terms of Grounded Theory principles, the focus is on the generation of concepts rather than the mere description of raw data. So, using this method led to finding emerging patterns. The process

⁵⁸ The three options were Glaser (and Strauss) (1967, 1978, 1992, 1994, 2010), Strauss (and Corbin) (1987, 1990) and, finally, Charmaz (1983). Procedurally, all grounded theory proponents follow both open coding and selective coding. Some, such as Strauss and Corbin (1990), include the intermediary stage – axial coding. Glaser has produced many other papers and video seminars through the Grounded Theory Institute.

⁵⁹ The researcher is not oblivious of Strauss's triad of open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Some grounded theory researchers have followed that procedure.

⁶⁰ Ezzy (2002:91) admits that there is some debate among grounded theorists about the nature and value of axial coding.

involved starting from the descriptive level – a level of simply expressing or portraying data as it is on the ground (e.g. Zionists prefer prayer-healing to medical healing). It moved to the concept level, a level of the understanding by the participants (e.g. to Zionists, poor health indicates a lack of power). Thereafter it moved on to the integration of the emerging concepts into categories. Glaser and Strauss (1967: 23) refer to the process in this way:

In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence, then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept.

Of course the process was reiterative. It involved data collection and analysis, then data sampling and further data analysis, then concept building and finally developing the emerging theory. By keeping the research ground-based and ground responsive, the process sought to capture the principles or concepts involved in the Zionists' pursuit of healing. It sought to understand how Zionists find solutions to the problems of health.

1.4.5 Rationale for methodology: Advantages and limitations

There are other pragmatic reasons why this approach rendered itself a good fit for the project. For one thing, it fitted the context as it is on the ground. The Christian faith has been on the ground in the subcontinent of Africa for over two millennia.⁶¹ Moreover, the AIC experience itself now spans over a hundred years. That African experience, nested as it were in the southern hemisphere where the southward shift in the gravity of the world Christian population has taken place, is of considerable missiological significance. In Christian historiography the Zionist churches are part of a population of over eighteen million who constitute the AIC population in Southern Africa.

The researcher was not oblivious to the critiques raised concerning Grounded Theory. Some of these will be taken into account later as part of the evaluation and assessment of the emerging theory (q.v. Section 6.6). The advantages of using this method do outweigh the disadvantages.⁶² Critics have questioned why 'grounding' one's finding is that important. Such critics – including Charmaz (1983) – have questioned the possibility that a researcher can be truly objective, that is, to be free of preconceived assumptions. However, a number of very favourable appraisals of the constant comparison method have been made even by critics of Grounded Theory.

⁶¹ The dating of the first Christian missionaries to South Africa may start in the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese sailors (Vasco da Gama and others) sailed round the Cape. However, a better date would be the mid-seventeenth century with the arrival of the Dutch protestant Christians, among them Jan van Riebeeck. Hence the Christian faith has been on South African soil for over 300 years. African independent church movements represent late 19th-century/early 20th-century phenomena.

⁶² A list of guideline questions for assessing the Grounded Theory Approach is available in Appendix 13.

1.4.6 Scholarly application of Grounded Theory approach

Before concluding this part, where Grounded Theory engages with research on the *amaZioni*, it is good to note the use of the methodology in scholarly research. In general, Grounded Theory methodology has been applied in various scholarly dissertations on research areas such as health, education and prison services. Besides the scholarship produced by Glaser, Strauss and Charmaz, many researchers have used the same methodology. One such scholar, with whom the researcher had some valuable seminars, tutorial sessions and correspondence, is Helen Scott. She is a member of the Grounded Theory Institute.⁶³

Significant in the use of Grounded Theory methodology in southern African research are the works of Van Zyl (racially mixed couples, 1993),⁶⁴ Susan Wilkinson-Maposa (philanthropy, 2011), Lishan Adam and Frances Wood (communication, 1999), as well as Cheryl Walker (women and gender studies, 1990).⁶⁵ Specific research works among the Zionists include a series of research ventures already noted above, by Anderson (*Zion and Pentecost*, 2000) and Hennie Pretorius (*Drumbeats: Sounds of Zion in the Cape Flats*, 2004). These publications were hosted by the African Initiatives in Mission Project under the auspices of the University of South Africa. Other contributions are by De Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (*Research at grassroots*, 1998) and Messrs Jim Kiernan, Robert Garner, Lawrence Kwark and Dawid Venter. In the book, *Engaging Modernity*, author-editor Dawid Venter (2004:39) appropriately closes a chapter on ‘Concepts and Theories’ with this comment:

Clearly, in the manner of grounded theory, categories are needed that depend more on empirical evidence of the perceptions and experiences of AIC participants themselves than on the judgment of the researchers.

1.5 Summary and conclusions

In writing about one of the Pentecostal movements that grew up in the twentieth century, David Bosch (1991:12) used the terms “really and truly an African movement”. Bosch’s comment is a fitting account in the book *From Africa’s soil* by Peter Wat (1992). It is a story characteristic of the Pentecostal movement in southern Africa – how the movement took root and expanded through the Western missionary agencies and then through indigenous church mission agencies. It is a story

⁶³ Helen Scott (2007) whose thesis was on distance learning and e-learning methods is a member of the Grounded Theory Institute in the United Kingdom. The Institute offers grounded theory lectures on the internet.

⁶⁴ The work of Van Zyl (1993) *Die gevoelens, ervarings en behoeftes van rasgemengde egpare in die Suid Afrikaanse konteks: ‘n gegronde teorie*, is interesting not only because it is South African based, but because it is specifically a qualitative work. Appendix 4 gives more evidence of the use of Grounded Theory in southern African research.

⁶⁵ The Wilkinson-Maposa paper was informative on the local situation of the substantive population.

expressed in the Africa-birthered song *Nkosi sikel' iAfrika*, written by Sontonga in 1897. Watt (1992) pointed out that “[i]t is not possible for assemblies of God’s people to exist as such without the moving of the Holy Spirit and the distribution of the charismata”. The AIC and especially the Spiritist churches, which include the Zionists, were part of that movement. Watt notes that “[t]he missiological significance of the Holy Spirit is emphasised in Acts 1:8; the Holy Spirit leads the church into witness to the world”. Thus, true to Sontonga’s, deep yearnings for the wind of God to blow, the people sang and are still singing *Yehla Moya, Yehla, Yehla Moya Oyingcwele (Come down Spirit come, come down, Holy Spirit)*.

Indeed, Watt (1992), among others, has pointed out the centrality of mission as the chief charge of the church on earth – to present Christ to the world for which He died. Although the current research is focused specifically on the contemporary rather than the historical, it was important to take a kind of rear-view cognisance of that past in terms of the involvement of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, this involvement of the Holy Spirit has in many other places of mission raised the question of encounters with other spirits. In many areas this is so, and so also in the area of healing.

On the Zionist developments there have been many views. In Limpopo, Lukhaimane (1980) considered the Zionist experience as “an African experiment in Christianity”. In Zululand the Zionist experience, in the eyes of Sundkler (1961), was a “bridge” back to paganism. To many others the whole AIC movement was significant as initiatives of indigenous black Africans (Masuku, 1996; Oduro, 2008; Pretorius & Jafta, 1997). For Anderson (2001a:5), all of this represented an “African Reformation”, which Pobee, in Anderson (2001a:ix), summed up in the words “African Initiated Christianity in the twentieth century”. That there are these various views is an indication of the problem involved in trying to undertake research of this kaleidoscopic experience of the AICs in general (Kitshoff, 1996). However, the fact that, at this turn of another century, the AIC experience has been on the ground for over a hundred years renders it amenable to ground-based research. Hence the adoption of the Grounded Theory Approach for this research.

In a sense the AIC people can be thought of as people on a journey, just like those who gathered in Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Pentecost.⁶⁶ They had come from at least seventeen language areas of the globe (Acts 2:11). They came for a purpose. They were searching, and even after Pentecost there were others who kept searching for the Scriptures. One of them was the man from Candace in Africa (Acts 8:27-40). That day of Shavuot (Pentecost) witnessed the coming of the

⁶⁶ The celebration of the Shavuot feast was a commemoration of the receiving the Torah on Sinai. It was held exactly 50 days from Passover. Rabbinic scholars believe that it was on this day that God visited His people after their exodus from Egypt and, through Moses, brought the Law down from Sinai. The people broke the law; because of that some 3 000 people died under the Law that day.

Holy Spirit, followed by powerful Gospel proclamation. Unlike Sinai, which was followed by 3 000 dead because of sin, Pentecost ushered 3 000 live seekers saved into the Kingdom of the living God. Then the mission to the world burst forth. It is not improbable that, within the same year, some of the 3 000 new converts, including the apostles, extended the Gospel proclamation and witness (mission) to regions outside Jerusalem and beyond Palestine. Within three decades the mission had reached as far as Rome, India and Africa, of course.

Accompanying that move by the Holy Spirit were miracles, especially miraculous healings. It is recorded that “many wonders and signs were done by the apostles” (Acts 2:43). There were complete healings (Acts 3:16) and outstanding miracles (Acts 4:16). There was persecution also. But the apostles’ prayer was very specific; they prayed:

Now, Lord, consider their threats and enable your servants to speak your word with great boldness. Stretch out your hand to heal and perform miraculous signs and wonders through the name of your holy servant Jesus (Acts 4:29-30).

One thing to be noted is that, within less than a year after the occasion of that movement by the Holy Spirit in Jerusalem, there already were encounters with other spirits. These spirits included the spirit of deception or lies (Acts 5), the spirit of persecution (Acts 6, 7), unclean spirits, witchcraft, and sorcery (Acts 8:7-9).

In a sense, then, it is not surprising that the Holy Spirit movements that featured at the close of the Great Century and the beginning of the twentieth century also meet with the rise of other spirits. As in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, the new indigenous churches in Africa developed into church-planting and mission-sending agencies. Thus it is possible to consider the implications of the revival movements in a theological and missiological sense. This is indeed logical, because the AICs have grown not only as local churches, but also as missionary churches right across the continent and across the seas.

Venturing towards such a search for those concepts and categories to develop a grounded theory was the goal of this research. Subsequently, the effort went further, to abstract an understanding of the *amaZioni* in the form of a storyline, a theory developed from the context and content of the grassroots data. It is in that context that the next chapter will attend to a grassroots examination of the Zionist population in a more detailed way.

Chapter 2: *AmaZioni*: Context and experience

Singamabelana bentlungu (We are sharers of pain)

2.1 Introduction: The context of the Zionist experience in healing

This chapter seeks to undertake a microscopic consideration and examination of the context and experience of the Zionists – who they are and where they live. It is crucial to take the context of the Zionist experience seriously. Critical to understanding the experience of the Zionists is a consideration of their plight. The temptation for any researcher is to ‘pop in and pop out’ of the location of the substantial population, or to depend largely or only on the verbal presentations of the participants. However, in the endeavour to obtain an *insider* view of the population it becomes necessary to attempt what, in missionary training terms, is referred to as immersion (Brewster & Brewster, 1982; Hiebert, 1985). Such immersion involves entering the population and taking as much time as possible to stay and understand the Zionist experience. This can also be seen in terms of an encounter, and interaction, with the situation at the grassroots level (Goffman, 1961). This is necessary since, on the one hand, the verbal narratives of the *amaZioni* do indeed convey much data, and their lives lived in a particular socio-economic context also contribute valuable raw data. Zionists, it has to be stated at the outset, are not members of what has been called the upper classes, composed of persons such as managers and professionals (Seekings, 2003). Neither do they live in a vacuum. In the post-apartheid era, where class seems to replace race in the social stratification, this substantial Zionist population rather comprises a mainly working class (semi-skilled and unskilled workers) and marginal working class (farm and domestic workers). In Khayelitsha, for instance, most Zionists still live in shacks in informal settlements, comprising over 64.8% of the population of Khayelitsha (Statistics South Africa, 2003). It was among these people that Zionist churches took root, grew and branched out from the first decade of the last century. But more needs to be noted.

2.2 The substantial population and the preliminary (pilot) research

Ten members of the Zionist church in Masiphumelele were chosen for the preliminary (pilot) research, for several reasons. One was that this area consists mainly of tin houses and shacks and represents the kind of residences one would find in areas where the first Zionist congregations were planted and grew up. It also mainly is a low-income workers’ suburb with fairly literate people. At least 30% of the population has a matriculation level of school education. It is densely populated, with children visibly playing in the streets into the dark hours of the evening. There are very few

public facilities for entertainment and recreation. Hence, religious activities tend to occupy most of the time of the church affiliates and adherents. A number of political parties also have established agents in the area.

The Khayelitsha scenes are very similar to those in the other population areas in Masiphumelele township. Following the xenophobic attacks in 2010, Masiphumelele's people were the first people in South Africa to seek and pursue a policy of reconciliation and rapprochement with the foreigners living among them. One of these foreigners is Mr Moyana, a resident Zion Christian Church member and our chief assistant in previous research undertaken in 2008.⁶⁷

While the leadership pattern in the country has changed since the 1994 elections at the macro (political and economic) level, at the ground level the social situation comprises markedly black, urban, proletariat, vernacular-speaking people. These are the common characteristics of the Zionist population in South Africa. Most residents in Khayelitsha-Masiphumelele come from the Eastern Cape. Others come from Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal. The majority are Xhosa and Zulu speaking, although there are some *siSotho*-speaking Zionists as well.

Finally, easy accessibility and proximity facilitated the choice of using Masiphumelele at this stage of the research. From Fish Hoek, where the researcher is based, the area is still reachable by local minibuses or taxis, even late at night. In the initial stages of data collection it was necessary to examine further and deeper into the Zionist context, both in Masiphumelele and in Khayelitsha. Then there was the visit to the Limpopo Zionists. The latter focus principally on the main Easter celebrations in Limpopo Province.

2.3 The roots and shoots of the Zionist churches in the Cape Peninsula

Historically, the roots of the *amaZioni* are not situated in the Western Cape, nor in the present, large conurbations of Gauteng, Bloemfontein or Durban, but in what Xhosas call *ezilaleni* – the rural and peri-urban areas – Wakkerstroom in Mpumalanga, Alice in the Eastern Cape and the village of Thabakgone in Limpopo province. The present Zionists of the Cape trace their roots to these areas. In the southernmost corner of the continent, the Western Cape province, the Zionists have established their urban homes (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2). The Masiphumelele Zionists actually are offshoots of the Gugulethu and Khayelitsha churches.

⁶⁷ Moyana is not his real name. Pseudonyms have been used with reference to the *amaZioni* people who participated in the research.



Figure 2.1 The Western Cape Peninsula

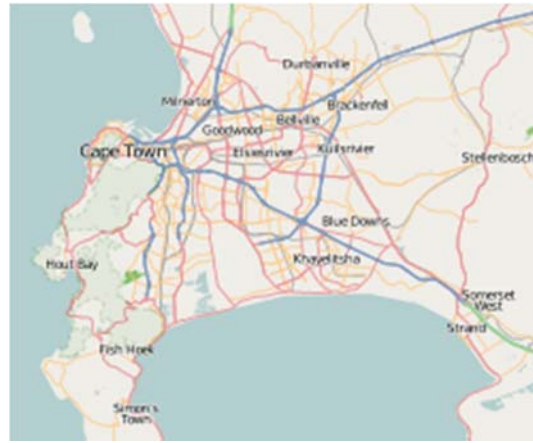


Figure 2.2 Khayelitsha (near Blue Downs) and Masiphumelele (near Fish Hoek)

Of the over 50 million people of South Africa, nearly 5.8 million (i.e. 10.45%) live in the Western Cape province (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Of these 5.8 million, over 3.74 million are dwellers of the urban Cape Town area (see Figures 2.3 and 2.4). Of this 3.74 million, nearly one third of the population are black.⁶⁸ Official statistics indicate that Khayelitsha itself is home to nearly four hundred thousand people (Statistics South Africa, 2012).

It is estimated that about 48 000 people, mainly from the Eastern Cape, come into the Western Cape province every year. The city itself has a rapidly growing population. Admittedly, some of the new people coming into the Western Cape find residence in other parts of the province, but it is not an exaggeration to assume that many move into the suburbs of Gugulethu, Langa and Nyanga, and certainly into Khayelitsha. Thus, as will gradually appear, the view that locations such as Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele in the city of Cape Town are indicative of the co-existence of the first-world type of city and a two-thirds world context cannot be totally rejected.

It is among this population that the Zionists have found residence. Most of them live in shacks in the informal sectors of the city. While some Zionist churches meet in brick buildings, it is a notable fact that many groupings of the Zionist churches still worship in the open, outside – either on an open field or under a tree. What the research found in Limpopo province was that, even during the great Easter conferences of one of the Zionist churches, the majority of the worshippers congregate on an open hillside with no shelter at all. The church leaders do have shelter and they address the congregants from those sheltered places.

⁶⁸ Stats South Africa (2001) recorded that 31% are black, 48.13% are coloured cent, 18.75% are white, 1.43% are Asian). The term 'black' may be misleading and imprecise because it does not indicate cultural or linguistic homogeneity. For this research the *amaZioni* are mainly those of black African ancestry, namely Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Venda and Tswana. But there also are some coloureds and whites among the *amaZioni* population, albeit in minor percentages.

Therefore, although one may find some new cars and other modern vehicles parked ostensibly outside the meeting area when approaching a Zionist gathering, when it comes to worship, and even to conducting rituals, these happenings often occur outside in the open – sun-bathed and at times in rain showers. Sleeping outside on the ground is not an unusual practice. Such is the pattern of Zionist religious practice. In fact, some open spaces are more suitable for certain Zionist practices, such as the men’s dances. An enclosed building would probably be less preferable.

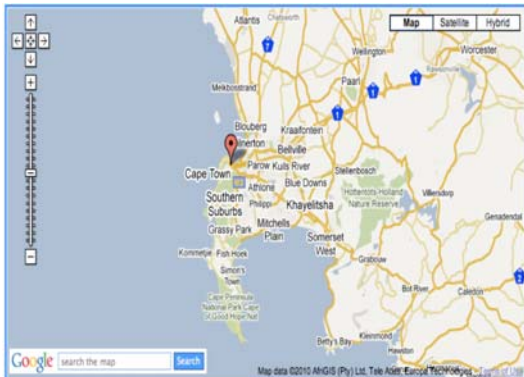


Figure 2.3 Cape Town City metropolitan area



Figure 2.4 Satellite image of the Cape Peninsula

(Source: WikiCommons, used with permission)

In establishing Khayelitsha, the city authorities had the intentional aim of providing an overflow outlet to relieve the overpopulated original areas of Gugulethu, Langa and Nyanga on the seaside direction of the long M5 road, and the settlement of Khayelitsha manifests some of the heritage of the past as a segregated urban community.

The settlement of Khayelitsha, which runs for a number of kilometres along the N2 highway, is home to over 700 000 people – over 90.5% black African, 8.5% coloured and 0.5% White – with Xhosa being the predominant language of the residents.

The Xhosa-speaking people are mainly from the Eastern Cape province. Also resident here are people of Sotho, Zulu, Tswana, Afrikaans and Khokhoi background, and there are an increasing number of foreigners.⁶⁹ The foreigners are mainly from the neighbouring sub-continent – the majority of them are black. It is from these different language groups – especially the Xhosa and Zulu – that the Zionists draw a majority of their membership (see Figure 2.5).

⁶⁹ In this regard the qualitative research works of Xoliswa Zandile Ndingaye (2005) (University of Western Cape), Wilkinson-Maposa (2011) (University of Cape Town) and Erasmus, Mans, Nel, Davids and Macrae (2003) (Stellenbosch University) have been illuminating.

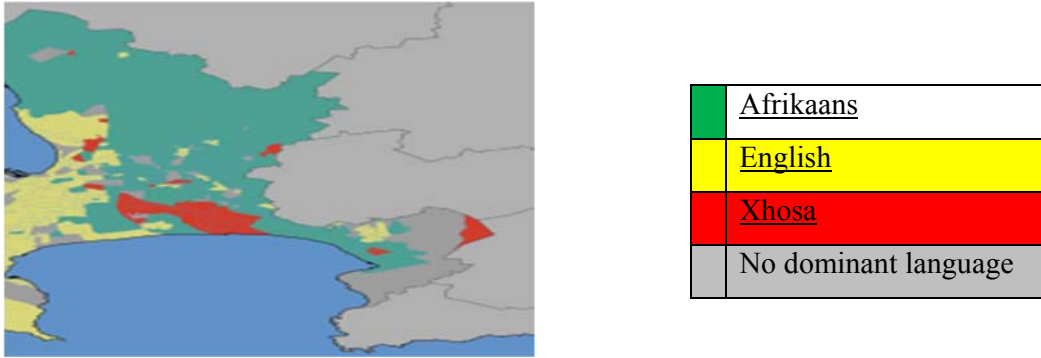


Figure 2.5 Language map of the Cape Peninsula (Source: Wikipedia)

The contemporary Zionist churches of southern Africa are basically indigenous churches planted primarily by those who are mostly second-generation believers. The rural roots nature of Zionism may be one factor for the preference of using vernacular languages instead of English during worship and preaching services. However, the use of Sotho was noted in some congregations. The location of Zionist churches predominantly (if not always) in the black African townships may be another factor. Of the African independent churches that were already established in the Western Cape by 1992, some 80% were Zionist (Van Zyl, in Kitshoff, 1996:225).

2.4 Background to the substantive research population

In moving around in and engaging with the substantive population in Khayelitsha, conducting interviews, making observations and noting memoirs, one cannot but take note of the information already visible in the environment. From the physical environment, some information was obtained in several forms. Photographs taken in different parts of the area provided some valuable visual inner views and insights into the population. The physical environment, in a sense, makes it possible to understand how life is lived within such a context, although it only provides a limited visual story about where the people are living. Of course, being physically present in the presence of the population made the possibility of an immersion experience into the very life situations of the substantial population even greater. For the sake of conveying this, the following photographic data provides a short exposure intended to elucidate the situation. The data is part of the answer to the on-going Grounded Theory question, “What is happening?”



Figure 2.6 Khayelitsha – Beach Road view (12.10.2011)



Fig. 2.7 Khayelitsha: close-up of ‘houses’ (21.10.2011)

A view of Khayelitsha from Beach Road to the south, looking towards Table Mountain, conveys a lot of information. But something else is understood when the focus is on the Harare informal settlement.

Here in these shacks or, as the locals call them, *imijomdolo* or *amatyotyombe* or *amabhobhosi*, live most of the Zionist church members. From the photographic data some questions may find answers. One question is, “Where do the *amaZioni* live? The other is “How do the *amaZioni* live?” It is in the context of these kinds of questions that the concerns about health and healing arise. For the Zionists, these concerns relate to matters of the Holy Spirit and other spirits. As indicated above, the research was guided by the question, “What is happening?” among the *amaZiyoni* with reference to the issue of healing.

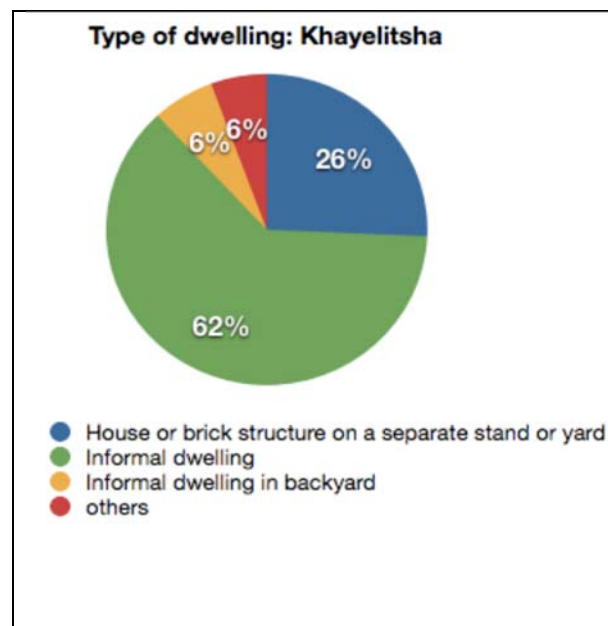


Figure 2.8 Types of housing in Khayelitsha

Since what happens among the *amaZiyoni* could not be restricted only to what happens inside the churches, the research horizon had to cover some of the socio-political realities in which the *amaZioni* live from day to day – in the Western Cape province, and in Limpopo province. This is the *Sitz im Leben* of the people in terms of the German protestant theologian Hermann Gunkel. So this background information that provides insight into the population in the areas of Khayelitsha

and Masiphumelele enhances the understanding of the conditions in which the *amaZioni* live. The situations and conditions presented below are examples of those found elsewhere in southern Africa where the Zionists live.

Before proceeding further it may be proper here to anticipate a question which may be raised: “Are these the circumstances and conditions in which *all* the Zionists live?” Since that question relates to the representativeness of the population (Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele), it can only be dealt with much more closely later. The Grounded Theory methodology allows for such a consideration. For now, two observations may be cited. First, the sight of a few luxury cars parked at Zionist worship places does imply that some Zionists are not really as poor as one may imagine. Indeed, there are some Zionist entrepreneurs who run small businesses and *spazas* (shops) in the neighbourhood. But the population of such persons is very small. Second, it turned out that many of such business people no longer lived in the area. With the legal residential changes happening since 1994, such entrepreneurs have moved to areas with better homes. It is not unreasonable to assume that such *nouveau riche* still prefer to continue their religious links with their Zionist kith and kin in Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele.

2.5 The substantive population panorama

Moving in from the Mitchells Plain area in the west, Khayelitsha looks like any other well-planned city suburb, with well-demarcated solid brick residences in Litha Park, the tourist look-out post on a hill, and the clean streets.



Figure 2.9 Mew Drive and Spine Road view (12.10.2011)



Figure 2.10 Entrance into Khayelitsha: Tavern (21.10.2011)

Here, on weekends, part of the access road is crammed with shiny-looking saloon and double-cab cars. The many people on and off the road are patrons of the local popular drinking place – a *shebeen*. Nearby is an array of stands of smoking potluck barbeque, the local *braai boerewors*.

Further down, the road turns into Ntlazane Road, with the regional Zion Christian Church Centre, the seat of the church's district chairman.

However, a walk into Khayelitsha from the southern side reveals many unexpected contrasts. Here appear the scenes that demonstrate that the Two-Thirds world location of the population is clear; and in the background is Table Mountain, which, in 2011, was named among the New Seven World Wonders of Nature. What is obvious is the contrast between two worlds – in one city.

Approaching from the other, south side, of Khayelitsha, near the area known as Harare, the scenes are of a mass of informal settlements – tiny houses, faulty drainage systems, electric wires laid across the roads, people at almost every turn. These are the dwelling places in which some of the meetings and interviews with the Zionists took place.



Figure 2.11 View from Khayelitsha shacks to the mountain

Some of the meetings took place by the roadside near the open worship sites. It was also in such places that prayers for the healing of Zionists sometimes happened. The fact that some motorists or pedestrians would be passing nearby did not seem to constitute any problems. Nor was it considered a disturbance when a passer-by stopped and just watched the Zionists at prayer.

There are more areas that reveal the squalor and poverty of this population. Along the roads it is not unusual to see people throwing their dirty water onto the road. It is on such roads that one may encounter mass protests, tyres burning or necklacing taking place. In some areas the threat of street robbers and muggers – the *skollies* – is a constant menace.



Figure 2.12 Khayelitsha – Beach Road View

(21.10.2011)



Figure 2.13 Part of Mbeki Road

(21.10.2011)

Khayelitsha south, along Beach Road, is also notorious for its street prostitutes. Across the road, close to the shacks, is the scourge of the unprotected sewerage works. The implications of this concerning the health risk are not too difficult to imagine.

Going up one section of the famous Lansdowne Road, now named Govern Mbeki, which cuts through Khayelitsha, another set of scenes is revealed: very fast local minibuses on the narrow road and toilets without walls by the roadside.



Figure 2.14 Public transport and housing along Lansdowne Road, Khayelitsha



Figure 2.15 Housing and ablution facilities along Tutu Road, Khayelitsha

At the time when Stellenbosch University researchers produced their Transformation Project Report on Khayelitsha, more than one in four people in Cape Town lived in an informal settlement (Erasmus *et al.*, 2003). In fact, a walk in this area, even on a weekday, creates the impression

indeed that the population density, at 48 persons per square kilometre, is higher than that of the metropolitan area, at 40 persons per square kilometre.

The heavy population density no doubt has an impact on the living standards and consequently on the health of the people living in these areas. A failure or fault in one area – for example in water reticulation or some other service delivery – tends to trigger another problem elsewhere. The consequences often are disastrous: pollution of water or service delivery protests. Unfortunately, unlike other conurbations such as Johannesburg and Durban, the Cape Peninsula does not have much hinterland to expand into. So within this bowl of land between the mountains, the city population has gradually approached four million, while a quarter of that finds home in Khayelitsha. In their report on their research on Cape Town, Leslie Bank and Lizette Meyer (2006:84, citing Napier, 2005) of the University of Fort Hare write:

The situation in Cape Town has now reached crisis proportions with 18 000 new households settling in the city every year. In 2001, there were 37 000 people living in shacks on the narrow strip of land on either side of the N2 alone. These communities are said to be growing at an average of around 3% per annum and are receiving 90% of their influx from the Eastern Cape. It was also found that 97% of Eastern Cape migrants living in Cape Town are settled in shack houses.

Daniel Tovrov (2011), writing on the five biggest slums, shanty towns and informal settlements in the world, which include Khayelitsha, commented: “Khayelitsha is now the biggest of these and the community had a population explosion after apartheid ended and blacks rushed into Cape Town for jobs.”



Figure 16 Dwellings in the Makaza area of Khayelitsha
(Picture by Abahlali Bemijondolo, used with permission)

Similar conditions exist in Masiphumelele township – about thirty kilometres away, on the western side of the Peninsula. About 50 000 people live there. The headmaster of one primary school in the area commented that Masiphumelele tends to have the worst of all imaginable problems – drug and

substance abuse, teenage pregnancies, unwed mothers, women-headed households, armed robberies, poor academic results, shack fires and floods.



Figure 2.17 Masiphumelele laundry day



Figure 2.18 A shack dweller, unemployed

(Used with permission from director Andrew Smith)

Some of the sites where the substantial population live demonstrate the health hazards and health risks that the residents have to contend with daily. One Khayelitsha dweller summed up the spectre of suffering thus: *singamabelana ngentlungu* (we are sharers of pain).

It is in such an environment that the desire and longing for healing arise. Still, all that this preliminary pictorial data portrays is only a part of the environment of the research population. In the classical Grounded Theory approach, all this information is treated, as Glaser (1978) indicated, as that “all is data”.⁷⁰ Moving about Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele, seeing the way the people live and, in a way, getting ‘immersed’ in what it means to live in these situations facilitated the attainment of some degree of an ‘insider’ perspective. The whole process involved getting to a point of observation where one could more clearly recognise what is happening in and from within this context. It also included the effort to understand the population from various perspectives and dimensions – social, physical, religious and economic – rather than from only one dimension. This positioning and re-positioning of oneself within that context enhanced an empathetic approach toward the *emic* perceptions and perspectives of the *amaZioni* themselves.

⁷⁰ Basic and readily available data was garnered from several recent research works. Among those sources were very informative publications of the City of Cape Town. Then there was the detailed university work of Erasmus *et al.* (2003) – *Transformation Research Project*. Anso Thom (2006) produced the paper, ‘Widening gulf between Khayelitsha and Cape Town’. Furthermore, Ndingaye (2005) produced a paper, ‘An evaluation of the effects of poverty in Khayelitsha: A case study’. Also very useful was the paper ‘Living with HIV and AIDS in Khayelitsha’, by Amanda Swawr (2010). Still on health, Garonne *et al.* (2012) produced the report ‘Khayelitsha 2001–2011: 10 years of primary care HIV and TB programmes’.

2.6 The socio-economic scene

The physical environment provides considerable information that reveals much about the conditions and context of where, and indeed how, the *amaZioni* live and survive. That situation is important in assisting to attain the level of self-understanding of the *amaZioni*. But there is a view from another dimension – the socio-economic viewpoint. What is happening in that socio-economic environment that the *amaZioni* inhabit? Here is a summary of the socio-economic conditions:⁷¹

- 68% of Khayelitsha residents live in shacks
- 46.6% of the Khayelitsha population is under the age of 24; whilst 5% are over the age of 65
- Estimates are that, for every 100 females, there are 92 males (Erasmus *et al.*, 2003)
- Unemployment stands at 23,4% - this means that almost one in five residents is unemployed
- Half of all adults are unemployed (Erasmus *et al.*, 2003)
- At least 55% of people in Khayelitsha live below the poverty line
- This ‘culture of poverty’ is characterised by low income, but also alienation, apathy, indifference, loss of self-respect, lack of incentives and opportunities for upward mobility, joblessness, and lack of further education opportunities (Dinitto & Dye, 1983, cited in Ndingaye, 2005)⁷²
- Unstable family life, high incidence of crime and delinquency (Dinitto & Dye, 1983, cited in Ndingaye, 2005)
- A very high rate of vulnerability in terms of “risk of being negatively affected by unforeseen events” (United Nations, 1999, cited in Naudé *et al.*, 2012)⁷³
- 30 liquor stores, 462 *shebeens*, 87 pubs or taverns, 593 liquor outlets⁷⁴
- Two places of sexual misconduct⁷⁵
- A high risk of murder: Khayelitsha is part of the metropolis with a murder ratio of around 62 murders for every 100 000 people; this means that there are about six murders taking place per day in the Mother City⁷⁶
- Xenophobic outbreaks are most likely to occur in this population
- Street muggings increasingly involve handguns, smash-and-grab robberies and pick-pocketing
- Two-home citizen attitude – for many the home in the rural area is the real home; the urban home is temporary

⁷¹ The City of Cape Town has done many population situation studies of the Khayelitsha area. Many are freely available on the internet. A number of these are cited in the bibliography.

⁷² Dinitto and Dye (1983) did some research and produced the paper, ‘Social welfare: Politics and public policy’, cited by Ndingaye (2005). “An evaluation of the effects of poverty in Khayelitsha: a case study of Site C.”

⁷³ This is quoted in a research work by Wim Naudé, Mark McGillivray (1981) and Stephanié Rossouw. The goal of including recent photos of the substantive population was an attempt to capture and represent the context in real terms.

⁷⁴ Erasmus *et al.* (2003) dwell on this in their *Khayelitsha Transformation Project*.

⁷⁵ Erasmus *et al.* (2003).

⁷⁶ The Expat Cape Town report (Graeff, 2010) refers to carjacking, common assault, attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances, commercial crime robberies at business premises and drug-related offences in the Western Cape.

For the shack dwellers and shanty town residents, the above summary indicates a great level of life risk. That risk is compounded by the incidence of fire outbreaks. Inadvertent mishandling of cooking fires and arson are responsible for the often very disastrous burning down of many shelters and shacks. Deaths due to such fires are not uncommon. In contrast, living in the rural area may be safer than living in this urban area.

Fire outbreaks are a constant hazard, both in Khayelitsha and in Masiphumelele – often with very extensive, devastating results. Fire consumes the wooden structures and spreads very rapidly. The strong Cape winds often fan the flames from shack to shack across the very narrow pathways between them. Many such pathways are inaccessible by fire engines. Fires are thus a serious direct health and life threat.



Figure 2.19 An almost unstoppable shack fire
(Source: Abahlali baseMjondolo, with permission)

In many cases when fire breaks out in this dense population with its closely built shacks, all that remains is ash, cinders and dust: hundreds of people are left without shelter and food and without a change of clothes. The implications for their health are obviously horrific. Their first port of call for help is the church. It is this kind of life situation that leads the *amaZioni* to refer to themselves as *iinkonzo yamahlwempu* (churches of the poor); they say of themselves *singamabelana ngentlungu* (we are sharers of pain).



Figure 2.20 Shacks razed to the ground by fire
(Source: Abahlali baseMjondolo, with permission)

It is this perception of communal suffering that Pretorius (2000:120) also discovered in the Zionists around the Cape Peninsula – that sense of self-identity as a special kind of people is very important, as will be seen below (see Section 6.4.3). It sets the Zionist as a particular people, a suffering people and a pilgrim people going to Zion. While the mission-connected churches can look to the outside world for assistance, the Zionists have to suffer alone and seek to help themselves on their own.

It is these situations of adversity and high life risk that lead the sufferers to look to their local churches for assistance. Suffering and seeing such suffering bring a sense of helplessness. But does it also create a kind of solidarity with fellow sufferers? In the aftermath of a fire outbreak there seems to be a heightened sense of vulnerability, accompanied by a search for solutions beyond the natural realm. Ethnic gregariousness and a desire for political freedom are much less powerful factors for drawing people to the churches. However, when people lose their houses or shacks there is that level of vulnerability that draws them together. But when the loss approaches the level of one's health, the search goes beyond the physical. This was one of the impressions that found its way into the notes as the research proceeded among suffering Zionists.



Figure 2.21 The aftermath of a fire outbreak in Masiphumelele, May 2010⁷⁷

2.7 The education and literacy situation

In the areas where the *amaZioni* live, there are indeed schools - schools from pre-primary level to primary, secondary to tertiary level. In Khayelitsha there are also at least a couple of Bible schools. Indeed, the relationship which has been observed elsewhere between educational conditions and health is also evident in the substantial population: the more educated the people are the more

⁷⁷ At one time the author was awakened at about 4:00 am by a call from a local lay preacher to accompany her to Masiphumelele to assist victims of a night fire. Four bodies had just been removed from the one burnt out shack. The cause of the fire was arson; the reason was a revenge by a jilted jealous young woman. Many neighbouring shacks also caught the blaze. By daybreak about fifty families were left homeless.

health conscious the people are. Also, where educational facilities are available, the educational institutions are often inadequately furnished in terms of technical and library facilities. From available sources on Khayelitsha one gleans the following information:

- 42% of residents aged 20 and over have received no schooling; 11.8% have had some primary schooling; 7.1% have completed only primary school; overall, 38.0% of residents have had some secondary education and 12.6% have an education higher than that.
- analphabetism stands at 15%

But among the *amaZioni* the level of education tends to be even lower; many Zionist children do not achieve such a matriculation qualification as would ensure entry into tertiary education. This is the situation which proletarianises many of the *amaZioni*. Such a situation also manifests itself in the church. Not many a Zionist has a personal copy of the Christian scriptures or other Christian literature. Even those who may have Bibles confess that the level of the discipline of reading and meditating on the scripture is very low. This is very important since the Christian experience is both a spiritual and a cognitive experience.

2.8 The health and hygiene situation

A walk down one of the paths in the shack areas also reveals the poor health and hygiene situation in which the *amaZioni* live. In many places, dirty used water is thrown into the streets. In the shanty areas it is not easy to restrain children from playing in the pools of water on the streets. Faulty plumbing accounts for most of the spills of sewerage on to the streets. Crammed housing makes control of infectious diseases such as dysentery and diarrhoea a perennial problem.

Municipal and local government authorities have laboured to provide some health and medical facilities in Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele. In addition, provincial government and some church agencies have also furnished supplementary health services to the population. The recently opened 300-bed Khayelitsha District Hospital is an example. Other examples are a nursing home and a clinic established by local one church in Masiphumelele.

Notwithstanding this the following situation prevails:

- the lack of closed toilets poses real health problems; the sanitation backlog is around 29,811 households; thus
- during floods the storm water system the run-off rain and household water is often poorly channelled and becomes highly contaminated by overflowing sewers. In some situations residents have to use the veldt as toilets;

- substance abuse - inclusive of drugs, alcohol and tobacco - is a problem for many; 31 places selling drugs have been identified;⁷⁸
- preventable and treatable diseases such as diarrhoea, gastro-enteritis, pneumonia, and tuberculosis are a constant reality; diarrhoea is now also the biggest killer of under-five year olds in Khayelitsha;
- HIV-AIDS prevalence is generally around 17% while in the informal sectors the prevalence rate tends to be higher;⁷⁹
- infant mortality rate in 2005 was 43 per 1,000 live births in Khayelitsha;
- at the cemetery in Khayelitsha alone there are 25 to 30 burials each weekend⁸⁰

“Khayelitsha is widely acknowledged as an area of multiple problems,” wrote medical researcher Anso Thom (2006). In medical and health terms the risk factors are multiple. In their Khayelitsha study of chronic non-communicable diseases, Puoane *et al.* (2008:73) of the University of the Western Cape found the following risk factors: sexually transmitted infections, high blood pressure, tobacco smoking, stroke, alcohol addiction, excess body mass, interpersonal violence resulting in injury, respiratory infections, high cholesterol, hypertensive diseases, diabetes mellitus, diarrhoeal diseases, road traffic injuries; low fruit and vegetable intake; unsafe water; poor sanitation and hygiene, chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases, childhood and maternal underweight problems, low birth weight, urban air pollution asthma, vitamin deficiency, tracheal and thoracic diseases, bronchitis, lung cancer, indoor air pollution, nephrosis, anaemia; septicaemia, and lead exposure. In view of all these and many other risks associated with the substantive population the question arises: “What is the solution?”

Comments by Dayile and Stern (2006) summarised this whole situation: “Regardless of the measures used, it [Khayelitsha] has among the worst social and economic problems in Cape Town, and indeed, in the country as a whole.” The same view was expressed by the head of Cape Town’s health services, Dr Ivan Toms (2006):

The real issue is that it is an informal settlement with a massively burgeoning population. There are 48 000 people arriving in Cape Town every year. The question is how to plan and deal with it.

2.9 The religious realities in context

Admittedly the Zionists are not the only people in the area who have to face all the above mentioned life challenges. In Khayelitsha, as in Masiphumelele, there are many other churches,

⁷⁸ Earlier research (Erasmus *et al.*, 2003) indicated that in Khayelitsha “the number of liquor outlets is more than double the number of Christian places of worship.”

⁷⁹ According to medical and health researchers Daniela Garone and others (2012) the situation in Khayelitsha in May 2011 was that some 20,000 patients were receiving treatment for HIV-AIDS and AIDS related illnesses.

⁸⁰ The Report by the Town Health Systems Trust (2011) records that “in the worst-hit areas of Khayelitsha, Langa and Gugulethu, there are scores of funerals every weekend. At the cemetery in Khayelitsha alone, there are 25 to 30 burials each weekend.”

both Mission Initiated Churches and independent churches. So are there also organisations of other religions. To speak of things of the spirit in this population is to touch on familiar but various issues.

Available information shows that 76.7% of the people in Khayelitsha indicate that their affiliation is with the Christian religion (Erasmus *et al.*, 2003) There are certain areas with very high percentages of Christians: for example, Mandela Park has an 89.6% population of Christians, Graceland has 88.3% and Khayelitsha T1-V1 has 87.9%.⁸¹ On the other hand, Site C has the lowest percentage with 65.8%. There are a total of 419 places where people worship in the area. The worshippers utilize various kinds of venues for this purpose - houses, formal buildings, school classrooms, municipal halls and the open fields. For many Zionists it is not uncommon to see them conducting their services in the open or under a tree. In Khayelitsha as a whole there is one church for every 1 201 people.⁸²

At the time of writing of the Transformation Report, the authors (Erasmus *et al.*, 2003) noted that Zionism is the faith of 15.3% of the total population resident in Khayelitsha. According to Statistics South Africa (2011) that is 19.2% of all Christians. As noted in Chapter 1, of the 369 different kinds of AICs recorded on the Cape Flats, some 247, or 67%, carried the name *Zion* (Pretorius, 2004:341). In a recent study by the African Leadership organisation, which has a Theological College in Khayelitsha, it was noted that 441 churches of various AIC and MIC denominations are in Khayelitsha. Of these 114, some 25% carry the term *Zion* in their names. It is interesting in view of the current research to note that there are names such as the Zion Church of Christ in the Holy Spirit and the Mkhosi Healing Church in Zion. Indeed, names carrying either *Zion* or *Spirit* are common.

In some cases it is surprising to hear the *amaZioni* point to their original church founders as the ones who had the Holy Spirit or that they had the healing powers. Such churches tend to be called by the names of the founders. In one specific church case songs and hymns are written and sung to the founder who is also referred to as *Ntate* (Father). This *Ntate* respect goes beyond just human respect: it approaches the level of ascribed Messianism.

It has to be noted though that besides these churches which carry an obvious Christian appellation there are other religious groups in the area. Such groups include the Hindus, the Moslems and traditional religious groups. When a resident of Khayelitsha is sick there is always a possibility of

⁸¹ Erasmus *et al.* 2003.

⁸² There are also other religious affiliations - Hindu, Muslim, Jewish and other traditional forms of worship.

looking to these other religions as a source of healing. Many other such alternatives or optional sources exist.

2.10 Healing alternatives and options in context

For anyone living in the areas under consideration, to seek healing among the Zionists is not an indication of the lack of what one could call ‘alternatives’ or ‘options’. Given the socio-economic environment of the substantive population, the *amaZioni* are not unaware of the health-seeking and healing alternatives or options within that environment. The Erasmus *et al.* (2003) research established that nearly 20% of the people in Khayelitsha follow the indigenous traditional. Thus, for the sick, other available options are consultation of the sangomas, traditional herbalists and diviners. There are other options, namely Moslem spiritists, Hindu divination therapists, yoga practitioners, fortune tellers, reflexology practitioners, aroma therapists, herbalists, sangomas, and a whole plethora of New Age and ethno-medical therapists.⁸³ Beside all these there are other options – spirit communication, astrology, numerology, scientology, and necrophilia, extrasensory perception (ESP), interpreters of dreams and visions, positive thinking, the power of manifestation, reincarnation, astral travelling, and mental telepathy. It takes a real thought out decision when a sick person, faced with all these options, appeals to the Zionists for healing.

One publication, *Link UP Western Cape*, is readily and freely available in the Cape Peninsula. In it a plethora of therapies are advertised, including basic tarot, astrology, quantum touch healing, full moon meditations, *reiki*, acupuncture, light therapy, crystal healing, healing with angels, hypnotherapy, homeopathy, logo therapy, past life regression therapy, transcendental meditation and courses on how to perform miracles. Most, if not all, of these profess to offer and effect some cure, some relief or other to the people in the peninsula. The 2011 issue of the magazine carried an article about a course on miracles proffered to lead to “salvation”. The miracles are said to include healing as well. So, when a sick person who was seeking healing turns to the church, it is not beyond reason to assume that the sick person will have considered, or even consulted, these healing options as well. In many interviews the respondents in fact admitted that some of these options provide healing – albeit only palliative and not permanent cures. They said the lack of satisfaction with some of the options was the reason for seeking Christian healing at the hands of the Zionists.

Of course some Zionists also conceded that some of their own church leaders had counselled them to consult some help though some of the alternative healing means. There are some Zionist leaders

⁸³ The 2010 publication, *Focus: Guide to health and education in the scenic South Peninsula*, edited by Von der Heyden was not only a public relations act of showing the existence of these health options but an encouragement for people to consult them and participate in such alternative healing programmes.

who allow their members to consult spirits, especially those spirits which are said to be related to the dead. There is one case of one Masiphumelele man who claimed to be an *isangoma*. He saw the church healing practices and his *sangoma* practices as two very separate areas of practice.

In conducting the research, there were more testimonies to the effect that while some people belonged to one church they also indicated loyalty to one or two of such healing persuasions. When there is a health problem or illness or any such adversity such people reveal their conviction by seeking healing through consulting these alternatives as well. It is not uncommon to hear some Zionist, for instance, indicating that besides consulting what they call spirits of the ancestors, they also consult divination therapists, yoga practitioners, fortune tellers, spiritists and horoscopes. The same persons may narrate how they are on good terms with members of the local Zionist church. In a country where in the public policy sphere there are talks about possible cooperation between bio-medicine and traditional medicine this is hardly surprising. The World Council of Churches has been encouraging ventures in that direction since the middle of the last century. Then again one asks the ever-present questions: “What is happening when healing is said to be occurring?” and “What is happening in the spiritual realm?”

2.11 Conclusions: context and experience

This chapter sought to bring to the fore the stark and unavoidable realities of the context in which the *amaZioni* find themselves. Such is the setting-in-life and in some aspects (shacks, hygiene, risks) it is not too far removed from what the setting was when the first indigenous churches were set up. This has been done without even touching on the often very serious protest marches and the violent crimes of which some parts of Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele have earned bad press. Although the substantial population is composed mainly of the Cape Peninsula *amaZioni* in an essentially post-1994 era, what can be learnt even by observation alone contributes much in allowing for an insider understanding to develop. In any case the data gathered from elsewhere (Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces) did not differ very much in content or substance. It was useful in making the necessary comparisons. What does it mean to be a member of this society, to live with a sense of constant vulnerability and face the problems of poor health, illness, disease and even dying? If one seeks a solution through the Zionist church, what happens there? It is out of these conditions and considerations, this *Sitz im Leben*, that a sick member of this community will seek healing in one of the Zionist churches. One Zionists summed it in the words *singamabelana bentlungu* (we are sharers of pain). The pain is already there: what is needed is the healing.

Two underlying components of the *amaZioni* context – namely vulnerability and risk – are worth noting especially as these underlie almost all considerations of health and healing. As explained,

these microscopic probes into Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele served to bring the research into a closer grassroots understanding of that peculiar Zionist experience. They highlighted the Zionist predicament. They accentuate the predicament of the Zionists in the face of a multiplicity of real life challenges and real felt needs, among them the need for healing. Admittedly, some of the outward socio-economic or health realities may have changed somewhat from what prevailed when the first Zionist churches were established a hundred years ago. Still the population on hand is still mainly a poor and proletariat class.

Indeed, to some extent the changes since 1994 have a bearing on where people live. But in real practical terms such changes are not of much considerable consequence. Notably, for this research even the changes in terms of accessibility to alternative residential choices have not greatly distracted the Zionists church members from continuing to worship in the townships. Nor has the two-home attitude of many Zionist church members changed much. The home of origin is still the preferred home for eventual burial. In two cases which involved terminally ill patients, the relatives had to choose between two pre-death decision options: provide palliative care in a hospice home in town or transport the sick back to the rural home. The relatives sought the counsel of their pastor. He advised immediate return to the rural home. So for the sick even where death is inevitably approaching there are some spiritual concerns which guide the decision process.

Therefore, as the above exercise shows, the Zionist context is basically the same as it was when the first churches were established. It is a context basically of poor lower class people, working class, mainly analphabetic, a very vulnerable black two-home population committed to certain convictions and traditions. Many are still urban tenants – not urban home owners. One Zionist summarised this in a surprising way: "We actually have three homes: one of birth, one of work and one in Heaven – *iZion umzi kaThixo*.

In his paper, Seekings (2003) noted that how that there had been a growth in the numbers of black elites and middle class people since 1994. At the same time, huge numbers of black people are confined to an underclass level where there is unemployment, poor health, poverty and social segregation. What is interesting for this research is the connection between that socio-economic status and health. It was Seekings who made the observation that the published report of the Department of Health (1998:100-105, cited in Seekings, 2003) pointed to some ways in which "social and economic inequality may be reflected in unequal health outcomes". Those health outcomes included illnesses and high death rates. It is on this observation concerning health that the research accentuates the importance of the healing phenomenon. Where the Zionist is not readily attracted or assisted to seek healing in the biomedical facilities, the nearer option is to seek healing

in the church. This is where faith healing or healing by prayer are of crucial importance, even if the healing does not occur immediately or even if a cure is not achieved.

It is here where the connection is made that the sick flock to the Zionists churches because such churches are known to administer healing. They do so knowing that there are other options or alternative health therapy sources. They seek the church to assist them solve their felt life needs. From many faithful Zionists the confession was voiced that in spite of their situation and condition in this life ultimately it is God who heals. This was a simple enough confession for them to make. The question which this research continuously put before them was how that healing occurs in relation to the Holy Spirit and other spirits. What happens when healing takes place?

These are some of the key questions dealt with in doing the research and finding out what is happening when healing occurs. The outcomes of this form the contents of the next two chapters.

Chapter 3: Doing the research proper: Immersion and encounter among the Zionists

3.1 Introduction

In a sense, immersion and encounter in the Zionist situation began once the substantive population had been identified. Empirical field research by its nature demands physical presence in the location and environment of the substantive population. It was there that a diversity of data was garnered in the form of notes, memoirs, photographs, interview reports and visit-after-visit records. In terms of the Grounded Theory approach, data collection proceeded simultaneously along with data analysis. In fact, from the primary data accumulation some insights were gained and integrated into further strategies. In that way it was possible to give more focus to the accumulating data, its analysis, coding, comparison and finally to abstract what could be learned – what was the story emerging – at the grassroots.

An attitude of learning was maintained throughout. To facilitate reception by Zionist pastors, the researcher introduced himself as a student and someone who was keen to learn. Then of course there was the more challenging discipline of holding back any preconceived assumptions or hypotheses about the subject matter. Therefore if the first phase concerned what was learnt through simply being present with the *amaZioni* – that is the content of the third chapter – then the next phase was to enter with the *amaZioni* into the understanding of what happens when healing takes place. This phase is the substance of this chapter.

3.1.1 Research preparation and protocol

Before venturing into the empirical work, the necessary ethical protocol arrangements were made with the University Ethics Department. The arrangements set in order and in print the ethical terms of reference, the method of participation and relevant instrument for the research. That process established the research protocol between the relevant university and the Zionists.⁸⁴

It was necessary to have key participants who would not only cooperate but would contribute to the whole research process from the beginning to the end. Thereafter, the actual data collection among the substantive population proceeded with an undertaking to carry out a Pilot Study among the *amaZioni* in Masiphumelele and Khayelitsha. Later, on a visit to Limpopo Province, there was an engagement with the other *amaZioni* and Zionist churches in that province. Limpopo Province is home to two prominent Zionist churches – the Lekganyane Zionist Christian Church and the St

⁸⁴ Copies of the Questionnaires are provided in Appendix 18.

Engenas Zionist Christian Church.⁸⁵ Other Zionist churches have also arisen in that Limpopo Province, some of which are breakaways from the original Zion Christians Church. An example is the International Pentecostal Church of Frederick Modise (Anderson, 2001a:111).

However, in what follows, the bulk of the research was a concentrated engagement with the Cape Peninsula Zionists. Hence the bulk of the content of the third chapter was drawn from these churches' situations. The *amaZioni* of the Cape Peninsula are themselves a diverse population in terms of tribal and religious background. A number of families contacted in Masiphumelele were non-South Africans. The research benefited from the good rapport which ensued with the Zionist pastors at the main centres both in Masiphumelele and in Khayelitsha.

As indicated above, except in a couple of instances of resistance, the research met with an open door welcome and cooperation in most of the Zionist Churches and among individual *amaZioni*. In some cases the openness was shown by the extension of invitations to conduct future teaching seminars concerning the subjects in hand, the Holy Spirit and other spirits. In other instances the expressed need was for Bibles in vernacular language so that the people could read for themselves. At the Khayelitsha Theological College several students who are members of the Zionist churches proved to be useful sources for further information.

3.1.2 The preliminary and pilot research

Undertaking the preliminary and pilot research involved a number of steps. The first was choice of a population that would be representative enough of the Zionists. It has been noted above that through their more than hundred years of existence, the socio-economic situation of the African Independent Churches, and indeed the *amaZioni*, has not greatly changed as such. There are Zionist churches which look back to the doctrines and teachings of the founding pioneers such as Alexander Dowie, William Seymour, Pieter le Roux and Thomas Hezmelhalch. Then there are others who cherish the doctrines and leadership of latter day church planters such as Edward Motaung, Edward Lekganyane and Samuel Mutendi. But basically the Zionist churches share in the same Pentecostal heritage. That heritage bears the same answers to the questions concerning the Holy Spirit, continuity or sensation of the spiritual gifts and a general understanding concerning the spirit world.

Admittedly, the political situation has changed somewhat since the advent of democracy in 1994. But the conditions which were considered in Chapter 3 are basically the same. The location of the substantive *amaZioni* population is still predominantly in the former African townships and rural

⁸⁵ The two churches are post 1948 offshoots of the original Zion Christian Church founded by Engenas Lekganyane. Appendix 7 details a brief account of the two Zionist Churches.

areas. Their leadership is largely indigenous, black, married, working class men. Another characteristic of this population is its low income, lower class membership. As indicated above, the substantive population consists of people in temporary, permanent or circular migration – between the urban metropolis and the home areas. For many the latter provinces, not the city, are home.

From a number of *amaZioni* in Masiphumelele and in Khayelitsha, a sample of some thirty Zionists participated in the preliminary or pilot research. The engagement was through personal interviews using opened-ended questions. It was through this preliminary work that the understanding of various healing methods grew. After a meeting with one Zionist, Pastor Ruphilwe, there was a general prayer time. This set a kind of pattern whenever there was a meeting. Much later, pastor Ruphilwe called with the information that a lady in the house who had been very sick had been healed during one of the prayer sessions in the house. In this way, it became clear that prayer and healing even in the individual church members' houses were prominent features of Zionist practice.

3.1.3 Creating the research instrument and preparation

Meeting and discussing with Pastor Ruphilwe assisted in developing the questions which would be included in the questionnaire. The preliminary and pilot research work among the Zionists was carried over a period of two months. This stage had its beginning with nearby Zionists of Masiphumelele and Khayelitsha and was completed in 2011. In Khayelitsha, two Xhosa-speaking people assisted in the preparation of an appropriate instrument, the questionnaire. One of the assistants was an elderly Zionist pastor of the St Engenas Zionist Church, the one with the dove emblem. The other was a lay person who had gone through three years of Bible College training at the Evangelical Union Bible College in Sweetwaters, in KwaZulu-Natal. Both had a good grasp of the *isiXhosa* language and Biblical terms.

In its final form the questionnaire aimed at eliciting down-to-earth responses to issues concerning the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing as understood or perceived by the local *amaZioni* at grassroots level. The subliminal and concurrent concern was how to create questions which would elicit an *emic* response to the key questions: “What is the relationship between the Holy Spirit and spirits in healing?” and “What is the main concern and what happens in the phenomenon of *amaZioni* healing in relation to the Holy Spirit and the spirits?” It was important at that preliminary stage to consider whether the questions which were being used were contextually appropriate. Were the questions comprehensible to the participants in the vernacular? Was there a way of designing the questions and ordering the sequence of the questions so that the participant would follow a progressive rather than disjointed theme?

Initiating and designing the questions first in *isiXhosa* served to keep the instrument ground-based. The tension was on how to keep the focus on healing *per se* and avoid other diversions from that central theme. On these preliminary matters the suggestions and counsels of the participants were taken into consideration. After all, it seemed to stand to reason that if such suggestions and counsels were incorporated in the question design and used, then most likely the final questionnaire would deliver contextually appropriate questions. They would be questions which the *amaZioni* would be able to answer from their own real life experiences. Of course there was always the determination to keep the overall purpose of the research topic in view. That purpose was to generate a practiced-based theory. To that end the final instrument was designed.⁸⁶

One aspect which relates to that determination was the translation of the two terms, namely the terms ‘spirits’ and ‘healing’. It began to appear that the (English) words ‘spirit’ and ‘healing’ themselves needed careful attention as to how both their definition and reference was understood in the *isiXhosa* language. Although this concern will be attended to more later (q.v. Sections 5.5; 7.2; 7.3.), the challenges that arose there and then were important. Concerning spirits, the question was ‘Which spirits?’ The Xhosa word ‘*spirit*’ (singular) is *umoya*. The plural, ‘spirits’, translates literally to *imimoya*. But in Xhosa, *imimoya* already carries a negative connotation bordering on the idea of the evil kind of spirits.⁸⁷

Then the term healing: is ‘healing’ to be interpreted as *ukupholiswa* or *ukuphiliswa*? Sometimes a participant would understand healing in terms of salvation: the word is *ukusindiswa*. Then again, in *isiXhosa*, what is the difference between ‘healing’ and ‘cure’? Then there was healing that involved the deliverance from evil or demon spirits. Designing a questionnaire had to take all these concerns into account. It was necessary at this early to suspend presuppositions which may arise out one’s informing theology; rather it was necessary to listen to the Zionist themselves.

Hence indeed, prior to administering the instrument, there had to be this crucial time of instrument refining, consultation, rewriting and the going to-and-fro between and among mother tongue speakers in Masiphumelele and Khayelitsha. Though at that stage of preparation the definitional meanings were still imprecise, enough data was being garnered to guide the preliminary and subsequent framework.

One development which occurred simultaneous with the creation of the questionnaire was that the pastor and assistant began to indicate the names used to identify certain spirits. Before long a

⁸⁶ Appendix 18 shows the final questionnaire.

⁸⁷ In the subsequent interviews strict care had to be taken when conversing with a Xhosa-speaking person not to embarrass the participant by accidentally use of Zulu word for spirits linked to ancestors (*amadlozi*).

glossary of such names accumulated.⁸⁸ Later, from further contacts and interviews, the glossary was augmented.

3.1.4 Data collection guidelines

When it came to commencing with the data collection, the research was concerned with collection and examination of accurate and, wherever possible, first-hand narratives from the population. In his article, ‘Constructivist Grounded Theory’, Glaser (2001:1) commented, questioned, quoted and then answered several issues concerning the nature of data:

‘All is data’ is a well-known Glaser dictum. What does it mean? It means exactly what is going on in the research scene is the data, whatever the source, whether interview, observations, documents, in whatever combination. It is not only what is being told, how it is being told and the conditions of its being told, but also all the data surrounding what is being told.

This is worth some re-emphasis: *what* is being told, *how* it is being told and the *conditions* of its being told, but also all the *data surrounding* what is being told (my emphasis). In the exegesis of what, how and data surrounding – herein lies the justification for and expediency of the in-depth effort reflected in the content of the last chapter. All the available and relevant data had to be noted. This helped to place the researcher not only in an empathetic relationship with the participants but also allowed for the possibility of gaining an understanding of why certain attitudes, actions and beliefs were upheld and others were not. This was very important particularly where beliefs in spirits were concerned. Therefore an in-depth appreciation of what was happening in healing could be made. It became possible to appreciate the challenges which the *amaZioni* face, for example, when they have to decide between going to hospital, or to a *sangoma* and/or going to church for healing. What does it mean to be poor, sick and unable to afford medical fees and then be told that there is a Zionist pastor who has a gift of healing?

Consequently, and in accordance with agreed university ethics protocols, the field work began by arranging meetings, conducting personal interviews, observations of and conversations with *amaZioni* at church services, prayer meetings, and healing services, secular work situations, in the taxis and in their homes.

The bulk of the amassed data was from such simple conversations, talks, unhurried narratives of the *amaZioni* themselves. The data sources also included studies of Zionist literature (constitution documents, periodicals, church magazines and various hymn books) as well as formal and informal

⁸⁸ Xhosa people, no less than their Zulu, Pedi and Venda counterparts in other provinces, testify to the existence of a diversity and multiplicity of spirit beings, of which the list in Appendix 6 is hardly comprehensive nor exhaustive.

observations. There were also live television narratives of the *amaZioni* on programmes on the South African Broadcasting Corporation's Channel 3 television station.⁸⁹ There were some Zionist church leaders who did not want to be interviewed. But they had no objections to the involvement of their church members in the research. Here is where the characteristic diversity, the *amabalabala* nature, of Zionism was a positive factor: there was always an *amaZioni* ready to assist and cooperate with the research process.

But still the question had to be asked: "What kind of data?" Once a good rapport had been established with the interviewees, very often their narratives would include so much information that it became necessary to set parameters as to what was to be covered in each session. It was necessary to include only the relevant good data. But what kind of good data? In trying to proceed along the principles of what good data is, the research benefitted from some guidelines suggested by one Grounded Theory practitioner, Helen Scott. In classical Grounded Theory principles, according to Helen Scott (2007:43, quoting Glaser, 1998:97-98), 'good data' has to include at least some of the following:

baseline data: "The best description a participant can offer"

properline data: "Which is what the participant thinks proper to tell the researcher"

interpreted data: "Which is what the professional researcher's *etic* view is of the information given"⁹⁰

vaguing out: "Where the participant is simply telling the researcher anything, in a vague way"

These suggestions helped to provide a filter through which was processed all the data – the opinions, feelings, perceptions, fears, facts, perspectives and Zionist interpretations of what was going on in healing. As indicated above, this was done through intensive interviewing, collection of transcripts, making observational field notes, examining historical documents, observing church services, funeral services, prayer meetings and any casual meetings with the members of the Zionist churches.

As soon as some data had been collected it was then organised and analysed. In this way the preliminary stage incorporated some valuable insights from the data harvested at the grassroots level. These insights also contributed to the choice of whom to interview further within the substantive population.

⁸⁹ South African Broadcasting Corporation, SABC 2 and SABC 3 produced the Television series *Free Spirit* throughout 2010-2011. Although the series were a wide coverage of religious organizations and churches there was some focus on African Independent Churches amongst which are the Zionists.

⁹⁰ Glaser (2002:8) explains: "When I say that some data is interpreted, "I mean the participant not only tells what is going on, but tells the researcher how to view it correctly — his/her way."

Another positive factor was related to language. Since the questionnaire was available in both mother tongue and in English it was possible to conduct the interviews in both Xhosa and English. In some instances of actual application of the instrument some terms would have to be explained. In such cases a word or two in other languages such as Zulu or Sotho would be in order so as facilitate a clearer understanding. There was no need to engage the services of a translator. Most of the notes and memoirs were in English; so was the process of analysis. As for the accumulating glossary of the names of the spirits, it seemed wiser to leave that in the vernacular.

3.2 Field research proper

Following the Pilot stage, the next step was to extend the coverage of the rest of the substantial population from thirty to some fifty then ninety participants. These were adult male and female members of the Zionist churches. Data was first collected from Khayelitsha, and then Masiphumelele and then data collection extended to include members of the Zionist churches in Limpopo. In this way, by extending the substantial population it was possible to increase the theory-generating potential of the approach. This was due to the fact that from the Limpopo Zionist centre, which is one of the original church planting centres, some valuable data was obtained. Part of that information related to the way the church leaders understood or related to the spirits.⁹¹

Data acquisition, as has been indicated above, was not a one-time field activity. It involved a multiplicity of visits and re-visits and interactions with the participants. Then there were many subsequent periods of reflection, constant comparison and further abstraction of imbedded prepositions indicated by the data. In the process the accumulated dense data in the form of field notes, memoirs and photographs was subjected to further analysis, coding and eventually abstraction of the main categories.

3.2.1 Personal interviews

After making the necessary corrections and additions to the questionnaire, the next step was to administer it in the substantial population area. As indicated above, in approaching both Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele one had to take cognisance of the varied conditions and the environment of the substantial population. Thus although having secured signed agreements to participate in the interviews, when it came to real engagement with the people one had to acknowledge and consider more issues than what was on paper. Issues of appropriate etiquette and culture had a lot to do with the success of the effort.

⁹¹ The way the Limpopo church deals with spirits will be considered further in the next chapter (5.4).

The first draft of the questionnaires was administered to participants of two local Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele Zionist congregations. The first contact persons were Zionist pastors and their assistants. Through their assistance in identifying suitable members of their congregations, the interviews extended to other willing and available church members. The preference was for adults. There was an initial group of 12 men and 8 women. Many were interviewed using the Xhosa questions. But among them were some who preferred the English translation. The procedure was usually to allow them to first freely consider all the questions. This gave them time and opportunity to reflect and respond as to whether they understood the questions. Then secondly they were allowed to furnish what was *their* own free engagement and response to the issues addressed in the questionnaire.

Beginning with the open questions, the interview would proceed to probe deeper levels of understanding. Personal testimonies were duly noted. They were of particular value because they represented not only verbal knowledge or beliefs about the issues in question but they represented part of actual real life actions – actions aimed (by them) to solve real life problems. In asking if they knew anyone who had been healed, the expectation was that the response would include such personal testimonies, testimonies of visible healing. In this and in later stages of the research the participants usually took the initiative to lead and move quickly from the general open question level to the personal level question. They were more willing to share details concerning their lives, experiences and stories. The fact that the dialogue could be performed in the vernacular added some depth and meaning to the whole process.

An example of this is when one pastor took care to explain what the Zionist churches were. He said, *Lezi zisonto zomvelo* (These are churches of indigeneity, from the soil). This piece of baseline data alone gave a prompting that what was done had connection with some practices in African tradition and culture. Before the interview the pastor had taken time to wash his hands. He explained that he had to do so because he had just come from a conducting funeral of a member of their Zionist church. A memo made then indicates that the pastor considered the Zionist church to be African root, shoot and fruit.

Another example was when the same pastor was asked about a picture which was visibly displayed in the house. It was the photograph of the founding church leader. The pastor explained much about the photograph. The reverence with which the pastor referred to the leader portrayed in the photograph was very noticeable. The fact that photos feature in some of the healing services certainly merited further examination (q.v. Section 4.5).

The repetitive process of data collection and analysis continued a lengthy period of time. In some instances it was the participants who suggested what details needed more re-visiting and whom to consult. They also made suggestions as to where to find more information. It was at participants' suggestion and invitation that the researcher visited Limpopo. They also took time to explain what they understood about the roles of the spirits and the Holy Spirit in the phenomenon of healing. Participants communicated that there were cases where certain kinds of spirits which had to be cast out and ordered to leave the sick. Hence the declarations such as *Phuma dimoni!* (Demon get out!) and *Siyakukhalimela!* (We censure you!). These were very familiar at healing and exorcism rituals. Although the healing procedures might involve such strong imperative commands, the faith healers (*abathandazi*) were willing to wait till the healing or the release from demonic bondage occurred. Candidates for the healing were accordingly advised. Hence it was not unusual to see several people who had been prayed for sitting waiting in the Zionist centres.

Zionists reverence their church centres; therefore tarrying there is usually preferred. One Bible College student from the Zionist church told of how she had actually moved from her backyard shack and was now living at the church centre. When asked why she why had done that there was a lot of vaguing out on the reasons. But she disclosed the reasons to her classmates. She was told that she had a mental problem and had to be near the pastor for regular ministry. The amulets and other cloths she was wearing were part of the pastor-prescribed treatment for the healing. When healed she would then move back to her own shack.

In other instances to close the interview involved prayer. Unlike, say, some Jehovah's Witnesses who will not allow prayer with anyone from another faith, the Zionists welcome prayer. In many such instances, inadvertently prayer was offered not only for protection but for healing as well. The general attitude which many interviewees showed was that they regarded prayer as very important. This was so especially in talking about things of the spirit – both of the Holy Spirit and other spirits. In these individual personal interviews participants took it seriously that the subjects concerned were spiritual. Owing to the exigencies of research protocol and the brevity of interview time, an hour to an hour and a half per interview had to be observed.

Some interviews were individual topical interviews. An example of the personal topical interviews was one carried out with a badge-carrying Zionist who disclosed that he was an *isangoma* (a diviner). Another interview was with a man who runs a *spaza* shop in Masiphumelele. It was he who explained much about the artefacts used in Zionist healing. One such object of Zionist healing is "tea". The man confirmed that healing "tea" could only be obtained at the church head-quarters and could only be administered by appointed church leaders, no one else. He was himself an

accredited practitioner of Zionist healing. Such types of interviews were carried out in the later stages of the research. As indicated above, during those later stages of the data gathering the interviews were more focused. They often involved personal, testimonial and confidential types of information.⁹²

Although facilities for photograph-taking and video recording were available, only a limited use of the former was made and the latter was abandoned altogether. This was so because of the envisaged burden of having to obtain consent from each and every participant every time a video shot was made. The other reason was that some Zionist leaders do at all not permit the taking of photos. At one Limpopo Zionist church the gate keepers forbid the bringing of cameras beyond the gates into the centre.

Some Zionist pastors readily offered pictures which they had already taken.⁹³ They also gave permission for further use of the photographs in support of this research. Once the purpose of the interviews was clearly understood by them their resources cooperation was always easily forthcoming. Other photographs were made available by pastors and contemporary researchers such as the Therismos Kairos Mission. These were mainly photographs of Zionist services and Zionist functions. What was not easy to obtain was the photographs of the founders of the churches. Those photographs which were on display in the pastors' houses were treasured for particular purposes; some of which included both healing and protection from evil spirits.

3.2.2 General observations

While walking among the *amaZioni* one is immediately struck by the fact that most of these, if not all, are people of a particular (singular) racial background. The two or so million gathering at the Zionist Easter conference in Limpopo is largely mono-ethnic. As has been noted above, taking cognisance of the environment in which they live also gives some insights concerning this substantive population. Part of the explanation of why the *amaZioni* live where they live is a consequence of historical factors. But even in the post-1994 era some Zionists who now live in the formerly 'all-white suburbs' still travel the distances to get to the townships. Could it be that this internal urban migration is a continued quest for community – a particular indigenous community?

Is it of any significance that independent churches began less than two decades before the official enactment of separate development laws in South Africa? What spirit was behind all this? A search to identify with those of the same kind – a community of like-mindedness? The use of uniforms –

⁹² The same participant pointed to his new pick-up van and house which, he said, attested to his conversion to the Zionist faith.

⁹³ Copies of these original photos are filed in the accompanying folder.

brown for the men; green for the officers: are these signs of hierarchy within each church or signs of desire for community? Moreover, in Khayelitsha, when a Zionist member is asked where they came from, the answer is usually that they come from the Eastern Cape. Inevitably some may even indicate that they come from the same home town or village in the Eastern Cape. In one congregation the majority identified in terms of clan or tribal connections: if an auntie or uncle was already a member of the same church then the others came also.

This is where there arose the idea that for an outsider becoming a member of the Zionist church may have been motivated by a desire for community; identity and solidarity with the like-minded. This would be another reason for the growth of the AICs, especially in the urban areas. Therefore within that solidarity category the sick find solace. The complicating factor was the even in each church its membership was not totally culturally homogeneous. Members tended to be of various cultural backgrounds – Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Pedi and Sotho. But there was a notable overall community solidarity of blacks together. That sense of community indicated a prevailing concept as will be seen in the next chapter.

Language also plays an important part in the churches. In Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele, Xhosa is the common church language. But there was a preference for using Sotho. This was clear by the formal addresses such as *Kena ka kgotso!* (“I have peace”) or *Dumela Muruti* (“Hello pastor”) and *Molimo a o hlohonolofatse* (“God bless you”), instead of the Xhosa equivalents. The greeting words are usually *Kgotso a e be le lena* or *Kgotso e be le lena* (Peace be with you).

Even in Polokwane there seemed to be more voices in Sotho than in the local Sepedi, Tsonga or Chivenda languages. Notably, the use of Sotho was adopted even though the church members do understand English and Afrikaans. Of course the Sotho connection could be traced back to the founder leader Lekganyane who worked under Sotho church leader Edward Motaung.

3.2.3 Strategic empirical observations

In conducting the empirical data acquisition it became necessary to focus on certain aspects and features of the substantive population. This was done with a constant view of the important factors already noted above. While the abovementioned environmental aspects were important in the observations, it was these strategic observations below which were critical in the research process. When the eyes of a Zionist close in prayer for healing, what is happening? How does the very real context of the Zionist affect his prayer and his search for a health solution? Are there really any options? Why call on God? The words ‘vulnerability’ and ‘risk’ from the Chapter 3 discussion have

much to do not only with the health-seeking process but with the outcomes as well. What if the prayers are not answered or, to put it another way, what if there is no healing?

3.2.4 Church authority: positions

In some Zionists churches the position of a church leader is very important. In one meeting in which the researcher was staying with one group of Zionists in Khayelitsha, a lady approached the chairman and before she began to say anything she went down on her knees. The chairman looked at her with an apparently approving smile before the general salutations. All she wanted to know was where to pay some money for a church item she had received. As she stood up to go the chairman asked: “Do you know who I am?” She responded that she had been told. Again he asked: “Who then am I?” “Yes, you are the District Chairman...” she responded, not mentioning even his name. “Yes,” said the Chairman, and with some assertive voice continued “and do not forget that, hey”. She simply accepted the advice, stood up and proceeded to leave. When the researcher came first to seek permission to conduct the interviews the same district chairman responded that the permission would have to be obtained from the authorities above him – from the church head office. The office is based in another province more than a thousand kilometres away. That there was an authority hierarchy – an episcopal hierarchy – in the church was obvious. Recognising this helped in understanding why submission and obedience were key factors even in matters of health and healing.

Another observation was made of a Zionist church publication, *The Zion Messenger*. In a recent edition, pages 4, 5 and 6 display the pictures of the founders. The name of the current leader is followed by all his title references – “His Grace, the Right Reverend, Bishop, Dr Nduluka”.

At one Zionist church’s annual conference there was an observable system of seating for the delegates. It was a system of sitting by rank, or rather according to ecclesiastical hierarchy. The ranks are demonstrably clear by the kind of uniforms used by the church members. Without some foreknowledge, the researcher walked all the way to a place very close to the podium from which the church leader was preaching. The nearer one got to the podium the more the uniform colour code changed from civilian clothes to brown khaki uniforms to green uniforms. Aware of the change of colour code but quite ignorant of its meaning, the researcher progressed closer and closer to the podium. A marshal from the podium area approached him and told him that there was a problem: those dressed in civilian clothes like him were not allowed near the podium area. Obviously, the change of the uniform environment signified ascent to a higher echelon in the church hierarchy. The marshal asked (ordered) the researcher to retreat further away from the podium.

This same sense of hierarchy was indicated at the local church level as well. In one instance a man who was working at a petrol filling station was asked if he would agree to participate in the pilot research – merely to answer a few questions. He was not even a badge-wearing member of the Zionist church, just an ordinary member of a church in Masiphumelele. He recommended that the researcher interview another church member, a taxi driver who was a badge-wearing member. Upon consulting the latter the driver recommended consultation with the local pastor. In due course contact was made with the local pastor. The pastor's answer was that only the district chairman would be in a position to authorise and participate in such an interview. A few days later the chairman referred the researcher to the national church leadership whose headquarters are more than a thousand kilometres away in another province. Contact was then made with the church headquarters. But it took a couple of months before a reply was obtained.

This church structure in some Zionist churches was quite a contrast in comparison to the other Zionist churches. In those churches the local pastors and individual church members could decide on their own to be or not to be participants in the research. More will be discussed later on the effects and significance of this hierarchical structure in connection with the healing ministry. For now it is sufficient to note that again this was a sign of the very kaleidoscopic (*amabalabala*) nature of the Zionist churches in southern Africa. Some Zionist churches have closed-tight hierarchies; others are very open, so open that even local pastors can decide to recruit preachers and pastors to do ministry in their churches. At this point of the research a few gleanings from the Zionist church literature are in order.

3.3 Gleanings from Zionist literature

In a population which, as noted above, the problem of analphabetism is high there is yet some literature which reveals much about the Zionist experience. Not much literature authored by the Zionists themselves is available as such but still, in the hundred years of their existence in Southern Africa some Zionists have produced a number of literary works which are very informative. While no general or common papers or books have been produced as such, the literature which is available tends to follow each particular Zionist denomination. A number of such works of literature is worth considering below.

3.3.1 The *Leaves of Healing* and Zionist periodicals and publications⁹⁴

Alexander Dowie's publication, *The Leaves of Healing*, no doubt had some great influence on the early Zionists. The title terms and language of *Leaves of Healing* speak for themselves. The terms were intentionally used as early as 1904. They indicate the self-explanatory ministries of the Zionist churches. Among such ministries was healing. The ministries of the Zionist churches were seen by Zionists to be wrapped with divine healing. Implicit in all this of course is the acceptance of the teachings on spiritual gifts. Among such spiritual gifts for those original Zionists were identified the gifts of healing, casting out demons, deliverance, discernment prophecy, faith healing, removing curses, exorcism, and appeals to the blood of the Lamb.⁹⁵ In passing, it is interesting to note that no sooner had the *Leaves of Healing* begun to circulate than another periodical, *The Apostolic Faith*, of the Azusa Street Pentecostal revival also came to be. The content of these periodicals was steeped in radical holiness theology. That theology, amongst other teachings, encompassed teachings on entire sanctification, divine healing, speaking in tongues (*glossolalia*), pre-millennialism and the promise of a worldwide Holy Spirit revival before the rapture. For the sake of this research it is important to note that these Zionist publications, as one Baptist author Kevin Roy (2000:102) observed in the book *Zion City RSA*, were widely and eagerly read in Zionists circles across Southern Africa. They were known among the Zionist leaders of the churches in the then Transvaal (Gauteng). The literature resources, now accessible on the internet facilitation, have provided and still provides teaching and testimonies concerning spiritual operations inclusive of healing.⁹⁶

3.3.2 Books on Zionist doctrines

Of course in South Africa the Zionist teachings are reflected in the Zionist books of doctrines as well. The one book which is most widely used is entitled *This we believe*. It was produced by the Christian Catholic Church. This publication by the 'mother' church in Illinois carries the subtitle "An Evangelical Protestant Church". The current booklet is a 1993 revision with the endorsement "approved by the Administrative Council of the Christian Catholic Church for use in Africa". Pastor Mande of the Catholic Zionist Church in Khayelitsha willingly furnished a copy of the booklet.⁹⁷ That an entire Xhosa translation of the same booklet *Esikholwa Kukho: Christian*

⁹⁴ John Alexander Dowie, founder of the Catholic Church in Zion, considered the ministry of healing as a divine part of the church's calling. Healing was almost inevitably associated with conversion. Both were indications of the work of the Holy Spirit. It was fortuitous that copies of those early editions of the *Leaves of healing* are now available on the web.

⁹⁵ Use of literature by Dowie (1904) was quite extensive. His sermons usually included ministry on deliverance from demons and evil spirits.

⁹⁶ The digital literature of the Dowie and other Zionists is included in the bibliography.

⁹⁷ A copy is available in the accompanying folder.

Catholic Church was provided by the Zionist pastor in Masiphumelele shows how freely and readily available to the *amaZioni* such books of doctrines are at grassroots level. *This we believe* is a compelling title. The contents of the teachings cover the personality of the Holy Spirit, the divinity, the promise and ministry of the Holy Spirit. However, while the teachings on the Holy Spirit barely cover five pages (pp. 23-27), the teachings on ‘Divine Healing’ cover nearly seven full pages. The only other subject which occupies more pages than that is the chapter on the Church. But even in that chapter the teaching on healing and prayer includes significant portions of the praxis entitled “What God’s people do when they come together” (p. 53). To the Zionists, this fundamental literature carries as much significance as the literature used in other established churches for confirmation and church membership.

Another of the Zionist church publication, *The Zion Messenger*, has been noted above (q.v. 4.2.4).⁹⁸ It is the annual flagship publication of that particular Zionist church. It carries testimonies and programmes of the *amaZioni*. The recent edition carries testimonies of leaders who are clearly portrayed as practitioners of divine healing. The same publication has also noted that the ministries of these leaders are also embellished with rain-making capabilities. In all this the main theme and emphasis is on healing, that is, healing which is readily available in the churches. Notable about this publication is the extensive use of the Sotho language. It is important to emphasise that such literature as is available, especially when it carries the approval of the Zionist leaders, tends to circulate very thoroughly among the church members. It also guides the church practice of healing. This aspect will be discussed further below.

3.3.3 Zionist hymn books and chorus books

A significant number of the hymns and choruses used by the *amaZioni* are of similar melodies. Indeed the research found that tunes and rhythms of Zionist hymnody are similar to those used in the Mission Initiated Churches. From that background, Zionist hymnody has brought forth and included many songs from the Wesleyan or Methodist churches.⁹⁹ For the purpose of this research the following summary classification of popular hymns will suffice:

- Pilgrim hymns – such as *Sikuyo indlela yelizwe lobomi, ikhaya labantu abahleli ngenyweba* (“We are on the journey of life going to the Home of the saints seated in liberty”) and *Bawo mandilahlekayo kuluhambo lwale lizwe* (“Father if it be that I lose my path on the journey in this world”);
- Praise songs – such as *Mazithi ngqondo zenu zimdumis’ uJehovah* (“Let your minds praise Jehovah”);

⁹⁸ A copy is available in the folder.

⁹⁹ A list of the popular hymns and choruses is given in Appendix 9. Some of these were also noted by Pretorius (2004:336). Very few English or Afrikaans songs or choruses are sung in Zionist churches.

- Atonement songs – such as *Usizi nalu lumi lodwa* (“Grace here stands alone”);
- Confessional songs – such as *Bawo ndingumtwana wakho, noma ndonileyo* (“Father I am thy child even if I have sinned”).

The above-listed words are the first words of each hymn. Even a very cursory reading of the rest of the lyrics shows ample references to sin, healing and good health in this journey of life. It is the repetitive singing of certain hymn stanzas which usually accompanies Zionist healing rituals. Embedded in this choice of their favourite songs is a reflection of the main themes of Zionist theology.

There are other Zionist songs whose authors are indigenous South African members of the Zionist churches. Their songs use different words from those of the MICs but very often they use the same tunes. Some Zionists churches do not have hymn books of their own. One Khayelitsha pastor of a Zionist church admitted that his church uses the Baptist hymn books. Another Zionist said they use the Methodist hymnal.¹⁰⁰ The Methodist hymns, it is worth noting in passing, were critical in the revivals during the period of John and Charles Wesley – a period of great industrial changes in England. Then, as in twentieth-century southern Africa, it was the lower classes who featured most (White & Butler, 2011:1).

Again, the fact that many Zionist church members do not seem to have personal copies of the printed hymn books leaves open the possibility of additions and variations being made to the original songs and tunes. In healing services it is not uncommon for an accompanying chorus to begin in a well-known melody only to find that the words are additions which are entirely different from the ones of the original chorus.

In practice then what is usually well-known among most Zionists are the choruses rather than whole hymns. Consequently, very often one hears the *amaZioni* sing and repeat *ad infinitum* only the chorus parts of known hymns. Such common choruses which are prominent in healing services include the following:

Noyana. noyana, noyana noyana? Nithini, noyana, noyana Phezulu? (“Are you going, are you going up (to Heaven)”?)

Akhona amandla egazini (There is power in the Blood);

Wenyulwa Zayoni (You were chosen Zion);

Bawo ndixolele, Bawo ndixolele (“Father forgive me”);

Emnqamlezweni (On the cross);

Kubo bonke bothixo, akekho ofana nawe (Among all the gods, there is none like You).

¹⁰⁰ Many of the hymns cited come from that Xhosa Methodist and Baptist hymnal. Some are from the popular hymnal *Icilongo Le Vangeli*.

Besides these chorus renditions, there are other simple choruses which dwell on issues such as power of the blood of the Lamb; the walk with the Lord Jesus; healing, salvation and separation; and deliverance from evil spirits. Needless to say, that constant repetition of choruses, especially sung during healing sessions, heightens a continuous consciousness of the spiritual realm. “Most songs,” wrote Pretorius (2004:83) “are about Christian *spirituality*, intercourse between God and the believer, and how this relationship moulds the believer’s life”. Many Zionists were quick to affirm that in a service flooded by such singing as is described, the feeling of being in the presence of the spiritual prevails. In such a setting anything can happen – even miraculous healing. More on how such a spiritual atmosphere relates to the Holy Spirit and the other spirits will be considered further below. For now, suffice it to note that the hymn and chorus singing seem so designed as to take the worshipper to a different level of spiritual consciousness and participation.

The content of some indigenous Zionist hymns and choruses reflects other interesting features. The features differ from church to church. In one Zionist church in the Limpopo province the repertoire includes hymns about Jesus, hymns about the founder and first local leader, hymns about love, church fellowship, prayer and about Zion as the house of God. Elsewhere among the Zionists, author Naude (1995:87,107) and others have observed that surprisingly there are few hymns about the Holy Spirit and fewer still about the Scriptures.¹⁰¹ That may be so. In other Zionist churches there are many songs and choruses on and about the Holy Spirit and healing. In Khayelitsha and in Masiphumelele the Zionists do sing many hymns and choruses *about* the Holy Spirit but also songs *to* the Holy Spirit. These include:

Yihla Moya oyiNgcwele (“Come down Holy Spirit”)
Moya OyiNgcwele yiza kuthi (“Holy Spirit come upon us”)
Mlilo kaThixo (“The Fire of God”)
Mawu fik’ uMoya (“Let the Spirit come”)
Wena Moya Oyingcwele mawungene kuthi (“You Holy Spirit enter us”)

As indicated earlier, the Zionists also sing using the other song and hymn books such as are in the Baptist Hymnal, the Methodist Hymnal and *Ixilongo Le Vangeli*. Methodist hymns, many of them with their connection with the holiness revival, seem to have found easy reception among the Zionists. However, Zionist denominations, indeed sometimes each *ibandla* (congregation), has its own local selection of favourite hymns and choruses.

Unlike in other AICs such as the Nazareth Baptist of Shembe and the International Pentecostal Church of Modise, there are not many Zionist hymns which reflect the tendency to exalt and deify

¹⁰¹ Piet Naude’s case study was mainly among the Venda Zionists at Itsani village, near Sibasa-Thohoyandou in Limpopo province.

the founders over and above the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. On the contrary, many Zionists instead use some of the songs written by African Christians. In the book edited by Elphick and Davenport (1997), a chapter by David Dargie gives an account of music authored by such Africans as Tiyo Soga and Ntsikane. It is such kinds of music which seems to be well desired among Zionists. Time does not allow to discuss the one great work of another African Christ music writer, Enoch Sontonga (1897), author of the hymn *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*. The reference made to the Holy Spirit is given more attention later.

Concerning Zionists' singing, one area which tends to be always illusive is the (possible) connection between Zionist melody and the music of traditional religions. The Zionist use of drums, rattles and bells along with dancing has, for some authors, been seen as adapting Christianity to African traditional religion (Dargie, in Elphick & Davenport, 1997). However, when the Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele Zionist participants were asked they could not confirm if in their churches there was an affinity for a borrowing from traditional religions.

3.4 Zionists at worship

Hymn and chorus singing hardly occurs without hand clapping, body movement, dancing, jumping and drum beating, ululating, whistling and groaning. Rhythm is sometimes maintained by hand-beating on a copy of the Bible or church hymn book. In terms of motion and mobility, some Zionist worship may include abrupt falling to the ground and wriggling, weeping and groaning. During worship services this is not regarded as unusual. At one Zionist celebration service one could hear the interjections of deep non-vocal groaning which did not call for explanation. In some Zionist churches the minister leads the singing with a stick in the left hand and the Bible in the right hand. The drum beating and hand-clapping follows the use of Afro-diatonic techniques (Dargie, in Elphick & Davenport, 1997). Such techniques may be designed to lead the worshipper into deeper spiritual consciousness. In doing Zionists this Zionists demonstrate a yearning, a stretching out to the spiritual realm.



Figure 3.1 Zionists at dance worship

Different types of dances were observed. There is the general dance that accompanies the general worship. Dancing in circles (*ukujikeleza*) is a common feature at church services especially at healing services. The movements tend to be rhythmic and all-inclusive. There is also the dance by the Zionist band. This is usually a band composed of men only, in uniform. However at church services both men and women dance.

But for this research it is the circle dance which is significant because it is also associated with the healing sessions. A church healing service involves all present; some sing and dance in circle formation following the leading of the pastors. Then as the sick gather in the circle and kneel the pastors lay hands on their heads and pray for them to the rhythm of the loud instruments, usually a key board.

The worship and healing services are heightened by shouts of “Amen” and “Hallelujah” often with interjections or with responses of *Siyavuma* (“we agree”), *malibongwe!* (the Name be blessed), *kunjalo* (it is so), the unmistakable Xhosa exclamation *Hayibo!* and sighing *Nkosi yam* (my Lord) rising from the congregants. These expressions are sometimes accompanied by bodily movements as well. These exclamations or interjections are not unwelcome; they are expressions of approval and encouragement (Pretorius, 2004:219). They also represent a yearning for more. In a real sense they indicate participation by the congregants during worship services.



**Figure 3.2 Zionists at worship: Christian Catholic Church in Zion
(used with permission)**

No doubt in healing service this freedom to participate may be an attraction for the non-member who has been struggling with some illness. Free participation and free healing service provision

enhances a sense of dignity among the *amaZioni*.¹⁰² The Zionists appreciate this freedom to participate, to express oneself in movement, to be together with like-minded people.

In her study of African musicology, *Tuning in to a different song*, South African missionary Joyce Scott (2000) noted that the repetitions and rhythms are actually part of the essence of ethno-doxology.¹⁰³ Repetition is thought of as conveying the seriousness with which the worshipper approaches God. It is also a way of focusing on what is the issue at hand without having to think too much about the words. In this way repetition carries a meditative function. For the Zionist this is of strong spiritual significance. Beside serving as a therapeutic balm which gives the worshipper some relief from the drudgery of life, it is supposed to draw the worshipper into the arena of the spiritual.

But of course all this takes time. Generally, however, there is more event consciousness than time consciousness among the *amaZioni*. People tend to be free to come in and go, or to go out and wait outside as the service continues. There is however particular emphasis depending which Zionist church one is considering. Thus it was important to keep on asking the Grounded Theory question, “What is happening here?”

3.5 Zionist photos

In one Zionist church the photos of the founder leader and those of his successors are held with high esteem and reverence. In the house of the elderly Khayelitsha pastor who participated in the preparation of the questionnaire there was a photo on the wall.¹⁰⁴ It was a photo of the church founder. When the researcher pointed to the photo the pastor looked up at it with some measure of adoration and exclaimed *Loya wayeliqhawe* (That one was a hero). Such was the apparent reverence which the pastor had for the late leader that photo only, none others, hung on that wall. Other photos were on other walls. The attitude of reverence seemed to go beyond an enactment of living memory. Somehow the photo seemed to convey to the pastor some sort of spiritual presence.

At the one church bookshop situated within the Limpopo church grounds the photos of the church leader were not given out free but on sale: price - R40 apiece in 2010. Standing in a queue behind the researcher was one man who was admiring a copy of the photo which he had just bought. The man suddenly commented: *Ewe yayi muhle lendoda. Njengoba sendiza kuba nayo ifoto endlini*

¹⁰² In some mission established churches the ‘action’ seems to be all at the altar or in the pulpit area while congregants just watch and follow.

¹⁰³The work of Scott (2000) has been cited in the participatory research by G.J.O. Marincowitz (2004). Of relevance to this research on Zionists is the Scott video (2003), which incorporates a section on “How to Teach A Xhosa Song”.

¹⁰⁴ Reference has been made to this occasion in 4.2.1.

iizinto sezizo hamba kahle (He was a handsome man. Now that at I will have his photo in my house things will go well). In the mind of the Zionist photo and welfare go together.

As noted above, such photos of the Zionist founders also adorn the opening pages of the Zionist Church publications (4.3.3). The observation could not be ignored that church leader images on paper take a significant iconic meaning in Zionist understanding of spiritual matters. The way in which the Bible is placed on the heads of those who are sick and prayed over during healing sessions reflects the same reverence for symbols and images, especially in ritual functions. These are aspects of Zionism which will be re-visited later below (q.v. Section 6.4).

3.6 Zionist artefacts

The same shop referred to above sells the usual Zionist artefacts such as badges, linen clothes, special tea leaves, walking sticks and cords which are said to help ward off evil spirits. Some of these articles, the researcher was told, are sold only to chosen Zionist leaders who then can sell them to their local church members. The stock of artefacts and symbols are for sale. The proceeds go to the church. On the whole in the eyes of the *amaZioni* the artefacts are certainly to be regarded as being at a level different from and higher than other items which any church member may possess. Many people queued to acquire them from the shop. Judging from the length of the queue it is estimated that many of the over two million Zionists who gathered there for their annual pilgrimage are patrons of the shop.

In terms of healing then there is a sense in which a some sick Zionist would regard the artefacts proffered by the church as being more potent than medical pills or anything prescribed in hospitals. People not only believe this; they buy and use those artefacts. One man who had just bought a copy the *Zion Messenger* commented: “I was shown in a prophetic vision that I must buy this magazine.”¹⁰⁵ Members of the Zionist churches believe in what they are told and act on it.

3.7 Zionists and the Scriptures

The Zionists no doubt consider themselves to be Christian. That self-identity is very important to them. However, in many Zionist churches the shortage – and in some homes the absence – of Bibles is obvious. In this lack among the independent churches Zionists are not unique. Costs of and access to the Scriptures were cited as limiting factors. Then, as noted above, the *amaZioni* are a population with high rates of alphabeticism. This is related to the low-level educational standards and the low income conditions which were cited in Chapter 3. However, the situation is exacerbated by the little reference and sometimes lack of actual dealing with Scripture texts in

¹⁰⁵ Personal conversation with Mr Joseph, a Zionist church member, who revealed he trusted in guidance by visions.

depth from the pulpit. In more than one major Zionist service the church leader who was preaching read only a few verses from the Bible and then proceeded to speak on the socio-economic programmes of the church. Not many Zionists preachers take time to comment, exegete, expound on the Scripture texts, or refer to other Bible texts which speak on the same subject. The tendency is to move straight from text to application. At a Zionist church service in Limpopo the preacher read the Bible passage and immediately went on to give an account of the church history. He spoke more on what his late father had done and what the church would do to try and alleviate the poverty among their members.¹⁰⁶ The research did not gather enough evidence to indicate whether social action or Gospel proclamation was a priority.

But during that service there was one observation which the research could not ignore: whenever the preacher mentioned a Scripture text the hearers - at least the Zionists who were near the researcher at that gathering of more than two million people - those Zionists would ask one another what the text reference was and they noted it, wrote the reference down on paper. Could this have been a sign that the Scriptures were more important to them than the history of the Church? Or was this significant of a heart quest like that of the Bereans in the book of Acts?¹⁰⁷ Moreover, what does this say of the low level of Biblical literacy among the Zionists? A return to this issue will be made to relate such literacy with healing, with the spirits and indeed with the Zionist understanding of the Holy Spirit (q.v. Section 7.4).

However, concerning the Scriptures one fortuitous development is that, unlike the hymn books and chorus books of which there are many variations available to the Zionist fields, there are not many Bible versions in vernacular. For Xhosa-speaking people – currently over eight million of them – the 1859 is the well-favoured version. It has gone through a number of editions the latest being in 2009; the last impression in 2010, was printed in China. This singular fact that Bible versions are limited in number thus narrows the space for a variety and diversity of theological perspectives and convictions among the Zionists as will be discussed further below (q.v. Chapter 7). A number of Zionists also commented that there are certain versions of the Bible which do not appear to conform to evangelical conservative faith. The 1996 version – known among Zionists as *uNdikhoyo* – is an example of such versions.

¹⁰⁶ In a sense it is too ambitious to expect such disciplines as text exegesis and exposition to be operational in this level of educational standard. However the pastor in reference had a post graduate degree. But this is one feature of the Zionist experience – the need for Bible teaching and training..

¹⁰⁷ Reference to the Berean believers: “Now the Berean Jews were of more noble character than those in Thessalonica, for they received the message with great eagerness and examined the Scriptures every day to see if what Paul said was true.” (Acts 17:11, NIV 2005).

In practice, especially in administering healing, Zionists use the Bible in various ways. The researcher noticed that the usual way this is done is to hold the Bible over the head of the sick person while prayers are offered. The respect for and value of the Bible is enhanced by such use in prayer for healing. In the same manner the Bible is used in the exorcism of evil spirits.¹⁰⁸ In some cases the pastors pray over the sick using Bible texts. In other situations they give the sick person a Bible verse to meditate on and encourage the sick person to trust in the Lord. In the homes a Bible kept under a pillow is not an unusual sight. At this point it is appropriate to consider Zionist healing practices.

3.8 Healing practices

Both in the pilot research and in many instances thereafter the researcher observed two kinds of Zionist healing practices - the formal healing services and the informal, often impromptu healing ministries. The formal healing ministries usually occur in the weekly church services, usually at the end of the main Sunday services. When the church leaders call people forward in church it is usually a call for healing. Zionist therapeutic practices cover a multitude of ailments and illnesses – stomach pains, infertility, maternal sicknesses, removal of curses, healing of the minds and exorcisms. Participants said that in many cases the ministry of healing also extends to relationships, especially broken relationships. Broken relationships include relationships with both the living and the dead. With the latter, the ancestors, the importance of this cannot be over-stated suffice to note that it is a spiritual relationship actualised in a different dimension.

As noted above, in churches where the hierarchical structure is rigid it is the bishops or the senior pastors, not the lay people, who conduct the healing. They lay hands on the sick and pray over them. They use the Bible as a contact point. Water is also administered to the sick – especially where the illnesses are of an internal nature. But then again water is administered for a number of other purposes. Healing sessions are accompanied by chorus singing, hand-clapping, praying in other languages (tongues). Members of the Zionist churches indicated that these movements and possibility of participation in the services develop a sense that they are involved and not just going through the motions.

The same sense of being involved voluntarily applies to those who come forward for healing. There is no pressure on them to do so. Of course, once the actual healing begins, or as the ritual continues, some Zionists admitted that sometimes it is as if some other power takes over. Many Zionists have testified that when that happens, as in a trance, their sense of control is greatly reduced. Cases of

¹⁰⁸ The practice of using a sacred text book in this way may have its counterpart in other religions as well. In Islam for example written texts from the Koran are put up on shop walls and shelves and in the Muslim homes to convey the idea of some spiritual link of presence.

people falling over or screaming and yelling have been observed. The sick have burst into weeping, groaning. Sometimes they wriggle and fall over as if completely out of self-control. Hence the pastors shout *Puma Demoni!* (“Demon get out!”). A healing service is treated as real spiritual warfare. As such it can turn out to be a long-drawn experience. But, the question may be asked, was the demon already in the sick person before the prayer session? Or did the demon take over during the session? What is it happening in the healing process? Crucial in the debates over healing is this very issue of control agency. There is no doubt that the healing atmosphere is an environment charged by spiritual agencies.

The cases of worshippers falling over was particularly interesting to the researcher. Situations of falling over are not the same. Some healing supplicants who attested to being taken over by some power also testified that when that happens the falling over is a gentle movement, a kind of surrender and not a sudden crash to the ground. In such situations, especially for the ladies in dresses, there is no display of indecency or exposure. In many such possible situations prearranged counsellors both male and female are on standby to assist the sick.

However there are instances where, unlike the afore-mentioned happens, the obverse is the case. The prayer supplicants shout, groan, jump, speak in other tongues, scream and may even speak in voices entirely different from their own. In one such prayer situation a young woman of about 20 years of age spoke like some man well over eighty years old – rough, rude and cursing everyone. During the whole episode her eyes were closed. Cases which involve the *amafufunyane* spirits tend to be accompanied by such manifestations even violence. The *chikwambo* spirits said one Mama Dube, an elderly wife of an evangelical preacher, “are very stubborn when one tries to cast them out. They resist and speak very rudely, foul language”.

During healing ministries the shouts themselves are part of exorcism – casting out the evil spirits. In Zionism the encounter with such spirits shouts and clamouring are not uncommon feature of healing shouts from the one possessed of the spirits and shouts from the healers trying to cast out the spirits. In one Zionist church book, *This we believe*, it is written that sickness and disease are seen as linked to dying and death which are a result of sin and sin has its origin in the devil. The book proceeds to quote from the Scriptures: “He who does what is sinful is of the devil, because the devil has been sinning from the beginning” (I John 3:8).¹⁰⁹ But in exorcism, as in healing in general, the question is “What really is happening?” and “What spirit is in operation?” Could the search for healing also be symptomatic of a deeper quest – a pursuit of spiritual solutions to problems which manifest themselves in the physical day-to-day life? This real issue revolves

¹⁰⁹ A quotation from page 40 of the Zionist Book, *This we believe*.

around how all this is perceived by the *amaZioni*. A return to this issue will be made later (q.v. Section 6.5).

There is another question though. What about situations where either the healing was not received at all, or where, as in the Limpopo Easter services, there was not even a call from the leaders for healing? Thousands and thousands of people were sitting, some standing in the rain, some not even able to see the faces of the preachers - and there was no call for people to come out for healing. What then was happening there?¹¹⁰ Behind this question is another one: Why did the multitudes come? It is unlikely that any attendee to a Zionist conference will come back with some huge monetary benefit. There are no money hand-outs at any of the Zionist churches in which this research extended. The travelling costs, which for some attendees are barely affordable can be very high, are never subsidised by the church. Why then do people invest so much to go to such a place so far where there is no shelter? What are they seeking?

In his recent book, Müller (2011) suggests a reason: pilgrimage. The suggestion is that the Zionist enigma can be understood within the context of an “African pilgrimage”. Pilgrimage as a concept carries the idea of movement, a journey. But pilgrimage also entails a search – a journey in search of something. Pilgrimage may offer a way of thinking in which the whole healing phenomenon can be understood. Is such a pilgrimage the same as the annual pilgrimages which are undertaken by worshippers of other religions?¹¹¹ The observation has been made that there were no actual calls for people to come and be healed.

The analogy of a pilgrimage then tends to be limited though: if pilgrimage represents a journey then what is the destination? What are people seeking for? This is an area of consideration which can be identified but not explored deeply for now. But it is worth noting that one of the components of pilgrimage is ritual.

The second form of healing service is the informal type. Individuals are free to ask for healing – especially at the local church level, in home-based prayer meetings or simply to appear at the church and ask the pastor to administer healing. Four examples of this will be cited:

¹¹⁰ Seeing the thousands upon thousands there by the mountain side one could not avoid the empathising idea *Abantu bethu baya dhubeka nyaniso* (Our people are really suffering). Beyond the camaraderie of camp-like life out in the open, day in day out, there were faces of real suffering.

¹¹¹ A similar experience of pilgrimage is illustrated in the book, *The Torn Veil*, by the Muslim woman Esther Gulshan (1984). The Gulshan pilgrimage involves a search for healing from Pakistan to London then Mecca with no healing. Then while in her room back home came the healing and the revelation the Lord Jesus Christ is the Healer.

a) *Khayelitsha* Zionist church: week-day service

At the close of the evening meeting a sick lady comes up to a church elder (and the researcher was closely observing this). She tells the elder that she is not well; she is seeking healing. The elder takes a piece of newspaper. He lights a match, burns the paper and asks her to put her two hands around the glowing fumes and flames. While she is doing this he says a few words, praying in another language (rather unintelligible). Then he assures her that she will be all right as he lets her go.

b) *Masiphumelele*: a normal week-day at the church

There is no service; only the church choir is present, rehearsing in an open space. The pastor is somewhere in the church grounds. A man comes up to the entrance of the church grounds and says to one of the leaders sitting there and says: *Andiva kakuhle; ndicela amanzi* (I am not well; I need some water).

This is not even during a service.

The leader dips his cup in the readily available basin and smears the water over the back of the man; asks him to turn around and then splashes the remaining water into the face of the man ... Then he gives him some water to drink.

He then tells him *Kuzo lunga; uThixo akusize* (You will be alright. May God help you).

Appearing satisfied, the man leaves.¹¹²

c) *Khayelitsha*: at a Zionist church office

An enquirer mentions that his sister, Eleanor, is sick. Eleanor is not present. He asks the leaders for prayer for her. Her name is mentioned. The church leader informs the rest of the gathered leaders what the name is. Then they all kneel and pray. Everyone prays in their own tongue - Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho. They pray for the sister by name – Eleanor.

As they rise and sit the church leader assures those present that Eleanor will be all right.

The Eleanor case raises another set of concerns. On the one hand are concerns about the approach to and inquiries concerning prayers for healing. On the other are concerns about the outcomes of those approaches and inquiries. The case of Eleanor as one of the unhealed will be re-considered further below (q.v. 5.8). It is at this point that it may be appropriate to note that the search for

¹¹² Further consideration of this water therapy appears in the sixth chapter (6.4.1)

healing may be a search for something more than just cure only. That search may or may not end up by receiving immediate healing or include cure. Many other issues accompany the whole healing process – the courage to ask for healing, courage to share such very personal burdens, to ask and search for assistance from people of like mind. The desire for community confidence which is met by the willingness of the church members to bear the burdens of others.¹¹³ It slowly began to appear that among the *amaZioni* healing involves relationships, a whole range of relationships. It is thus holistic. Another consideration of the above-mentioned Polokwane case is useful here.

d) A church service in Limpopo Province

People are queuing to buy the magazines and books from the church bookshop. One man in the queue holds the picture of the church founder and exclaims: “*Ewe yayi muhle lendoda. Njengoba sendiza kuba nayo ifoto endlini iizinto sezizo hamba kahle* (He was a handsome man. Now that at I will have his photo in my house things will go well).

The idea of *hambela kahle* (things going much better) is a holistic, comprehensive one. It expresses the sense and understanding (hope?) that all things will go well – not just in terms of a cure and good health as well as protection from health-threatening forces but also general prosperity, provision and protection as pronounced by the prophet. This *hambela kahle* expression and hoped-for developments is predicated on the premise of the presence of the leader’s photo being in the home of the church member. For the *amaZioni* presence is of great importance – physical bodily presence or symbolic spiritual presence.

In one office there was a picture on the wall. The picture was of two people – apparently a husband and wife couple – overlooking the desk where the officer sat every day. It was a picture of the officer’s parents who had long passed away. When asked who it was who were in the picture the officer replied: “These are the spirits which watch over me daily here.” While this helps one understand the Zionist perception concerning spiritual things including healing and protection from possible spiritual harm, it also provides much revealing information about the identity of the kind of spirits involved, or whether the Holy Spirit is involved, in the process.

3.9 Memoirs

While moving and observing the population, while conducting interviews from time to time an idea, a thought, an insight came to mind. These accompanying notes accumulated as memoirs.

¹¹³ In Khayelitsha, for instance, with a high prevalence of pandemics such as tuberculosis, hypertension, sugar diabetes, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV-AIDS, it takes some courage to increase one’s vulnerability by disclosing any sickness or affliction in public.

These notes served to keep a running list of observations and the impressions and ideas which came to mind during work in the field. The reflections emanated during and after the interviews, discussions and studying literature on healing specifically among Zionists. It was usually during such memoir-making and memoir-comparing moments that emerging concepts and properties were created. This process of recording also took the form of short questions: “Is this a quest for power?” Or “Is there power in the water being sprayed on people?” Or “Does the special tea have power because it is bought in Moriah?” The memoirs informed the process of data analysis and helped keep control and progress of the research process from interview to interview and from meeting to meeting.

3.10 Films and Internet sources

A well-presented live South African Television series on various religious groups in South Africa, *Free Spirit*, was run by South Africa Broadcasting Corporation in 2010. Among other religious aspects, the series incorporated live interviews and discussions on Zionist practices – namely prayer, healing and communication with spirits. There were discussions of the relationship between the faith of certain *amaZioni* and spirits. The spirits in question are said to originate from ancestors who are no longer alive. Some *amaZioniss* claimed that often the spirits of the dead get “angry” and the result is that misfortune and illness manifest themselves in families. Such spirits, it was said, needed to be appeased by ritual ceremonies. Hence the need for ritual prayer. This was one explanation given by some of the interviews. The appeasement, it was said, was necessary due to the failure by the living to please the dead.

The interest in spiritual matters was obvious not only from the television series title but from the very practices of some Zionist churches. The television series confirmed what had been this research finding on the field. There are indeed some Zionist churches who admit to the existence of such spirits. Through the television series came the idea that although there may be among some Zionists some inclination towards affirming certain entities as spirit beings proceeding from the ancestors, the general view was that there was no connection between the ancestors and the living except through the Creator. The question for those of the view that spirits which represent the ancestors do exist is: then how did the church leaders deal with them? How do the leaders determine which spirit is representative and which spirit is an ancestor? These are the questions which confront the sick when they seek healing. These are questions to wrestle with in the next chapter.

Another useful source of information was that which has been made available on the internet web by various research organisations. Some of the data from these organisations has already been

noted above. Certainly one thing: the issues of the existence of spirit beings are not restricted to the Christian faith alone. In other religions, in Shintoism for example, the question of spirits presents serious challenges.

3.11 Summary and conclusions

As indicated above, observing and noting only the outward appearances related to the substantive population may give a very misleading impression of the general lives and experiences of the *amaZioni*. At one entrance to Khayelitsha from Mitchells Plain are clean streets, clean saloon cars, pick-ups and double-cab vehicles. The sight of thousands of buses and trucks proceeding to Moriah, the church leaders' shiny Mercedes Benz and Rolls Royce may well create an impression of modernity, of opulence and prosperity. The fact is that most Zionists do still live in the *imjondolo* or *amatyotyombe* type of dwelling places. As for the latter their sick are looking for something in life, for solutions to the problems of life. So they too turn to the Zionist churches in the townships for spiritual support.

As for the for the majority of the Zionists for whom life is an experience of low-income, low educational achievement, poor housing, high vulnerability often associated with high health and spiritual risks and low life expectancy the Zionist church holds the promise of being *umzi kaThixo* – the place where God dwells. It is within this context of that vulnerability and risk that a poor sick Zionist has to seek solutions for a multitude of sicknesses, ailments and adversities.

Among those interviewed, less than 20% owned a personal copy of the Bible. Beside, with analphabetism standing at 15.5% even those who have the Scriptures struggled in seeking to understand what they were reading. Among the Catholic Zionists there has been a significant development towards theological education. Notable on this point is the work of missions such as those of the Theological Education by Extension (TEE) and the More than a Mile Deep (MMD) groups. There is also the work of the Zion Evangelical Mission for Africa (ZEMA) who have set up some Bible colleges specifically to present and promote theological education among the Zionists. ZEMA is a ministry connected to the Chicago-based Dowie Christian Catholic Zionist church. But the general level of academic and theological knowledge among the *amaZioni* is still low, much lower than what prevails in the Mission Initiated Church counterparts.

Clearly, data concerning the literature and the hymns shows some of the *amaZioni* understanding of the relationship of Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing. It is an understanding developed more from practice rather than formal college education. In order to enter into that understanding, the research proceeded by way of further interviews and observations of the places where the Zionists

live, how they communicate, what they say or are not prepared to say. All the experience of data collection gave the research a level of understating approaching the *emic* understanding of the *amaZioni* themselves. The field work could have continued *ad infinitum*. But a point was reached where it appeared that what was being gathered produced really little new marginal insights – no new ideas or concepts. That point, in Grounded Theory terms was the point of ‘saturation’. It had been reached. Not much new data on the field was adding much more to that level of understanding the *amaZioni*.

There is one aspect of the issues surrounding healing among the Zionists which can easily escape attention. Up to now the experience which has been highlighted is that of healing in terms of successful healing experiences. As in the bio-medical practices – clinics, hospitals and formal health institutions – there is in Zionist healing the question of the unhealed. An exhaustive round-up on this issue would have entailed taking consideration not only those who, after being prayed for, had to go back home unhealed but those also do not even manage to get back home, those who die even after healing services. Zionist centres are known to be places where many wait for their healing. But it has been known that even in the earthly *umzi kaThixo* people die. Such an experience of non-healing is not confined only to the Zionist churches. Others live on, continually enduring the pain of being unhealed. Others indeed turn to such other therapy options as are available within their context.

The case concerning the unhealed is one which brings in great complexity and perplexity in the healing phenomenon among the Zionists. It was not one on which many participants would open up and freely share about, if only because of its profundity. But it was so also because everyone had indeed had witnessed the reality that even though physical healing was possible there was always the reality of death. Again, to consider the reality of death brings people to not only take seriously their mortality but their spirituality as well.

Chapter 4: What is happening? Data analysis, emerging concepts and creating categories

4.1 Introduction: Generating an understanding of healing among the Zionists

The last chapter examined in depth the encounter with and collection of raw data concerning healing among the Zionists. Along with that data processing were abstractions of the main concepts imbedded in the data. Many questions which did arise still needed re-visiting. At the close of the chapter it was necessary to give cognisance to the fact that even among the Zionists it is not all supplicants for healing who are healed. As in other churches, the enigma of the unhealed continues among the Zionists as well. The current chapter is an effort to understand what message emerges out of the field data. It seeks to understand how the *amaZioni* themselves understand the healing experiences in relation to the Holy Spirit and the other spirits. This is an effort to let the data analysis process illuminate what the Zionists are going through before during and after the services of healing. The aim is to draw out the main thematic lines, the concepts, to get at the storyline about what happens in Zionists healing services. Up to this point a recurrent observation has been that the nature of the services and rituals is essentially spiritual. Zionists churches do not offer any financial or material rewards to any of their members. Even in Zionists churches where the sick have to acquire some artefacts for their healing, those artefacts are not free hand outs. Crucial in those services is the involvement of the spiritual - the involvement of the Holy Spirit and the other spirits as agents in the healing.

Although this chapter concentrates on the process of data analysis, the creation of category abstraction of concepts and constant comparison and theoretical sampling it is appropriate to re-state that from the outset there was no preconceived idea or hypothesis on which or with which to begin the research. Nor were there any premeditated insights of what the outcomes would look like. What form the Zionist story would take was left to be discovered in what is imbedded on the field. This was so because for one thing the ground based story would come out of the Zionists themselves. It would come out of the views, beliefs and actions of the Zionist set to resolve the real life problems at grassroots level. In that way the search was for concepts and categories embedded in the ground as people sought to resolve the challenges in life.

From the observations in the third chapter one of the most obvious challenges is the need for good health and, given the tough world as it is, therefore the need for healing. So for one thing the methodology that was adopted did not require the researcher to approach the field with pre-set assumptions. For another thing there has not really been much in depth literature available with

specific focus on the Holy Spirit and other spirits in the context of healing. As the research progressed, the principles which underlie that search for healing began to surface. They surfaced as concepts through which healing would be understood in a much clearer perspective. Out of the accretion of concepts were created the common categories of concepts. In the end the kind of categories which were emerging out of the whole process indicated the story of the Zionists concerning healing. That emerging story was kept in constant confrontation with ground-based happening during the healing process in the Zionist churches.

In practice the process of data collection and data analysis proceeded in simultaneous, cyclical and in a cumulative sequence towards a point of saturation. This chapter concentrates on the stage-by-stage progress of that process - data analysis, selective coding, theoretical sampling, as well as the sorting and the writing of the theory. What follows below is a presentation of various stages involved in the process of handling the data harvested in the field, a process which, nevertheless, was not static nor fixed but rather fluid and flowing. In collecting the data, one always had in mind the thoughts and reflections around the question “What is happening?” These reflections and promptings were recorded as notes (or memoirs). The memoirs were integrated into further data analysis and more reflections and more abstractions were made as continuous recourse back to the field was made. This reciprocal process continued right through the research up to the theory-writing stage. Data processing and analysis obviously were crucial in all of this.

4.2 Data analysis and data processing

The work of harvesting and recording data was a continuous, iterative and reflective process. The very act of going to and from and among the participants helped not only in gaining more rapport with them, it also helped in gaining more insights into the population itself. It helped draw closer to their ‘view’ of things as they saw them. It facilitated with gaining more insight of what happens during the ministry of healing among the Zionists. In the Glaserian system of coding, open coding is part of the first phase of the first stage of substantive coding (Walker & Myrick, 2006:550) The other part of substantive doing is selective coding. Substantive coding precedes theoretical coding. The whole coding process has been summarised as an effort “to excavate a theory from raw data” (Walker & Myrick, 2006:550).

4.2.1 Open coding

Rigorous data analysis commenced with coding all of the data garnered from the field. Substantive data analysis commenced with open coding. This was the first step of coding from the notes,

memoirs and all the raw data from the field.¹¹⁴ In a sense, even while still in the field and looking around to see how the Zionists live and where they live, some ideas of what was happening began to emerge. As a process of fracturing, analysing, examining the raw data and extracting concepts from it (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), open coding involved finding out what ideas, beliefs and opinions which the participants held about what is happening in the healing process, with a focus on the involvement of the Holy Spirit and other spirits. It also meant breaking down the data and analysing it and putting codes on it. In particular, it examined data sets which could be grouped together into meaningful concepts. As has been noted above, the participants were more than willing to speak and share their life experiences and this at times led rapidly from the open questions to really personal life questions. The participants shared information on questions about their own beliefs, situations, experiences, expectations, life journeys, life searches and the focal issue of the healing phenomenon. Concept creation involved summarising those ideas and opinions from the field. What the participants shared could not be separated from the very socio-political context of their lives – that context of vulnerability and risk. Thus, in talking about their search for health and healing solutions, inevitably issues such as poor sanitation, low incomes, high cost of biomedical treatment and related matters formed part of their real life narratives.¹¹⁵

At each stage the question “What is happening?” was at the forefront of the abstracting and coding process. What was each participant’s main concern vis-à-vis healing, the Holy Spirit, and other spirits? Even when, as for instance with Tata Enoch at the garage, where the participant seemed to have arrived at his own answers to his life questions concerning spirits, it was evident that one could probe deeper. Tata Enoch, a badge-carrying Zionist, believed he was in-dwelt by the spirits of his ancestors. He was a *sangoma*. But he confessed that he had had no guidance on that – neither from his church leaders nor from the Bible concerning such spirits. “These spirits are my own family matter: that is why I have not sought help from the Church leaders,” said Tata Enoch. This was his personal conviction which served him as it were for protection from disaster and poor health. So was this and other similar attitudes reflective of a desire for protection? Or for power? Or was it the desire for some solidarity with his ancestors?

On the other hand, in fact it was people like Enoch, a *sangoma*, to whom some of the sick went, seeking for healing. The fact was that he was a church member. How would one understand what would happen when he administered healing to the sick? Was it the Holy Spirit or other spirits in

¹¹⁴ In the Glaserian system of coding, open coding is part of the first phase of coding; it is substantive coding. The other part is theoretical coding.

¹¹⁵ Even as late as September 2012 the local *Cape Times* newspaper reported that “Thousands of homes were left flooded at the weekend as rain pummelled the city, leaving 6 730 people affected.” (Felix, 2012).

operation? Tata Enoch was a typical example of a case where the issue of the Holy Spirit and other spirits came so close since those issue were centred in one person.

It would have been easy to let the researcher's previous experiences intervene in this and other matters concerning the spirits. People such as Enoch are going through real spiritual experiences. Such experiences are common to black African life in the Southern African context. Thus it was not necessary to judge the experience. Here was a call for disciplined reflexivity – the endeavour to remain objective and outside of the subject while conducting the research inside the context of the happenings.¹¹⁶ That reflexivity had to be both personal reflexivity and epistemological reflexivity; in other words, the aim was to set aside and hold back the researcher's own presumptions, preconceived ideas, experiences and interests and reflect more on the *amaZioni emic* perspective on what was happening.

In the case of the narrative by Enoch, for instance, he maintained that his 'family spirits' would manifest themselves only in and to him and never in or to any other person outside that family. So there was a sense in which the living and the dead, Enoch implied, had some communion or communication with each other down the genealogy. Was this also an indication that Enoch and such like people were in reality searching for family connectedness, a community of blood relationships? Or just a desire to communicate with the departed? It was in encountering this view and such kinds of perspectives, such kinds of assumptions about the spirits and healing, that some refinement and refocusing of the interview questions had to be made. Who or what really were the spirits? It was not enough to consider only the manifestations or the works of such spirits. After all, was it not who they are (i.e. their character) which determined what or how they do?

Open coding proceeded soon after completing the first round of interviews. Quoting Goulding in a paper 'Coding issues in grounded theory', Moghaddam (2006:56) described open coding as "breaking down the data into separate units of meaning". Right from the start, with the initial data captured in the field, began the work of breaking it down and rearranging it into inter-related units. Hence for the Tata Enoch case, for example, the possible candidate codes would have been the concept of power and the concept of community. As Moghaddam (2006) put it, "the main purpose is to conceptualize and label the data". When a member of the Zionist church indicated that he had joined the Zionist church following his parents, for example, the concepts of 'family' and 'community' came to mind. In this way words, especially those often repeated in the narratives of the Zionists, contributed to the creation of grounded concepts. From such concepts emerging from the data came the possibility of making clusters of similar concepts. In connection with healing,

¹¹⁶ Ryan Thomas (2005:2) noted that, according to Nightingale and Cromby (1999), reflexivity involves self-questioning and means that "When you reflect are you also being reflexive".

certain ideas emerged - words such as blessings, curses, misfortune, miracles. These were words by which some of the participants narrated their experience of healing. Together it became possible to think of power as a key concept: sick people sought healing because they saw their situation as one of powerlessness, of vulnerability. But what kind of power? Was it political power or spiritual power? Political power may have been the overall idea in the country in 1994. Hence even the visits by political elites to Zionist centres. In the two decade period subsequent to 1994 was political power their key goal?

The context, the direction of their search indicated what kind of power. It was invisible power. It was spiritual power: this made sense in this African context. Misfortunes do not just happen. There must be some power behind it all. Hence the sick flocked to the Zionists. This was the thought captured through the interviews.

All this research focused on healing. All this concept creation process came out of the analysis of the data, by identifying main themes, assigning labels on the essential ideas and opinions around the phenomenon of healing. The process of open coding, as Graham Gibbs (2010a)¹¹⁷ explained, involved being open to new ideas held by the interviewees or garnered from the life situations of the people on the ground. It was a process of moving from a description to analysis. The way in which the data was analysed revealed such insights as what kind of people were seeking healing from the Zionists, what steps were taken to obtain healing, healing successes and failures and the nature of those healers or healing service providers.

In all the Zionist churches, over 75% of the population indicated that when sick the first port of call for a Zionist would be the church or the local pastor. Another 10% said they would seek help from the local hospital or clinic. The rest indicated that they would consult a doctor and pray at the same time. Of course this spread of choice had to do with the *amabalabala* spectrum of Zionism in southern Africa. While it may be reasonable to say that the majority of the Zionists who seek healing at church do so because they are more familiar with the church it does not explain much. It is possible to identify other factors – such as ethnic connections which influence decision making. Familiarity with Zionist services rendered also accounts for this. Or it could be familiarity with the pastor, who may be a kinsman. From some interviews of several members and after several repeat interviews it became clearer that, to understand more of what happens in healing, one had to consider the three phases of healing. There is the pre-healing phase. Then the healing session itself and then the after-healing session. What happens in each phase is very important.

¹¹⁷ Gibbs's (2010b) *Grounded Theory – Open Coding* tutorials on YouTube proved very illuminating.

How and in what manner the healing was administered were also important aspects of the healing practices. Narratives relating to such practices as the use of water, *isiwasho* (a salt and ash mixture), the burning of papers and the keeping of cloths, *izintambo* (or woollen cloths) and even photos are good answers to questions of what physical means are used in healing. The questions which are more complicated are those relating to the spiritual nature of the agencies of the healing. Examples of such questions are: Were the artefacts used therapeutic in themselves or was there power embodied in them? Or is healing power embodied in the prayer-givers (*abathandazi*) and *abaprofita* (prophets)?¹¹⁸ Or who lays hands on the sick? Or are the prayer-givers the custodians of healing powers? Are they so possessed always or only when they pray for the sick? Where does the power to heal come from? When the sick fall to the ground and have no control over their bodies, who is in control? Finally if some spiritual agency takes over then the question is: what kind of spirit? It slowly became apparent that for some of the participants it was not so much what answers could be given for such questions. It was important that the questions were asked: this gave the participants to reason and reflect on the healing experiences. In some situations a question too difficult to answer at lay person level would be escalated to higher level in the Church hierarchy.

Participants conveyed the view that healing was transmitted in a diversity of means and methods. In many cases healing was transmitted by oral-verbal means (i.e. words spoken over the sick). The *ababthandazi* did this: they spoke. Sometimes that speaking, or shouting, as in the case of the imperative declarations like *Phuma Dimoni*, would involve casting out (*ukukhalimela*) the offending spirit. At times the *abaprofita* would recommend ingestion of some special herbs or the tying and wearing of *iintambo* (woollen cords). Then there could be healing through verbal counselling. This counselling often took time. This is when further relationships would be drawn in. Such counselling might involve a call for reconciliation with the people who are related to the counselee. At times it would mean some continued sojourn in the church grounds, such as Moriah. Healing for infertility and mental illness were said to require such kinds of sojourns.

Narratives such as these relating to the issues raised above reflect the understanding of what happens in healing. Some of it describes how the healing may be administered. But it does not tell the whole story. As the abstraction of new concepts progressed the significance of certain categories as principle increased. There were some categories which were already clear from the very expressions of the participants. Examples are expressions such as *sidinga ukusindiswa* (we seek to be saved). In seeking healing it appears a sick Zionist was really after a holistic healing, or *ukusindiswa*. Such confessions indicated the *in vivo* concepts (Glaser, 2002:24). Such concepts are

¹¹⁸ The terms *abathandazi* and *abathandazeli* as well as *abaprofita* and *abaprofeta* indicate practitioner and practice were used variously among the Xhosa and Zulu participants and in AIC literature although some semantic differences can be discerned. The text uses *abathandazi* and *abaprofita*.

embedded in the data itself. They are part of the population's view of what is happening in healing. The "concepts are 'in vivo' concepts; that is, they come from the words of the participants in the substantive area" (Glaser, 2002:24).

Another example of *in vivo* concepts emerging was the idea of things of the spirit. As noted above, (q.v. Section 1.1.3) Zionist churches are known as *iinkonzo zoMoya* (Anderson, 1991; Venter, 2004:23). The participants confirmed this designation; moreover, even the neighbours of some of the Zionist churches, when asked, indicated that the Zionist pastors were people *aboMoya* (of the Spirit). In passing, some reflections are in order here. The book *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African Context* (Anderson, 1991), indicates the involvement of the Holy Spirit in Zionist healings. Even if the placing the Zionist churches into the category of "spirit-type" churches as Anderson did is debatable, at least one thing is certain: the churches have something to do with the spiritual, with spirituality.

The effort to immerse oneself in the mindset of the supplicant for healing involved asking questions such as what is it that the illness calls for? Is it complete spiritual relief, deliverance – in short – total healing? Many Zionists responded to the question with a positive response. In the coding process, what happens in healing fitted in the category of the spiritual. At this stage of coding the need to define clearly what healing is had to wait.

To explore more on this concept of the spiritual as a category, some more abstraction and additional comparisons were necessary. It was necessary to re-consider the memos. The memos indicated that not only did the healing process involve a spiritual operation but it was an operation which involved real spiritual beings. Some such beings were demons. The Zionist knew some of the names which they have assigned over generations to identify and describe such demons. Could this indicate the principle of power? Since, as noted above, there were powers related to actual (real, visible) healing could it be that presence of this other kind of spiritual powers (demons) indicates spiritual warfare? Zionist dealing with evil spirits indeed involved fighting, commanding them thus *Phuma Dimoni!*

The case of spiritual warfare was one very difficult concept to assign to a category. This was due to a number of reasons. In the first instance it did not seem reasonable that when the sick approach the Zionist pastors they would be seeking anything to do with demons. In the second instance, trying to locate the origin of such spirits would have been problematic. Do they have permanent residence in the sick or do they visit from time to time? Why do they appear when healing is the issue? These are issues which will be considered in the next chapter. For now, it is enough to re-iterate that the healing atmosphere is always charged with spiritual agency.

Once that stage of open coding was reached, the next challenge was to discover their properties and dimensions (Moghaddam, 2006). Where, for instance, the emerging concept was that of community, then the question was how far and how extensive was this among the Zionists? This is where simple quantitative analysis helped. While it was obvious that Zionist congregations were composed of people from different language groups, the idea of being part of a particular community was shared by over 65% of those participating. Given the socio-economic situation as presented in Chapter 3 it was not surprising that they expressed this in the words *singamabelana bentlungu*, and *inkonzo yamahlwempu* (q.v. Section 2.6-8).

Below are examples of the interim results grouping concepts into categories. Open coding indicated one almost obvious category as the sense of community. It represented a search for answers to life problems - sickness and any health related maladies - through community connections.¹¹⁹ The other was the quest for power. Another, which has been alluded to above, took the label of 'spiritual quest'. An accumulation of such emerging categories is presented below.

4.2.2 Correlating the aspects and dimensions of categories

As the categories were emerging and accumulating from the preliminary concepts from the mass of increasing field data, it became easier to identify their properties and dimensions. The concept of community, for instance, was seen to be characterised not only by the ethno-centric focus on blacks but also on cultural traditions of a particularly Afro-centric nature. One example of this was preference for the use of local languages rather English. Further: there was the preference, especially by the church leaders, for the use of *Sotho* as a kind of superior mode of communication among the Zionist leaders. An example of this was the use of the Sotho term *muruti* instead of *mfundisi* or *melusi* (in Xhosa or Zulu, respectively) as the preferred term used for a pastor. For greetings, the Sotho expression *Kotso* was preferred to the Xhosa *Molo* or the Zulu *Sawubona*.¹²⁰ Indeed, in some of the prayer sessions the Xhosa term *abathandazi* would express certain supplications and petitions in Xhosa rather than in Sotho. From the memos, the question had been noted: does this idea of *Kotso* communicate the same message as the Hebrew term *Shalom*, which has something to do with peace as wholeness? For now, it is sufficient to note that these greetings are in a sense mini-prayers directed to the hearers.

¹¹⁹ The process became more comprehensible through watching the series of Grounded Theory videos by Graham R Gibbs, Nigel Bradley (n.d.) and Barney Glaser himself on YouTube.

¹²⁰ For the Limpopo Zionists the explanation maybe that historically it is known that Lekganyane spent some years in Lesotho under Edward Motaung before he moved to what is now Limpopo province. At the mention of the *Kotso* term often Zionist burst into singing the *Kotso Kotso* hymn (peace perfect peace).

In the category of ‘community’ were encompassed many concepts. These included ideas of kinship; neighbourliness; being home mates; *isiduko* (clan); *ifani* (surname); *umkhaya* (neighbour); and the very perception that, for Zionists, *iZion ingumuzi ka Thixo* (Zion is God’s household). In the heart of the Zionists the *umzi* term, as has been noted, has temporal and eschatological meaning. The temporal sense embraces the two home idea while the eschatological has reference to the Zion from above. The idea is expressed in popular Zionist hymnody: for example the hymn *Sikuyo indlela yelizwe lobomi ... eKhaya labantu abahleli ngenceba* (We are on the way of life ... to the Home where the saints are in joy).

All these insights embrace the commonly held idea of togetherness, the idea of *ubuntu* as well.¹²¹ To be more specific then, the Zionists refer to *isiZiyoni* as the tradition which give some sense of group solidarity through self-identification. Hence Zionists would refer to their churches as *zicawe zabantu* which literary means “churches of the people”. The fact is that on the ground these are the Zionist churches composed of and led by black people. The community category is illustrated in the figure below.

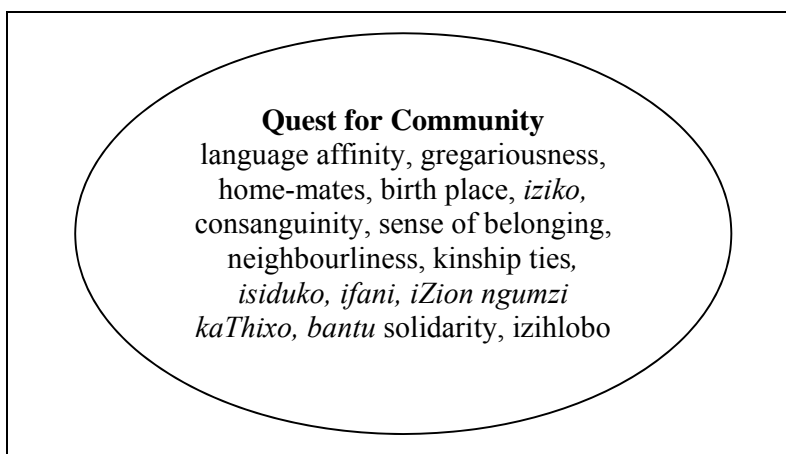


Figure 4.1 Properties of the concept of community

One aspect that can be considered in connection with the concept of community in an eschatological sense is the post-death ritual ceremony called *umbuyiso*. In this post-death commemoration the practice at grassroots level signifies a form of bringing back the dead (or, the spirit of the dead) to the family of the living. It has been noted that among some Zionists the ceremony occurred at a higher frequency than church communion service. In Chapter 3 the frequency of funeral and burials has been noted – 25 new graves every week in Khayelitsha. The

¹²¹ The terms *bantu* and *abantu*, although literary they mean people, are used by indigenous *amaZioni* with some restrictive connotations. An indigenous *umZioni* would use the terms to refer to oneself in contrast to other people such as the whites or Asians.

nexus between sickness and illness and the felt need for the practice of ritual appeasement to ancestors makes this relationship very critical.

The concept of community is an important one. For one thing, the Zionists consider themselves as a community here on earth, that is as distinct churches. Thus even in some Zionist churches the code of dressing reveals their understanding of the church as a militant organisation. For another thing they also conceive of themselves as eschatological communities patterned after Zion city in Heaven, what they call the house of God, or *umzi kaThixo*.

Other concepts were gathered under the category of the quest for power. In Southern Africa, often during socio-political protest marches, one hears the declaration *Amandla!* (Power!), to which the immediate mass response is *Ngawethu!* (Belongs to us!). A plurality of powers is what is meant.

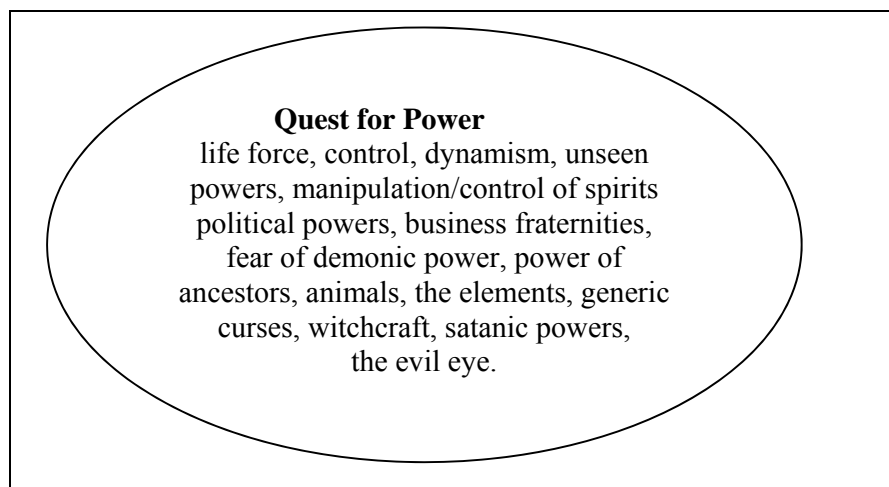


Figure 4.2 The ‘quest for power’ category and its properties

Such rhetoric is hardly rhetorical at all: it is a demand, a quest for power. Certainly in the pre-1994 sense this was the understanding. Within the Zionist cosmology is an embedded understanding of the prevalence of spiritual beings. When the need for healing confronts the sick Zionist, it is not immediately related to notions of political power as such; economic power does relate to the felt needs. This is clear from the Chapter 3 material. Certainly and still the immediate need is for power, a greater power to counter the anti-life powers that confront *ubomi*, the good life. The participants did not shy away from naming the powers which negate their lives. Included in the glossary of such spirit beings are *o thokoloshe* (dwarf-like bewitching creature), *omamlambo* (mermaids) and *abathakathi* (wizards). Zionists who are ill face such kinds of life-threatening with powers greater and beyond normal natural control - powers definitely spiritual and supernatural.

Indeed, all the above-mentioned power manifestations are thought of as spirit beings. How do the Zionists deal with them? One way is to seek to control such powers. What complicates that desire for control is that the powers are spiritual, not physical. Therefore the Zionists seek power in the spiritual realm.

The other desire is to be delivered from spiritual power, deliverance from spiritual bondage. In a foreword to the book by David Blaschke (2001:15), *Quest for power*, missionary David Howard, the International director of the World Evangelical Fellowship, wrote:

The desire and quest for power is a universal human characteristic. Whether for personal gain or for personal deliverance and protection it is found throughout the world.

Howard went on to state that the powers that people wanted to be delivered from were “part of the created world in which we exist” (Blaschke, 2001:15). These are evil powers who crave be worshipped. One response is shown in the research done among the Limpopo Zionists by Lukhaimane (1980). It was Lukhaimane who made the observation that the Zionists grew fast because they offered power. His observation was that the Zionists provided not only for protection against evil beings but also power for healing. For the sake of this research, power, in particular the search for power, emerged as a veritable category from a Zionist perspective.

Questions will be asked later concerning the kinds of properties that power is comprised of in the Zionist context. For now, suffice it to note that this searching for power seems almost always because of feelings of powerlessness – vulnerability and life risks. Given the socio-economic conditions in which the *amaZioni* live, as described in Chapter 3, this is not too difficult to understand. Conditions in the area where the *amaZioni* live encourage a deep sense of alienation, ennui, boredom, listlessness, and discontent. Then compounded to that is the sense of powerlessness. In terms of health, powerlessness translates into a spectre of poor health, general illness, sickness and a plethora of health adversities, health maladies and into the scourge of pandemics, social ills including crime especially and murder.¹²² The result is as reported by Smetherham (2001) of the Health Systems Trust: “at the cemetery in Khayelitsha alone, there are 25 to 30 burials each weekend”.¹²³ As has been indicated above (q.v. 3.8), the grassroots situation is one which clamours for some exercise of power on behalf of the good of the vulnerable and the poor.

¹²² The rise of the African Independent Churches and indeed their development in the mid-twentieth century occurred during a period of colonialism, a period when blacks were without much power, economic, social or political. In the spat of current service delivery protests can be read the issues of power.

¹²³ This and other later of Smetherham’s reports produced through the Health Systems Trust provide some valuable data on conditions in Khayelitsha.

Perhaps that sense of powerlessness is intensified by the fact that in an urban setting one's neighbours are scarcely the ones who share a common *isiduko* (clan association). Those who have come into the Cape from elsewhere – and they are many – live with that sense of being aliens. Hence for them the church is the first port of call when health-threatening situations occur. It represents one major refreshing retreat where one is likely to meet people of the same clan or tribe, at least spiritually.

Afro-American researcher Linda Thomas (1999) explored this very theme of the pursuit of power in the research on one Khayelitsha-based indigenous church, the St John's Church. Thomas's thesis was that the people living in such constraining (oppressive) socio-political environments seek to express their feelings, their search for power through what could be called processes that are ritual and through spiritual resilience (Thomas, 1999).¹²⁴ In this way, the church provides a vent for a veiled search for power, power to survive in the face of life's threats and challenges. Although St John's Church does not fit in the usual Zionist pattern of churches, it is interesting in this instance as a church which attracts many residents through its practice of faith healing. The accommodation of the ancestor-spirit connection in the explanation of ill health is another aspect, as in some Zionist churches, of that Khayelitsha church. But this is an aspect to be considered later in 6.5.

As has been indicated the process of abstraction, constant comparison and the assigning of categories and constant review to see if the incoming data necessitated the creation of new concepts reached the point of saturation. From this process an inventory of categories accumulated. The focus of attention was now on examining and then choosing the best 'fit' concepts, the rich concepts, which would communicate the meaning and main concerns of the *amaZioni* with specific reference to healing.

The emerging picture was something of the nature represented in the figure below. In diagram form it was like a constellation of categories.

¹²⁴ The terms "ritual process and spiritual resilience" are subtitles of the book by Thomas (1999)

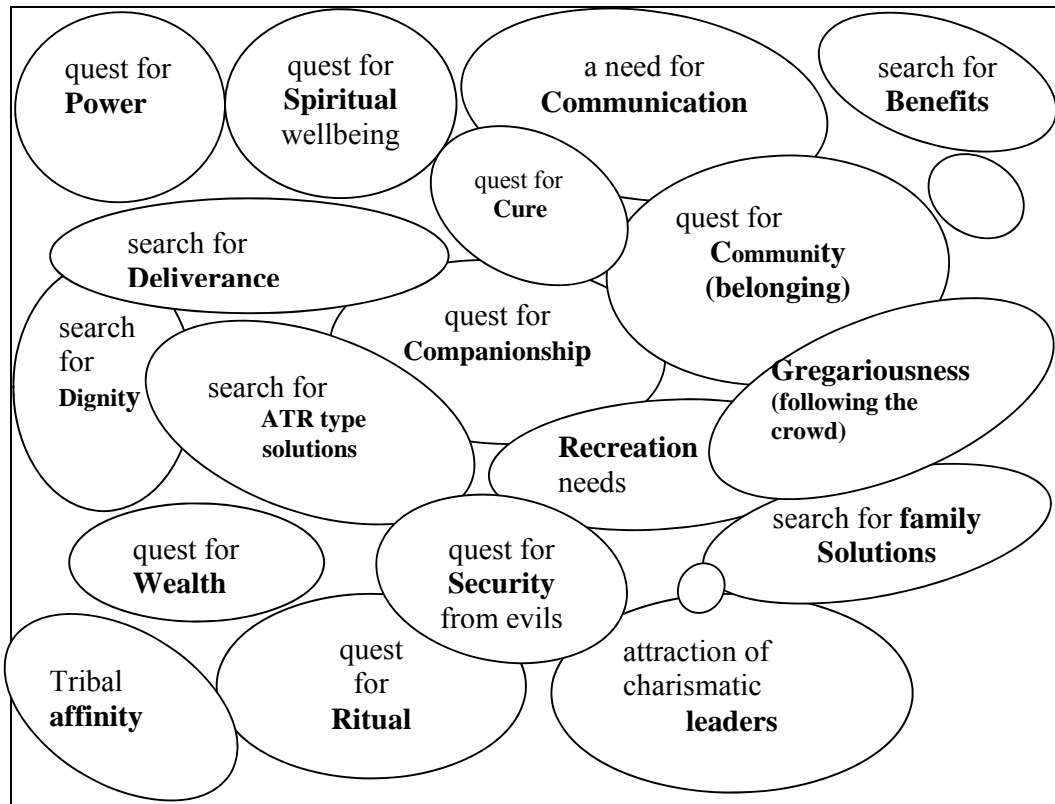


Figure 4.3 Healing: A constellation of categories

The categories are of varying density. Some categories are closed such as the attraction of charismatic leaders. Then others are stand-alone categories such as quest for wealth and the quest personal benefits. Finally others are inter-related in terms of common properties. Examples of the last groups are the quest for power, the quest for belonging, and the quest for community. It occurred that for instance the concept of power and community share such common properties as belonging, kinships and fraternities. It is also linked with the category of the quest for spiritual wholeness in terms of right (healthy) relationships.

In dealing with the properties and dimensions of the categories there developed a way of arranging them around the more common major core categories. It was these categories which gradually began to express the main phenomenon which was happening. That expression was like a matrix around which the 'storyline' of healing hangs.

It was obvious then that, given the apparently welcoming nature of the church and the availability of the pastors, the lack of accessible and adequate formal bio-medical health faculties, any sick person would seek to communicate with the local church pastors first. But would the sick not also be drawn to seek healing in the area of African traditional therapy? In that case the search for ritual solutions would be one of the properties of that category. What made the research a bit more complicated was that in some Zionist churches there exists that option: the church leaders do link

healing with ritual. Such churches allow their members to seek healing through traditional therapies. This complicated matter is considered further below. For now, attention turns to selective coding.

4.2.3 Selective coding

After months of engaging in both iterative data collection and analysis a stage was arrived at when further abstraction out of the accumulation of data, the recording in memoirs and the constant comparison there did not seem to be revealed any new concepts or categories. A stage had been reached when the next step of selective coding was to commence. At this stage the aim was to engage in a focused narrowing down or delimitation of the search to establish one main category. From all that had been seen and said in the relationships of the Holy Spirit and other spirits in the healing process, what was happening? Could it be summarised as a search for power? Or for community? Or just a search for deliverance? Essentially, in Grounded Theory terms, selective coding involved “the process of selecting the central or core category systematically and relating it to the other categories, validating those relationships and filling in categories that needed further refinement and development” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:119). It had to be a category that shared the most common properties as the others.

The search was on for a category which, in addition to being the one main, major and central category, would relate to, and integrate all the other conditions of what was happening in the healing process – not just the healing act or healing event. That core category would have to explain the whole process of healing from before the healing, through the healing event itself and after the healing. As has been noted earlier on, healing does not occur in a vacuum. That category would not be a mere description of events but the narrative of healing as a discourse with all the elements thereby finding expression. The final chosen category had to be a category through which all other conditions and relationships could be explained. In this way, it would be abstract enough and yet comprehensive, grounded in what is happening and yet specific. That core category would answer the question, “What is going on?” In examining closer the inventory categories there seemed to be some seven inevitable categories interlacing and interfacing concepts, one into another. This has already been implicit in the analysis abovementioned.

4.2.4 Theoretical sampling and theoretical coding

In the creation of categories, the focus was zooming in more and more on the questions about healing and how that concept relates to the Holy Spirit and other spirits. The interviews and talks concerning the spirits were the most difficult part. Many times one had to reflect and reconsider what the accumulating concepts indicated. Often one had, as Babbie (1992:149), to “periodically

step back” and reflect on what was emerging – reflecting on the possible interpretations and concepts embedded in it.

In this way, for instance, it was possible to realise that in the phenomenon of healing there usually are four participants in the healing event. First, the healing ministers – *abathandazi* and *abaprofita* – who administer the healing; then the sick who need the healing; then those in attendance – observers and those who lead the songs and praises. Finally, there is in the spiritual realm the Holy Spirit and the other spirits.¹²⁵ Most of the data accumulating was from the lay people. They had either been sick themselves – and therefore found reason to attend the church – or they were relatives and care givers to the sick. Others were those who had witnessed some healing in progress. Those who administered healing were seen to be ever ready and keen to do so. Sometimes they consulted with one another. But most of the time they dealt with each case independently. Then there is the involvement of the spiritual agency.

In the prayer sessions in the churches there seemed not to be much time to spend in counselling with each and every one of those who came forward seeking healing, especially when the services were conducted in the evenings or at night. So the sick came up one after another, sometimes in a queue, and they were prayed for. Their participation in the healing process was either by giving a few details about themselves or to agreeing to follow the prescriptions ensuing given by the healers.

When doing theoretical sampling, the aim was also to try and abstract the concepts which are already evident, that is *in vivo*, in the data (Glaser, 2002:24). Such concepts would be integrated with each of the seven emerging categories. Then, if necessary, more focused theoretical sampling of the emerging categories would guide the recruiting of appropriate samples from the data. In this way such further sampling was directed by the theoretical codes emanating from the developing theory (Glaser, 1978). This was done by checking to find which category had the greatest integrative capacity. In this way also the emerging theory developed with a constant check on the data. Hence the emerging theory remained ground-based.

This process, together with constant comparison, steered the focus on the generation of the theory. For instance, for the Zionist, attending church was not merely an attempt at achieving some presence (gregariousness) with familiar people; there was a deeper need in which church seemed to indicate a beacon of hope. That hope is consolidated and facilitated by the familiarity of people. Within that environment it was easier for some church members to share confidences - especially confidences about solutions to personal health matters. Sharing was with familiar people, people from the same background, sharing in the same vernacular medium. In the Zionist churches there

¹²⁵ The question of where the researcher stood in all this would be determined through much reflexivity.

were people who themselves were familiar with the kind of adversarial spirits which the sick saw as afflicting them and their families. For many then to seek help from church rather the hospital or secular counsellors offered better prospects of finding some solution to such real life problems. It was from such data content that an *emic* quality of the concepts was enhanced. It represented their views, their problem-solving behaviour at grassroots level; that is, on the ground. It is from such understanding that the principle of community was heightened.

It is from the observed behaviour patterns that these concepts were abstracted. At the same time, one had to be sensitive to what was expressed and the way it was expressed in order to understand what each participant meant. Often one had to reflect on the response with reference to something in that context, the context which bore and gave the narrative its meaning. This involved theoretical sensitivity which has been defined as “an ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand and the capability to separate the pertinent from that which is not pertinent” (Vos & Van Zyl, 1998:268).¹²⁶ This capacity deepened with the increased frequency of interaction with the participants. Thus it became more easy to incorporate the participants’ suggestions on how to proceed and what questions were best to raise and address. In essence conceptualisation and categorisation is not of people but of their “behaviour” (Glaser, 2002:4-5). It was how the Zionist apply what to them is wisdom to solve daily problem and also why they behaved which was important.

The visit to the Limpopo Zionist conference gave occasion for bringing more data to bear in the major idea concerning healing. In integrating further abstractions from the data as was relevant, the critical concept emerged: the concept of a search, a quest. It was simple at first: the millions gathered there were searching for something. The people would travel such long distances because of some deep soul-searching need within them. Thus, they could endure the inclement weather and fatigue of travel and sleeping on the outside exposed grounds. The concept of a search was part of what was going on – even with regard to healing. It was this key which had to have relevance to the emerging categories and it unveiled the understanding of the happening of a healing phenomenon.

As indicated above, after the phase of substantive coding there were seven emerging categories to work with. They included the concepts of the community, communication, power, culture, faith,

¹²⁶ While as up to now the discipline of keeping pre-read literature at bay or refereeing to it as data had been maintained it must be admitted that such concepts as ‘community’ and ‘quest’ seemed to come naturally, from the field. These concepts were generated from the immersion experiences - from standing with the *amaZioni* through the experience of waiting, walking, watching and worshiping on the ground with them. Later in reading Lausanne Occasional Papers produced by the third Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization, Cape Town, 2010 it occurred that the terms were not inappropriate. Words such as ‘quest’ and ‘urge’ had been used in Conference papers in relation to New Religious Movements. See Appendix 12.

ritual and the spiritual. There needed still to be some further abstraction and comparison to sort out which was the real core category among the seven.

There was also a need to reflect on the available literature on Zionist healing ministries. It had become obvious that all along such literature as was available was not a main principal factor in the data analysis. The references to the literature had been up to now for use of such literature as low key data – ‘All is data’ is a well-known Glaser dictum (Glaser, 2002:1). But after some main categories emerged the refinement of the theory needed incorporation of the literature review.

One of the first literature sources which brought some sharpening insight was for the book by M.L. Daneel (1987). The book title is self-explanatory – *Quest for belonging*. The other book is *Quest for power*, by Paul Barnett and Peter Jensen (1973). It is also interesting to note that recently the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR, 2013) has produced a book with the title *Globalising culture and the quest for belonging: Ethnographies of the everyday*. Moreover in an effort to understand the development of new religious movements the recent Lausanne Congress on World Evangelisation (2010) produced a paper that identified at least five ‘quests’ which are characteristic of such new movements.¹²⁷ A further reference is made concerning these literature sources below. The valuable insights of other researchers will be brought in now as the final considerations are made to the emerging core category. But for now what is noteworthy is the concept of a search in relation to belonging – i.e. community – and to power.

The very idea of a search became a vital key for the consideration and selection of the final main core category through which an understanding what is happening in healing could be expressed. The perception of a search had deeper roots. One such root was based on some Bible verses. Of course not many Zionists members have personal copies of the Scriptures. They tend to take the literary meaning of the texts and directly apply it to their lives. In that sense, one participant, Zolile, referred to a passage in the Psalms. Asked why he was a member of a Zionist church and not of any other church Zolile responded by referring to Psalm 27.

Hear, O LORD, when I cry with my voice, and be gracious to me and answer me.
When You said, “Seek My face,” my heart said to You, “Your face, O LORD, I shall seek.”
Do not hide Your face from me, Do not turn Your servant away in anger;
You have been my help.

The emphasis was on the verse 8 injunction: “seek My face”. For Zolile to seek the face of God the Creator was something done from the context of vulnerability and pathos. The path of searching for spiritual help is a lifelong journey of seeking and searching. He had been to other churches. In

¹²⁷ Cape Town World Congress on Evangelisation, 2010. Appendix 12.

those churches the leaders did not pray for the sick. Nor did they practise visiting the members in their homes. But with reference to the Scriptures two other observations can be made. The first is that it is an Old Testament reference: the Zionists love using the Old Testament texts. On a personal level there is also in the Psalm the idea of longing: “to dwell in the house of the Lord” (verse 4). For many Zionists that desire and longing for the house of the Lord, *umzi kaBawo*, are held with deep-seated passion. They see themselves as being at one with the original author of the Psalm. Besides in Zion there is healing.¹²⁸

This kind of willingness of the Zionists to converse on personal spiritual matters facilitated the degree of rapport to which the researcher could attain. Out of this rapport came progress towards gaining that *insider* view of the participants. What could be drawn out, even from the narrative referred to above, is that the Zionist narrator did not really consider the earthly Zionist churches or church headquarters as the ultimate house of God (*umzi kaThixo*). At best the lay people consider the church centres as lay-by places on life’s journey, temporary resting places on what Müller (2011) called the Zionist “pilgrimage of life”.

4.3 Sorting out emerging major quests among the *amaZioni*

At the realisation that one had arrived at the point of saturation there was the next step of sorting out the seven main categories. It was during this phase that the research incorporated more of the available and relevant literature on the Holy Spirit, other spirits, and healing among the *amaZioni*. To arrive at each of these categories it was necessary to proceed on the basis of applying the question: “What is happening in the healing phenomenon?” Which main category, as it were, spoke of what was happening in the Zionist experience of healing? Engaging Grounded Theory procedure involves constantly seeking to know the power involved in a situation as well as the manner of its manifestation, frequency and results of that manifestation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).¹²⁹

Examination of the seven categories was guided by subjecting them to a further series of diagnostic questions relevant to issues of the Zionist healing experience. It was about the whole healing experience to which were addressed the following questions; namely:

- Is this a manifestation of spiritual hunger or thirst, a quest for something spiritual?

¹²⁸ Zionists use of the Scriptures will be considered later (6;5.4)

¹²⁹ The essence of the book by Strauss and Corbin (1998) is summarised in its subtitle “techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory.”

- Or is it a demonstration of the desire to be together with near- or like-minded kinfolk – an expression of community solidarity – what Daneel (1987) called a “quest for belonging”?¹³⁰
- Or is this a desire for communication of some sort – especially in the spiritual realm - with spirit beings? Could communication with ancestors be one such?
- Or is it the plain pursuit for power – what Robert Blaschke (2001) called the “quest for power”? This would either be a quest to control, appease, co-operate or collaborate with those powers. Or was it a desire to manipulate the powers in one’s favour?
- Or is it the force of, or the attraction to, one’s culture in a quest to seek solutions therein?
- Or is all this to be understood in terms of a simple search for stronger faith? What kind of faith? Was it faith in God or in the leaders? Or faith in faith?
- How does the search fit into the whole issue of ritual? What such rituals have been done before, during or after the healing event?
- Zionists have called themselves churches of the Spirit¹³¹ – how does that relate to the health-seeking activities especially to a person experiencing high vulnerability, high risks?

At this point the prevailing high risks previously noted in this particularly African context are to be understood to include high spiritual risks. Such risks, so the insider explanation goes, can even come from the spirits of relatives who are no longer alive in this world. The dead relatives are said to manifest themselves as invisible spirit beings from a post-death world. When illness or sickness strikes it is regarded as an indication of a physical or psychological malady it is also seen as a sign of something gone wrong in the spiritual realm. As such the search, the quest, for solutions to problems appearing in the visible or physical realm is a quest in connection with the spiritual realm as well.

At the grassroots something else was happening. In watching, walking and talking with some *amaZioni* in the presence of the nearly two million worshippers in Moriah during their 2010 Easter gathering, with all the suffering and discomfort exacerbated by the inclement weather – the rain, the winds, the mud and very little by way a shelter, the question “What is happening?” was in mind. Why should any of these millions - and among them thousands of the poorest of society – why should they brave the weather to be at this otherwise desolate mountain side? But even if they came from well-to-do or middle class families, why did they leave their comfortable weather-protected shelters to risk this exposure to intemperate elements? In talking to one Zionist youth leader, Ndumiso, the researcher was surprised to hear her words: “Keep searching, I am also searching.” It was through observing the *amaZioni* gathering and worshipping, through reflecting on notes, memoirs and pictures of the *amaZioni*, that is idea of searching crystallised. What was involved in all this was a real quest for something, at least among the common lay *amaZioni*. Characteristic of the healing phenomenon was the predication of a quest.

¹³⁰ The manifestation or expression of a ‘quest’ has been the pre-occupation of many research works. Among them are quest for belonging (Daneel, 1987), quest for power (Blaschke, 2001), and the spiritual quest (Torrance, 1994).

¹³¹ The phrase *inkonzo zoMoyisa* is the one in mind here; the emphasis is on *Moya* – hence the term “spiritist”.

But first, what is the meaning of the word ‘quest’? According to the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (Wehemeier, 2005:1189), quest means “a search for something especially some quality”. The *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* carries a definition that also focuses on the idea and act of searching (Hornby & Turnbull, 2010). Furthermore, the same dictionary uses the definitions “the act of searching for something” and “an attempt to acquire or gain something”. Then follow the synonyms “seeking”, and its hypernymns “hunt” and “hunting”. *The Free Online Dictionary* (Howe, 2010) has ‘quest’ as “the act or an instance of seeking or pursuing something; a search”. All these terms proved useful and applicable. But for the sake of the present concern the words “search” and “searching” as well as “pursuit” and “pursuance” indicated the more appropriate sense. The sense with reference to the healing of the sick, the ill and the unwell who seek and search for healing. The faith healers then seek to heal them. The literature on healing bears this out, so also the Scriptures.¹³²

Therefore, at the stage of selective coding, the concentration was on what it was that was being sought, what the major encompassing pursuit of the *amaZioni* was. In what area and of what quality was the searching? In essence, the effort was on selecting the core quest of the *amaZioni*. It has been mentioned that there were almost a couple of dozen categories that were emerging from the abstraction of the data from the grassroots. On that constellation of emerging categories then it was necessary to selectively delimit the category range to the main category. A more detailed examination of the categories follows below.

4.3.1 Spiritual quest

As has been noted above, the AIC context and environment is one of spiritual consciousness. That consciousness is more than an awareness of spiritual beings in the environment: it is a consciousness of their activities, their manifestations. The AIC perception is one of a spirit realm that is inhabited by the Holy Spirit, other spirit beings and mystical forces. Then there is the consciousness of personal limitation, fear, even helplessness, to deal with these invisible forces. That real powers exist is common knowledge in this type of environment. There is also the problem of the unknown nature of the spiritual realm of which life after death is part. Lay people readily admit that there must be *something* out there, something which may control them and about which they have limited little or no control.

For the sick Zionist to seek for solutions to life’s problem involves dealing with the spiritual realms. Therefore the search for a solution is a spiritual search. Thus, to solve the problem of

¹³² In responding to critics of His healing ministry, the Lord Jesus Christ is quoted as saying: “They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick (Matthew 9:12, KJV).”

sickness also calls for seeking a spiritual solution. But is that all the Zionist seek? For the Zionist a physical sickness problem is usually related to other issues as well. Usually after someone has been prayed for they tend to wait or ask a few more questions. The questions are not only about social issues such as friendships and relatives. The questions they ask are about the spiritual issues. This may develop into further counselling. In such situations counselling opens up an avenue where much more is said, indeed much more is sought. This may lead to further appointments for more assistance. In the course of all this, the original need for healing touches many more areas of the patient's life, livelihood and relationships.

It is a whole life experience – a web of inter-related concerns. Indeed, what may have begun as a patient and healer situation may develop into a church member recruitment process. The more contact the patient has with the *abathandazi*, the more pressure to join the Zionist church. The next obvious concern is search for community.

4.3.2 Community quest

The concept of a quest for community *is* a search for community cohesion, or solidarity. In the 1950s while Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah was calling for political freedom first, those who led government in South Africa were trying to create mono-ethnic communities of separate development (apartheid). If what was involved was the creation of community affinity, community solidarity or commonalities, and cohesion especially in an environment considered to be hostile then this was affecting many people in the land.

In his extensive researches on indigenous churches, Oosthuizen (2003:316) has noted that, in community-sharing, acting and fellowship are seen as the practice of *ubuntu*: "Nobody is a person without other persons." For Oosthuizen, *ubuntu* resonates with the Biblical concept of *koinonia*. The main idea is that people tend to gravitate towards relationship which enhance them as human beings. The rise of the AICs and the Zionist churches may be seen as a gravitation towards communities of like personhood.

The idea of community *ubuntu* is not without its problems. For one thing, a hundred years before the AICs sprouted in the sub-continent the experience of the great dispersion of the people from south-eastern South Africa (*uMfecane*) had shown more fission rather than fusion among the southern African peoples, especially among the Nguni people. On the other hand, Maluleke (1999:12, 13) suggested that the *ubuntu* idea originated from what was a kind of feudal system, a system in which inequalities abounded. Furthermore, Sithole (2010:108) has noted that one factor that has been put forward for the formation of AICs was "the idea that from apartheid the AICs got an opportunity to boost their own forms of apartheid". Maluleke and Sithole share ideas which may

be debatable. But its emphasis on cohesion through the search for community is itself one solution to the problems of fission, fear and fighting – a way of loving one’s neighbour.

As will be shown later, in comparison with other categories this quest for community appeared to be a very significant one. In fact it only becomes clearer when the question is asked, “What kind of a community would the Zionist be seeking?” This question is attended to below. The concepts relating to community come close to those relating to the pursuit for spiritual redress or therapy. This is so because, in a very strong sense, the Zionist member is not seeking just any kind of community: the search is for a spiritual community. The Zionist seeks to be with people of the same spiritual pursuit. More comparisons of these two categories had to be done.

4.3.3 Pursuit of power

The pursuit of power represents a search for power and more power. That search for power can be considered either as an individual pursuit or as a communal pursuit. Thus, when a Zionist seeks healing for some ailment, what is sought is a power that is greater than that which caused the ailment. On the other hand, for some individuals who seem to be convinced that they have been gifted with healing powers, the next step is to break away and set up a new assembly. Many a Zionist church has started in this way. In this way the churches which were founded by many Messianic leaders such as Engenas Lekganyane and Isaiah Shembe may be viewed as manifestations of a quest for power (Martin, 1964; Sundkler, 1961). Such views by these authors do indeed show that power is an important factor in Zionist church happenings.

In some instances there is even a close association of that power with traditional religious practices, as presented in *Gods of Power* by Steyne (1996), where the quest for control of power looms large.¹³³ Other examples of the pursuit for power are the photo journalistic article by Carole Devillers (1985). The article carries photos which really show that there are things which happen when spirits are called upon.¹³⁴ The accounts are more of traditional religious practices. A few Zionist church members have been known to practice blood sacrifices, communion with the dead and necromancy. The case of Tata Enoch mentioned above may be seen as an example of how the Zionist church struggles with the issue of dealing with spirit powers.

¹³³ Steyne’s well researched book written by a missionary who has served in southern Africa. The photo representation of the people who go through such kinds of experiences is goring and horrendous. . The blood sacrifices, the calling on spirits, the possession by earth spirits, the domination by spirits and the change of character of those possessed by such spirit occurs as a community-wide experience.

¹³⁴ Devillers’s article *Of spirits and saints* is about priests and priestesses in the Catholic church who “never deserted their spirits , but secretly worshipped them under the guise of Catholic saints,”(Devillers 1985:399). They use herbal remedies, faith healing and consult Ougou Feray, the African god of war, high in the voodoo pantheon.

To what extent or dimension then does the concept of the pursuit of power extend? One interesting facet about the notion of power in South Africa is shown in political rally slogans. At such rallies the leader shouts *Amandla!* (Power!). To that the crowd responds *Ngawethu!* (Belongs to us!). One Zionist church has a membership of over four million. Such a population, one would surmise, posits a great potential for political support. However, in his research paper ‘Ritual healing and political acquiescence: The case of Zionist Churches in Southern Africa’, Schoffeleers (1991) arrived at a different conclusion. His research concluded thus: “The healing churches in South Africa (and elsewhere) are without exception politically acquiescent.” If this observation is correct then such acquiescence indicates a limitation of the pursuit of power in the political dimension. Political implications of the visits and of such eminent political elites as Nelson Mandela, PW Botha, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Jacob Zuma at various annual Zionist Easter conferences are indeed worth noting.¹³⁵ Could it be that these visits represent a more of a search by political leaders than of the Zionist desiring political power? It is noteworthy that the leaders came to the Zionist turf rather the other way round. Elsewhere on the continent some African religious leaders have done much political mileage.¹³⁶

Nkosinathi Sithole (2010) took up Schoffeleers’s argument. Sithole noted that Schoffeleers’s idea AICs tend to be apolitical and have no power. Sithole’s thesis highlighted aspects such as the performance, power and agency of the AICs in general, and of the Nazareth church in particular. The rituals and hymn singing, Sithole noted, serve to empower the people. However Sithole (2010:1) rightly concurs with Schoffeleers that, with the post-1948 upsurge of apartheid laws, the Zionist emphasis was more on healing rather than political protest. This view by southern African authors seems to differ from that of the Afro-American Linda Thomas (1999). Thomas’s research was on the St John’s Church in Khayelitsha. Her research on that independent church in Khayelitsha concluded on the perspective that the independent churches were involved in “constructing a theology of power”. Simply put, the Zionists have found other avenues of expression for their desire for or loss of political power. That expression is in and through the church rather than in political rallies or on the streets.

It is noted that some of the mainline churches from which the independent churches broke away held to a theological background which separated politics from religion. That state-church separation theology may have influenced the low intensity of the church participation in politics. Of course it did not stop the politicians from seeking or canvassing church member support. Such, for

¹³⁵ At the 2012 Easter gatherings were International Relations and Co-operation Minister Maite Nkosana-Mashabane, Gauteng Premier Nomvula Mokonyane, the acting premier of Limpopo province Dickson Masemola, ANC Youth league leader Julius Malema and President Jacob Zuma.

¹³⁶ Examples of this are Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Canan Banana in Zimbabwe and Alice Lenshina in Uganda.

example, was Shembe's Nazarite Baptist Church which broke away from the mission instituted Baptist Church. From all this discussion it can be concluded that the concept of the pursuit of power was and remains a lesser interest in the Zionists churches.

However, this does not rule out the issue of spiritual power, after all the churches are seen as the bastions of spiritual authority and *ipso facto* spiritual power. Not only are the Zionist churches known as churches of the Spirit; they are also easily identified with the works of the Holy Spirit. Then again they are seen as churches that can deal with the problem of sicknesses related to ancestors. In the latter case it may be a case of seeking communicating with the ancestors.

4.3.4 Communication quest

The need for communication is a critical one, especially in the pre-healing diagnosis. This quest involves a desire to communicate in the social and also in the spiritual realm. Of the former is the social need to share one's tribulations with other living beings. It may be a desire to unburden cares and worries especially when visible healing does not ultimately happen.

The other dimension of communication is in the spiritual space. The pursuit for such communication maybe seen as a source of spiritual assistance in times of poor health or health-threatening experiences. Zionist narratives indicated that this communication involved a need to communicate with superior spirit beings in this and the other worlds.

As noted in Chapter 3, there are among the residents of Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele other alternatives and options for healing out there. Necromancy is but one example. Other communication channels are through meditation, yoga, telepathy, reiki, transcendental meditation, visions, dreams and other mind and energy science therapies. During healing, one or several of such communications may be taking place.

In some Zionist churches communication with what is thought of as the spirits of the dead is allowed if not encouraged.¹³⁷ In some cases of ritual practices the supplicant's are known to talk and even shout at what they believe to be ancestors. In such churches the extent to which the church leaders themselves become involved was difficult to determine. But as in the case of that one Zionist petrol station attendant, the practice is regarded as a personal or family issue. The informant indicated that communication with his ancestors is not a church concern. Certainly where participants indicated the perceived need for appeasement of the ancestors the lay Zionist seeks to communicate with such spirits.

¹³⁷ The Catholic Christian Church of pastor Mande, for instance, does not encourage communication with the dead.

The desire to communicate with the dead is not unique to southern Africa. In his book *Gott unter den Zulus*, Kurt Koch (1981) gives many accounts of supernatural healings which he witnessed in his ministry with and among the Zulus of KwaZulu-Natal. But these involved a different type of communication. The healing ministry, which began with pastor Erlo Hartwig Stegen, developed into the establishment of the Kwasizabantu Mission centre just outside Stanger in KwaZulu-Natal. The mission has emphasised not only Bible teaching and healing, but also hearing from God. In the *Gott unter den Zulus* this is indicated in one chapter entitled 'The speaking Lord.' Such speaking is attributed to the Holy Spirit (Koch, 1981:236). Many Zionists have received ministry at the centre. It is among the Zulu people that Sundkler did much of his research.

Perhaps what remains a constant enigma is communication with the departed. In the book *Frontiers of African Christianity*, Nicholas Stebbing (2003:129) observes that even within the Hebrew religion there existed similar practices of consultation with the dead. He adds: "the cult of the dead was widely practised." In the Bible perhaps the case of Saul seeking a "diviner" in Endor was not an isolated one (I Samuel 28:7-14). Elsewhere there are references to "the knowing ones" (Leviticus 19:31) and to the "seeker of the dead" and the "magician" (Deuteronomy 18:11). Apparently even in the days of the prophet Isaiah (742 BC) there were Jews who would say to people, "Seek unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto wizards that peep, and that mutter" (Isaiah 8:19). People were seeking for the living among the dead. Stebbing is at pains to draw a distinction between the cult of the dead and what God's covenantal people were allowed to do.

The desire or pursuit of communication with beings in spiritual realms is an aspect of some of the narratives of the Zionists. For many who seek healing this aspect is part of the diagnostic stage, when the cause of illness is being investigated. Could it be, so proceeds the diagnosis, that some spirit connected with those who have passed on is involved in the problem of sickness? There are Zionists who testified that even in the healing process itself there may be cases of continued communication and even the prescription stage - when the sick are told what to do - there may involve communication with spiritual beings. Some healing has been attributed to some such communication with the dead. This manner of thinking is imbedded the culture of the people.

4.3.5 Culture quest

How one understands culture in relation to healing is important. The Xhosa speak of *amasiko ethu*, our culture. The Oxford Dictionaries use various definitions for the term 'culture'. But for the purpose of this research the following definitions are appropriate: culture refers to "the attitudes and behavior characteristic of a particular social group". It involves the way of life which includes the customs, the beliefs, the traditions, the heritage, the habits and values of that group. The word

‘cult’ has an etymological link to the word culture, a word close to traditions. It was the Zionist pastor Ruphili who said of the Zionist churches *Sizi cawe zomvelo* (We are churches arisen out of indigenous initiative). There is indeed some pull, some attraction to *amasiko ethu*, especially where, maybe for a lack of critical education and training, few ask any questions about the traditional world around them.

There was an attraction towards certain cultural behaviour patterns and practices with which each participant is comfortable. In some instances the participants indeed showed a great desire to do things the way they had always done them, the *isiko* way. When asked if he had sent an e-mail or phone to contact his superintendent in Limpopo, the chairman of one Zionist church in Khayelitsha responded: “No, no email, no phone. We prefer the old way: we write and post a letter.” Preferences for culture and traditions among the Zionists are very strong: some practices are not dissimilar to those practised in traditional religions.

Indeed there were instances where African traditional practice and independent church practice are very much similar. The various artefacts used in healing - the cloths, the beads, water and burning of paper - area so close to traditional healing methods. In some healing procedures the assimilation of *isiko* practises is a strong one. Some researchers have concluded that it is that proximity in praxis which is the chief causal for the proliferation of many African indigenous churches, among them the Zionists. In Masiphumelele one MIC has helped contract a big brick and cement church with all modern fittings and facilities – good church seating, lighting, ventilation. Down the road is a Zionist church. They meet in the open. More people attend the Zionist services than the MIC ones.

However, given the multi-cultural diversity of the southern African Zionism, it is conceivable that this attraction would be a weak one. The attraction to speak in *seSotho*, for example, may be stronger in the cosmopolitan areas than out in rural areas. That ability to communicate in *seSotho* remains mainly a high status symbol for the *amaZioni* elite.

4.3.6 Faith quest

The vernacular term used to refer to the Zionists believers is *amakholwa*. Simply rendered, *amakholwa* means “the people of faith”. Such *faith* may be faith or confidence placed in some particular teaching or doctrine. It may also be faith in a charismatic leader – to pastor Shembe, or Modise or Lekganyane. In trying to argue against an accusation that certain Zionist follow Messianic leaders Daneel (1987) referred to the leaders as “iconic”. Still, the attributive status of such leaders reflects a level of faith in them.

Faith can also be faith (trust) in an institution or its images such as the *umuzi ka Thixo*. Such is the reliance and trust which some *amaZioni* have in their churches that some of them are prepared to carry, wear and display the church regalia and symbols. Church symbols which include the khaki uniforms, the badges, the shaven head, and the staffs are often attributed more than a symbolic value. To some people the association of white robes, beard and healing evokes Zionist images.

There is of course some kind of faith which actually works against the one who holds on to it. Such is the reliance on cultic and occult faith. Southern Africa is not lacking in examples of the type of faith that has appeared elsewhere in the world. What is called the “Faith Movement” has many who are also said to be faith healers – Millerites, the Jim Jones, Brad Koresh, Shoko Asahara and other groups such as Restoration of the Ten commandments.¹³⁸ A further example of this kind of faith which involves voodoo is shown in the research findings of Carole Devillers (1985) and Carol Beckwith (1995). The examples are of people of the Upper Volta and Haiti. Recent South African media has carried news of some indigenous church leaders ordering his congregants to eat grass (Reilly, 2014). By the end of the year the same church pastor was leading the congregants to drink petrol (which was said to be juice) and eating flowers and leaves (which they said tasted like biltong (Motsai, 2014). People build confidence and trust in these leaders.

The ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ was characterised by many occasions of healings. There were instances where faith involved was related to healing (Matthew 9:22, Matthew 15:28, Mark 10:52, Acts 14:9-10). There are also instances where a lack of faith is related to failure of healing attempts (Matt 6:30, 13:58, Mark 6:5, Luke 9:41). In some instances even disciples had many problems trying to exercise faith. The succinct commentary on this may be cited in the epistles: “so then faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God” (Romans 10:17). In Christ, from Christ the people heard; they believed and they were healed.

4.3.7 Ritual quest

Mention has been made of the multitudes who annually flock to the Zionist conference centres around the country. Moriah outside Polokwane is one of them. As has been noted above, the very act of travelling long distances indicates a search for something. For many this - as with visits to Lourdes, St Peter’s Cathedral, Westminster Abbey and Mecca – is considered to be pilgrimage. In Zionist practice ritual itself is regarded as of great value. It is not a cheap undertaking for any Zionist with poor means. It involves commitment and action. Pilgrimage accentuates to the level of a ritual.

¹³⁸ A general distinction is made between groups which use the Christian Scriptures and those who may be called non-Christian cult. Witchcraft, wizardry and certain devil worshipping groups belong to the occult types.

The dictionary definition of ritual is “a series of actions that are always performed in the same way” (Wehemeier, 2005).¹³⁹ Basically then ritual is the behaviour of people, a behaviour which is practised systematically or repetitively, in forms of ceremonies of worship. To some, the ceremonies performed at these centres have the effect of quenching the spiritual or emotional thirst of the practitioners, or consolidating social bonds, social acceptance or approval. They include the worship rite itself, the dressing in uniforms, much singing and dancing, prayers, meditation and counselling with lots of prophecy making. Then with all that is included the healings. In some Zionist churches they even have animal sacrifices. There are also the dedication ceremonies for local church leaders, ordination of pastors and announcements concerning the whole church administration. People are reminded again about Zionist ethics, laws and rules, loaded with symbolic actions and meanings. As such, the rituals give Zionists a sense of belonging, of solidarity, a sense of Zionist dignity. The Zionist rituals exert a very attractive pull on the worshipper. The singing, ululating, dancing, hand-clapping and administration of elements and symbolic artefacts engender a sense of belonging. Healings have been known to occur during ritual services. At one very late night Zionist service water prayed over was offered to everyone present. There was a warning that all those present had to drink of that water or else some danger or curse would fall on those who refrained from drinking. To arrive at a decision to drink or not to drink was not any easy process! That ritual alone had the potential of a threat.

The most regular all-involving, almost unavoidable ritual is the sprinkling of water - a ritual performed at the main gate to the Zionist church enclosure. Although this carries some form of mandatory obligation it has been noticed that at times members of the church can just walk straight from the road, walk in the gate, get the sprinkling and walk out. The idea as understood by the Zionists is that the water sprinkling confers both protection and healing power onto the recipients.

Other continuous ritual acts are the partaking of the Zionist tea. In one particular Zionist church the tea used was said to be normal tea purchased from the supermarket. However, there are special church-appointed suppliers of the beverage and that, with the special prayers and centralisation of the purchases, the ritual tended to attain a certain particularly spiritual and special significance for the Zionists. In that sense it is believed to provide not only detoxification effects but life-enhancing power. This is seen as part of an on-going health-sustaining ritual. In a population where, as seen in Chapter 3, not many Zionists have medical aid or health insurance, such practices are sought after and seen as being of great value.

¹³⁹ This *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary* definition adds words such as “regular”, “religious”, “ceremony”.

In terms of regularity it was noticeable that in some churches almost every service ends with call to come to the altar. Unsurprisingly, most such calls are for healing. Some calls lead to the ministry of exorcism. Some calls are for dedication to God. But where the frequency of such calls is greater often the people start moving forward expecting some form of ministry, some form of benefit. Even a touch on the head by the Zionist bishop or priest is sometimes sought with great expectation. They move up even before they are called.

What does it all mean to a Zionist? They expect something – something which their natural efforts have hitherto been unable to attain. Participants gave testimony that there was a sense of presence at the big church services. Not many ask what kind of spiritual presence: is it the Holy Spirit or other spirits? Attending and participating in the healing session gives them a sense of camaraderie, a kind of fighting solidarity within and with all others. Over 70% of the participant Zionists felt there is more power when like-minded Zionist people join in worship and healing rituals. That togetherness is of great value to them – especially in a world of ennui and alienation.

Except for the ritual-on-demand types of situations such as happens at the gates, there is one ritual worth noting. It is the men's dance, observed in at least one Zionist church. This *mokhukhu* dance is performed by uniformed men who jump and thump the ground in accordance with their conductor's bidding. The dance is a real physical exercise. When asked why the men jump and stamp the ground, the answer offered was that the men do so to shake off certain diseases, like arthritis. Again, where there is no doctor even ritual has therapeutic capabilities. Obviously dance and healing are associated in the Zionist practice.

There is also the wheel or circle dance. This includes men and women. The dance enjoins much repetition of a mono-stanza chorus and repeated circular running. It is not uncommon for some dancers – usually women – to fall in the circle, shout, scream and jostle about seemingly uncontrollably. The other worshippers may well continue dancing and not attending those fallen. This is said to be due to the operation of spirits. If the spirit claims to be an ancestor the case is delegated to the attention of the family rather than the church leaders. As in the men's dance, the circle dance is sought as a cathartic experience.¹⁴⁰

4.4 Searching for what Zionists search for: the core category, the major quest

As indicated above, there is a reason why anyone would be drawn or attracted to the Zionist way of worship while standing in the cold conferencing context in Limpopo, or anywhere else where Zionists gather. It has to do with the question: “What is happening here?” Each of the emerging

¹⁴⁰ Zionist dances (see Appendix 8).

seven categories mattered. Zionist worship no less than healing could be understood in each of the categories. Each told some principle involved in the Zionist story. But which one was the most inclusive of all that was happening?

The Zionists worship, no less than Zionist healing, has a goal: the people were searching for something. It is indeed a quest. But a quest for what? A quest for power? A quest for some faith? community, or just ritual therapy? Why do people leave the security and comfort of their homes, invest their hard earned money and time in travel and travail this far every year? What do they seek? Strauss and Corbin (1998:276) indicated an insight on this:

Grounded Theory procedures force us to ask, for example: “What power is in this situation and under specified conditions? How is it manifested, by whom, when, where, how, with what consequences (and for whom or what)?” Not to remain open to such a range of questions is to obstruct the discovery of important features of power in situ and to preclude developing further conceptualization.

These observations, analysis and assessments formed part of the final process of selective coding, especially the sorting part of that process of identifying the final core category. It had to be a category which would integrate all the concepts involved in healing. The process involved the identification and elaboration of the category which tells the ‘story’ of what is happening in healing as it relates to the Holy Spirit and other spirits. Therefore, at the level of selective coding, the challenge was to transcend beyond abstraction to selection – sorting out codes and categories, comparing, contrasting, examining relationship between the emerging core category with the rest. Strauss and Corbin (1990:116) described selective coding as “selecting the category systematically, relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development”. In this way the main category or the main proposition would bear the nature of being grounded in the phenomenon of healing. That would be the storyline. But to arrive at the final storyline there was a need to attend to some of the specific issues concerning the involvement of the Holy Spirit and other spirits precisely as they relate to healing.

4.5 Perspectives on healing: The Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing

Before reaching the final stage of selective coding it was necessary to consider various perspectives of healing relating to the spiritual realm. From the data received and the categories emerging thus far, what were the possible perspectives concerning healing on the one hand and the Holy Spirit and the other spirits on the other? Many participants expressed various views on these relationships. The various ways in which the *amaZioni* perceive of the relationships filtered down to basically four possible options. They are represented diagrammatically below.

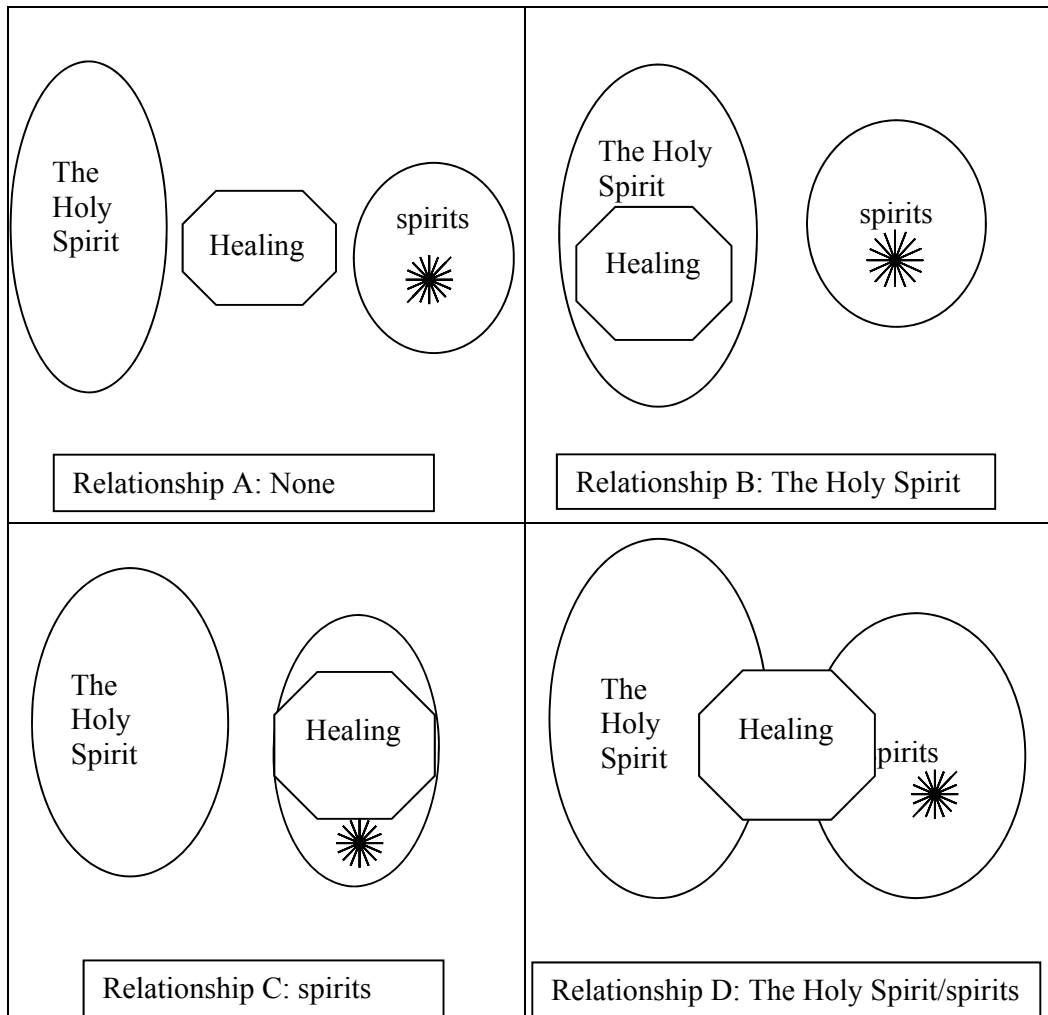


Figure 4.4: The Holy Spirit, spirits and healing

Relationship Perspectives. the Holy Spirit, spirits and healing.

- A.** Healing NEITHER by the Holy Spirit NOR by spirits – SEPARATION – Total exclusivity (5%)
- B.** Healing: Holy Spirit EXCLUSIVE of spirits – SEPARATION – Holy Spirit exclusivity (25%)
- C.** Healing by spirits EXCLUSIVE of the Holy Spirit – SEPARATION – spirits exclusivity (15%)
- D.** Healing by BOTH the Holy Spirit AND spirits – CO-OPERATION/CONFLICT - Spirit/spirits Co-op/Versus (50%). The rest of participants (5%) responded “don’t know”.

4.5.1 Healing neither by the Holy Spirit nor by other spirits

The first perspective (A) represents the view that there is no involvement and no relationship of the Holy Spirit and other spirits and the healing process. This was the concept perspective for some Zionists. The implications were obvious. First, this position does not deny that healing is happening when someone is prayed for. Healing, it was said, would occur however without the function nor the facilitation of the Holy Spirit or of spirits. For such respondents, nature follows its own course

and the sick are healed. If nature takes over then death as an immediate result shows that sickness could not be avoided. Because of the low rate (5%) of those who held this view this position was not really of great significance to the research. About the same rate expressed lack of knowledge. This was so because if indeed nature would take its course then why would there be the quest for healing? Why, in the first place, would the *amaZioni* seek and pursue faith therapy at the hands of their church leaders? The view tended to contradict general Zionist praxis. It was probably a position of non- commitment or nonchalance.

Many of those who responded that they did not know whether or not the Holy Spirit or spirits were involved in healing had themselves not witnessed healing at first hand. Therefore they could not make a confession or denial of healing *per se*. But this was not a denial of the existence of the Holy Spirit nor of the spirits. Of the existence of the other spirits, much data indicated that the participants were aware of them. Indeed the manifestation and effect of the spirits were all too well known by almost every *umZioni*. In some situations the spirits in question were named.¹⁴¹ In others, as in the case of the petrol station attendant Enoch, the participant strongly asserted that there was no relationship either between the familiar spirits (*imimoya yezinyanya*) and the Church or between such spirits and God. This did not amount to saying that God is not involved in healing. But those who held this view refrained from associating healing with the Holy Spirit or with the other spirits. An example of the clearest response to the question was: “We do not know, but we believe God can heal.”

The first position is inconsistent with African cosmology in which the consciousness of the presence of spirits is almost an ever-prevailing concern. The separation model is not supported by any data from the majority of Zionists. It is an untenable situation elsewhere as well, except maybe in the pages of Bultmann’s *Kerygma und Mythos* (1948).

4.5.2 Healing only by the Holy Spirit

The second position (B) attributed all healing to the Holy Spirit exclusive of other spirits. This second option is supported by more data from many of the Zionists. The highest positive response (94%) was among the Christian Catholic Zionists. This part of Zionism traces its roots right back to the Dowie missionaries from Zion City, Illinois. For them, about 25% of the respondents, all healing is attributed to the working of the Holy Spirit. Those who believed in that relationship also included all the church leaders. The church leaders were indicated as the main dispensers of that

¹⁴¹ The glossary in the Appendix 6 is by no means hardly exhaustive of the spirits known to exist. The word ‘good’ spirits was not used in connection with these. In some cases the names may differ as to local indigenous vernacular language (Xhosa, Zulu, Venda, Sotho and others). But their behaviour and acts are the same. In some languages more spirits are named than in others.

healing and indeed constituted the main channels to be sought after. Could healing also occur in the homes? Yes when the pastors or the deacons were present! There was reference to the text in the epistle of James, Chapter 5.¹⁴² When the question was asked if some other spirits could also heal, the usual answer given was that they might “seem” to heal but even that healing would be temporary. True healing, some Zionists said, had nothing to do with spirits. This view is in line with the teachings of the original missionaries (q.v. Section 3.3.). However, Zionists who hold such a view did not deny the existence of such spirits.

4.5.3 Healing by the other spirits only

The third view (C) is one in which, some participants said, healing is the work of the spirits. Among some Zionists however there were those who made a distinction between what they call the ‘good spirits’ and the ‘evil spirits.’ Some who held on to this view, about 15% of the population, also indicated that among ‘good’ spirits would be what they called the spirits of the ancestors. Examples of these ‘good’ spirits, the Zionist said, were spirits of the deceased good church founders as well as the spirits of those leaders who were contemporaries. This was the view of some of the Limpopo Zionists. As such, even in their church services the manifestation of such spirits was not disallowed although it was not discouraged.

There are accounts of such happenings which the researcher witnessed in a church service in Limpopo. In one instance a woman related how she saw, in a dream, the vision of their church leader. The church leader was still alive. Because of that vision she was persuaded to join the church. For this reason some *amaZioni* addressed prayers and songs to both groups of people – to both the living and the dead. In their songs the reference to *Ntate* (father), one Zionist explained, is not to God the Father in heaven: it is to the church founder.

Where there is belief in the real existence of the spirits either emanating for or representing the ancestors, both illness and healing were said to be linked to those spirits. But the research did not produce a significant number of those who hold such beliefs. Where it occurred it was usually where the Zionist church leaders have not disallowed their church members from consulting such spirits. This maybe either because they did not want to interfere with what they would rather consider as family matters or that the local church leaders just did not know what course to follow on the issues.

¹⁴² Specifically the reference is to James 5:14,15: “ Is anyone among you sick? Let them call the elders of the church to pray over them and anoint them with oil in the name of the Lord. ¹⁵ And the prayer offered in faith will make the sick person well; the Lord will raise them up. If they have sinned, they will be forgiven.”

The issue of the spirits of the dead is a matter to be considered on its own later (q.v. Section 7.5). But for now the observation is that it was for the same reason that lay members of some, not all, Zionist churches would be allowed to practise the ritual called *umbuyiso*, a ritual which is said to have the effect of bringing back into the household the spirit of the a deceased family member. The observation is that it is the living who are supposed to carry out the *umbuyiso* obligations. Non-performance, it was said, could result in retribution from the spirit of such a deceased person.

The thinking which carries this is very simple: a deceased family member is grieved, requires that a ritual be made. The ritual is done: the deceased is happy again.¹⁴³ Such practices were considered to be family matters and not church matters. In the case of Enoch mentioned earlier on there was a separation between family and church matters. In that way the former, including the issue of familiar spirits, was never a debated issue at church. It was a family issue. Enoch definitely did not think that he should consult the church leaders concerning what he regarded to be the spirits of his own (though long dead) forefathers. Contacting such spirits, it was said, provided an option for healing as in traditional religion. On this issue though it was not easy to obtain much information.

However, on what was regarded as the evil spirits there was much, though not exhaustive, data. From that data emerged names of spirit beings (Appendix 6). As in other cases of vernacular appellation the names of the spirits indicate their nature and activity. It was pointed out that from such and by such spirits proceeded all the sicknesses and misfortunes. An example of this is the spirit *umamlambo*. The word *mlambo* refers to a river; *umamlambo* is literally *Miss Mlambo*, which refers to the spirit dwelling the *mlambo* – an alluring woman-like spirit which allures men sexually and then kills their wives and relatives. Some research equates the *umamlambo* to the *njuzu* spirit among the Shona of Zimbabwe (Gelfand, 1962; Pauw 1975:251). The *amafufunyana* manifest themselves by foaming at the mouth of the deranged sick victim. To terminate such manifestations of the evil spirits they had definitely had to be exorcised before a sick person could receive complete healing. Hence the *Phuma Dimoni!* sessions.

4.5.4 Healing by the Holy Spirit and other spirits: conflict and/or co-operation

The final view (D) represents what is thought by some other Zionists to be some kind of co-operation or conflict between the Holy Spirit and the other spirits. Of the 55% of the population in this group two views are involved – co-operation and conflict. Healing was said to be possible by the operation and cooperation of the Holy Spirit and other spirits. It was said that the Holy Spirit works with the good spirits in bringing about healing. The alleged co-operation and/or

¹⁴³ The term happy has been used instead of expiation and propitiation. This is to avoid using terms rather more fitting in reference to God since ancestors are not God or gods.

collaboration between the Holy Spirit and other spirits presented the most complicated of situations to understand. Even those who pointed to Saul's consultation with a witch at Endor (I Samuel 28) could not explain why Saul was punished for such a consultation (I Chronicles 10:13).

There are other researchers who have sympathy with the possibility of such a co-operative relationship. This is shown in works of later and more recent researchers, among them Mbiti (1969), Bediako (1995) and Pobee and Hallencreutz (1986). As has been noted among the Zionists opinions and views vary on this issue. This is so also because of the varied nature of Zionism. In the Zionist spectrum there are those who support or deny such co-operation with spirits. But for the purpose of the research consideration of a case by case situation would apply.

The problem was how to determine what the form of any such co-operation or collaboration consisted of. Was it an equal partnership type of co-operation? Or a senior partner/junior partner type of co-operation? Was it some mutual dependency, some interdependence between the Holy Spirit and these other spirits in the course of the healing? In some situations the only 'proof' which the people had was that healing was permanent. To judge what the source of the healing was only by its results was a concession to model B's *modus operandi*. In that case, if permanent, then the healing would have been by the Holy Spirit; if not permanent then the evil spirits were responsible.

The other view is that indeed the Holy Spirit and the spirits are involved – but in an adversarial relationship. Many Zionists expressed this conflict and opposition view. That is why in their view out of helplessness and vulnerability they sought *inkonzo zoMoya*, churches of the Spirit. It is these churches which they perceived as having *greater* power. Zionist healing services where exorcism is done partly suggested that there is this conflict relationship. Hence the shouts *Phuma Dimoni!*

The possibility of the situation aforementioned has been the subject of many researches. The researches and writings of Sundkler (1948), Omenyo (2002) and Oosthuizen (1968) concluded that cooperation and/or collaboration was not possible. They did not deny the existence of evil spirits. The authors concluded that a situation where any co-operation was thought to be possible would be a concession to syncretism.

In reflecting on the four possible views or models of considering the relationship between the Holy Spirit and other spirits, the research sought to abstract concepts which would help the understanding of what is happening in various situations of healing among the *amaZioni*. Out of that reflection the probability of the Holy Spirit being involved in all healing was affirmed. Furthermore, the *amaZioni* belief strongly emphasises the operation of the Holy Spirit as a Person. The Holy Spirit is said to operate as a Person rather than as a totally independent impersonal agent

like the wind, or some force. Thus it became necessary also to consider the role of the people through whom the healing is administered and the patients, the receivers who are the beneficiaries of healing.

4.5.5 Healing by the Holy Spirit versus adversarial spirits: confrontation

To a large majority of Zionists the very mention of spirits tends to invoke a negative response. Mention of the word ‘spirits’ has a reference to *imimoya*; then the Zionists mind quickly perceives connotations of *imimoya yezinyanya* (ancestors), *imimoya engcolileyo* (unclean spirits), *imimoya kaSatan* (demons of Satan), *amakhosi* (spirits of power), *imimoya yobuthakathi* (spirits of witchcraft).¹⁴⁴ The common sense understanding among many Zionists is that these are adversarial spirits. Of such spirits the word ‘adversarial’ has been used to denote their nature; they are perceived as beings of Satanic origin. Hence in the healing services when the shouts are raised – *Phuma Dimoni!* – the intention is confrontation and expulsion of such spirits. How do the Zionists do that? By invoking the power of the Holy Spirit.

4.6 The healing, the healer and the patients

Healing occurs within a certain context. Chapter 3 presented extensive data concerning the very challenging context of the substantial population. Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele are essentially urban residential areas with challenging health conditions. The resident *amaZioni* are mainly commercial and service industry workers who form part of a million people who are in turn part of the three and a half million people in the Cape conurbation. As has been observed, a large proportion of these originate from outside the Cape Peninsula. Hence they are two-home residents: the first home being in either the Eastern Cape, Natal or other parts of the country. The second home is the Cape ‘home’. For most of them even the first home is not on land for which they hold title deeds.

Thus transience, impermanence and even alienation are part of the experience of this population. Most of them are of low economic status. All this contributes to and impinges on the health of this population within this context. It was not unusual to be called at ten o’clock at night to pick up a young mother who was sick and stranded in Athlone and to take her to the Khayelitsha hospital where she could receive free blood transfusion. She had no money for the transport or to pay for the medical attention, nor did she know what it was that was ailing her. Faced with such common situations, what options would she have had? Seeking healing from the *amaZioni* would certainly have been one option readily available to her. Her thrice-divorced mother was a member of one of

¹⁴⁴ Names of such spirits as are known by the Zionists are listed in Appendix 6.

the newer local AICs. The important observation about this is that the sick do use every effort to seek healing.

4.7 The healing places

Conditions in which the Zionists live, as have been presented above brought some illumination and insights into the continuing process of finding out what goes on during healing among the *amaZioni*. Some information was verbalised; the other was visible. Then there was the un-verbalised kind of information, encapsulated in signs and symbols comprehensible only in the context of the *amaZioni* themselves. All this contributed to the coding process. Before proceeding with the final stages of the selective coding it was necessary to reflect more about the places where healing takes place. Among the *amaZioni* healing can be conducted in the home, in the church and also at the church headquarters, places such as Moriah in Limpopo Province. The Zionist perception is that the church grounds are more conducive to healing than individual homes. It is obvious that, unlike bio-medical institutions, all these places do not have facilities either for monitoring the healing processes or for determining the extent to which the healing has proceeded. There are no formal technical verifications on whether the healing has actually taken place. The narratives indicated that confirmation of effectual healing was made by testimony rather than the testing of technically appropriate facilities. Proof of healing relied almost entirely on the testimony of the beneficiary.

4.8 The problems for healing

However, the observations concerning healing were that most of the cases for healing (over 75%) were for ailments which were not readily visible. Stomach pains, back aches, feelings of weakness and powerlessness were the more common complaints that were brought to the healers. Other problems related to healing included fears and anxieties about witches, sorcerers, bad luck and poverty, mental sickness and infertility. Generally, the problems reported for healings were of a nature that could not be readily verified.

Significantly there was a paucity of testimonies of healings which were of externally visible physiological problems such as bone fractures, physical disabilities and paraplegia. In the period covered by this research there were no first-hand narratives about anyone having been raised from the dead or one whose fractures were healed. This is not to deny that the participants indicated that there had been occurrences of some “miracles” as they understood them to be. Where some spectacular miracles were said to have occurred it was usually through the ministry of the church founders. Records of such miracles were not accessible nor available for this research.

Another concern of course is around the issue of the unhealed - those who were prayed for but were not healed. Even when it is admissible that healing, unlike miracles, can be a process which takes time, there were accounts of instances where neither actual visible healing nor cure were said to have occurred. The pain continued. In an earlier chapter the case of Eleanor has been noted (q.v. Section 4: 8 c). The Eleanor case for which prayers were offered at the Khayelitsha church was one of cervical cancer; she was not healed. She died within a week after being prayed for. There have been accounts of people who, after being prayed for, are counselled to tarry afterwards at the church. This prescription is said to be so that they can receive further prayer attention. Other accounts tell of unhealed sick people who eventually had to be counselled to go home without any apparent healing results. Others, like Eleanor, succumbed to the illness.

Cases of the unhealed or the unattained healing are not unique to the Zionists. Public media have been keen to follow up the healing campaigns of many tele-evangelists, such as Benny Hinn, Chris Oyakhilome, T.B. Joshua and Lesego Daniel. At least evangelist Reinhardt Bonnke (2010) admitted that it is a mystery that some people are healed and others are not.

4.9 The persons who administer healing: *abathandazi*, *abaprofita*

What kind of persons are those who administer the healing? Among the Zionists many participants (90%) indicated that their leaders were the primary agents of healing. The research confirmed an observation by Anderson (2000) that among the Lekganyane Zionists in Limpopo it was the “prophets”, called *abaprofita*, who conducted most of the healing. The responsibility to administer healing tended to descend according to the official hierarchy of authority observed above (q.v. Section 4.2.4). Other researches have confirmed the same observation that the church leaders are the prayer healers – *abathandazi*. Even in situations where there are other important pastors, as in the case at the Khayelitsha Zionist church office, a call for healing is always directed to the senior pastor. In the case at hand it was the District Chairman himself who, when asked for prayer for healing for Eleanor, ordered all the other pastors present to get on their knees to pray. In other healing services it is usually the most senior pastor present who administers the artefacts for the healing - the water, the ashes and the cloths.

Reports of healing are often accompanied by what the Zionists call prophecy. These are open pronouncements, not necessarily predictive declarations, which are intended to guide the healing procedures. Again the senior pastors present take the lead. Müller (2011:124-125), author of *African Pilgrimage* among the Limpopo and Gauteng Zionists, observed that the senior pastors could also override and annul the ‘prophecies’ of the junior leaders. This observation agrees with what Lukhaimane (1991) wrote concerning how, for instance, pastor Lekganyane was viewed in

the Zion Christian Church. Lukhaimane (1991:233) wrote, “Members believed that Engenas was a representative of God in the form of a prophet. God had given all the power to him Besides,” continued Lukhaimane, “Engenas was believed to have control over the Holy Spirit in the case of prophets.”¹⁴⁵

It is important to note that healing among the *amaZioni* occurs primarily though not exclusively within the Zionist Church establishment – within the building or in the church grounds. The idea expressed that Zion is the *umuzi ka Thixo* (Zion is the “home of God”) stems from this Zionists understanding. It is to this that attention is turning.

4.10 Zionist churches’ position and identity: Emerging categories and literature data

As Pretorius (2004:49) and other researchers have observed concerning the *amaZioni*: *iZion iyingwe emabalabala* (Zion is like a leopard with many spots). There are so many AICs that bear the name *Zionist*. In a wider area around the Cape Flats, 365 churches identified by Pretorius (2004:341) contain at least 247 or 67% with *Zionist* affiliation.¹⁴⁶ Some do not carry the name ‘Zionist’; others use the name ‘Apostolic’, but their self-identification is *amaZioni* or *amaZayoni*. Therefore, any attempt at simple classification is bound to be faulty. For the purpose of classifying the various groups it is more useful to identify the churches in terms of their founding relationship. Using the two names – Apostolic and Zionist – it is possible to conceive of a classification as:

- a) Mission Instituted Churches (MICs) such as the Methodist, Baptist, Apostolic Faith Mission and Assemblies of God;
- b) Churches which broke away from the mother MICs: i.e. as above - from MIC(a) to first AIC (b); for example Elias Mahlangu moved from Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) to the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa (ZACSA, 1917);
- c) Churches which broke away from the first black-led AIC (b) group to form secondary AICs – Edward Motaung moved from ZACSA to Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM);
- d) Churches which split from the first black-led churches (c) to form a third generation of AICs; for example Lekganyane moved from the ZAFM to form his Zion Christian Church (ZCC, 1925);

¹⁴⁵ It must be noted though that in the same paper Lukhaimane (1991:233) wrote that for the ZCC people the Holy Spirit “was regarded as a driving force”.

¹⁴⁶ Pretorius (2004:341) admits that the list of 369 AIC names “is by no means complete”. Indeed, nearly a decade since Pretorius’s observation, the occurrence of fission among the Zionists, characterised by the phenomenon of healing, continues.

- e) Black-led AICs which emerged from the (d) type above: for example fourth-generation AICs such as Frederick Modise's International Pentecostal Church (IPC) which moved out of the ZCC.

The last type of AICs as fourth-generation churches bear signs of some continuity with the third-generation churches – for example system of church conferences, leadership patterns, polygyny and baptism by immersion. In this sense the new third-generation AICs churches are therefore two-steps removed from the original Mission Initiated Churches (MICs). The ZCC is an example of the third-generation churches: it is a mainly black church which came out of a black church. As for the last group, some like the IPC, turned Messianic.¹⁴⁷ Others have drawn much closer to the practices of traditional religions. This observation is important. In some instances, as indicated further below, third- and later-generation churches may show signs of having also moved further away theologically from the teachings of their founding MICs.

Thus it is possible to think of the shift from MICs to later-generation churches of AICs in terms of a spectrum. In such a spectrum it is possible to see where each AIC and Zionist church stands in terms of their beliefs and practices. Generally, that shift within the AIC movements is demonstrated by the practices of the third- and fourth-generation churches especially so among the Zionists. In the field the observation was that such third-generation churches tend to gravitate towards the adoption and incorporation of many practices and aspects of traditional African religion. Thus in healing services of the latter churches such artefacts as cloths, sticks, beads and water are incorporated. In many instance such simple items take on something of more than symbolic significance. In some third- and fourth-generation churches the artefacts are almost seen as bearing power in themselves. They are seen as repositories of the healing powers. This is all according to Zionist spiritual reckoning. What is involved in this is the issue of culture.

The issue of culture is a factor that tends to cloud the understanding of the AICs. Where AICs are seen to be adopting some aspects of culture it is always good to test what is going on. Culture concerns have been addressed by, among others, Richard Niebuhr (1951). In his book *Christ and Culture*, Niebuhr suggests five possible viewpoints with regard to culture and Christ. The viewpoints are Christ against culture, Christ of culture, Christ above culture, Christ and culture in paradox and Christ transforming culture. In terms of this understanding therefore it was possible to test the aspects involved in healing. There are indeed many aspects of culture that are not opposed to the Christ of the Scriptures, nor against the commandments. There are others that are opposed to Christ and the Word of God. One Zionist, for instance, commented that the fact that his Zionist

¹⁴⁷ The IPC main choir has worship songs to *moemedi* or *ntate*, which are references not so much to God the Father as to the founder Frederick Modise himself.

church bishop took one woman after another to be his ‘wife’ was not because of his respect for tradition, but because of insatiable personal desire, which is adultery.

There is another way to consider the Zionist churches. Bengt Sundkler (1961:53-55) suggested that the AICs be seen in terms of “Ethiopian”, or of being “Apostolic and Zionist”. This was refined a bit further by Daneel (1987:39-41), who saw the Zionists as “Spirit-type”. In general, the Zionist or Spiritist churches consider themselves as not merely led by Africans but as led directly by the Spirit of God.¹⁴⁸ From the Spirit, they claim, they get power and guidance for their practices. In that sense then are Zionist churches Pentecostal? Certainly with some fourth-generation AICs, such as the IPC type churches, the practices of glossolalia and prophecy have been dropped.

Of course, a hundred years after the emergence of these indigenous independent churches certain developments have taken place. While as these churches insist that the inspiration of God’s Spirit is paramount in their daily operation and especially in healing practices, some have moved on in terms of emphasis and orientation. Two observations are appropriate at this stage. First is the Dowie-type Apostolic churches such as the Christian Catholic Church in Zion in Khayelitsha. They preach the sovereignty of God, call for repentance and emphasise the need for a born again experience. Some also include prosperity teachings. Then there are those churches exemplified by the ZCC and IPC. These, almost all of them, have nearly 100% black leadership. A feature of their identity is incorporation of many aspects of the African traditional religion. This research noted that some such aspects included animal sacrifices, consultation and appeasement of ancestors.

It was Allan Anderson (2000:34) who attempted an AIC classification which separated these churches into “New Pentecostal Churches” and “Zionist Churches”. Then Born (2009:i), who did some research on the AICs in Botswana, suggested the classification “New Pentecostal Churches” and “African Spiritual Churches”. Although this classification is a bit too simplistic, at least it is useful in bringing light to the contemporary situation of these churches. Their understanding of themselves is as churches that are led by the Spirit. Born (2009) made a very relevant comment: “The Spirit is often viewed as the healer of those who are diseased, offering life in the here and now, and aiding the desperately needy.” This comes close to the same observation as that of Anderson (1991:73). Anderson’s view was that in these churches the Spirit is perceived as the “all-embracing, pervading power of God”. This, for the purpose of this research, is enough evidence of the fact that these churches view themselves as Spirit-led. The essential link here is that when the sick people seek the aid of these churches they are no doubt seeking something spiritual. It will be

¹⁴⁸ This conviction that they are Spirit tends to relegate other things to a secondary level. The Bible and the commandments, for example, take a lesser role in church practice. The prophet-leader and his household are held in greater reverence than the Scriptures.

necessary to explore a bit further on this idea. For now it is noted that in most Zionist churches the Holy Spirit is indeed perceived as spiritual agency and mover of everything.

4.11 Zionist churches and community: present and future

The idea of community has already been referred to in connection with various properties of this category - namely tribe, language, marriage and other consanguinity connections. This category was a strong one and an appealing one. Do *amaZioni* consider the idea of community as a real possibility attainable in this life? A hundred years of existence may be too brief a period to give an answer. Or are those who flock to the Zionist churches really looking for something more, something beyond this life, in the realm of an eschatological hope?

Evidently the mere sight of Zionist churches, their places of worship – even Moriah itself – conveys the idea of transience, impermanence and temporariness. Some Zionist places of worship are not stone- or brick-built cathedrals or bishops' palaces or ivory towers which could motivate a desire to dwell there every day. The sight of a Zionist church ground does not immediately give the impression of permanence as a community. Several Zionists indicated Bible passages which they cherish. An typical example of such is the following from the Psalms:

How *lovely* is your *dwelling place*, LORD Almighty! My *soul yearns, even faints*, for the courts of the LORD; my heart and my flesh cry out for the living God... Blessed are those who dwell in *Your house*; they are ever praising you. Blessed are those whose strength is in you, whose hearts are set on *pilgrimage*.

They go from strength to strength, till each appears before *God in Zion* (Psalm 84, NIV, my emphasis).

Even from this abridged periscope, the highlighted words are significant – *lovely, yearning, fainting for, the courts, God's House, Zion*. To Zionists these are expressions of an out-of-this-world reality as perceived by the worshippers. In Moriah itself, out there outside Polokwane, nothing like this exists: on the contrary the site is unsheltered, windy, dusty, exposed, a barren mountain side. Nothing there speaks of the lovely, welcoming, quiet resting place that may be imagined. Hence the questions: What was happening with these thousands in this cold windy sandy place? What cause brings them this far? What are the problems they face? How were the people solving it?

To ask these question continuously was essential especially in the very dynamic deeply spiritual context of the *amaZioni*. Not every detail told everything that is happening in the *amaZioni* experience. But the accumulation of the abstracted categories gave an indication of what the Zionist story is about.

The Grounded Theory approach by its nature demands that the method of abstraction and the creation of categories “be kept in a constant confrontation with data” (Moghaddam, 2006). Hence the continuous recurrence of questions concerning the healing experience at the grassroots level. One expression which was shared was “our people are suffering ... suffering looking for something...”. Moriah was not the final destination – if anything it was only part of the journey, part of what Psalm 84 calls the “pilgrimage”. Thus the many Moriahs here on earth are each considered to be pointing to another “house of God” (Psalm 84). It was a realisation that “that something” was certainly not in the rain and the wind, the sand and the mud in the wet shoes; it was not in the sadness on their faces. That was not what the people had come for.

That realisation was one thing. The other consideration was that, in spite of the leadership changes and schisms, the ordinary people had kept pilgrimaging to such *Moriahs* year after year. Zionists tried to look beyond the church buildings, the church schisms and the leaders’ multiplying of wives and earthly treasures. It could be said then that the church membership growth has continued because the ordinary lay people are seeking spiritual rather than mere earthly benefits.

In his paper, ‘Zion through Zionists’ eyes’ – which is really an attempt to render a self-portrait from Zionist eyes, Pretorius (2000) noted that the word ‘Zion’ carries the understanding often reiterated above that *iZion umzi kaThixo* (Zion is the house of God). The pilot research revealed that the two terms *umzi* (the home) and *Zion* (the City) did not necessarily refer to some attainable earthly entity although some leaders may want to think of their church headquarters as the earthly Zion cities. The headquarters church of the ZCC is not called Zion: it is popularly known as Moriah. The sign etched out on the mountain side reads “Zion City Moria”. But for the common lay people the place is popularly known as Moriah, not Zion nor City. In fact since the split in the church in 1948 there are two Moriahs. This leaves the meanings of the *umzi* and *Zion* to find their locus in the spiritual Zion, the eschatological house which is not of this world. This is also confirmed by what Pretorius observed when he commented that Zion is conspicuously referred to as an *inkonzo yoMoya* (assemblies of the Spirit). The understanding is that people gather there because of the Spirit. *Churches of the Spirit* is what the Zionists prefer to be identified as. It is in this ‘spiritual’ sense that the Zionists also see *umzi* as a place of refuge, protection, security and indeed healing.

Popular Zionist hymnody also reflect a non-terrestrial but eschatological orientation. A few such hymns which the Zionists sing illustrate this:

– *amasango ase Zion uJehova uyawathanda kunazo zonke izindlu zika Jakobe* (The Lord loves the gates of Zion more than all the other dwellings of Jacob);

Siyay’e Zion, Zion omuhle kakhulu (We are marching to Zion, Beautiful Zion);

UYehova akuthumele uncedo lwasengcweleni ... akuxhase eseZion (The Lord send you help from the sanctuary and strengthen you out of Zion, Psalm 20:2);

UYehova mkhulu eZiyon (The Lord is great in Zion, Psalm 99:2);

Makakusikelel 'uYehova eZiyoni (The Lord shall bless you out of Zion, Psalm 128: 5);

Singabahambayo thina kulo mhlaba; siye Khaya e Zulwini (We are pilgrims on this earth; we are going Home to Heaven).

Admittedly, careful and faithful exegesis of the Bible texts would point to the city of David as the objective reference in context.¹⁴⁹ The Zionists would not deny that. To the *amaZioni* leadership the reference is to the church headquarters. To the *amaZioni* lay persons it is more than that: the deep yearning desires of many *amaZioni* lies in the reference to the Heavenly (spiritual) City. The essence of Zion is that it is a spiritual place. This vision was said to be the one that made people endure even through the tough times in the history of the country. Such reading and singing therefore find expression in the New Testament eschatological vision noted in the letter to the believing Hebrews.

But you have come to Mount Zion, to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem. You have come to thousands upon thousands of angels in joyful assembly, to the church of the firstborn, whose names are written in heaven. You have come to God, the Judge of all, to the spirits of the righteous made perfect, to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant, and to the sprinkled blood that speaks a better word than the blood of Abel.

It was Pretorius (2000:113) who made an observation that, to Cape Flats Zionists, “Mount Zion is usually limited to the prophetic vision”. That yearning, a real spiritual yearning, is shown in an Old Testament text that says God “has made everything beautiful in its time. He has also set eternity in the hearts of men” (Ecclesiastes 3:11). Eternity is the measure of the desires and longings of the Zionists. The same idea of redemptive analogies was used by Don Richardson (1984) in his book *Eternity in Their Hearts*. As in other cultures, so also among the *amaZioni* – there is this evidence of a yearning, this seeking for spiritual realities.

4.12 Engagement and reflections on literary resources

This understanding of the Zionist story as one of a search, a quest for some spiritual realities is yet to be enhanced and enriched by a consideration of the treasure of literary resources on independent indigenous churches. The literature on the indigenous churches has been cited in passing before this

¹⁴⁹ The critique that this reference to Bible texts is simple proof texting belongs to the area of hermeneutics. That concern is dealt with more below (7:9).

point. Up to this point it, has served in the sense that “all is data” (Glaser, 2002). But for now a direct engagement and reflection with such literature is appropriate.

4.12.1 Reflections on literary resources on healing and the Holy Spirit

The literary resource inventory on the Holy Spirit, the other spirits, healing and mission includes both field research work and theological studies. Various works concerning the Holy Spirit have been authored by David Bosch, Morton Kelsey, Anthony Hoekema (1972), Charles Wagner, John Stott, Jan Jongeneel and B van Engelen. As one draws from this literature, for the purposes of this final identification of the core principle in healing, an evangelical perspective to the Scriptures is subsumed. One other recent book by Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen (2002b) is of great value concerning the study of the subject of the Holy Spirit in, as its subtitle reads, an “ecumenical, international and contextual perspective”. Furthermore Charles van Engelen’s (2004) literary contribution of the need to understand mission with the cultural contexts will be considered.

While other types of literature could have been cited, the majority of the selection of works herewith engaged tend to have a conservative, canonical approach. Their reliance on the Christian Scriptures is obvious. Among these, some attention will be given to Morton Kelsey’s book *Healing and Christianity* (1973), Michael Brown’s book *Israel’s divine healer* (1995), and Amanda Porterfield’s book *Healing in the history of Christianity* (2005). The authors studiously trace the phenomenon of healing theologically and historically. But they also consider what has now become conventional medical healing. In their view it is God who heals. God uses the agency of people who obey God’s Word.

The other book is by John Wilkinson (1998), *The Bible and healing*. The opening statement in the book reflects the general conviction of the other authors as well. “There was a time,” Wilkinson (1998:1) recalls, “when the three words which describe the subject of this book, namely the Bible, medicine and healing, were more closely related than they are today.”¹⁵⁰

It is hardly necessary to emphasise that this genre of literature locates healing within the Judeo-Christian tradition. In that tradition God the Creator is the “divine Healer” (Brown, 1995). The understanding is that what the Creator has made the Creator can mend. The process of mending (healing) involves the use of spiritual gifts of which healing is one. So also prophecy and the manifestation of miracles (I Corinth 12:1-11). In this understanding can be seen in the Zionist churches some aspects of their of Pentecostal heritage from the Great Century of missions.

¹⁵⁰ Wilkinson, like Gerard Jansen, referred to below, is a doctor and theologian who has served in medical mission in Africa.

Before making a summary of all background literary resources, one notes the contribution of David Bosch (1989:18) to the understanding of both healing and mission. In Bosch's study of the Gospel of Luke, the Lord Jesus gives attention to the experience of the lowly – the ones exposed to suffering, poverty, ostracism and exploitation in this world. The lowly positioned people in this reference embrace healing with a view that it is healing of the whole person. Such is a view very much in agreement with how the Zionists approach the matter of healing. For Bosch (1989), the Lord's mission was "an expression of empowering the lowly, healing the sick and saving the lost". Of course a missional hermeneutic would have to go beyond Bosch to include the Acts and other New and Old Testament texts.¹⁵¹ Although Bosch's observation was not one which had reference to the indigenous African church situation but that of first-century Jews it is relevant in this concern. For one thing the Jewish context was also of a population under imperial or colonial rule. Such comments are very close to the experiences of members of the Zionist churches. For another, the author deals with the issues of vulnerability and life risks which are also part of the Zionist experience as has been mentioned earlier on (Chapter 3).

For now, concerning the Holy Spirit, a summary is provided of the basic beliefs from a reformed conservative evangelical perspective:¹⁵² In considering the deity and personality of the Holy Spirit, some eight main orientations of reference can be noted. They concern the Holy Spirit and the canon, that is, authority of the Scriptures. There is the union of the Word and the Holy Spirit (as in Calvin's *Institutes of Christian Religion*, Book 1).¹⁵³ Basically that means that the Holy Spirit and Scripture communicate truths and do not contradict one another. Those truths include the following: the Holy Spirit is involved –

1. in creation (Genesis 1),
2. in revealing Christ as Saviour and Lord (John, 14, 15, 16),
3. in the conviction of sin (John 16:8-11),
4. in the believer's consecration and character formation (John 15, 16, Galatians 5:20-26f),
5. in the dispensation of spiritual gifts (Romans 12, I Corinthians 12, Ephesians 4:11, I Peter 4:11),
6. in spiritual confrontation or spiritual warfare (Acts 19, Ephesians 6),
7. in the new Covenant promise (Ezekiel 36:26; Jeremiah 31:31; Luke 24: Acts 1:8); and
8. in the Great Commission as the principal agent of evangelism and mission (John 20:21; Luke 24: 49; John 20:23; Acts 1:8; Romans 1:16).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ This observation follows comments by Goheen (2005:23) in "A critical examination of David Bosch's missional reading of Luke".

¹⁵² Much of the teaching is drawn from *Christian Theology* (Erickson, 1985:845-883). Another source is *Systematic Theology: An introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Gruden, 1994:529-653).

¹⁵³ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, book 1, chapter 7, section 5.

¹⁵⁴ Milliard Erickson (1985) and Gruden (1994).

For the purpose of this research it is these basic orientations which were crucial in dealing with healing and concerning the Zionist quest for spiritual therapy. It may be expedient to note that the same Holy Spirit does operate in the fulfilment, not the breaking, of the Law and the prophets. The critical observation on the field is that in general the participants' responses were in agreement with almost all of these orientations or beliefs. There were a few areas of differences but on the whole the Zionists' thinking and practice concerning the Scriptures and the Holy Spirit tended to be along these lines. Of course the recurring emphasis on the Holy Spirit was understandable.

Another teaching from Scripture is with regard to the Holy Spirit and the Trinity. Scripture teaches that in the hypostatic union of the Godhead, the Person of the Holy Spirit is "another Comforter" who in Christ's post-resurrection, post ascension period glorifies the Lord Jesus Christ (John 15:26). In other words the Holy Spirit does not come to glorify other persons or other deities. The same Spirit in that relationship of perichoresis with the Father and the Son is involved in the elenctic process of conviction of sin and conversion from sin (John 16:8-11). This ministry upholds all the commandments. Thus, by the Holy Spirit, fallen and degenerate men and women are brought again to a new life and thereby regain that which, consequent upon the Genesis 3 fall, was lost - the blessed wholeness, the healing, the dignity, the godliness.

But what about the other spirits? What about healing? To retain objectivity, these will be considered from a field perspective, from a ground-level point of view. Suffice it to note that from that grassroots level research has already discovered that among the Zionists there are various views and beliefs concerning the spirit beings. The different views can best be considered in terms of the spectrum of Zionism. In that spectrum on the one end some first-generation Zionist churches hold views and beliefs close to the MICs; on the other end other Zionists hold views and beliefs which are more removed from the MIC positions.

4.12.2 Reflections on the literature on the independent churches

The next step is to engage with the treasure of literary works of several researchers who focused on the Zionists in Southern Africa. In Grounded Theory Approach the function of literature, as some researchers have counselled, serves to facilitate the identification of the research problem and elaborate on it. The preliminary and relevant bibliography indicated in the first chapter served this function. The literature serves as a resource for the further selection of more appropriate and specific literature relevant to the emerging theory or theories.

This work takes into account the research of the aforementioned authors and many more.¹⁵⁵ Indeed in reviewing the research on the Zionists in South Africa the works of Sundkler, Lukhaimane, Daneel, Bate, Anderson and Pretorius could not be ignored. Bengt Sundkler's legacy was the fruit of thoroughgoing direct observation of the Zulu Zionist independent churches. It has been noted that in Sundkler's basic dual typology – “Ethiopian” and “Zionist” churches – the Zionist were the “Spirit-type churches” (Anderson, 2001a:17). Sundkler made some (unfortunate) comments about the indigenous amaNazaretha church which was founded by Isaiah Mdlwamafa Shembe. The church was, commented Sundkler, a “syncretistic sect ... the bridge over which Africans are brought back to heathenism” (Sundkler, 1961: 297). But at least he acknowledged that the leaders were “prophets” and he used the term the people themselves use – that they were “Bantu”, not just African in general. *Bantu Prophets* is thus useful in highlighting the identification of what the Zionists themselves regarded as work of the Holy Spirit and what, as the author regarded, was the work of other spirits. Despite his later self-confessed “problem of bias”, Sundkler was precise in observing that the Zionists were “a Pentecostal, apostolic movement, stressing the influence of the Holy Spirit and of divine healing, and combining both African and European elements” (Anderson, 2001a:13). Here again the relationship between the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing was highlighted. Perhaps in this regard Shembe was different from other indigenous churches.

The next useful literary contribution is Oosthuizen's (1968) research among the Indian Pentecostal churches in Durban. This was also participant-observation; interviews and document collection with a Pentecostal (Holy Spirit) focus. It was Oosthuizen (1968) who, not unlike Sundkler, noted the tendency of the independent churches to provide what he called “an easy bridge back to nativism”. The statement itself indicates what in this research has been identified in the spectrum of Zionism as a tendency toward including traditional aspects of healing. But not all Zionists include aspects of traditional religion in their practices. The title of Oosthuizen's 1968 book – *Post-Christianity in Africa* – is self-explanatory. That is what he thought of them then.¹⁵⁶

He also authored the book *The birth of African Zionism in South Africa* (Oosthuizen, 1994). This is more relevant to this research in that the author points out the conditions under which Zionism took root in southern Africa. He cites the condition of powerlessness which the indigenous peoples felt: hence the attraction to seek the power of the Holy Spirit. Also he points out the move away from what he calls the “stalemate empirical Christianity” towards “ecclesiastical democracy” (Oosthuizen, 1987:237-238).

¹⁵⁵ AIC authors' list in chapter 1 is augmented by the names of B. Goba, W. Shenk, N.H. Ngada, J. Pobe, J. Pfeiffer, C. Chitando, N. Thomas and C.M. Pauw.

¹⁵⁶ Oosthuizen later changed from his view that all independent indigenous were post-Christian (Anderson, 2001:229).

The other aspect which is of interest here is what Oosthuizen (1987) called a “traditional sense of community”. The concept of community indeed is emphasised even though in Oosthuizen’s view these aspects were also common in the New Age movement in South Africa at that time. For the sake of this research though the idea of community is enhanced. Thus when healing is sought there is something more than cure that is in view.

In an earlier book, *The healer prophet in Afro-Christian churches*, Oosthuizen (1967) had dealt with the role of the healers. Oosthuizen was eager to view healing from a number of perspectives including physical, psychological concerns as well as human relationships, socio-political tensions. That formed the holistic understanding of healing. He at least pointed out the increasing knowledge among scientists of two different types of diseases in Africa – the *imikhuhlane* (natural diseases) and the *izifo zabantu* (African diseases). This is an interesting way in which at grassroots level the people regard sicknesses. This view of the people is in agreement with the multi-perspective approach of Oosthuizen. It is a more holistic approach to the issues of health and healing. It is indeed interesting to note that of late some non-governmental agencies working in Khayelitsha have adopted holistic intervention.¹⁵⁷

Anderson (2001a) commented that *izifo zabantu* – which in a literary sense means “people’s diseases” – were curable only through “supernatural means”. Working among the Zionists, Anderson’s observation represents what this research has discovered to be an insider view held by the Zionists. This is the quest for supernatural means which accounted for the multitudes flocking to the independent churches. It is a spiritual quest.

Oosthuizen (1987) dealt particularly with the issue of healing. He noted that amongst the Zionists “healing in the holistic sense is the central issue”. Further, Oosthuizen (1994:241) observed that the Zionists

understand the psyche of their people, they speak the ‘language’ of the adherents at the grassroots, and they address the problem of the people encounter with cultural disease such as the effects of evil spirits, possession, witchcraft and sorcery.

Oosthuizen did much to draw attention to the area of the other spirits. In this case it was the spirits related to the dead. He referred to that particular concern as “the most difficult theological problem in Africa, namely the confusion that exists with regard to the ancestral spirits and the Holy Spirit” (Oosthuizen, 1968:32). With regard to the ancestral spirits, Oosthuizen (1994) did point out some similarities with the New Age movement. The Zionists with whom Oosthuizen worked did not pay

¹⁵⁷ One such organisation is the Life Line/Childline –Western Cape which works in Khayelitsha among AIDS-HIV affected people.

much attention to the evil disposition (Oosthuizen 1987:241). Later Oosthuizen modified his views regarding the operation of the spirits. Among the participants of the current research there were those who took the issue of spirits very seriously.

The more rigorous research was that of Marthinus Daneel. Though not working specifically with a South African population, Daneel's research was among a population of Zionists of similar orientation and beliefs in what was then Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The Zionists there have strong ties with Limpopo Zionists. Current Zimbabwe Zionism traces their roots in the Limpopo Zionist mission. Daneel's major contribution is in the area of the theology of the African indigenous churches. Interesting and relevant in relation to the current work so far was Daneel's observation, in *Quest for belonging* was that in the Zionist church Christ is reflected by the Holy Spirit through the Zionists' "iconic leadership" rather than Messianic leadership (Daneel 1987:191). Thus the Zionist leaders are seen to be in a role which is more spiritual than merely human. Perhaps the practice of hereditary leadership succession has something to do with this. As Gundani (1989) notes, the Zionist idea of leadership assimilates what Zionists view as a continuing relationship between the living and the dead. The Zionist leaders are seen as the centre of Zionist spirituality – even when it comes to matters of healing – but are not Messianic substitutes for Christ (Gundani, 1989:186).

A few other insights from Daneel's work are relevant here. The idea of the "re-enactment of Biblical events" is also important in Daneel's observation. It is part of the literary nature of the hermeneutics of Zionism. The use of symbols – for example water, fire and ashes – is patterned after the Old Testament use of those artefacts in healing. That to the Zionists these artefacts carry a spiritual meaning is obvious. From his research efforts came other publications – *Zionism and Faith Healing* (1970). Indeed faith is an important aspect in the healing phenomenon. Faith sets this kind of healing apart from others.¹⁵⁸ Another interesting publication which dealt with Zionists as a community is the book, *Quest for belonging* (Daneel, 1987). The book carries the thesis that in attaching themselves to the Zionist churches the people are searching for some identity which gives them meaning. It is an idea fitting the concept abstracted from the data garnered during this research (q.v. Sections 5:3.2; 6.4.2) Indeed, given the apartheid socio-political context in South Africa, the search for some kind of community cannot be ignored.

Through the journal *Missionalia*, Daneel published a series of papers of relevant content. In these writings the main themes which are dealt with are divine or prophet healing, confrontation with ancestral spirits, familial spirits, curses and the concern for environmental and ecumenical issues. A

¹⁵⁸ Daneel develops further observations in *Old and new in Shona independent churches*, Vol. 1-3 (1971, 1988).

cursory examination through Daneel's publication reveals that his research covered the following themes: African outreach; African deity ancestor cult (1973); charismatic healing (1983; 1985); communication and liberation (1983); sacrament theology (1991); healing the earth (1993); eco-justice (2000); as well as exorcism and wizardry (2008). What is clear through all these themes is the prominence of the spiritual nature of almost every aspect of the Zionist experience.

It is from the Daneel that some insights into the artefacts used in Zionist healing are obtained. Daneel's observation was that the artefacts were merely symbolic. The question has been raised whether that is all that the Zionists read and understand (Siwella, 2008:127-129). For some Zionists the possession of the objects guarantees effectual healing and protection from further spiritual attacks. For other Zionists the tendency is to regard the symbols as reservoirs of the healing power. Even if this does not extend to the use of the symbols as magical objects some spiritual aura is attributed to the artefacts. The confession of one Zionist that the presence of the Zionist leader's photo in his house would invoke blessings is evidence of this (q.v. Section 4.5). In other cases, faith in the artefacts is said to bring about effectual healing. The fine line between symbolism and magic thereby becomes quite blurred. At this point the question which was raised by Becken (1984:12) is appropriate: "Where is the boundary between faith and magic?" This is issue which will be attended to further in Chapter 7 below in relation to photos and other church objects.

One important observation relating to healing must be made of Daneel's work. According to Daneel, the healing among the Zionists means more than just cure. Healing involves families. It also involves the environment. Daneel was involved in the establishment of the Association of African Earth-keeping Churches. The association put into practice the idea of healing at grassroots level: it conducted ceremonies which were called *maporesanyika*, which literally means "earth-healing ceremony" (Daneel, 2001). Over the years, Daneel wrote about "healing the earth" (1993), "sacramental theology" (1991), "ecothology", (1994), "environmental theology" (1995), and "earth keeping" (1996).¹⁵⁹

Nearer home is the work of Elias Lukhaimane – *The Zionist Christian Church of Ignatius (Engenas) Lekganyane, 1924-1948: An experiment with African Christianity* (1980). Essentially a historical survey of the Limpopo-based Zionist church this work not only highlighted the primacy of divine healing but also the expansion of the church right across the province and over the gold fields. Lukhaimane made a great effort in detailing the major aspects and instruments of healing practiced by the church. Some of these – water, beads, ash, cords- have already been noted. He also indicated the weaknesses of the church leadership especially at succession or transition times.

¹⁵⁹ The M.L. Daneel publications on the Boston University Missions website list well over 40 books and articles related to this theme. Daneel (1996) came out with the idea of "sacred earth religion."

Evidently, what Daneel called ‘iconic’ leadership, which was also hereditary could not stand the succession strain in the context of polygamy - one son too many were contending candidates. The result was a schism in 1948 which raised the question of whether the healing powers were embodied only in a spiritual episcopal dynasty.

Valuable insights on Zionism have come from other sources. One has to draw from writings of such authors as Makhubu (‘Who are the Independent Churches?’, 1988), and Maluleke (‘A Review of Naudé and Philpott’;¹⁶⁰ ‘The Zionist Christian Church in South Africa’, 1996), Mayatula (‘African Independent Churches’ contribution to a relevant theology’, 1995), Mosala (‘African Independent Churches,’ 1985), and Magubane (‘Africa Independentism: an attempt at inculturation’, 1986). Although some of this literature is useful in the identification of the AICs, the value of the content is in depicting the socio-political contexts in which the churches exist. In almost all these publications runs the affirmation that the Holy Spirit is involved as dispenser of the spiritual gifts. Among such gifts is healing. This literature categorises the church healing practices within the same ambit of Christian orthodoxy adapted in varying degrees to the African context.

Anderson (2000) has also written extensively on the spirituality of the Zionists. From his Pentecostal background, Anderson’s dwelling on the gifts of the Holy Spirit has placed discourse on healing within the contextual pneumatology. Many insights can be drawn from Anderson’s books - *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African Independent Church* (1991) and *The faith of African Pentecostals* (1993). The book which carries accounts of the African indigenous experiences across the continent in an Africa-wide coverage is *African Reformation* (2001). Unlike Sundkler’s views which tended to vilify the AIC movements, Anderson’s was a more conciliatory view. In brief, Anderson believed it was that the Holy Spirit who was working with and in the AIC ‘reformation’. Hence such spiritual churches could be identified elsewhere in Africa.¹⁶¹

At this point some general comments arising from various readings about healing are appropriate. Reference has been made to various kinds of diseases which are encountered and dealt with in the indigenous churches. Zionists identify certain pathologies which they can attend to by faith and prayer. They include sickness linked to death, miscarriages, tormenting spirits and wizardry, barrenness, birth problems, headaches, stomach problems such as aches and cramps, pains in the chest, limbs and joints, curses from witches, poisoning and psychological disorders. It has been noted that what these churches deal with are mainly psychological or psycho-somatic illnesses. This was the focus of the books *Inculturation and healing* by (Bate, 1993; 1995). From pilot

¹⁶⁰ Maluleke in Cuthbertson *et al.* (2003:194-198).

¹⁶¹ Anderson identifies parallel AIC movements which arose in Ghana, Congo and Uganda, Kenya and Zambia.

research the list of curable sicknesses and diseases included more than the afore-mentioned. The point is that within the AIC context, and within the Zionist context too, healing is sought within the church or among church members. Healing is sought within the spiritual circles, circles which also are considered to confess to a Christian ethos. Even in Daneel's understanding of healing, wherein healing extends to creation as well, the question still arises: "What is happening here?" An answer to this question is unlikely to avoid the spiritual nature of the quest involved.

In terms of parallels between what Anderson calls this "African reformation" and its sixteenth-century Protestant counterpart in Europe, it can be said that both share the characteristic of protest against an established ecclesiastical order and practice. But in terms of tradition, the critique on AICs and the Zionists is that, unlike in Europe, some AICs tended to move more towards, rather than away from, the indigenous tradition. The AICs which did not move much - such as Pastor Mande's Christian Catholic in Zion Africa have not incorporated much from the traditional culture. They did however retain those aspects of traditional culture that do not conflict with the Word of the Lord.

The research also noted that while in the one area of healing which involved the 'laying on of hands' as part of the practice of the established Pentecostal MICs for ministering to the sick, the AICs and Zionists have certainly developed an accretion of other aspects and artefacts into the healing process. The aspects added in AIC prayer for the sick include the use of various symbolic objects such as blessed water, photos, codes, ropes, staffs, ash and burning papers. In some Zionist churches, as noted above, the sick are also counselled to consult their ancestors. At that point the question of which spirit is in operation becomes critical and crucial. Some references to these concerns will be addressed below (Sections 7.4 and 8.3.8).

Another more relevant work for the purpose of this research is that of Hennie Pretorius. His well-researched book *Drumbeats: Sounds of Zion in the Cape Flats* by (2004) is hard to ignore in this research. For one thing, Pretorius's work focused on the Zionist congregations on the Cape Flats – the same area of current interest. For another, this grassroots-level work used the same Grounded Theory Approach for the entire empirical work. The theme of Zionists at worship is carried through Zion drum-beats boom with life in spite of the harsh socio-political and environmental realities and concerns – vulnerability, risks and poor health (Chapter 3). In that situation, Zion, *umzika Thixo* (the house of God) provides a safe, healing refuge. It also provides new initiatives in Christian mission in a lively and vital form which is culture sensitive.

Indeed, this work was a follow-up on Pretorius's paper, 'Zion: Profile and Self-Perception' (2000). The Zionist churches, within the area are seen to be offering an opening for lively participatory

communal worship and ultimately self-understanding. The article offers valuable insights as to how the Zionists see themselves. By induction it is possible to conclude that the key to this is the community factor. Here in the culturally-friendly environment of Zion, *umzika Thixo*, Zionists perceive a safe haven. For them here, rather than in the public health facilities, is where even healing has a higher probability. That healing occurs in a holistic Christian environment which helps them find meaning and identity in otherwise hostile alienating urban conditions.

Another theme which stems out of the readings is the understanding of *mission*. The idea of mission covers many aspects – witnessing for the Lord Jesus, preaching and sharing (Pobee, 1992). Mission praxis is seen as covering not only the actual practice of living and sharing the Good News of salvation but a state of *being* as well. It is in these contexts of spreading the message of the Good News of the Gospel that the character, or the *being*, of the messenger is also critical. Zionists think of *being* in terms personhood or human-ness. Zionists understand this as *ubuntu* – the idea that a person’s being is tied up with that of the community around that person. No wonder that the Zionist mission tends to follow certain lines – the clan, the tribe the colour identities. Did not even Paul the Apostle begin at the Jewish synagogue in each town he visited?

Critical in studying AIC mission praxis as well as Zionists mission praxis is the inescapable issue of the Holy Spirit. Research into the diaspora-instituted churches in European metropolises document how “the Christian Pentecostal churches create transnational ways of being and belonging” (Krause, 2011:419-420), and in contrast to the Zionist way of mission. Similar findings have been documented of the African diaspora in North America. There, as in Europe and elsewhere, the diaspora churches emphasise the importance of healing (Kwakye-Nuako, in Konadu-Agyemang *et al.*, 2006). Kwakye-Nuako has noted that healing is seen as one of the manifestations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit within the immigrant congregations.¹⁶² Oosthuizen and Hexman (1989:5), in the book *Afro-Christian Religion and Healing in Southern Africa*, commented: “Anyone who studies African Independent Churches quickly realises that their emphasis on healing is one of the main reasons for their phenomenal growth.”¹⁶³ Such comment – with the emphasis on *growth* – implies mission. Martin West, in a 1975 study of the African Instituted Churches in Soweto, has noted that “healing is the most important factor in drawing new members into Zionist-type churches” (West, 1975:51). The implications of such AIC mission will be discussed further below (Chapter 8).

¹⁶² In the book, *The New African Diaspora in North America: Trends, Community Building, and Adaptation*, edited by Konadu-Agyemang, Takyi and Arthur (2006), Kwakye-Nuako observes the congregants are not opposed to bio-medical treatment.

¹⁶³In *Afro-Christian Religion and Healing in Southern Africa*, Oosthuizen and other researchers dealt extensively with healing procedures in AICs in general and in the Zionist Churches in particular.

No doubt, as AIC researcher Edwards (in Kitshoff, 1996:131-132) has noted, healing is a universal need.¹⁶⁴ It is one thing to observe that “all healing is universal, transcultural and perennial” (Edwards, in Kitshoff 1996:132). It is another thing to recognise and appreciate that among the poor, low-income population, with limited affordable access to modern biomedical facilities, healing becomes a constant and major fundamental imperative concern. In the South African context the necessity for healing is highlighted by historical experience, the experience of socio-political separation. It touches on issues of dignity, humanness, interpersonal and intergenerational trauma and poverty. Hence the perception of what has been called holistic healing – attention to the total person. Here the concern is with “faith healing” (Daneel, 1970), divine healing or “prophetic healing” (Anderson, 2001a:195). All of these references allude to what Pieter de Villiers (1986) referred to as healing that comes from the Creator. De Villiers edited a book, *Healing in the name of God*, a title which summarises the concern. This is what the sick are seeking – healing which has its referent as God the Creator. This is the concern with healing which many other researchers have observed as the key to understanding the Zionist experience and Zionist mission. This concern with the whole person is reflected in the works of Sundkler (1961), Oosthuizen (1968), Daneel (1973), Becken (1975) and Edwards (in Kitshoff, 1996).¹⁶⁵

4.13 Sorting out the categories

All the above review of literature on the AIC and Zionist churches, as well as the reflection on the Christian Scriptures, compounds to a final synthesis and filtering of the categories to find out which one comes closest to telling the story of the Zionist experience in healing. To that end the final question can be narrowed down to the following: “What are the *amaZioni* searching for?” and “What is the Zionist core quest?” To unravel answers to these questions means sorting the emergent categories in view of the insights from the literary reviews.

In presenting the arguments above it was obvious that properties of some category are shared as those of another. An example of this is the concept of tribe and tradition. These could easily apply to the quest for community and the culture. So also the concept of language: this could apply to community as well as communication. Of course in the latter sense it would relate to communication with the spirits as well.

Sorting and theoretical coding proceeded synchronously. In the final process seven major categories emerged. Which one of the seven major categories represented what is happening among the *amaZioni*? The whole process up to now could be considered something akin to the mission

¹⁶⁴ Edwards (1996), in Kitshoff (1996) deals with this in his paper “African indigenous healing.”

¹⁶⁵ Noted by Bate (2001) in his paper “Understanding and Assessing Religious Healing” in *Missionalia* 29:3 (November 2001), Pretoria: UNISA. 361 - 386).

idea of a centripetal movement - a movement towards the centre the, heart of happenings.¹⁶⁶ In line with that idea of centrepetalism came the thought that all this was in line with the overall concept of a spiritual journey. This in turn helped build the storyline – to understand what was going on when participants were seeking healing in the Zionist churches.

What was becoming clearer and clearer was that the healing experience involved a search, a quest. Moreover, the search was a whole search - that healing was sought for the whole body, soul and spirit as well as relationships. It was also becoming clearer that, of the seven categories, four came closest to being representative of what was happening. These were community, communication, power and spiritual life. The last was simply a spiritual quest. In terms of healing as such, the search would also include categories such as relief, remedy, restoration and cure.

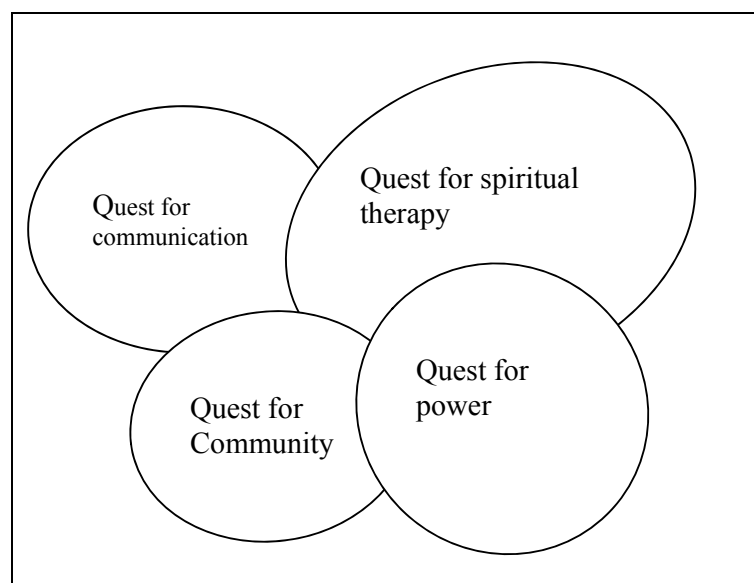


Figure 4.5 Towards identifying the core category

What then is that *emic* understanding of the relationship between the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing? The answer to this question was found in cross –referencing the concepts shared most commonly through all the categories. Then the next step was to identify the category which encapsulated those most common concepts. Diagrammatically this meant the transposing the perspectives of healing as perceived by through Zionist eyes over the main categories of quests as abstracted from the ground-based data. In the process of building a ground-based storyline it was necessary to make connections between four perspectives and the quests. Those quests represented

¹⁶⁶ The idea came in reflecting on the Old Testament idea of pilgrimage: that the movement has been seen as generally from outside and gravitated towards the centre – Jerusalem. Pierson (2009:41) notes James Blauw and many other missiologists as sharing the idea. Among the Jewish Diaspora is familiar expression “*Tomorrow Jerusalem*”.

the patterns and processes of action/interaction which are linked with carefully specified conditions and consequences (perspectives) on the ground (Straus & Corbin, 1998:280).

That process of identifying the main quest involved integration of the seven categories and narrowing them to four main ones as illustrated in Figure 4.4.

From the considerations concerning the perspectives, at least one area which was easy to eliminate in terms of a search was that which concerns evil spirits. It has been noted that there is a general view that evil spirits cause illness including mental sicknesses and all such adversities in life. As such, permanent healing could only be a reality in their absence, thus by their removal. Their removal is usually effected by a process of exorcism. But fear of spiritual and physical attack presented a barrier preventing many individual lay Zionists from even challenging or testing the spirits. There seemed to be some qualities by which those who could exercise that ministry were endowed. Even when the evil effects of the spirits were clearly evident only those with certain spiritual capabilities could deal with the evil spirits. Hence the sick resorted to the church and the church leaders when seeking help. For the leaders, the process of exorcism itself appeared complicated by the fact that it is very difficult to discern the identity of the spirits. Some of the more mature and longstanding Zionists did identify some of the spirits.¹⁶⁷

4.14 Taking a lesson from the AIC history

One may ask the question which many AIC historians have asked: “Why did the first AIC founders leave the MICs anyway?” This question invites a number of answers. In his course on African history, Mills (2007) suggested several explanations for the breaking away of the AICs.¹⁶⁸ One such explanation is the protest theory. This identifies the rise of the AIC as being motivated by (supposedly) protest, protest against some administrative and ecclesiastical systems within the MIC structures. It is said that the structures were oppressive and stifled the development of local indigenous leadership. Another theory points to the personal desire for power and control by the emerging local indigenous leaders. This would be in the same category as the search for power discussed at length above. Related to this is the independence theory. This looks to the emergence of AICs as part of the “winds of change” which British prime minister Harold MacMillan (1962) spoke of when he was in Cape Town. Yet another theory: the AIC proliferation was due to the “reformation in African Christianity” (Anderson (2001a). Other researchers called all these changes

¹⁶⁷ Identifying the spirits was one step towards their removal. One Mrs Dube, herself a pastor’s wife, speaking of her ministry among women cited almost five different types of such spirits whose names are now in the glossary.

¹⁶⁸To account for the break-away of AICs from the MICs Mills (2007) suggested the following motives: restrictions on traditional customs, resentment and disillusionment with MICs, the desire for a national church as well as the changing ideologies – fundamentalism, Pentecostalism and growing pessimism.

“the African initiatives in Christianity” (Pobee & Ositelu, 1998). According to this theory one would note that spiritual gifts, especially the gift of healing, spearheaded the spreading of many independent churches. If there is something that has become clear through this research it is the great need for healing, especially among such a population as this. For a people who live in conditions such as the substantive population lives in, health and therefore healing are not paltry matters. Health and health seeking endeavours are indeed issues of significant daily concern even to date (Thompson, 2012).

So significant is the concern that the search, the quest, for healing takes the form of a holistic and spiritual nature. For the *amaZioni* it is in spiritual realm that the real answers to real life problems are obtainable. Consciousness of the spiritual realm is a daily issue. Here one observation by Omenyo may be cited. In *Pentecost outside Pentecostalism* Omenyo (2002:74) pointed out that the AICs

seek to satisfy the African’s deep religious and spiritual quest and the search for authentic spirituality. Thus they have in various ways sought to communicate at the cognitive consciousness level of Africans through their world view.

Even in this citation the active verbs recur, namely “seek,” “sought” and “search.” Omenyo couches the active words in the framework of a quest - a ‘deep religious and spiritual quest.’ On this note Omenyo finds concord with other AIC researchers including both Pobee and Ositelu (1998).

4.15 Conclusions: towards one inclusive category – the emerging theory

This chapter began by highlighting the process of data collection and data management –coding, concept creation and category construction - as processes that progressed in simultaneous, recurring and cumulative sequence. The process preceded from substantive coding to theoretical coding and finally reached the stage of sorting out of the core category, then the main propositions which tell what is going on. Now it has reached the stage of developing out of those main propositions the core category. That category should be the one to give the storyline of what happens when healing takes place in a Zionist experience.

While the healing phenomenon was not like some video film scenes where one scene could be paused, zoom into, analysed and summarised it was important to think of the phenomenon as a holistic one. It involved the setting, the context, the places and people involved, the patient-healer engagement and the mode of healing adopted in each session of healing. The writing process also involved a reiterative engagement with the data, the emerging concepts and categories. Out of this came the concept of a search or a quest as part of the core category. There were four categories

from whence it was necessary to find out which is the core one. The four categories were the quest for community, the quest for communication, the quest for power and the quest for wholesome spiritual life. More abstraction and theoretical sampling had to be done. This work is the content of the next chapter.

What was very helpful were the suggestions and insights provided in conversation with the participants and in moving within the substantial population. The process could not ignore the various perspectives inherent in the population concerning the involvement of spiritual agencies.

Choosing the final core category was not an easy task. There were several competing options for the selection. For instance, the quest for power had many properties which made it appear to share the semantic field as the quest for wholesome spiritual life. Besides, there is some literature which has been produced on the issue of power alone. It is all part of the existing power theories. One such theory is by Linda Thomas who also did some empirical research in Gugulethu, Cape Town. However, that kind of power theory did not seem easily modifiable or applicable in the post-1994 socio-political landscape of South Africa. Zionist population increases seemed to continue into the second decade of this century. If it was power which the independents were seeking then after the indigenous majority came to power in South Africa there would have been a decline in the proliferation of AICs and of the Zionists as well.

The other close categories were the quest for community and the quest for culture. In a way either of these would agree with the Sundkler's earlier theory which suggested that AIC syncretism "becomes the bridge over which Africans are brought back to heathenism" (Sundkler 1961: 197).¹⁶⁹ Of course the problem with that theory is that it cannot be applied wholesale on the whole diversity in the spectrum of Zionist experience. Some Zionist churches as indicated above are much closer to the original MIC doctrines and practice than others. The latter are closer to the African traditional types – where maybe the implementation of, for instance, the *umbuyiso* and spirit appeasement rituals are practised. Where participants include certain aspects of traditional worship in what is Christian service, the research became more complicated.¹⁷⁰ As recent research work as that of Born (2009) indicates this tendency to incorporate such aspects as the main cause of tension between the New Pentecostal Churches and what he calls the African Spiritual Churches. For the

¹⁶⁹ Sundkler's comment was, of course, in connection with the Shembe Nazarene Baptist Church (Anderson 2000: 224). This group is a bit different from the *amaZioni*. The term Messianic would probably be a better one to apply to the Shembe church.

¹⁷⁰ At the 2011 graduation ceremony of students of the Zionists churches in Khayelitsha there was a final presentation – a traditional dance with young men and women in traditional garb. The women costumes were only cover bosom and very tight shorts. This dance –song presentation had all the traditional attributes, except that the lyrics were Christian words.

sake of this research however these existing theories had their place either as data or as material for the literature review.

What the research was aiming at is an understanding of the real happenings at grassroots level. Granted that attendance at church and seeking healing were voluntary acts - no one was forced - then part of the answer as to what happens in a Zionist healing event lies in voluntary personal will and desire. With four categories the search continued. One was reminded of the fact that “Grounded Theory Approach goes beyond description and abstraction to selection of the core category (Glaser, 2002). Which of the four categories would convey the main proposition on the conceptual level but still relate to the other subsidiary categories?

The more the sorting proceeded the more clearly it emerged that the participants’ “story” was not a search for social solutions (like a search for community) or political solutions (such as power). What the participants were seeking - especially those who desired healing - were solutions or redress in the spiritual realm. Within the world view replete with the consciousness of cosmic forces and real spirit beings, the *amaZioni* desired such spiritual life which was free from all the health maladies. The Zionist quest for solutions in the spiritual realm could be understood in terms of words such as “redress,” “spiritual repair,” “remedy,” “therapy” and “restoration”.¹⁷¹ For the sick person and the lay Zionist that search happens within what appears to them to be first a spiritual environment and second a Christian environment. The phenomenon of healing then has as its storyline the quest for that kind of spiritual life; that is the search for spiritual redress, or spiritual therapy. It is this emerging story which matters. It is the story whose parts will be integrated together much more clearly in Chapter 7 below. For now it is appropriate to engage with reflections from other sources in the Zionist literature and to make an appraisal of Zionist healing practices. In doing so there will be a continuous engagement with the Christian Scriptures as well. This is the content of the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Narratives and the nascence of Grounded Theory

5.1 Introduction

To end up with four main propositions in the form of categories concerning the Zionist healing experience did not make the unfinished process easier. But it certainly represented a narrowing of

¹⁷¹ These words have been used in other spheres of searches, for instance in New Age religion, in spiritist and what are called pagan religions. The struggle to find a single word that represents the Zionist search is itself symptomatic of the struggle which the Zionist patient faces in seeking appropriate and effective cure and healing. It involves the whole person. The constraints of this research limited the reference to the Christian framework of faith.

options in the Zionists understanding of what happens in the healing experience. It remains to consider the whole phenomenon of healing as stated at the beginning of the discourse. To do that it is necessary to make a concise consideration of the context of the Zionist Churches, then reflect on the concepts and finally to concentrate on the emerging core category. The chapter ends with an assessment and evaluation of the theory, or the ‘story’, as narrated by the Zionists. The story is presented as the Zionist emic perspective of what happens in the healing experience. Essential and critical in that experience is the involvement of the Holy Spirit and other spirits.

5.2 The Zionist context revisited

The Zionists story cannot be told without reference to the roots of Zionism. The roots of Zionism in southern Africa are characterised by at least four very distinct features. In the first place Zionism has deep roots in the Pentecostal tradition. That Pentecostal heritage has strong emphasis on the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. Such was the experience with the Azusa street awakening, the revival in Chicago Illinois and in England.

In the second place Zionism, it must not be forgotten, exists within the Protestant experience with its emphasis on faith working in the individual believer (Roy, 2000:102).¹⁷² This is an important factor because illness itself tends to strike on the individual. Even pandemics are felt at an individual level. Participants indicated that in many cases each person had to decide to seek healing. The influence of family members and friends was not that prominent in such decisions. Perhaps this has to do with the migration and displacement of people from their tribal communities. Or the fact that some diseases carry some stigma.

Thirdly, Zionism was initiated and spread as a movement among (mainly) the black peoples of the sub-continent. That overwhelmingly mono-racial nature of Zionist congregations is characteristic of all the churches whose members were involved in this research.¹⁷³ Very few people from other racial backgrounds are members of Zionist congregations. Among the blacks consciousness of the spirit world is something familiar.

Finally, the Zionists developed as part of the Christian religion – a religion which emphasises the promised covenant of the Holy Spirit (Jeremiah 31:31-34; Luke 24:49). One of the characteristics of Zionism is the belief in divine immanence. Even in day-to-day salutations, but more so in times of illness, Zionists tend to invoke that presence of the divine. These characteristics of the Zionist churches place them directly into the framework of concerns which are thought to be both Christian

¹⁷² In spite of their name Christian Catholic Church in Zion that Zionist Church has little to do with the (Roman) Catholic Church.

¹⁷³ Admittedly in the Catholic Church in Zion there were some whites, Americans. They were missionaries serving with Zion Bible Schools.

and spiritual. In approaching a Zionist church, the sick have this in their minds. As will appear below, the Zionists are seeking for something a bit more than just a temporary cure for a temporary ailment.

5.3 The concepts embedded in Zionism

From the emerging categories in the last chapter the process of selective coding finally led to the emergence of four main prepositions or concepts: namely, the quest for communication; the quest for power, the quest for community and the quest for spiritual therapy. Once the reiterative search for further concepts from the theoretical coding had stopped yielding anything new - that is, it had reached saturation – the focus on the four categories was carried out on two axes. First, it was to determine which category weighed more in terms of concepts and their properties. Second it was to determine which category included most of the properties manifest in the other categories. In other words, which category was most inclusive. For this research to arrive at this understanding of the Zionist quests involved extended participation and immersion with members of the substantial population (Mouton 2001:151). In this way the research enhanced the grounding of the emerging theory. It was Venter (2004:39) who encouraged the importance of understanding “the perceptions and experiences of AIC participants *themselves*”(emphasis mine). The findings were based on the simple narratives of the *amaZioni themselves* – their perceptions, their experience of what happens in healing ministries. A closer and comparative examination of the final four categories follows.

5.4 Focus on the emerging core category: the Zionist story

Choosing the final core category was not an easy task. There were several competing options for the selection. What had to be done was to consider each of the four much more closely. Was healing itself something that involved a quest for communication of some sort? Or was it a quest for power? Or was it a search for community? Or finally, a quest for something spiritual? In deciding first that the healing activity was a quest the subsequent question was: “A quest for what?”

5.4.1 Healing and the quest for communication

What is understood in the quest for communication is, among other things, communication with spirit beings. Having realised that perversity of the consciousness of the spiritual is significant, the very existence of illness is thought to be an indication of something wrong in the spiritual realm. One form in which this is expressed was obviously the effort to communicate with spirits which are believed to be linked with dead relatives.

But is communication really that important when some malady or malaise occurs? The aforementioned attempts to communicate with ancestors - and therefore fend off illness - usually occurs as ritual appeasement.

The other instance where communion with spirits is invited is where evil spirits are concerned. There were a number of cases where the healers had to actually speak and even debate with such spirits before there was some resolution. These are conflict situations – confrontations with known spirits – *othikoloshe* or *amafufunyane*.

However, the research did not encounter many instances where this was the case. Among the Zionists, such cases of dialogue with spirits which are causing illness are not well known. For one thing, when such spirits do manifest then the response of the healers is usually to cast them out rather than hold dialogue with them. Perhaps the Christian teaching in the churches also discourages such verbal engagements with spirits.

The issue of communication with the Holy Spirit is of a different nature. In this case the practice is that if the sick person is a believer then prayer is expected. The healers also talk to the Holy Spirit. Zionists believe the gift of healing is administered by the Holy Spirit. Thus prayer can be offered even in the house of the sick, rather than being restricted to the Zionist church centre.

The question is whether communication as such is the main aim of the sick? An affirmative answer is usually given with reference to communication with the Holy Spirit. But such is also said to be, or supposed to be, a daily experience. Certainly the occasion of sickness is said to call for more serious communication. Most Zionists do not make any distinction as to which Person of the Trinity they pray to.

5.4.2 Healing and the quest for power

The concept of power in relation to healing has to be seen as being different from the usual search for political and economic power. The winds of change which swept across the continent had done much to bring changes both in political and economic leadership and activity on the continent. Post-1994 South Africa also witnessed even great changes. The visits by the different political leaders to the Zionist centres can be seen as being related to power issues, a search for power. But for this discourse it is important to note that each visit has been a case of the political leaders attempting to extend their political constituencies over Zionists. It was not a case of the Zionists trying to gain power. The initiative was from outside Zionism as such.

In terms of a quest for power from within Zionism, the focus would have to be on the leaders – especially the *abathandazi* and *abaprofita*. It is true that in many healing sessions there is always some demonstration of power. The shouting and declarations which are familiar at Zionist healing services are evidence of power interactions. As to the question of whether the leaders seek power for themselves, the answer was always negative. Even in exorcism secessions the Zionist healers confess some level of fear in engaging and resisting evil spirits.

Then again, in turning to the sick and weak the search for power may indeed be part and parcel of the motivation for calling on the Zionist healers. However, the confessions of many who attended healing sessions were that they were without power. They came from situations of powerlessness, vulnerability and risk. If there was some power issue it was power to deal with their weakness and sicknesses.

Of course all the above considerations do not negate the fact that the healing services themselves are seen and regarded as encounters of a different spiritual dimension. Particularly where encounters with demon-possessed patients are concerned the healers do not mince their words when they intentionally command the offending spirits to move out of the bodies of the sick. The shout “*Phuma Dimoni!*” increases with repeated roaring rising decibels in an act which represent not just sound but a whole stand against the evil spirits. It is a whole-person stand – emotions and motions characteristic of real battles.

However, as a category the quest for power had many properties which made it appear to be sharing the same semantic field as the quest for wholesome spiritual life. One property is that it is a spiritual concept. Another, as shown in the confession of the healers, is that the practitioners do not themselves have power reservoirs as such. The power, or rather the authority to cast out demons, is a derivative of their relationship with God.¹⁷⁴ Besides, as the memoirs indicated, power was not sought for the sake of power. Instrumental in the healing process is the engagement of power and focusing on the sick to combat the sicknesses.

The issue of power has been addressed by other AIC researchers. One such research is by Linda Thomas who did some empirical work in Gugulethu. Her theory was simply that due to lack of political power the AICs find expression of power in the religious activities. However, that kind of power theory did not seem easily modifiable or applicable in the post-1994 socio-political landscape of South Africa. Zionist population increases seemed to continue into the second decade of this century. If it was power which the independents were seeking then after the indigenous

¹⁷⁴ Some healers who claimed that their powers came from the ancestors, still pointed out that ultimately power comes from God.

majority came to power in South Africa there would have been a decline in the proliferation of AICs and of the Zionists.

It is certain that some spiritual power struggle occurs during the healing service. Confrontation is usually the case. The issue though is whether the sick do intentionally seek power as a demonstration for the sake of healing. The obvious aim for seeking healing is relief from pain and suffering not the demonstration of power.

The one distinctive aspect about the quest for power is that it is spiritual power that is involved. The act of exorcism against evil powers as well as raising petitions to the Holy Spirit are by their nature spiritual engagements. As such the concept of power shares common ground with the other concepts as shall be noted below.

5.4.3 Healing and the quest for community

The other close category was the quest for community. The properties of community include such concepts of affinity, gregariousness, *isiduko* (clan) and *ifani* (paternal names). They also include the notions of *umkhaya* (neighbourliness) which has roots in the *ezilalini* (rural areas). Needless to say that, in this the Zionist context where the extended family structure is strong, the concept of community is significant. In other words, to be a member of the Zionist church happens as a natural movement toward one's kinsmen. The particular answer as to why one is a member is "I was born there." Therefore, the argument goes, when one is sick the immediate port of call is the Zionist church.

But is healing proffered in terms of tribal or family affinities? It is unlikely that the healer's capacity to heal is enhanced by community. Healing is often conducted not only within the church but also in individual homes and in mid-week meetings which are multi-tribal in nature. Though initial attraction into Zionism may have been based on tribal or community commonalities over time, it is that fact of being an *umZioni* which takes prominence. As noted above, even in the township the Zionist houses are known by people in the neighbourhood.

But what of situations where the healing involves ritual appeasement - a calling to the ancestors? Some Zionist churches, as indicated above, are much closer to the original MIC doctrines and practices than others. The latter are closer to the African traditional types - where maybe the implementation of, for instance, the *umbuyiso* and spirit appeasement rituals are practised.

5.4.4 Healing and the quest for spiritual wholeness

The more the sorting proceeded the more clearly it emerged that the participants' narratives pointed much less to a search for social solutions like a search for community or political solutions such as power. What the participants were seeking - especially those who desired healing - were solutions or redress in the spiritual realm. Within their world view replete with many cosmic forces and real spirit beings the *amaZioni* desired some spiritual life which was free from the sickness, fever, malaise and anything adversarial to life.

The Zionist quest for solutions in the spiritual realm could be understood in terms of words such as "redress", "spiritual repair", "remedy", "therapy" and "restoration".¹⁷⁵ For the sick person and the lay Zionist that search happens within what appears to them to be first a spiritual environment and second a Christian environment. The phenomenon of healing then has as its storyline the quest for that particular kind of spiritual life. That life is associated with the house of God, *umzi kaThixo*.

5.5 The Zionist story: a nascent theory

Clearly, where one dwells in a place of great vulnerability and risk the problem of poor health calls for attention from those who are seen to be offering no-cost, spiritual healing and Christian support. The healers congregate at a particular place, *umzi kaThixo*. It was tempting to construct a theory which can be represented by a prism. In that way each side of the prism would represent a concept. But such a portrayal begs the question: "Which side is most significant?" Rather, the story of Zionist healing is represented best by that category that is most inclusive and representative of the healing phenomenon. It is what sums up what is being said about what is happening in healing. What is appropriate now is to make a final recast of the four finally emerging quests - communication, community, power and spiritual therapy. From the final theoretical sampling and abstractions there was no further new properties or dimensions emerging. However, the weight of evidence was pointing toward the category which speaks of the *spiritual* and, because of the nature of the quest, which speaks of *healing*. What follows is the nascence of the story.

First, the context of healing was spiritual. Second, the centre of the search was for healing (therapy). The kind of healing itself was obviously non-biomedical. It involved prayer, invoking spiritual power, challenging spiritual beings and at times casting out or expelling spiritual entities from the bodies of the sick. It was possible to see the areas where there was some kind of semantic links between the other categories. They connected in terms of several characteristics.

¹⁷⁵ These words have been used in other spheres of searches, for instance in New Age religion, in spiritist and what are called pagan religions. The struggle to find a single word that represents the Zionist search is itself symptomatic of the struggle which the Zionist patient faces in seeking appropriate and effective cure and healing. It involves the whole person. The constraints of this research limited the reference to the Christian framework of faith.

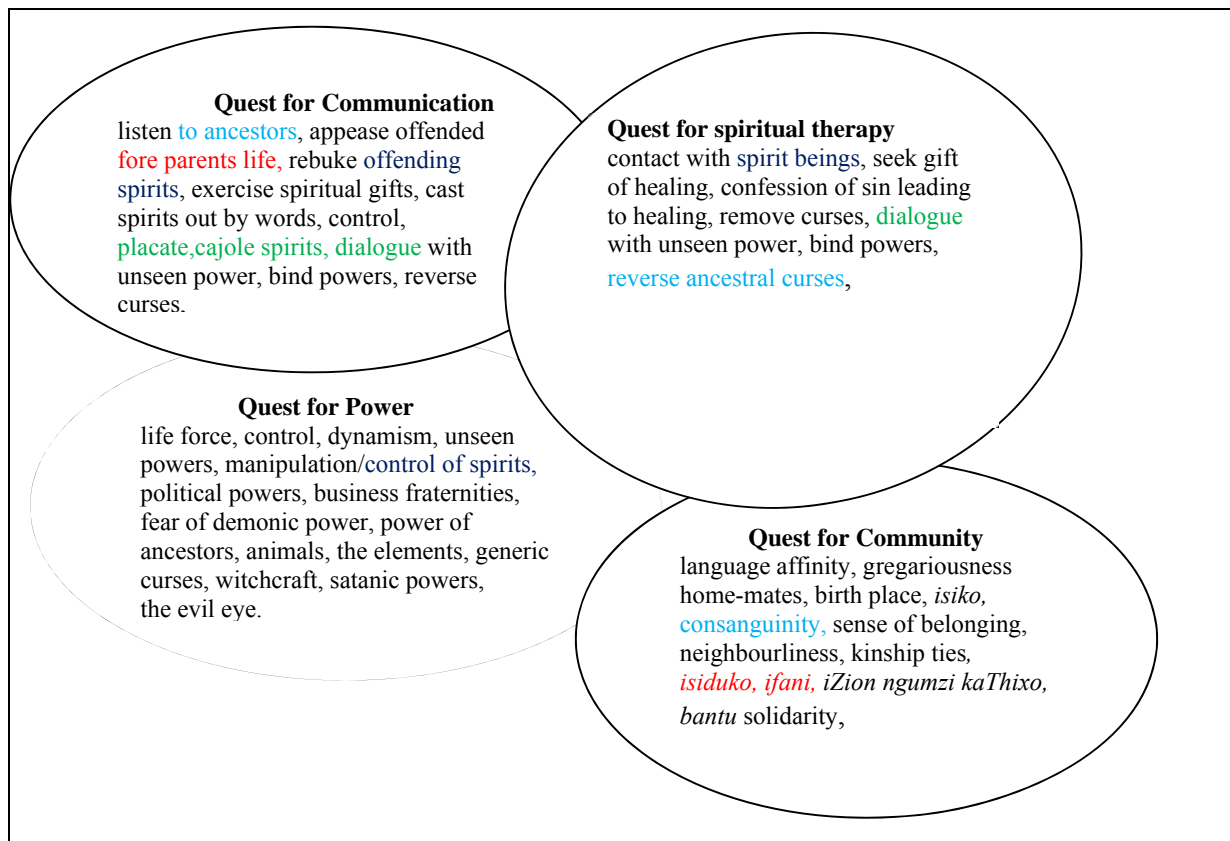


Figure 5.1 A grounded theory in nascence: the colour coding indicates a few characteristics common to the categories

One such characteristic is tribe; this relates to both the community and communication category in that the sick tended to seek healing along tribal and family affinities. The other is the issue of spirits: common to all categories is the consciousness of spirits. The other is Christian ethos: this is why the sick sought assistance in the Christian faith rather than other faiths.

It now remains to sum up the Zionist quest. This is done on three concentric levels – the society level, the church level and the individual level. These levels become clearer when one realises that healing in a Zionist context does not occur in a vacuum. The quest for something spiritual, something for relief from health problems, is pursued in relation to those three levels.

On the society level this is where the filtering of alternative therapy options occurs. As indicated in Chapter 3, the options are broad and varied (q.v. Section 3.10). Certainly for one to seek healing at the feet of the Zionists is no indication that there are no options. Such a decision filters through the offers from other religions and from the public health establishments.

Secondly, when choosing the Zionists, who are known to be churches of the Spirit, that choice is also filtered through the many - over five hundred - other available Christian churches. This

includes many other Pentecostal and charismatic churches. Such a choice narrows to what pastor Ruphili called *iinkonzo zomvelo* – indigenous churches. Among them then the decision to approach the particular Zionists is motivated by way of the concepts cited above. These concepts include community, communication, power and the pursuit for some spiritual relief, or redress. In short, and because of the non-biomedical nature of the remedy sought, it is a quest for spiritual therapy. For the Zionist the solution to the health problem has to be spiritual and has to be therapeutic. It also has to be holistic.

Finally, at that individual level the spiritual nature of this pursuit takes the form of three manifestations. Healing is the manifestation of the work of the Holy Spirit. Healing may also involve the workings of other spirits. It can also be the manifestation of the work of both the Holy Spirit and the other spirits in specific modalities of operation. For some Zionists those modalities include either conflict or cooperation. At the individual level the movement of the sick from their residence to the Zionist church or Zionist home represents part of a larger journey, the journey in pursuit of a life without pain, without sickness, without curse, without suffering. In that life journey the Zion church here on earth is but a temporary home, *umzi kaThixo*.

The quest for spiritual therapy is at the core of the Zionist story. It explains the involvement of other spirits and the Holy Spirit. It must be noted though that the quest occurs essentially at the personal level and then it involves other levels as well - the church level as well as the societal levels. Sickness factors replete at each level have to be dealt with and resolved for a genuine healing to be achieved. Sometimes damaged relationships call for confession of wrongdoing, asking for forgiveness, appeasement and then reconciliation as antecedents to healing. This may take time. But for Zionists healing calls for a specially event-oriented perspective rather than time orientation. This is what constitutes holistic healing.

5.6 Assessment and evaluation of the quest theory

It is now possible to engage in an assessment and evaluation of the Zionist storyline as alluded to above (q.v. Section 1.3). The first part will be on the methodological level. The second will be on the theological level. Finally, in Chapter 8 there will be some considerations of this missiological significance of the Zionist story.

At the methodological level a number of forms of criteria can be used for the assessment. According to Moghaddam ((2006), eight conceptual questions for assessment were suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998). Next to these Moghaddam has done researchers a favour by presenting

some other ten questions which Creswell (2002) proposed.¹⁷⁶ Considered conjointly the eighteen questions can be summarised as focusing mainly on three areas, or conditions, of research process, namely:

1. connections or links between the data and the categories, then
2. the identification of the core category, and
3. finally the validity or relevance of the emerging theory.

In following the Glaserian method the present research ensured that the theory is data-grounded and data-driven right from the beginning. The emerging concepts were kept in constant check with the data. Hence the open coding and constant comparisons in order to sustain the first condition. The abstraction of concepts was followed by the creation of categories to fulfil the second condition. Then finally the theoretical sampling and selective coding which led to choice and focus on the core category attended to the issues relating to validity. In that way the theory emerging was kept ground-based. The choice of the Grounded Theory approach was pragmatic. It is a process which “happens sequentially, subsequently, simultaneously, serendipitously, and scheduled” (Glaser, 1998.1)

One limitation which can be cited in this type of research is based on the size of the substantive population, namely, the number of narrative cases engaged. It could be said that the diversity and vastness of the Zionist population in South Africa renders the research process deficient in producing generalisations and identifying causal and structural explanations from such a substantial population size. However, concerns related to quantity were not really the goal of theory generation. The test of the theory was not so much in the area of representativeness of the substantive population of both Khayelitsha and Masiphumelele. The test was in the possibility of its relevance, fitness, workability and modifiability of the theory (Glaser, 1998). After the initial data collection process, for instance, the focus was not on people, not even on direct description as such, but on abstracting the obvious and relevant concepts grounded in the narratives. The emerging concepts, as it turned out, were many. Then attention moved through continuous analysis and constant comparison to coding of the emerging concepts. It was out of the detailed descriptions that some broad explanation of the process of healing was being sought.

There are one or two option theories that can explain the flocking of the multitudes to the Zionist churches. The one explanation has been that the leaders imbibed traditional healing and worship practices. That would be an argument along Sundkler and Oosthuizen. The research has shown that

¹⁷⁶ Strauss and Corbin as well as Creswell lists are presented in Appendix 13. The source is the paper by Moghaddam ((2006) – “Coding issues.”

it is too simplistic to apply such explanation for so wide a variety of Zionist Churches. The spectrum of Zionism is really variegated.

The second explanation would be that of the seduction of deception: that the Zionists are all following heretical and deceptive teachings. While there are possibilities for such toxic faith – that is, in short, false prophets – it is not a strong case to assume that all Zionists are deceived or deceivable. The case of Pastor Mande is an example of Zionists who have not only sought further teaching and training in evangelical Bible colleges but have also participated in many Bible extension courses organised by mission agencies such as Zion Evangelical Mission for Africa (ZEMA).

Another concern which could be raised relates to the issue of researcher involvement and objectivity. Participation and involvement by the researcher are indeed issues which may raise the risk of compromising objectivity so that what comes out is a kind of private interpretation by the researcher. Attention to this possible weakness was drawn by Kathy Charmaz (2006) in the first chapter “Invitation to Grounded Theory” in her book *Constructing Grounded Theory*. Chamaz’s assertion was that every researcher does carry some pre-conceptions before collecting data. Awareness of this was not lacking in the whole research process but the security against that weakness was achieved by the rigorous discipline of reflexivity and constant consultation with the participants. Thus any past contacts with Zionists had to be relegated to a lesser weight than the accumulating insights emanating from the data. Furthermore, the inclusion of data from the Limpopo field served as a way of supplementing the number of categories.

Another criticism which can be raised concerns the methodology is that it places too great a dependence on the interviewee’s views. The argument is that the research may run the risk of taking the interviewees’ views as reliable and truthful. The question of reliability can be dealt with from the argument that the investigation on the ground was on what *is* happening not on what *would* happen. It is not difficult to see a person who is possessed with a dumb and tormenting spirit. When the local people and relatives identify the spirit as *amafufunyane* there is not much to argue about. The issue is to understand what is happening – how the healers deal with the spirit. The interviewees live in the situation: they have lived in it as adults. They have experienced the engagement with the Zionist healers as a means of achieving solutions for their health problems. Also, the research exercised the discipline of eliminating the imposition of any personal value judgements or preconceived frameworks. Observation, noting what was happening and searching for the understanding of the participants was what was done. It is those participants’ views, those values and even beliefs, which were important to accentuate.

The aim was not to provide a holistic answer to everything that is happening. The participants, all of whom were adults, were responsible and well informed people. They had lived and continue to live in this kind of reality – of sickness, illness, poverty and great vulnerability as portrayed in Chapter 3. Moreover, it is they who have witnessed healings and ways people actively seek solutions to their own life problems. The quest for spiritual solutions to health problems does not occur in a vacuum. It occurs in an environment where there are alternative therapies - nyangas, sangomas, clairvoyants, pseudo-physicians, fake doctors, spirit mediums and many others who are openly advertised in the community. So also complementary and alternative medicines. The options are readily available in Khayelitsha or Masiphumelele for any *Zionist* who is sick. Moreover, the *Zionist* participants in this research, as has been noted above, choose to seek healing through what they see as Christian churches.¹⁷⁷ In classical methodology the researcher is obligated to consciously take the partisans' narratives as data. The question of the truth, though it is also important, belongs to a different sphere of reflection, with a different set of referent considerations.

The second level of consideration is the theological level. It has already been noted that the quest for healing is part of a long-term search. The goal for that search is the attainment of the good life of the *umzi kaThixo*, the house of God. This long-term search is expressed in *Zionist* songs which are sung during healing services. A sample of such songs and choruses are:¹⁷⁸

- *Amasango eZion uJehova uya wathanda* (“The gates of Sion, God loves them”, Psalm 87)
- *Sikuyo indlela yobomi* (“We are on the journey of Life”)
- *Jerusalem ikhaya lam* (“Jerusalem my home”)
- *Somlandela, somlandel’ uYesu* (“We follow, we follow Jesus”)

In following other *Zionists* on that pilgrimage, these *Zionists* also value the expression and participation in community, communication and the witnessing of exercise of powers. The *Zionist* pilgrimage or quest has temporal and an eschatological dimensions.

In *Zionist* thought it is the Holy Spirit who guides them in that pilgrimage. It has already been noted that the *Zionist* churches are known as *inkonzo zoMoya*, spiritist churches. Their view is that it is the Holy Spirit who dispenses of gifts including healing as one such gift.

Zionist theology which comes out of practice at grassroots level acknowledges the existence of other spirits as well. They acknowledge the existence of evil spirits. Names of such spirits are

¹⁷⁷South African Medical Association (SAMA) (2009) warned against false doctors and false healers. On the existence of bogus traditional healers the Health Professions Council of South Africa has often called on the South African Police Service to co-operate in arresting such pretender practitioners.

¹⁷⁸ The Appendix 9 shows a list of popular songs and choruses which convey the temporal and eschatological yearnings of *Zionist* hymnody.

known. At this point it may be appropriate to point out that some of the healers are considered to act as spirit mediums (Chavunduka, 2001). These mediums are the link persons between the living and the dead. In the spectrum of Zionism, the link spirit mediums seems to be strongly aligned towards the traditional side of the spectrum. There is less resort to spirit mediums the nearer one gets to the Mission Initiated Church side.

At the missiological level it is not surprising to see that such Zionist churches which have been established in other countries tend to follow patterns exemplified in the home churches. Zionism spreads along lines of tribe and nationality but mostly in terms of race, that is among the black Africans. Such ethnical lines characterise their leadership also. Although this research did not extend to a Zionist diaspora population outside Khayelitsha, it has been observed that foreign residents who are in the Western Cape province simply join the local Zionist congregations.

However, even in regions such as in Europe with the public health facilities the sick still seek Zionists assistance with health problems. They are drawn by the fact that the *umzi kaThixo* represents both a temporal and spiritual home. In that way the diaspora congregations are planted and grow. This is “mission in reverse” (Oduro *et al.*, 1984:12). The Zionists have projected the idea of healing as an answer to the ever-present problem of poor health. They have aimed at a holistic solution to that problem. Certainly the expansion of the Zionist churches from the northern province of South Africa into what was then Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was done in what Oduro and others have called “mission in an African way” (Oduro *et al.*, 1984).

5.7 Conclusions: concentration on one inclusive category, and the emerging theory

This chapter began by highlighting the task of choosing the final core category. There were several competing options, namely the quests for community, quest for communication, the quest for power and the quest for spiritual therapy. What the research was aiming at is an understanding of the real happenings at grassroots level. Granted that attendance at church and seeking healing were voluntary acts - no one was forced - then part of the answer as to what happens in a Zionist healing event lies in voluntary personal will and desire.

That core category would convey the main proposition on the conceptual level but still relate to the other subsidiary categories. The more the sorting proceeded the more clearly it emerged that the participants’ “story” was not a search for social solutions (such as a search for community and communication) or political solutions (such as power). What the participants were seeking - especially those who desired healing - were solutions or redress in the spiritual realm. Within the world view replete with many cosmic forces and real spirit beings the *amaZioni* desire that spiritual

life which free from ill health and its attendant maladies. The Zionist quest for solutions in the spiritual realm could be understood in terms of words such terms as “redress”, “spiritual repair” “remedy”, “therapy” and “restoration”.¹⁷⁹

It may be admitted that right from the beginning a set of presumptions which masqueraded as explanations for what is happening in healing had to be dismissed. One of those presumptions was that because of the great dearth of good doctrine among the Zionists what they do is really following a course of deception, falsity. This is part of a false prophets theory explanation of Zionism. However given the vast *amabalabala* nature of Zionism the presumption had to be discarded. Besides the Christian Scriptures and Christian faith have been around for over three centuries in the southern sub-continent. This is not to deny the prevalence of the ‘yeast’ of false doctrines or cults and sects in southern Africa. The explanation was just not sustainable at grassroots. Besides to term all that happens among the Zionist as falsity or toxic faith is giving ground to Satan the ‘father’ of lies (John 8:44): how can Satan deceive so many people so many times?

For the sick person who follows the Zionist solution to the problem of ill health that quest is initiated and develops within what appears to them to be a spiritual environment and a Christian environment. Conscious intentional decisions are made by the sick to search for health solutions. The phenomenon of healing then has as its storyline the quest for spiritual redress, or spiritual therapy. It is this emerging story which matters. It is the story whose parts will be integrated together much more clearly in Chapter 7 below. For now it is appropriate to engage reflection from other the literary sources on the Zionists and to make an engagement with the Christian Scriptures as well. This is the content of the next chapter.

¹⁷⁹ These words have been used in other spheres of searches, for instance in New Age religion, in spiritist and what are called pagan religions. The struggle to find a single word that represents the Zionist search is itself symptomatic of the struggle which the Zionist patient faces in seeking appropriate and effective cure and healing. It involves the whole person. The constraints of this research limited the reference to the Christian framework of faith.

Chapter 6: The Zionist story: Theological and missiological significance

Spiritus ubi vult Spirat

6.1 Introduction

As indicated at the end of the last chapter, what happens in the healing phenomenon among the Zionists is essentially a quest for spiritual solutions to the problems of ill health. Central in that search is the involvement of the Holy Spirit and other spirits. Obviously the supplicant for the healing is very important. That involvement may take the form of confrontation and the operation of spiritual gifts. According to some Zionists, it may also involve collaboration in the spiritual realm. The goal of the *umZioni* supplicant is always to achieve the desired healing, to secure solutions or redress in the spiritual realm. In a world which most *amaZioni* see as replete with many cosmic forces and real spirit beings the supplicants desire the kind of whole life which is free from ill health and its attendant maladies.

The world of the supplicants is one in which the diagnosis of health and its attendant maladies points to some causal connection in the spiritual realm. Pursuit of solutions for the physical or visible ailments thus has to go beyond the material to the spiritual, the world of the Holy Spirits and spirits. Since the supplicant faces the barriers of vulnerability and other risks the supplicant must make a connection through the faith healers. The faith healers bridge the gulf between the sick and that world of the spirits or the Holy Spirit.

This understanding of the Zionist story as one of a search, a quest for some spiritual therapy, is yet to be enhanced and enriched by appropriate theological and missiological reflection. Such reflection will be apparent after giving more attention to what goes on in healing. In that way the understanding of the Zionist story in terms of theology and mission will become clearer. Basically, besides this being an examination of the healing methods and the spirits involved in healing, this is also an investigation of the *Spiritus ubi vult spirat* moving at the grassroots level and at the global level.¹⁸⁰ In short, the issue is, given the insights of what happens in the church's healing ministry at the grassroots level, how does the church do mission at the local and global level. This is what this chapter will consider in detail.

¹⁸⁰ Mark Knoll (2010:5) indicated some six "fundamental convictions" of evangelical theology as the "majesty of Christ as incarnate God and Lord and Saviour, the lordship of the Holy Spirit, the supreme authority of the Scriptures, the need for personal conversion, commitment to evangelism and missions, the importance of a religious community." Sub-summed in this understanding are five solas (*sola fides*, *sola gratia*, *sola fide*, *sola Christus*, *sola Scriptura* and *sola Deo Gloria*). The context of the research tended towards a non-cessionist perspective concerning the Person and ministry the Holy Spirit.

6.2 The phenomenon of healing

Healing is indeed a fascinating phenomenon, a peculiar phenomenon. According to the *Oxford Dictionary* a ‘phenomenon’ is “a fact or an event in nature or society especially one that is not fully understood” (Hornby, 2005). Other definitions articulate the idea of a phenomenon as something interesting, difficult to explain and difficult to understand; “something impressive, extra ordinary, remarkable or exceptional” (World English Dictionary, Collins, Random House Dictionary, 2014). The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* offers: “something (such as an interesting fact or event) that can be observed and studied and that typically is unusual or difficult to understand or explain fully” and then adds the word “ something that is very impressive or popular.” Quite relevant also is the definition of the *America Heritage Stedman Medical Dictionary* (2002): a phenomenon is “an occurrence, a circumstance, or a fact that is perceptible by the senses, especially one in relation to a disease.” The medical dictionary then adds that it is “an unusual, significant, or unaccountable fact or occurrence; a marvel.” Such are the characteristics of a phenomenon.

The phenomenon healing has that nature of being “not fully understood” which was part of what spurred engaging on this research. That this phenomenon also involved the dimension of the spiritual made the whole research unusual, significant, a marvel at each turn. In his book *Israel’s divine healer* Michael Brown (1995) examines healing in the Old Testament and New Testament and also the deities of healing in the nations of the Middle-East. Brown deals with the problems of suffering, sickness and disease as “terrible reminders of the Fall speaking vividly and forcefully of the horrid consequences of historic, human sin.” (Brown, 1995:245).

In his book, *The Labyrinth of medical pluralism in Africa*, Gerard Jansen (2001) identified three ‘streams’ of healing prevalent on the African continent. Jansen, himself a medical missionary, called the one stream “African ethno-medicine; the next he called the western scientific medicine and the last the healing ministries of African independent churches” (Jansen, 2001:71). Although this nomenclature may appear too simplistic, it does bring into focus one interesting and impressive factor; the “labyrinth” type of healing on the African continent has become very noticeable. The three-fold streams do not always flow separately. In the AICs - more so in the Zionist churches – patients are known to move from hospitals to the Zionist healers. If the later do not cure them the sick may end up seeking *help from sangomas and nyangas*. If the last do not help the relay begins all over once more.

Another classification of healing posits five types: namely identified five main; namely, Biblical divine healing, natural healing, psychological healing, and paranormal/demonic healing, medicinal/medical healing (Simpson, 2002) The first four types are what the Zionists healers claim

to administer. The last one- medicinal/medical healing - has always been the ambit of public health-western type institutions. But again what happens at grassroots level may be a run around to every source of healing which is available. Among the *amaZioni* it is not unusual for healing to involve quite a plethora of various methods. What is all this in Zionist perception? This is worth considering a bit further.

6.3 The meaning of healing according to Zionists

Healing is such a multi-faceted phenomenon, especially in southern African Initiated Churches An attempt to examine every aspect of, or to generalise on, the phenomenon extends beyond the scope of this research. But a rigorous examination of the salient features of that healing phenomenon as practiced among the *amaZioni*, is not only possible but necessary. The questions concerning healing had to be initiated from and addressed at the grassroots level. As noted earlier on (q.v. Chapter 4.1) the local Zionists church members themselves participated in the creation of the research instrument. They knew which questions would best invoke relevant responses from the interviewees.

In this consideration, cultural background matters. The Zionists who comprise the research population are those of the Nguni (Zulu, Ndebele, Xhosa and Shangaan) as well as northern and southern Sotho. Due to migration the Zionist population now includes other southern African people such as the Venda and Tswana of the Gauteng and Limpopo provinces. Generally, for all these linguistic groups, the term *bantu* (literally meaning people), or southern *bantu* is appropriate. Among the southern *bantu* Zionists the usual vernacular greeting question *Kunjani ukuphila?* (How are you?) refers in the first instance to health, physical health. But among the southerners the question is with reference to one's whole life.¹⁸¹ Dictionary rendering of the word *ukuphila* as wellness seems not to capture the whole meaning of the word. *Ukuphila* has to be understood in terms of wholeness: wellness, life, health as well as relationship. When laying a plea before a healer the supplicant's words are usually *Ndicela ukuphiliswa* (I am asking to be made whole), or *Ndicela inyangi* (I'm asking for healing). This is how the people speak and address one another day to day. In the vernacular then supplications for healing, are closer to the Jewish concept of *shalom*. The meaning intended is one which implies all-round wholeness.

In this understanding then healing is something more than getting rid of a headache or a pain in the stomach. The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005) simply defines healing as “ the process of making healthy again.” This would speak of restoration. The *New American Standard*

¹⁸¹ Among the Shangaan believers to ask the question will meet a response which recounts not only the respondent's health but also includes the state of the whole household, the extended family, and domestic animals. . . anything that affects the respondent!

New Testament Greek Lexicon indicates that there are about 108 references to the word healing in the New Testament. At least fifty of these are in the four Gospels. The idea communicated includes the following:

- to save, keep safe and sound,
- to rescue from danger or destruction,
- to deliver from injury or peril,
- to save or rescue from suffering and disease
- to make well, to restore to health

Each of these ways of thinking about healing is very relevant to the research population such as is portrayed in the third chapter. It is easy to understand how a sick person would desire and seek healing. Thus, for the kind of substantial population at hand, one readily agrees with the observation made by John Wilkinson (1998:4) that healing concerns the whole being, the whole person, not just one aspect of performance done on the body. It concerns body, soul and spirit.

This is the same idea which was advanced by Francis MacNutt (1974) in his well-researched book entitled *Healing*. In his studies on healing pastor MacNutt identifies three kinds of sicknesses – spiritual, emotional and physical sicknesses. These areas are dealing with personal sin (repentance), dealing with memories (inner healing), dealing with the physical body and finally with deliverance from demonic oppression (MacNutt 1974:146). Thus one chapter in the book sums it up: “Wholeness is Healing.”

To this kind of mind set the Zionist healer would add the area of relationships also. This is so because, as noted above, in Zionist thought, there is also the perception of healing being a community experience. There is an expression of individual wholeness being tied up with community wholeness. The expression is of the *ubuntu* idea which means that *umntu ngumntu ngabantu* (a person is a person through other persons). It expresses the communal solidarity (Muoni, 2012). This is also reflected in the genre of Zionist hymnody.

Thus the healing ministry embraces one or all of the five main types of healing methods which Sandy Simpson (2002) indicated, namely, Biblical divine healing, natural healing, medicinal/medical healing, psychological healing, and paranormal/demonic healing. Indeed in pastoral ministry it is unavoidable that all these call for attention.

To make references to wholeness obviously brings in the idea of the other factors which are involved in concerns of health and healing. One such concern is with the other spirits. This is obvious from the terms already made reference to above: terms such as “rescue”, “keep safe”, and “deliver”. Thus even Lukhaimane (1991:234) conceded that the many people who joined to be

members of the ZCC of Lekganyane did so because of phobia of the spirits. As did others Lukhaimane (1991) identified such spirits as spirits of witchcraft, wizardry, curses, misfortune and evil spells of medicine men. Another observer of the Zionist churches, Patient Maimela (1985:71), pointed out that these churches invite people “to bring fears and anxieties about witches, sorcerers, bad luck, poverty, illness and all kinds of misfortunes to the church leadership.” The leadership would then dispel and expel all the spiritual claims on the body of the possessed and expel the spirit beings by driving those forces out. Of course the act of deliverance then implies conflict with spirits. This is not co-operation at all.

In the book *Empirical studies of an African Church* A.S. van Niekerk (1992:289) commented:

In the case of the Zionists churches, healing has to do with protection against witchcraft, restoration of harmonious relationships and providing a new identity and new social relationship.¹⁸²

This conflict resolution process as it relates to healing is very important since sometimes it involves relationships of tension and therefore calls for reconciliation between offended peoples before healing actually takes place. Again the effects of the phenomenon of healing are seen to have community-wide bearing.

For the Zionists then the church represents and acts “as a healing community” (Jürgen Becken (1989:227-239).¹⁸³ The idea of *iZioni ngumzi kaThixo* is implied. The Zionist understanding is that in the house of the Lord there are no diseases, no health maladies and no illnesses. On the Cape Flats Pretorius (2004) noticed that the ministry of the church embraces that of a healing agency. Through that agency the mission of the church is extended as a healing community. Further, Pretorius noted that in the evenings when the people return from work the unwell seek help in the local and nearby churches. “To get rid of evil spirits,” observed Pretorius (2004:166), “healing of affliction can indeed be viewed as the essential component of Zionist salvation.”

In thinking of the church as a healing community, Hans-Jürgen Becken (1984) also indicated the implications of this in terms of socio-politico-economic relationships. In Becken’s paper “The Church as a healing community” the church ministry involves “restoring the wellbeing of man in his relationship to self, neighbour, material environment and God.” Cognisance of the need to involve God then renders the pursuit for healing as a pursuit first and foremost for the spiritual. In the world view of the *amaZioni*, as has been noted above, all kinds of real spirit beings are said to exist and to compete for the souls of living beings. Reference has been made to the case of the man

¹⁸² Niekerk, in Oosthuizen *et al.* (eds), *Empirical studies of an African Church*.

¹⁸³ In Oosthuizen *et al.* (1989), *Afro-Christian Religion and healing*.

who walked off the street, into the Zionist Church centre, and asked for *amanzi* (water for sprinkling over himself which indicated that desire for healing (4.8b)). He needed the power, the reenergising and for him the identification with the church helped him.

Before proceeding further, a return to the grassroots meaning of healing is necessary. In preparing the instrument for the research, two vernacular words were used with reference to healing. One was *ukuphilisa*; the other was *ukupholiswa*. Grassroots Zionist understanding tends to associate *ukuphilisa* with being made well. It means “caring” and this carries the sense of restoration. That is what they see and expect at the church. Indeed the Xhosa-Zulu root word for *ukuphila* has to do with life - *ubomi* (Xhosa) or *impilo* (Zulu). For the Zionist life is more than a single health problem.

On the other hand *ukupholiswa* has the idea of curing, calming or giving a sense of analgesia, palliative relief. Practitioners of *ukuphilisa*, are called *abaphilisi* (Anderson, 2004:56) or *abaprofita* (prophets). The *abaphilisi* and *abaprofita* are non-biomedical healers. This kind of healing is faith healing. It comes out of a certain type of belief or faith. It may involve miracles or instant healing. Or it may take the form of slow healing as in case of the healing of a wound or hurt. Zionist patients are said have patience galore to wait, even where the queue for healing is long. Often after being prayed for they wait days at the church centres. The question which arises is about whether it is possible to have both *ukupholiswa* and *ukuphiliswa* among the *amaZioni*.

In the interviews, whenever reference was made to healing, the expectation of something tangible was always there – the stomach pain is gone, the headache is healed, the insanity has to stop. Usually it was said that there is a visible change in the health or medical status of the patient: the patient ceases to be a patient. Even where a person is said to be under the care of the church, the prayers for healing are made with the expectation that something will occur or the health status of the patient will begin to change then or thereafter. Healing and cure may take time. But the expectation for a miracle is that change will occur there and then. Therefore both visible and invisible healings are the expectations of the sick among the *amaZioni*. In the *amaZioni* view, true healing is also expected to be permanent, not temporary.

The permanent or temporary nature of the results may help to identify the form of healing which will have occurred. However, psycho-somatic and hypochondria cases are a bit more complicated to discern in the spirit. Moreover, to judge the form of healing after the act may not be as useful in discerning the identity of the agency of the healing. Results alone are not useful enough in answering questions such as “Was the healing by the Holy Spirit or by other spirits?” This was the question which the disciples Peter and John faced after the healing of the Jerusalem paralytic. They were quizzed: “By what power, or by what name, have ye done this?” (Acts 4:7 KJV). The question

of the agency is critical. In order to do this a look at some of the methods will bring some more insights.

6.4 A myriad of healing methods

Although the research observed many instances related to healing, as indicated above, some salient features of *amaZioni* healing methods will be considered. This will be done by paying attention to the available literature as well. There is an abundance of data on healing (Sundkler, 1961; Lukhaimane, 1980; Daneel, 1970; 1974; 1990; Anderson, 2008; Bate, 1995; Becken, 1989; Jen 1992; Dube, 1996). The research and observations of Oosthuizen (1989:5) made him realise that for AICs “their emphasis on healing is one of the main reasons for their phenomenal growth.” The following sample examination of the methods of healing aims at highlighting the questions that arise concerning what happens during healing among the *amaZioni*. What is important is how they perceive the healing phenomenon in relationship to the Holy Spirit and other spirits. By such examination the emerging theory is enhanced.

6.4.1 Use of water in healing

It was pastor Ruphili of the Khayelitsha Zion church who clearly stated that the use of water was merely symbolic. According to the pastor “it is the prayer which the pastor makes over the water which creates the healing power.” Reference has been made to a man who stepped out of his car, walked over to the Zionist gate keeper at the church and asked for water sprinkling (4:8b). His request, though a humble plea, was very directly addressed:

Andiziva kakuhle; ndicela amanzi (“I am not well; I asking for some water)

Here is a case of self-diagnosis: the man was physically not well, feeling weak and tired. His self-diagnosis and prescription were simple: sickness - water spray treatment. The prognosis was that he would get better if he was sprayed with church water. But for his request to be effected he had to a) present *himself* in person b) be on the *church grounds* c) address his health problem as he perceived it to the *church officials* there d) *believe* that he would be healed and finally e) heed the *words* of the *church leaders*. The church leader said *Kuzo kulunga; uThixo akusize* (:You will be alright. May God help you”). He proceeded to administer the spray of water.

By simple induction the process of seeking healing can be summed up in five simple co-ordinated factors governed the thinking – self presence, church presence, presentation of the problem, belief and faith in words of the leaders. As has been noted earlier, church leaders are believed to be the dispensers of the effectual therapy. It is also interesting to note that the church official did not even

question the patient's self-diagnosis.¹⁸⁴ He was there to administer the water therapy as per the request of the sick. But he also verbalised a prophecy (*Kuzo kulunga; uThixo akusize*). Indeed, healing among the Zionist is often accompanied by words of prophecy. It is not always a long-term type of prophecy, neither do they base such prophecy on any Scripture reference.

That water therapy was given without asking for payment. Herein lies one of the key aspects of Zionist healing procedures and provision. Free administration of healing facilitates even to the lowest common lay person to be attracted to the church which in their eyes serves as a healing institution. Accessibility and affordability highlight the hallmarks of Zionist healing practice.

A few illuminating questions could be raised concerning the water spray treatment, or any water therapy. Could the man have used any kind of water - the water at his house or water from any source? Could he have sprayed it himself alone on himself? Would the act have guaranteed the receiving of the healing he needed? While these questions are crucial in practice they were overruled by the fact that the sick man presented himself at the church grounds. Once that step of the bodily self-presentation occurs the rest of the factors mentioned above take effect. In that he came to the Zionist church grounds to seek *that kind* of water therapy from that kind of church leadership is testimony to the fact that he attributed power in healing to both the church water and the church leaders.¹⁸⁵

Anderson (2001a:101) observed the water has to be "blessed water." This means that someone has to make the water blessed – water does not bless itself. This is important to note. This was the understanding from almost all the interviewees. When healed, the Zionist does not say that the healing came through the water. The confession is usually that the *ubathandazi* or *abaprofita* administered the healing. The passivity and neutrality of the water itself in the whole healing process is assumed by the patient as, of course, instructed by the church leaders. Questions concerning the source of the water (ocean, rain, tap water) or whatever else is added to the liquid do not arise. It was said to be the prayer that induced, infused and imbued the water with the power. That power then generates the effectual healing.

¹⁸⁴ In a similar manner when the self-diagnosis indicates the need to consult spirit mediums related to the dead the church officials in that particular church did not disagree with the sick's view.

¹⁸⁵ At another date when the researcher, with some visitors from Germany, visited the same church gate the water spray was not administered. But when one of the (white German) visitors later brought it to attention of the gate keeper the latter said it was not necessary. The visitor insisted on being sprayed. The gate keeper obliged. It was obvious that the visitor did not need any healing. He just wanted to feel the experience!

Most Zionists do not raise questions beyond this point. Otherwise to go beyond that is to attribute magical power to the water.¹⁸⁶ It is possible that there are some Zionists who regard such prayed-over water to be itself therapeutic or curative. The obvious evidence for them is that the water was blessed. But how far does the state of blessedness remain especially where the water is taken to the home of the supplicant for further treatment of other cases? Amongst some Zionist the answer seems to be that once blessed always blessed and useful for a multiplicity of treatment purposes. It is the water dispensing prophet who gives instruction on how the water has to be used at home. Instructions include spraying the door post, using the water to make the Zionist tea, or drinking before leaving home. Thus current research findings concur with the observations made by Anderson (2001a:101) that

Blessed water has many uses: to purify people or objects after they have become contaminated (such as after a funeral), to welcome visitors, for protection against sorcery and misfortune, for obtaining employment, for abundant harvest, for cooking, and washing, and for the “gate test” whereby prophets can determine the presence of evil before a person enters the church enclosure.

However, other Zionists say that the water effectiveness is limit to the specific call for which the ritual of blessing was intended and conferred. Water which was used for the gate test, for example, was not the same as water used for healing. The latter could be mixed with other recommended portions (such as ashes) and used for ingestion and washing the body but not for exorcism.

Concerning the water used for making the tea, one Masiphumelele Zionist leader emphasised that the *tea* is the only one of its kind - the one obtained from that church’s headquarters in Limpopo. Local lay church members could only obtain that special tea from their local church pastors. It has a special name - *ndhayela* (tea without sugar, Zulu) or *tea a ya bophelo* (tea of life, Sotho). Upon asking further concerning the source of the tea, the response received was that it was simple tea, like the Joko tea which is sold in the local public spaza shops. It was ‘like’ but not the same as any other tea. There is therefore some specificity in terms of the kind of water or tea product which is used in administering healing. Therefore the water or the tea bought from the church and dispensed by specific church leaders who can administer the healing is effective.

In the thinking and reckoning of the *amaZioni*, it may be asked, is there any justification from the Scriptures for the use of water? Among the lay Zionists, it has been noted that there is a high rate of analphabetism combined with a very low rate of personal ownership of copies of the of Christian Scriptures in printed and/or digital form. Therefore what is known about the Scriptures is what the

¹⁸⁶ Of all indigenous churches water-based therapy is the commonest among Zionists. It is possible though that in the eyes of some lay people water may be seen as having its own inherent power and efficacy beyond what is noted here. A return to this matter will be made in chapter 8. Some inland Zionists certainly consider ocean water more effectual than in-land river water.

church leaders know and preach. What the leaders preach, especially the kind of hermeneutical keys they employ, renders any referencing to and application of the Scriptures a very tenuous task. Zionist practice often follows a pattern of reading the Bible passages without applying any exegetical or expository effort on the text. The bishop preaching at the Easter meeting was a case in point. However, when prevailed upon to indicate where their healing practice bases its justification from Scripture, most of the Zionist pastors did point out certain texts. Some of the references to Scripture were the following:

- Israel being baptised in the Red Sea: Exodus: 14:21-22, 1 Corinthians 10:2,
- the waters from the rock in the desert: Exodus 17, Number 21
- various ablutions of the Jews: Exodus 19:5-15, Numbers 19:7-9,¹⁸⁷
- the rivers of living water: John 7:37-39,
- the necessity and precedence of water baptism for new birth: John 3-5,
- people saved by water: 1 Peter 3:20
- the water of life: Revelation 22:17 as well as
- the river of life and the tree of life: Revelation 22:1 - 2.

The last reference draws attention to the passage in Revelation which conveys the following:

...down the middle of the great street of the city. On each side of the river stood the tree of life, bearing twelve crops of fruit, yielding its fruit every month. And the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations.

For the Zionist this is one direct reference on which the association of water to healing and to life are clear. It is also reminiscent of Psalm 48:

There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God, the holy place where the Most High dwells. God is within her; she will not fall; God will help her at break of day.

For the Zionists these references are seen as linked: the water, the river and the city of God are usually taken at their literal level of understanding. After reading the text the preachers usually move to give examples from life and then move to application. In this way then it is understood that the water represents the presence of the Holy Spirit. In Zionist preaching there is a tendency to rely more on a preponderate usage of Old Testament references rather than New Testament ones.

In the offices of the Zionist leaders in Khayelitsha were many mugs full of water. The Zionist chairman commented with gleeful affirmation: “We drink lots of water here.” Bible symbolism of water representing the Holy Spirit are understandable, just as with other symbols mentioned below. As with the other comments made above, the line which separates symbolism and magic is very faint.

¹⁸⁷ Washing of the whole body, not just the feet only, is practised in the St John Church in Gugulethu.

6.4.2 Photo healing

The presence of the photos of church leaders in the house is said to confer healing and protective powers. This is a complicated case. Pastor Ruphili's references to the Lekganyane photo seemed to carry something more than just mere reverence or deco on the wall. Again this was a case testifying to the efficacy of *that* particular photo, an efficacy which seemed to depend on the image of the person in the photo. In this case it was the founder of the church. Not every photo in the house was said to be associated with healing powers and good household welfare. The particular one in the pastor's house was perceived as an object conferring protection. What is also noteworthy is that the photos which were considered to bring healing and protection were those of the founder leaders or the contemporary leaders. There was some measure of reverence with respect to such photos. At the main central church headquarters the portraits of the church founder were made available at a price.

The use of photos for healing and protection purposes is not unique to the Zionists. Many an African head of state has had their portraits displayed in government offices. Some portraits have been used to adorn the skirts of political party supporters. But the use of portraits of church leaders seems to carry some spiritual significance. One researcher who has explored the use of photos in healing is Heike Behrend (2003). Behrend's observation is that the significance of photo images is in their (alleged) potential to re-present the presence of photographed person. It is a kind of leader incarnation. In this way it is understood that the image's presence is a continual invocation of blessings which include healing and protection from spiritual harm. Behrend's paper "Photo magic: photographs in practices of healing and harming in East Africa" draws similarities to the (mainly Catholic) views (such as transubstantiation) concerning the Eucharist and the cults of images, idols and relics. In all this of course the underlying sense of a spiritual search prevails. Evidently the spiritual search is not confined to church premises only. Zionist homes also facilitate the search.

6.4.3 Hymnody: Zionist music – chorus, psalms, hymns and healing

Another aspect of Zionist practice which strongly accentuates the underlining spiritual nature of the search is evident in Zionist singing. During the pre-1994 period, one foreign observer commented that in listening to Xhosa and Zulu church singing one could feel the 'cry,' the weeping of the soul. In a chapter entitled "Music and leadership in Zionist Churches", Musa Xulu (1996:174) put it this way:

Zionist spiritual singing is the highest form of such Christian worship ... often it is at the height of spiritual singing when people are sweating and some are crying while others may be lying on the ground, that the holy spirit is felt to be present.¹⁸⁸

This singing is part of what Lamola (1988:12) called “expressive spirituality”. It is what the Zionists call *ukucula kuka moya*, or “singing in the spirit” (Xulu, 1996). To be able to sing in the spirit is the chief aim of Zionist worship. It is during that singing that prayer (*ukuthandazela*) for the sick is made. In the same book, Xulu observed the adoption of “slow tempo, the internalised highly emotional cross-rhythmic patterns, internal improvisation, restrained body movement, open resonant vocal quality and high-pitched vocal levels”. These states of consciousness are indicative of the level of the opening up to and searching for spiritual realities. There is a kind of abandon in the spirit. This, *ukucula kuka moya*, as Xulu (1996) rightly pointed out, is distinct, different from normal singing. The latter Xulu called *ukucula okujwayelekile* (normal worship). This is body, soul and spirit in search of its Maker. “It is also at this stage,” observed Xulu (1996: 174) that the sick are healed, the weak are strengthened and the deepest prayers of all kinds are said.”

The spiritual emphasis in hymnody was also observed elsewhere among the Venda "Dove Church" Zionists by Piet Naudé (1996).¹⁸⁹ Naudé’s empirical research of Venda Zionist hymnody in Northern Transvaal (now Limpopo province) revealed the same intense preoccupation with the spiritual realm – to communicate in the Holy Spirit. The emphasis on the Spirit is such that less is said about the Lord Jesus Christ. The current research also observed much more of the enthusiastic hand-clapping, hymn singing and dancing experiences in the “Dove Church” than the “Star Church.” The important observation is that the singing accompanied the healing sessions.

The relationship of Zionist doxology with therapy is significant. It is indicative of deeper spiritual quests in the *amaZioni* soul. Moreover, in their own understanding of the term and name (Jesus) the Zionists would refer to Jesus as healer or, in Venda, *nganga*, but a *nganga* entirely different from the local witch-doctors. While doing ministry among the Chewa AICs in Malawi, the researcher heard one chorus sung in Chewa over and over: *Yeso Singanga, hiyo! Yeso Singanga hiyo!*

(“Jesus is Healer, indeed”). For these independent churches *Yeso* is the Healer, or the *singanga*. He is the *singanga* over disease, sicknesses, curses and all kinds of health threatening-bondage – drunkenness, tobacco smoking, infidelity, witchcraft, demonisation.

¹⁸⁸ Xulu explores the themes of church music and leaders in Zionist settings (Kitshoff 1996:173 – 170). In the text the terms ‘holy spirit’ rather than Holy Spirit are used.

¹⁸⁹ The “Dove Church” is of the Joseph Lekganyane faction of the Zion Christian Church after the 1948 church fission. This group is more expressive in its worship, unlike the other faction, the “Star Church, which follows Edward Lekganyane. Naudé’s work was based on the Dove Church in the Sibasa-Thohoyandou area.

6.4.4 Use of the Bible and healing

One thing that was observed about Zionist hymnody is that it is related to the Scriptures. Even a cursory examination of the Zionist songs and choruses reveal themes relating to *iZioni* (Heaven), *Bathathu-Munye* (Trinity) need for *ukuthethelewa* (forgiveness), *ufefe* (grace) and *uYehovah* (Jehovah). Zionist hymns also dwell on God's omnipresence, omniscience and omnipotence as well as fact that God is a prayer-answering God. Prominent among the Scripture-related names is the reference and reverence to the God as *Bawo* (Father). This brief sample is important in that the use of such Scriptures occurs in connection with healing.

This is not surprising. Zionists, it must be emphasised, see themselves as Christians, a special kind of Christian people. Throughout all the historical developments from the days of the first churches planted by the missionaries to the rise of the African-led independent churches, the AICs have not relegated the Bible to oblivion. As noted above, the *amaZioni* regard the Scriptures with great respect. The researcher met with many Zionist leaders such as pastor Mande in Khayelitsha, who have strong connections with some of the very notable Bible translation and distribution organisations in the country. Pastor Mande collects and distributes not only written Bibles but also Bible recordings in *isiXhosa*. The Bible recordings are made freely available to Bible study groups. The Bibles are sold at very low prices. In 2010 a copy of the whole Xhosa

Bible cost less than the price of three loaves of brown bread - a price which, considering the economic state of the Zionists, is within their budgets. These Bible materials are welcomed among the Zionist flock as well as in the local Bible colleges. Pastor Mande himself has completed a Bible certificate course in one of the interdenominational evangelical Bible colleges in the city. More will be said later about his church's connection with the openness of some Zionist churches to theological education. For instance, Mande's church regularly co-operates in Bible teaching and training programmes run by an organisation called Zion Evangelical Ministries of Africa (ZEMA).¹⁹⁰

The same attitude and respect for the Bible was noted at the Limpopo Church. During a service at the Limpopo Zionist Church, whenever the bishop referred to a Bible text, the people were keen to take note of the chapter and verse on which the bishop was speaking. The words read or spoken from the Bible seemed to call for serious attention more so than the rest of the sermon. The members asked one another what the Scripture references were and they wrote them down. In

¹⁹⁰ The United States ZEMA headquarters is in Zion City, the city founded by Alexander Dowie just outside Chicago. Of late a Baptist pastor has been director of Zion City.

another church where a woman was asked to read the Bible passages, she first quickly made sure that she had put on her head-covering before she started reading from the Bible.

Admittedly, in all the interviews and informal conversations with the *amaZioni* lay people, less than 30% of the people had their own copy of the Bible. When asked why this was so some of the reasons given included the problem of prohibitive cost, accessibility to Bible-selling outlets and the problem of analphabetism. When one reflects on the socio-economic circumstances attendant upon the *amaZioni*, as has been highlighted in Chapter 3, what has been observed concerning the Bible is more understandable.

The issue that relates to the Scriptures, however, is the about the way the Zionist leaders use Scriptures in praying for the sick. In healing-prayer sessions it is not unusual for *umthandazi* to use the Bible by laying it on the heads of the sick. Sometimes the prayer session involves some recitation, or pronunciation of some verse or verses over the sick. Some Scripture texts tend to come easily for Zionist.¹⁹¹ From a selection of such favourites texts it was possible to summarise the usual characteristics of Zionist use of the Scripture. First, there is a preponderance of quoting from the Old Testament, especially from the major prophets. Second, there is an cherished vision of Zion which, as shown above, is considered as the city of God. Then there is the emphasis of faith as a means to get to Zion. But there is also the notion of suffering, suffering which is caused by the adversarial conflict with spiritual forces which negate the good life.

Subsumed in that encounter with spiritual forces is the conscious concern about spiritual warfare. In some Zionists churches there is a militaristic element in the way some Zionists have designed their church uniforms.¹⁹² On a tour of one of the Zionists headquarters, Neal Collins (2013) observed that the Zionists there had patterned themselves after the Scottish Presbyterians and American Zionist Christians. Finally, Scripture is usually taken in a very literal way and applied in seeking solutions to the present life problems. Zionists try to confront the situation in hand - sickness or demonic possession - with Bible verses. The confrontation is against the spirit beings which bring about the illnesses. Sometimes Zionist healers give the supplicants Scripture portions which they recommend for further reading and meditation at home. Scripture reading and meditation are apparently part of the prescription for healing.

There is another concern. It is how the Bible is used in worship. One AIC researcher, Krabill (1991:315), making reference to the work of Sundkler, pointed out one such prominent use of the

¹⁹¹ Scripture texts which were regularly cited in interviews include the ones in Appendix 11. Some are linked to Zionist songs (Appendix 9).

¹⁹² Zionists like to use the valedictory sayings in the Gospel according to Mark 16:17-18 and the Ephesians 6:10 verses.

Bible in worship services.¹⁹³ The reference was to the practice of singing Bible verses to some well-known vernacular tune. One may add that singing Bible stories is also prominent. An example of this is the chorus relating to the account of the dry bones vision in Ezekiel 37. The popular song on that is *Uya memez'uHezekiela, uthi mathambo hlanganani* (Ezekiel is calling; he calls on the bones to assemble one with another). Krabil (1991: 323) concluded that the use of Scripture in song “places the Bible as an authoritative source in a class by itself, alone worthy of standing upon.” The songs are not only sung: they are accompanied by dancing, ululating, whistling and punctuated by many lively acclamations of “Alleluias ” and “Amens”.

For the *amaZioni*, the Bible is a great treasure and possessing a copy of the Bible brings much joy. Indeed in one Khayelitsha church service there was exuberant joy on the faces of the *amaZioni* members when they received new free gift copies of the Xhosa Bible which had been donated by the researcher.¹⁹⁴ Anderson (2001a:31-320) rightly observed the important role attributed the Bible Pentecostal and Zionists. The high regard for the Scriptures is reflected in the main doctrine book, *This we believe there is in*, used by the Christian Catholic Church in Zion (CCCZ). In Chapter 2 the book has a very clear presentation entitled “The inspiration and authority of the Bible.” Further, Chapter 9 – which is on “Divine Healing” - commences with the statements: “Divine healing is a blessed reality. God is concerned with the physical needs of His suffering people.” The CCCZ is one of the Zionist churches which is in fact much closer to the Chicago-based Zionist church of Alexander Dowie. In the spectrum of Zionists churches this particular church is closer in doctrine to the churches originally established by missionaries.

Of course, when the sick people among the Zionists seek help from the church they are not seeking only words and doctrines. Neither are they well versed on all the historical background and battles that have been fought over those doctrines. What they seek are answers to the present perplexing life problems. Many Zionists approach Scripture with that simple literal theological view which carries the expectation that God will do something for them. Every aspect is related to the search.

6.4.5 Uniforms, regalia and healing

Another aspect which has been touched on above and one which relates to the search is the Zionist regalia. Zionist churches have carried on the tradition of using uniforms received from the MIC heritage (Collins, 2013). Zionists have even developed and elaborated the uniform designs for use

¹⁹³ Krabil (1991) in *Afro-Christian Religion at the Grassroots* (Oosthuizen 1991) investigate 14 fields of AUC use of Scripture in hymnody.

¹⁹⁴ In one similar situation a mission organization donated relief packs to flood victims. The packs included food and clothes and copies of the Bible. A number of recipients specifically clutching tight to their Bibles commented that they were grateful for the food and clothes but the real treasure the mission had given them were the Bibles!

by women's groups, men's associations, church choirs, and include pendants, images, boots, beads and badges. The badges which some Zionists proudly display on their chests are very significant. The uniforms represent not only membership in the Zionist church but membership and the hierarchical status in a *particular* Zionist church.

Furthermore, the colours used also carry some significance. In general the colour blue is said to speak of heaven; white represents the cleansing from sin and red represents the blood of the Lamb. The men's khaki suits tailored in army-combat style represent the spiritual force of the church. The wearers of the uniforms certainly know the spiritual significance of these uniforms. For the Zionist there is more to the uniform than the cloth. In some of the Zionists homes the church uniforms are handled, stored and regarded as having sanctimonious distinction. As such, women are not allowed to wash their husband's uniforms.

As indicated earlier on, in one of the Easter gatherings in Limpopo, the clear distinctions between the civilian clothes, the khaki uniform and the green uniforms were important to the Zionist worshippers. Nearest the podium where the bishop of the church was ministering, only the green-uniformed worshippers were allowed. There no 'civilian' attired people are allowed. The lesson was that within the church there were clearly colour-coded gradations which mark one's spiritual status. They also defined one's association status in the church. Obviously, order was of prime importance. Even when the state's political leaders visited they were assigned to their own zone, albeit closer to the podium.

As noted above, each Zionist church has its own uniform: each church has its own source for the uniform. In one of the Khayelitsha churches the wife of the Zionist pastor bought the material and sewed the uniforms. In another church the uniforms come from a monopoly producer-supplier. The understanding in the matter is that there is a separation between the sacred things of God and the secular ones. Whether this is a carryover from western dualism or not is a question that belongs to another research effort.

One thing must be mentioned about uniforms. Upon death, for the body of the deceased *umZioni* to be dressed in the church uniform is regarded as a high honour. Statistics showed that, while over 70% of *amaZioni* members of one church have church uniforms, less than 30% have Bibles. For now, sadly, uniforms are used more than Bibles. A Bible does cost much less than a set of uniforms. But the overall understanding of the Zionists seems to be that uniforms are more useful. Some Zionists assign to uniforms some spiritual functions which include protection and healing.

6.4.6 Multifaceted healing artefacts

One thing is sure about healing among the Zionists: the range of healing artefacts is really multifaceted. In *Afro-Christian religion at grassroots in Southern Africa*, Lukhaimane (1991:235) identified some of the main methods of the Zionists. The healing inventory include laying on of hands, confessing of sins, pricking, blessed water, holy water, salt, coffee, cloths, sticks, beads, tea, copper wires and sanctified paper. To this list is added other artefacts – c badges, pins, cords, coins, candles and flags. The church leaders add other recommendations such as abstinence and undertaking a period of sojourn at the Zionist church for an indefinite period.

The use of these material artefacts is said to carry a symbolic meaning. However, it may be noted that for some lay people the artefacts are perceived of not merely as objects for contact with the spiritual world but they are also thought of as having power in themselves. That is so especially when they are treated with some form of reverence. This factor has been alluded to above in connection the Zionists uniforms, photos and other healing artefacts.

It is because of this extended spiritual significance of the use of artefacts that some researchers have viewed the AIC healing practices as being close to traditional indigenous religious practices. Hence the accusation those AICs are syncretistic or post-Christian. Some African researchers would rather view this as accommodation (Ter Haar, 2009:24) and adaptation (Waweru, 2011:60)¹⁹⁵ of certain practices from traditional religions rather than syncretism. In the progression of this research it became more useful to consider the whole exercise not as a search for something material or physical, important though that may be, but as a search for something spiritual. The question of whether the contact in the spiritual realm is made with the Holy Spirit or with other kinds of spirits so as to effect the healing is certainly very important for the Zionist. This question has been attended to in Chapter 5. But there will be more attention given to that later. What comes to the fore for now is the concern about the question of spirits.

6.5 An empire of spirits: identity and enterprise

So far, many references have been made to the issue of spirits.¹⁹⁶ It has been pointed out that the list of names which were garnered from the Zionist participants is not at all exhaustive, obviously. Though many participants collaborated in telling the names of the spirits and some even confessed of knowing of some of the works of such spirits, not as many could personally testify to having had a direct encounter with all of them.

¹⁹⁵ Pali (2011:165) asserted that “the sacrifice of Christ. . . is superior to all other sacrifices and invalidates all other sacrifices in the Christian sphere”.

¹⁹⁶ The distinction between spirits and the spirits is merely an indication that some spirits are of the known order and are given names. Others are in the order of operation incognito.

As the interviews developed and touched more on personal testimony, it became obvious that among the Zionists the existence of spirits which are considered as evil spirits is not even questioned. *AmaZioni* identify many kinds of spirits which affect the health of people. Besides the ones already mentioned above, the following spirit beings were identified:¹⁹⁷

malopo (Pedi) - avenging spirits,
dipoho (Sotho) - ghosts,
uthikokoloshe - anthropomorphic spirits,
umuloyi (Venda) or *umthakathi* (Xhosa) - witch, wizard
amafufunyana (Xhosa) - spirits of delirium.

Though limited in extent, the list shows that by its coverage of the various language groups it indicates that evil spirits are known to exist among Zionists of probably every background. The spirits' malevolent power is known by many – even in the urban areas. These are the spirits which are adversarial to good health, inimical or destructive to well-being. This heightens the sense of vulnerability and risks. For the Zionist these are perceived primarily as spiritual concerns.

One woman, who is a Khayelitsha Bible College student, narrated how almost the whole day through one Saturday the student and other church members had been ministering to a teenage girl who was under the influence of one or several of such spirits.¹⁹⁸ The ensuing deliverance ministry took a long time. Final deliverance came through the Sunday prayer session. The woman who told this story testified that the whole prayer session took the form of real battles with spiritual powers, completely unseen except for the unbecoming, sub-human, undignified manifestations. The narrator looked quite exhausted.

Spirit possession and spirit manifestations are not uncommon among the Zionists. The most common ones were the *amamfufunyana* type of spirits. These are said to be bewitching spirits, just as in other traditional religions. It is reported that they come from the “enemies, who are the fountainhead of the witchcraft and sorcery and thus the cause of their misfortune” (Pretorius, 2004:155). As with other spirits, these are considered to be part of the Satanic and demonic hosts (Pauw, 1975:252). Another kind of invisible entity are spirits called *omamlambo*, water spirits among which take fish-woman forms. They are feared because they are said to have abilities to captivate and capture people (especially men) and detain them in the sea or under a river spring for

¹⁹⁷ Appendix 6 gives names of other spirit beings.

¹⁹⁸ The student recounted how the sick teenage would speak with a man's voice. It was a very rude voice which told them '(s)he' was travelling all over Eastern Cape and then took residence in the teenage girl. Even when those ministering to her had identified the spirit as some other spirit being than the Holy Spirit. The resident spirit resisted being cast out. At times during the ministry session the young woman would appear free and liberated as if the spirit had left her. Then again later the spirit manifestations - rough talk, mumblings and groaning even bad language - would resume. The believers prayed. They prayed in the name of *uJesu wase Nazaretha*. (Jesus of Nazareth). They commanded the spirit to leave. This ministry took a long time.

years. Worse are the *uthikoloshe* (malicious dwarf-like spirits).¹⁹⁹ This kind of spirit is associated with acts of adultery, fornication, uncleanness and lasciviousness. During healing prayer sessions they may manifest themselves through the host by wriggling, groaning and vulgar language. Several missionaries and pastors have observed the acts of such spirits.

For the purpose of this research the main observation was that such spirits tend to produce anti-health and anti-healing consequences in their hosts. In the case of the sick or ill the situation can be more complicated because the affected person may in fact be bio-medically well outwardly; yet the person manifests all the signs of being tormented, restless, traumatised and afflicted by the invisible powers. Such conditions are more than hypochondria or psycho-somatic illnesses. Again, the context of all these occurrences is a context of vulnerability and risk. In seeking help from the Zionist churches, the afflicted and affected are pursuing a serious spiritual quest. In many Zionists' thinking such a kind of quest cannot find satisfaction in the formal bio-medical institutions. Nor do the medical aid and medical insurance companies cater for these kinds of phenomena. Hence the popular resort to Zionist healers.

Among the research participants there was general acceptance that there are some spirits which are called 'ancestral spirits.'²⁰⁰ In Xhosa nomenclature such spirits are referred to as *imimoya yezinyanya*. It is said that such spirits are vocal. They can be addressed, offended, opposed, cajoled but the baseline emotion is fear. They are feared because they can be unpredictable and vengeful. They can be vengeful even on the living grandchildren. It is generally believed that when the spirits are not pleased then sickness and health complications may befall the family concerned. Restoration of health and the required healing are administered through ritual services to appease the spirits.

In some Zionist churches such ritual services are condoned, if not allowed, by the church leaders. Perhaps the hereditary type of leadership succession in such churches are ritual friendly to the belief in 'ancestral spirits.'²⁰¹ In other churches there is total rejection: a believer is not allowed any communication or communion with such spirits. Any encounter with them during healing services calls for exorcism.

¹⁹⁹ On one occasion a woman told of how she was tormented by a seducing spirit. The spirit was said to be operating through one of her work colleagues. The pastor prayed with her and the husband. He counselled the colleague. In the Name of the Lord she received deliverance and the man was set free.

²⁰⁰ The question of the existence or non-existence of a spiritual connection between the ancestors and the spirits is one in which, so to speak, the jury is still out.

²⁰¹ In some St John's Churches there was a concession/acceptance of such rituals of appeasement. They are part of the empowerment process (Thomas 1999). Modise of the International Pentecostal Church, which branched out of the Zion Christian Church, accused the latter of practising such rituals.(Anderson, 1998).

Thus, in considering the Zionist churches in terms of a spectrum of Zionism in some of the fourth-generation indigenous churches, there is an assimilation of traditional religious practices. It is in the latter churches that acquiescence to ‘ancestral spirits’ occurs. The real concern here was how spirits related to healing.

6.5.1 The spirits and healing

So far the research has shown that the various *amaZioni* hold basically three views concerning the spirits. One view is that the healing is brought about by the involvement of the other spirits, and the spirits only. Another view is that healing occurs as a result of the co-operation between the spirits and the Holy Spirit. The first is the exclusivist (spirits) explanation; the second requires co-operation or collaboration. A third option is that only the Holy Spirit is involved in healing. The last is the case which many *amaZioni* would insist achieves true lasting healing through the work of the Holy Spirit. In this last model the Holy Spirit works through spiritual gifts to effect the required healing.²⁰² Ideally almost all Zionists would have in mind the pursuit of the third route – healing by and through the Holy Spirit.

Concerning the spirits themselves there are two options: either only the spirits are involved in healing or they are not. One strand in Zionism is of the view that that some healing may be brought about by involvement with the spirits. The spirits could be regarded as ‘good’ spirits. Such are the spirits of the ancestors. In that case the ‘ancestral spirits,’ after some ritual appeasement, have to withdraw from afflicting the sick.

The other view is the one of what is identified as evil spirits. Such evil spirits have to be confronted and cast out. As in the case of the other spirits the sick person has no power to be able to resist the evil spirits. Hence the resort to seek deliverance in Zionist churches.

The case of the Holy Spirit’s involvement will be dealt with below. But for now the focus on the other spirits inevitably leads to the questions pertaining to the identity of those spirits: “Who or what are they, and where are they from?”

²⁰² Zionist faith and praxis, in line with their Pentecostal heritage, are not cessationist. For them the I Corinthians 12 gifts, especially healing and prophecy, are still operational today.

6.5.2 The identity of the spirits: participants' views

Attempting to identify the spirits which may or may not be involved in healing proved to be a very complicated challenging undertaking. On the basis of the informing theology of the Gospel accounts, some evil spirits have to fall into the group of those who are lying spirits (John 8:44, John 10:9,10). But when such spirits speak can what such spirits speak be taken as true? For the sake of the research however, providing some answers to the question of “What is happening?” had to undertake further probing. The research could only surmise that it was an exercise which calls for both academic and practical understanding of the spirit world. But since spirits are by nature *spirits* and thus *invisible* there was a need for understanding the spirits in spiritual terms and in the spiritual sphere in which they exist. The research was equipped to determine what the participants' views were concerning the spirits. The data does show the names of the spirits as identified by the *amaZioni*. To test those identities required a different research with that particular aim. That would be a bit beyond the scope of the current research.

As for the existence of spirits and their influence on health, the verdict from *amaZioni* was always affirmative. Among most AICs the reality of evil spirits was undeniable. In fact, the very reason that people seek healing, is that they are searching for healing and that the search in a Christian context communicates two ideas namely a) something is not well, something which is life-negating rather than life-enhancing in fact and b) the solution is believed to be found in the spiritual realm.

For the Zionists, the criteria for identifying these spirits as evil can be based mainly on the works and results of their influence. Their influence manifests their works of malevolence. They are fear- and pain-causing, anti-social spirit beings. They are said to be spirits behind the illness, discomfort, bodily and all psychological mental disorders. They are also said to be responsible for misfortune. Some are locally resident spirits; others are considered to be foreign. Some are said to specialise in certain wicked and vindictive functions – such as causing accidents, tempting men into immorality and drunkenness, casting bad luck, insomnia and stomach pains.

Many Zionists identify the spirits as being able to use known languages and they force dialogue through their hosts. On this point there was sometimes a reluctance to talk about the identity of the spirits. In some situations the participant would mention a name of a spirit but would not be readily forthcoming as to elaborating on the identity of the spirit. It was only later that it became clearer that for some participants any extended talk about such spirits was considered as an invocation of spirit beings; the spirit would be tempted to appear and that was dangerous. On the whole there was some general agreement that the spirits are anti-social.

The other group of spirits, and this is where the problem arises, are those which are said to be “good spirits.” The term “good” is a referent to what Zionists regard as the spirits’ benevolent works, which are said to be good works. Such works include provision, protection and even healing. A notable form of such spirits are said to be linked with genealogies. Those identified in this group are the spirits of the fore-parents. These include the *isangoma* - spirits which operate through the medium of traditional diviners. Among some *amaZioni* the understanding of the spirits of the parents is that those fore-parents who are dead send their spirits to influence their grandchildren down the generations.

In most literature on the subject these spirits are called ‘*ancestral spirits*.’ This name and the identity of the spirits are not without complications. For one thing the name indicates a functional definition and not an ontological one. According to Olupona (2000:58), Pobee, in his paper ‘Health, healing and religion: an African view,’ called them “spirit beings” - beings they are but beings without bodies. At this point then the question is are they not spirits which seek to dwell in bodies which are not their own? This would be some form of domination, occupation. Or are they really the dead parents: in which case where are their bodies? But for some Zionist church members when it is indicated that the spirit behind the illness is an ancestor, there is usually not much further examination or question as to the veracity of that claim. The only two options left to the healer is either to remove the spirit or prescribe it.

If all spirits produced good works such as total healing and no adverse after effects there would be no problem either. However, the data from the Zionist population does not support the view that all spirits are good or that they produce results which are good. Besides, the term “good” raises the subsequent questions: “Good for whom, or for what?” Even where they are said to be responsible for healing, the effects of that healing are always not considered as permanent or long-term. Thus one of the continuing complications which arises with the spirits who are said be linked to ancestors is, it is said, that they also have the capacity to inflict evil. They can inflict and afflict the living generations with illness and other health adversities. In like with the man at the petrol station such affliction falls on those in the genealogical line – the grandchildren. In the paper cited above, John Pobee (2000:85) referred to this as “the wrath of the ancestors.” It is this aspect of this nature of such spirits which invokes fear in the vulnerable poor living. Given the general context of belief in spirits, it is no surprise then that when prayer for healing occurs it tends to take the form of spiritual struggle.

Indeed, even in the healing process, fear is one great determining factor in the whole relationship between the (visible) living and the (invisible) spirits. From the interview with the Zionist member,

Enoch, at the garage one understood that the activity of such spirits is restricted to one's family circle. Enoch maintained that spirits from one family do not affect another family. According to John Pobee (2000), in the Akan language the people say *Abowa biara obeka wo, firi wo tamu mu* (i.e. a creature can harm you only from your own clothes). This harm, it is said, would occur where the living family members have not performed certain rituals for the dead. When rituals are neglected, so goes the narrative, the spirits decide to organise internal family revenge on the living. They bring curses, misfortune or indeed illness and even death.

Issues concerning the relationships between the living, the spirits and the dead feature among other cultures than African. In writing about the Chinese spiritual practices and beliefs, Peter Hessler (2010) observed that "the dead were believed to have great power over the daily events. Unhappy ancestors could cause illness or disaster among the living." Many oracles, bones and human sacrifices were employed to appease these spirits. Among those Chinese peoples the purpose of ancestor worship, Hessler commented, was not to remember the way people had been in life; instead it was about searching for some favour with the departed. That the search then is spiritual is obvious; that what is happening then is seeking solutions to daily problems is also obvious. This description could easily be read as summary of some of the narratives of the substantive population of the *amaZioni* from Khayelitsha, Masiphumelele and Limpopo. They are seeking almost in every avenue: the Zionist churches seem to provide an avenue for readily available, workable solutions.

There is another interesting observation which was made in the article, 'Restless spirits.' Commenting on ancestor veneration and worship in Huan Province in China, Hessler (2010:116) observed: "Here there is no concept of original sin, so entering the afterlife does not require a radical change." In China, the "human sacrifices have given way to modern tomb-tending ceremonies, but the dead (it is said) still make demands." Among some Zionists the post-death ritual, *umbuyiso*, serves a similar function. The point to note here though is that the writer presented the views, the beliefs and actions of the worshippers as they themselves saw the way of solving their problems in this life. As among the Zionists so also among the Chinese the search is in the spiritual realm. The search is encountered world-wide.

Among *amaZioni* also such spirits, or as Mbiti (1990) called them, spirit mediums, are said to have the capacity to bring good health and healing, especially when the correct rituals are observed. Thus an attempt to diagnose the identity of which spirit medium is manifesting itself during a healing session is not an easy task. In most cases where such a manifestation did occur the *amaZioni* participants indicated that the people involved and present there would know. In such a case being involved in a healing session makes it easier to know which spirit is in action.

Another complication concerning the spirit is that though they claim to be deceased members of living families, they do not appear in their own bodies. It is always a case of entering and inhabiting another body, the host-body of the living. This is where the idea of possession comes in. The same idea was noted by Pretorius (2000:107) in his paper, 'Zion: Profile and self-perception'. Basically the idea is that there is "communication between the living and the dead."²⁰³ A sick person possessed of such a spirit is for all intents and purposes bereft of self-will. The body is taken over by the spirit. In one case the researcher was in a house prayer meeting where a sick eighteen-year-old daughter of a woman (a widow, also present) spoke and called the woman "my wife." The understanding was that the deceased father had "returned" from the dead, to give security to the surviving family. The mother was now the wife. The psychological complications of this context cannot be over-emphasised. As in another case mentioned above, the voice speaking through the daughter was like that of a fifty-year-old man!²⁰⁴

What then happens in a church healing service? In a church situation then, when the singing tempo rises and the circle dance becomes faster in rhythm with the hand-clapping, the ululating and the shouts, the emotions rising to a certain crescendo, possession may occur. The possessed person falls down, body writhing and mouth open and speaking. In some Zionist churches the participant worshippers intentionally seek and expect some spiritual happening to take place. In other situations worshippers are caught unawares. It happens without their intention. As indicated above, the *abaphilisi* and *abaprofita* have two options: either cast the spirit out or negotiate with the manifesting spirit. According to Born (2009), in the New Pentecostal Churches the *abaprofita* would take the first option. In the African Spiritual Churches, which include Zionists, the leadership would follow the latter.

But this is where nomenclature fails: among the Zionist on the Cape Flats are churches which will resist and reject the manifesting spirits. Instead they follow the first option: they engaged in what they called *ukuyikhalimela* – rejecting, rebuking, and reprimanding and commanding the spirit to leave from both the host and the prayer space.

Leaders of other Zionists churches would take the second option: they would listen to the spirits and prescribe some family ritual to appease the spirits.²⁰⁵ The narratives of the Zionist church in Limpopo were more inclined to this option. In fact, in some of the church services there were

²⁰³ This is where, in Chapter 5, the quest for communication category was developing - with its properties of family, the living, the dead, co-operation, healing needs.

²⁰⁴ Another case was related by one pastor Gandiya who confronted such spirit mediums. The spirits conceded that they were not relatives of the man in whom they had taken residence. The narrative of pastor Gandiya is in Appendix 17.

²⁰⁵ In following the second option the church leaders may let the family of the sick do animal sacrifice offerings (*isihlabelelo*) on their own or engage them in that activity (Pretorius 2004: 188,189).

manifestations of such possession even in the queues of people going to buy books from the bookshop. It is here that Zionism again shows its *amababala* diversity. But the emerging ‘storyline’ holds firm that whenever there is sickness or ill health the sick are seeking a spiritual solution to their problems. This is part of the whole worship service – a pursuit for something spiritual.

A follow-up on the second option is illuminating in terms of the Zionist healing experience. In one reported case, a sick son had been through a hospital and then resorted to the faith healers before taking the second option. The parents were still attending church. But their view was that the son’s illness was a type of African sickness - *isifo sabantsundu* (Pretorius 2004:268). They reckoned that no biomedical therapy could cure him. One consultation led to another and eventually to traditional healers (*amgqirha*) who were supposed to have the effective medicines (*amayeza* and *imithi*). The son died unhealed. The sickness itself was in fact identified as epilepsy, probably the same illness that plagued Julius Caesar, Napoleon Bonaparte, Soren Kierkegaard and possibly Mohammed. In the son’s case there was really a lot of consultation of the spiritual healing agents who in the eyes of the parents were the only ones able to treat the sickness.

In his book, *The Living and the Dead*, Klaus Nürnberger (2007) wrestles with the identity and the role of these kinds of spirit agencies. Critical to the issue is the question: “Do ancestors belong to the communion of saints?”²⁰⁶ Essentially, the idea of communion is tied up with the idea of being and sharing together; that is community. The concept of community emerged as a very potent one among the Zionists in Southern Africa. In summary, it refers to the tendency for like people to seek those who are like themselves. In his study of the Zionists of the kind found in Limpopo province, Daneel (1987) referred to such a search for community as a “quest for belonging.” As has been alluded to above in the concept of community, this included such ideas as clan, tribe, nation, nativity and family. As such, the community concept is stretched to include the Biblical idea of “being surrounded by such a host of witnesses” (Hebrews 12:1). Part of the answer lies within the context of Hebrews Chapter 11 and 12: does the record indicate if or how the saints in the former chapter communicate with those referred to in the rest of the later chapter. Another part is to consider if the passage is referring to community or communion.

The question raised by Nürnberger is an important one for two reasons. It assumes that somehow in the post-death existence all ancestors, the righteous and the unrighteous dead, are in a realm (world) in which community is possible for all (the dead) of them together. This is a veiled assertion that the ancestors themselves have communion with each other - the righteous and the unrighteous. Be that as it may, and of what nature that communion is, those are issues incidental to

²⁰⁶ In terms of earlier observations (5.5) the question carries an assumption that the spirits and the ancestors are identical.

this research. It is the second reason that concerns this research. The second reason implicit in the question is whether some communion and therefore also communication does exist between the (dead) ancestors and the living (Nürnberg 2007). This is the issue which has been examined by many researchers (Mbiti, 1990; Pobee, 2002; Bediako, 1999; Kombo, 2001).

Although the current research focuses on healing, the ancestor-spirit-living people link has been subject to many debates. In passing one can cite Charles Nyamiti's writings. In dealing with the ancestor-spirit-living people link Nyamiti used terms such as "Christ as our ancestor". The analogy is interesting: it is Christ-Spirit-the living people. Christ is depicted as peaking from the Heavens (Hebrews 12:24-25). The analogy stops there: because the same Holy Spirit speaks on earth. Beside the Holy Spirit is the third Person in the Trinity. Even without the spirits there certainly does not seem to be a shortage in the communication channels between this world and the next.

Later Nyamiti (1984) used the terms "Jesus Christ, the ancestor of humankind." This he develops as "Christology from an African perspective." That perspective, for Nyamiti, is not the only one. Nyamiti (1984) proceeded to make the projection of "The non-Western Jesus - Jesus as bodhisattva, avatar, guru, prophet, ancestor, or healer." It is this last character – Christ as healer - which is relevant to the current discourse. Could it be that healing may actually occur in the Name of Christ and yet not by the Christ of the Scripture? It has already been noted that some healing can occur but if it is not of the Holy Spirit it will be temporary healing.

Some indigenous authors have developed the idea that, since traditionally Africans are used to worshipping through ancestors, the suggestion for presenting the Gospel is to present Christ as ancestor (Bediako, 1995; Nakah, 2007). That image of Christ as ancestor is raised to the level where Christ is "super ancestor." At that level the image falls into the same category as any other ancestor; the only difference is due to hierarchy. Of course, conservative depictions of Christ in the Gospels have always avoided such forms which drift close to adoptionism and sabellianism (Grundy, 1994:245, 736-745).

In terms of the second concern, that is, the ancestor communion/communication line of thinking, the adoration or, as others prefer, veneration as well as the appeasement of the ancestors becomes a viable possibility for the living. Indeed, it is a possibility which is considered with the idea of the spectrum in Zionist understanding of life and thanatology. As indicated, the current research sought to highlight the *emic* perspectives of the *amaZioni*. Whichever option the healers would take does not frustrate the fact that the real quest of the sick is not ultimately for re-establishing community or communion with the dead *per se* but it is a quest for healing. The quest is spiritual in as much as it is holistic in nature. It demands that all relationships be investigated in the spiritual realm. When

the sick seek healing among the *amaZioni* they will have left behind other alternatives and options. A diversity of alternatives and options exists (q.v. Section 3.10). They seek solutions which emphasise spiritual content. Admittedly, these comments are not the exhaustive and conclusive word concerning the idea of issues relating to the dead. But because the context of the Zionists cannot be fully understood without comment to this ancestor-spirit-living people relationship. It merits some attention in as far as it affects healing.

6.5.3 The ancestors and the spirits

The relationships of the ancestors to the spirits is indeed a complicated one. Ancestors are indeed relatives, relatives who have passed on. They are, as the Scriptures says, “those who are asleep” (I Thes 4:13, ESV). Among the Xhosas and Zulus the ancestors are greatly revered and feared at the same time. Reflecting on the Christian Scriptures, what makes the issue more complicated is that the fifth commandment calls for honouring one’s father and mother (Exodus 20:12). In talking to some Zionists, this reference always raises many questions about communion and communication not so much with the living as with the dead. This is illustrated by the enquiry of one woman who asked: “My father passed on last year and should I now just ignore him?” Then there was the case of the young lady who was inhabited by a spirit which claimed to be the (voice of the deceased) father (Appendix 17). How was that relationship to be viewed and handled? Was it the real father or just a voice? Whose voice? The young woman was acting in an uncontrollable and very immodest unladylike manner.

In his research on the veneration ceremonies, called *incwala* in Swaziland, researcher Comfort Mabuza (2007) noted that the Swazi whom he interviewed considered the contact with the dead ancestors (*amadlozi*) to be part of their religion. Mabuza’s thesis is that the *incwala* sacred ceremony is a challenge to mission. The Swazi hold ceremonies to offer prayers and supplications to what the Swazi regard as the “Supreme being”. Mabuza observed the conflicts with the Christian faith. A similar observation is made by Maimela (1991). Many such researches tend to focus on the functionality of the religion - the issues of short-term protection, provision and mediation which are attributed to the spirits. Very often the really causes of the suffering and illness are not seriously considered.

The same issues have been discussed in a research paper by Dora Mphahlele and Jaco Beyers (2008). Their findings concerning the role of the Lord Jesus can be summarised in three ways, namely:

1. “Yes: Jesus is an ancestor” (Pobee, 2000; Bujo, 1981);

2. “No: Jesus can never be an ancestor” (Nürnbergger, 2007:96); and finally
3. “Uncertainty: It is unclear whether Jesus can be an ancestor or not” (Stinton, 2004:165).

Reference has been made to the book, *The Living Dead and The Living God*, by Nürnbergger. The title concedes to Mbiti’s classification (the living dead, the dead and the dead – dead). Are the terms “the living dead” to be placed next to the Lord’s words “I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob”? He is not the God of the dead but of the living” (Matt 22:39). This reference by the Lord confirms that God is the “living’ One.

But the issue is more than that. Two observations can be drawn even from this short perspective of Nürnbergger. The first observation is that the existence of ancestors is not disputed by anyone. Since the days of Adam and Eve everyone has an ancestor. These are people who were here on earth - like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Dowie, Oliver Tambo, PW Botha and Walter Sisulu. They have passed on. The question is: “Do they speak to the living? How?” Perhaps a Zionists would say that they speak through their writings, their deeds and their photos. Three relationships need to be considered.

The diagram below seeks to illustrate the relationships to be considered.

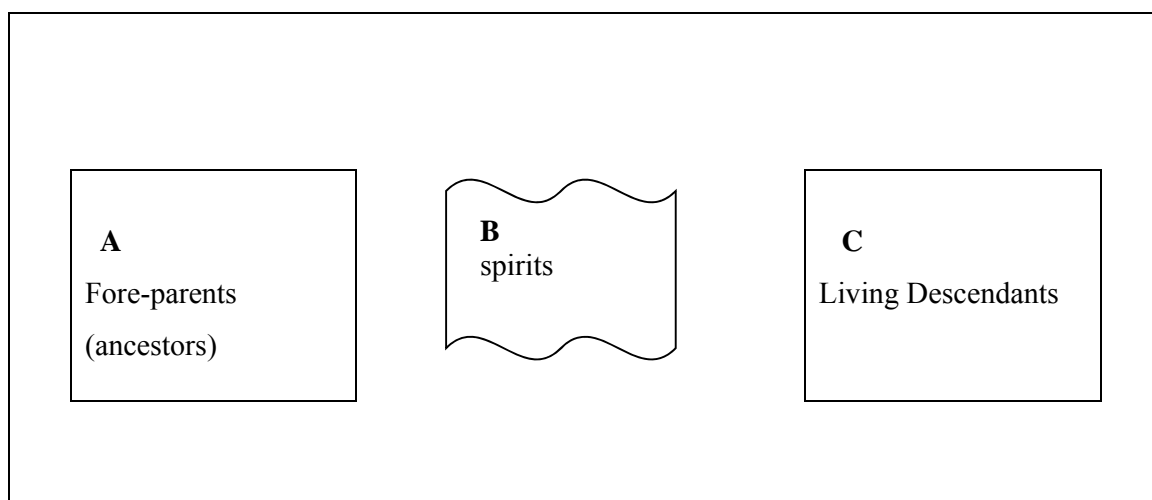


Figure 6.1 The fore-parents, spirits and living descendants

In examining the identity of the spirits called *ancestral spirits*, the narratives of the Zionists can be summed up in three kinds of relationships:

- the spirits are *proper* ancestors: A is B;
- the spirits are *representative* agents of the ancestors; B represents A;
- the spirits are *pretender* agents – independent agents.

These three positions will be considered carefully. The first position is that in which the Zionist would simply accept that spirits said so: the spirits claim to be the ancestors proper. It is usually taken for granted that a spirit manifestation within a family which claims to be the ancestor of that family *is* indeed an ancestor. In many research works this ‘take it as it is said’ attitude prevails. No questions are asked to verify the claims. In accordance with Grounded Theory principles, where the participant’s view indicated one position then the data had to stand as their view, their *emit* view. Of course the interviews were mainly with the living participants, not with the spirits. Cases of encounters with such spirits were observed. The current research sought to avoid dependence on subjective presuppositions. The focus was to understand what was the participants’ perception of what was happening in relation to healing. This is not to ignore the opportunity to analyse and assess the participants’ views. But that exercise had the aim of creating concepts for understanding what was happening in the healing process.

Among the AIC researchers who follow the first position (a) above are such authors as John Mbiti (1969), John Pobee (2000), Kwame Bediako (1992), and Comfort Mabuza (1991). To Mbiti (1969:38) the spirits *are* the living dead, not merely representatives of the living. Obengo (1997) noted that even Mbiti did not accept the use of the term ‘ancestral spirits.’ Rather according to Obengo, Mbiti “strongly advocates the abolition of the two terms ‘ancestral spirits’ and ‘ancestors.’ Mbiti preferred the terms ‘spirit beings.’ For Obengo (1997:49-50), several characteristics indicate the identity of the spirits: namely - parenthood, social status, rites and some form of ‘canonisation’ of the dead as ‘good people.’ Again, for the purposes of this research it can be admitted that these considerations do serve to highlight the quest for community and communion. It can traverse tribal boundaries so that a Xhosa and a Zulu worship together with a Venda as indigenous black Africans. (Whether the spirit and the ancestor are truly the same is still a question of untested identity). For some people, because of the love (or fear) of dead family members, the concept is seen as crossing temporal boundaries as well. The crossing is into the spiritual realm. Hence the search for healing transcends the natural.

In terms of Figure 6.1 above, this terminology involves a fusion of fore-parents (A) and spirits (B). So in this view when the term ‘spirit’ is used it is synonymous with the dead. Anderson (1993) in a paper, ‘Confrontation or Compromise’, noted accounts of ancestor veneration among some Zionist churches. In such churches a multiplicity of “appearances” as well as “dreams” and “visions” occurred. Visits to graves and appeasement sacrifices made to avoid the anger of the spirits are characteristic of this practice. An example of this is the aforementioned experience of Enoch. It is also noted that some participants in the research spoke of ritual animal killings associated with some Zionist churches (Born, 2009).

As has been indicated above, there has been literature in academia which has raised the spirit-is-ancestor identity perspective to a level where the Christ of the Bible is accredited ancestral status. Mphahlele and Beyers (2008) made a useful study of this concern. They observed that “for Africans Jesus can be a Great Ancestor, because for them ancestors are something big and powerful just like Jesus is.” For purposes of the present research the concern here is the link between that status and healing. Mphahlele and Beyers continued to note that, according to Fotland, ‘ancestor’ is the most significant African title to be used for Jesus Christ because the ancestor is the most visible and prominent aspect of the transcendent realm” (Fotland, 2005:37). Of course these claims - significance, prominence, visibility, and even the term African – are not without complications given the diversity of population and belief patterns in southern Africa - let alone on the African continent. Also visibility, except through dreams and visions, is a characteristic which, when attribute to a dead ancestor, is beyond verifiability.

What is important to note is the attribution of such status to the Lord Jesus Christ of the Bible. Use of terms such as “Great Ancestor,” and “Super Ancestor” is seeing the Creator from the side of the created. That Christ is both man (a being, human being) and God. For Nürnberger (2007:104), all such descriptions of Jesus remain metaphors. By their nature metaphors tend to convey varying meanings of comparisons. As such they have their limitations. This is on a literal level of understanding. But since the concern here is on a deeper grassroots spiritual level where healing is involved, the equation that Jesus is Healer equals Jesus is ancestor is not verifiable or useful. At grassroots level what was more attested to was the image of Jesus as a white.

The consideration above posits two essential questions relating to matters concerning what happens in the spiritual realm in a healing experience. Where the spirits manifest in a traditional religious worship session, the identity of the spirits is an important matter. But where spirits manifest in what is openly supposed to be a Christian worship then the question of their identity is a matter of cardinal utmost importance. For an *umuZioni* the direct question is: “Can such a person who has come to believe in the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ working through the Holy Spirit continue to maintain a relationship with deceased family members?”

In the book, *Jesus of Africa*, the author Stinton (2004:137) raised the same question. Among the Zionists, with such a kaleidoscopic diversity of beliefs, the aforementioned spectrum of beliefs and convictions exists. On the one end is practice of inclusiveness (worship and veneration of ancestors) then transitioning to complete exclusiveness (no worship, no veneration and no consultation) on the other end. It may be that a perspective which concentrates mainly and only on the death of Jesus Christ will easily embrace inclusiveness. Some church practises, such as the

veneration of saints, especially of Mary the mother of Jesus in some churches, are examples of this perspective. On the other end, for churches which hold the perspective which focuses on the death, resurrection, ascension and second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, such aforementioned practices are viewed as total anathema. Among the latter group are Zionist churches which engage in confrontation and exorcism of anything spiritual. On this end then the services with shouts of “*Phuma Dimoni!*” are characteristic. For Stinton it is not easy to determine where to take a stand on the spectrum.

The research did not begin by making some presuppositions concerning what is on the ground. The leading question was: “What is happening in healing?” Mention has been made of similar research among some Cape Flats Zionists conducted by Pretorius (2004:189). There are indeed some Zionist churches, as Pretorius (2004) and Born (2008) found out, which practice the ritual of killing (sacrificing) sheep or doves in response to a dream or vision shown to a church member. Such Zionists put the emphasis on the spiritual significance of ritual. This ritual, called *isihlabelelo*, is certainly not practiced by all Zionists churches. The interest of this research was in the observation that, when *isihlabelelo* is practiced, the ritual is usually in connection with the need for healing. All this is certainly the quest for some spiritual therapy which is holistic. It is also an attempt to provide an explanation for the enigma of death. That quest will have begun even earlier - while the deceased was still sick: that is when the search actually begins before the ceremony of *isihlabelelo*. The same search process can be discerned in the reports and testimonies given at the pre-burial prayer vigils called *umlindo* which are held at the house of the deceased (Ngubane, 1986:84).

Richard Gehman (2006:28) rightly noted that it was with this understanding of indigenous churches that authors such as Edward Fashole-Luke (1974) advocated for a continuity of relationships with the deceased. It is a search for a kind of continuation with the dead. One example of the search is demonstrated in the form of continued veneration of the ancestors.²⁰⁷ There is a felt need to keep the circle unbroken among the family members.²⁰⁸ The hope is that within the (sought) continuation link that yield the solutions the living expect to find solutions to life problems. Simply put: the living seek the dead to furnish solutions for the living. The Zionists who practise such ceremonies and rituals can thus be understood in terms of seeking answers to the question such as that which the woman asked concerning her dead father: “My father died last year ... should I now just ignore him?” It is not as if the living desire the dead to be brought to life again: it is more of a quest to help solve the problems of this life, the one to which they are now considered dead.

²⁰⁷ Richard Gehman’s article is entitled “Communion with the dead according to the Scriptures” in *African Journal of Evangelical Theology*, 25.1. 2006.

²⁰⁸ The phrase “circle . . . unbroken” comes from a hymn the chorus “Will the circle be unbroken “ in the hymn *There are loved ones in the glory* by Ada Habershon written in the early 1900s: Yes the circle will be unbroken.”

Using the Christian Scriptures as support for what collusion there is of identity between the spirits and the ancestors, some Zionists point to ‘proof’ Scriptures. One such scripture is the Saul-witch-Samuel encounter at Endor (1 Samuel 28). Indeed, some Zionist church leaders point to this portion of Scripture to justify their practice of accommodation. What king Saul consulted was a spirit, a ghost, literally a necromancer. Writing in *The Bible Knowledge Commentary* on the same passage, Gulan Gary (1985:454) uses the terms “soothsayer” and “spiritist” as well as “medium” for the same kind of spirit operational performed by the woman at Endor. Other texts cited are the New Testament appearance of Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham (Luke 16:19 -28). Then there are also the appearance of Moses and Elijah on the mountain (Matt 17). In all these examples the Zionist (interpretation) discerns contact and communication between the living and the dead. There simply rests the Zionist’s case.

The second position is where the spirits claim to represent the ancestors. They are not ancestors but they stand in an representative or ambassadorial relationship with and for the ancestors. This was the case which was narrated by one MIC bishop.²⁰⁹ The bishop found out that the spirits only spoke as if they were the ancestors. But when challenged by the evangelical bishop the spirits denied that they were one with the ancestors.

The ancestor status is understood by others in a different way. In the foreword to the aforementioned book by Nürnberger (2007), Archbishop Buti Tlhagale, comments that the African ancestors were not and are not mediators. They were understood to be “gods, spiritual authorities in their own right who wielded power over their descendants without reference to God at all.” The Catholic Archbishop, Tlhagale supported if idea of the living talking to the dead (Bruyns, 2000).²¹⁰ This practice of attributing divinity to the dead is indeed a critical one. Noteworthy also, according to Tlhagale, is the distinction, maybe even separation, between the spirits and God.

The last position - spirits as good people who are dead - is critical. According to Idowu (1974:184), these spirits are said to be “spiritual superintendents.” It is said that the “good” spirits are capable of causing affection, dispense misfortune, wield anger, claim appeasement and affection on the living. Evil occurrences, sudden attacks, injury, infliction of trouble, unexplained fire and spirit possession may be attributed to these beings (Parrinder, 1968:59-60; Gehman, 1985:155, Green 1988:29). In the context of perceived high vulnerability, the spirit beings are said to have some controlling influence on people, especially sick people. But if the spirits be “good” why it is out of that goodness they should produce affliction on the living is never a question asked.

²⁰⁹ See the Gandiya testimony in Appendix 17.

²¹⁰ Tlhagale spoke of talking to ancestors during communion – a view not uncommon in Catholic Church circles.

In a paper, ‘Good-by-default and evil in Africa,’ missionary Jim Harries (2006:158), who served and researched in Zambia and in Kenya, noted that some “indigenous churches interpret spirits as being God’s Holy Spirit and encourage the incumbents to prophecy.” The spirits are seen as good spirits. This does seem to counterbalance their supposed capacity and benevolence in terms of protection to and provision for the living descendants. However, some Khayelitsha participants confirmed that the burden of affliction and adversities visited upon the relatives and which thereby drive the living descendants to desperation and misery far outweigh the benefits.

In connection with the last position then it is interesting to note that among some Zionist churches, especially those whose teachings are not too distant from those of their MIC foundations, the approach to spirits is one of caution and confrontation. Reference has been made to services where shouts of *Phuma Dimoni!* were made. Among such Zionists this is spiritual warfare. The declaration *Egameni likaYesu waseNazaretha* has been noted. Another reported declaration is *Sizo kutshisa ngomlilo ka Yesu* (We will burn you with the fire of Jesus). This was a case of a young hostess woman who was said to be possessed of three “adult” female spirits. The spirits were adult since they spoke in the voices of women much older than the hostess. The woman was delivered.

In the abovementioned paper, ‘Confrontation or Compromise,’ Anderson (1993:189) also commented that on the issue of the spirits the Zionists hold to a diversity of views. Such views range from confronting them to collaborating with them. Ngubane (1977) was also quick to admit that among the indigenous church people there can be some confusion between the Holy Spirit and the ancestral spirits. The cases Ngubane deals with are even more complicated. Ngubane points out that what are called *indiki* spirits are also seen as healing spirits (Ngubane 1977).²¹¹ In some churches the manifestation of such spirits is not even treated as a church matter but a family issue.

Then there are Zionist churches which do actually forbid the practice. Instead they encourage fasting and praying. It is obvious from the literature that even Lukhaimane, Anderson noted, observed that the ZCC did not prohibit their members from making sacrifices to their ancestors.²¹² To this practice other Zionist churches, such as pastor Modise’s International Pentecostal Church, hold strong objections. Modise was himself for many years a ZCC pastor under Lekganyane. To the Modise what the ZCC people consult and call ancestral spirits are not spirits of the ancestors at

²¹¹ Ngubane’s comments are echoed in the chapter on “The wounded healer ideology” by Reis (2000) in the book. *The quest for fruition through ngoma: the political aspects of healing in Southern Africa*.

²¹² In other independent churches, such as the Nazareth Baptists, the spirit of the dead leader (Shembe) is said to work through the living leader. A problematic succession case was opened in a civil court in 2011.

all but “angels of Satan” and “evil spirits” (1993:8).²¹³ Therefore to the church consultation with such spirits is anathema.

In his book, *African Reformation*, Anderson (2001a:204) notes that support for veneration of the spirits has been cited by other researchers (Daneel, 1973:54; Makhubu, 1988; Pauw, 1975:205). Anderson (1993:5) uses the term “ancestor cult” to refer to such spirit activities. He continues on to observe that there is some indication that this support has waned to a certain extent since his surveys were conducted in the 1960s. Thus for some time in the future the identity of spirits in healing is an open question.

However, the real issue in the problem of identifying these spirits seems a simple one. It lies in understanding that what is involved is a question of three worlds: namely, the world of the living – visible and tangible - and the other two worlds of the dead and the spirits – invisible and intangible. The research interest is on how the Zionists understand the activities of those spirits. The issue will be taken up again in the last chapter. The real issue at hand though is the issue of the spirits and healing.

6.5.4 Ancestors, spirits and healing

The question of ancestors and spirits is probably an on-going concern both in circles of academia and on the field. But for now the need is to consider the identity of the spirits has been necessary prior to focusing on healing. The various strands of perceptions and convictions concerning the Holy Spirit and spirits in healing can be categorised into three views. Three views were drawn out from the participants concerning healing and the spirits. It is said that healing can be caused by the spirits, especially the “good spirits.” These include the spirits said to precede from the ancestors, or the ancestors themselves. Healing, some *amaZioni* maintained, can also be caused by the evil spirits which take advantage of the sick and make certain demands on them. For some Zionists, spirits are not involved at all in healing. If there seems to be some healing by some spirits it is said that such healing will be of temporary effect. There may even be some cases of spirit replacement, with one (lower) spirit being replaced by another (higher) spirit in the hierarchy of spirits. In other words, some deception by the spirits occurs. The result is “some healing,” but not permanent healing. All of this does not contradict the emerging theory that the *amaZioni* are seeking spiritual life help, assistance or rectification.

²¹³ Modise quoted in Anderson (1993) “African Pentecostalism and the ancestors: confrontation or compromise.”

6.6 Mission praxis

In the first chapter, the phenomenal growth of the church in Africa was noted. Then the focus turned to the AICs and more so on the Zionist churches. From both Anderson (2000) and Born (2008) the key characteristic of these Zionist churches was that they claim to be churches of the Spirit. The term “Spirit Churches” was used. Inevitably, the subject of the Holy Spirit and other spirits came to the fore. The one sphere where both the Holy Spirit and spirits were of critical importance was in relation to healing. After all, it was healing which had been pointed out as a significant factor in the expansion and proliferation of these churches. Thus, healing is a key factor in Zionist mission. Because of the significance of that expansion attention must now turn to the issue of mission.

6.6.1 Mission and spirits

The Zionist understanding of the operation of the Holy Spirit in healing as positive is enounced in many of their narratives. This is easy to appreciate. The difficult part concerns the involvement of the spirits. A simple enlightenment on that was archived by taking account of two factors. The one related to the proximity of the particular Zionist church to its MIC foundations in terms of doctrine and practice. The other lay in the struggle to discern between what some Zionists call ‘good spirits’ and what others see as ‘bad spirits.’ The former included what some Zionist considered to be manifestations of the dead parents. The latter were considered as adversarial to health and wholeness in life.

Therefore while there is some certainty as far as the Holy Spirit is concerned, there are some prevailing challenges when it comes to the issues of the spirits as such. From the narratives of the Zionist healing practitioners (*abathandazi* and *abaprofita*) the bad spirits have to be excluded, exorcised for the church’s mission to advance. Successes in the ministries of exorcism and healing are positive push factors in the mission of the church.

6.6.2 Mission and healing

In drawing together as many of the various aspects of healing as are conceivable, one thing that is often cited by researchers is the link between healing and mission (Oduro *et al.*, 1984).²¹⁴ It has been observed earlier on that the key factors to the success of AIC methods include the churches’ holistic approach to healing, the use of the Christian Scriptures, the care for the sick, dealing with sin, and the search for real causes. The very first discovery was that generally AIC healing is sought in the realm which is perceived as enveloping everything, that is the spiritual realm. In their

²¹⁴ In a previous dissertation the various aspects of Zionists healing were addressed *in extenso* (Siwella, 2008)

book, *Mission in an Africa way*, the authors Oduro, Pretorius, Nussbaum and Born (2008) have noted that the one often-proffered reason given by many a Zionist church member for joining the church would take the form of “because I was healed there.” (Oduro *et al.*, 2008:73). ‘There’ in the Zionist church is where it perceived that Christian healing occurs. In *Zionism and Faith-healing* similar was given in the spiritist churches in Zimbabwe (Daneel, 1970).

But it is not only physical healing which the churches offer. The authors of *Mission in an Africa way* commented that the churches have “stood out in their willingness to provide healing, self-respect, material help and friendship to people in need” (Oduro, 2008:73). Implicit in the list of what the church provides is the intentional endeavour to minister to the total person – a holistic approach to therapeutic-cum-curative ministry to the sick. This is what Oosthuizen (1997) called the “Christian sense of caring and sharing.” Indeed this care and concern may be akin to that prescribed and expected of the shepherds in the Christian Scriptures. The prophet Ezekiel, to the shepherds of Israel had these words

Woe to you shepherds of Israel who only take care of yourselves! Should not shepherds take care of the flock? ³You eat the curds, clothe yourselves with the wool and slaughter the choice animals, but you do not take care of the flock. ⁴You have not strengthened the weak or healed the sick or bound up the injured. You have not brought back the strays or searched for the lost. You have ruled them harshly and brutally. ⁵So they were scattered because there was no shepherd, and when they were scattered they became food for all the wild animals. ⁶My sheep wandered over all the mountains and on every high hill. They were scattered over the whole earth, and no one searched or looked for them (Ezekiel 34:11-16 NIV).

Twice the words were repeated “take care of the flock”. Then the Word of God explains how that was to be done: “strengthen the weak, search the lost, heal the sick...”. These words are almost like a foreshadow of the Lord’s commission:

As you go, preach this message: 'The kingdom of heaven is near.' Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse those who have leprosy, drive out demons. Freely you have received, freely give (Matt. 10:7-9).

In the challenging conditions of vulnerability and great health risks, it has already been noted that the Zionists tend to think of themselves as “*singamabelana ngentlungu*” (sharers in the suffering; q.v. Section 3.5; 7.7). It is in this sense that the Zionists would regard the Zionist church centre as a

place of healing, “hospital” or “a healing institute” (Daneel, 1970:11). The services which are offered by the churches are an extension of care and compassion – the very same factors critical in propelling mission. Not surprisingly then Oduro (2008:72) among others considers “Mission as compassion.”

The research revealed many aspects of how the Zionist churches administer the ministry of healing. Obviously when someone starts seeking for healing it is probable that family relatives may accompany the sick to the church. When healing is obtained the healed tend to continue their attendance at the church. As such the church grows and expands through family connections. Growth continues as well through other connections - language connection, work connections and residential connections also contribute to expansion. The Zionists have for a long time practised mission in this way - extending church via family extended connections. This has been identified as the *oikos* way of mission. More shall be discoursed about this below (8.5.4). Fundamental in this is healing which plays a big part. Participants indicated that once a healing occurred it tended to provide a guarantee that any other illnesses could be handled at the church. But there is more.

When asked how the Zionists planted churches, one Zionist responded: “Whenever a Zionist finds he has a gift of healing, if he wants he can start his own church.” In his book, *Bishops and Prophets in a Black City*, Martin West (1975:96) records the experience of one member of a mission church who, having seen visions:

started to heal...(using) laying on hands and holy water in his healing, but does not wear elaborate robes. To be more free to do his healing he left the mission church and subsequently founded his own independent church. His powers developed as he continued and he needed no training.

In that way many an independent indigenous church sprang up – one after another. The pastors of the later churches understood it as one way the Zionist churches expanded and grow. One prominent AIC leader, Bishop Makhubu (1988:77), understood healing to be “the main purpose of Christ’s mission on Earth.” This is the understanding of many Zionists. Commenting on the laying on of hands Makhubu said, “people need to be touched.” This was the way the Bishops touched the people and extended the church.

The Bishops of the Zionist churches touch the people in other ways. Muller (2011) has provided a lively record of how the Zion Christian Church has spread across borders in southern Africa expanding through what Müller calls an “*African pilgrimage*.”²¹⁵ The one conspicuous way in

²¹⁵ At the Zion Christian Church Easter celebration the term pilgrimage was also used by former president Nelson Mandela(1992). He called himself “a pilgrim, with other pilgrims.”

which the pilgrimage progresses is through ritual - the very gathering, camping together of like-minded urban and industrial workers. In a world which is in pain because of old and new political and pandemic forces pilgrimage serves as symbol of solidarity and reintegration for the alienated and broken lives of the people. Pilgrimage represents a search for wholeness. It is essentially a spiritual search.

6.7 A place called home – *iZioni*

The issue of a contact point, a contact centre, brings one to consider the importance of the Zionists centres of worship. Having considered the context of where the Zionists live in Chapter 3, the focus turns to the places where the *amaZioni* gather and worship. In writing about the multiplying of the churches in Africa, Oosthuizen (2003) has also noted that the vast proliferation of churches in Africa is due not to forced secessions, but to the creation of places for them to feel at home.²¹⁶ In almost all the Zionist church centres one could see people waiting, watching, not working, conversing with one another, not in a hurry - just resting. Could it not be that it is through those informal unhurried conversations that healing also takes place - healing of the bodies, healing of memories and of relationships? Zionist centres provide for personal and group counselling which is not, in a sense, organised. Counselling just occurs as people in pain share. They share the pain - as they say of themselves “*singamabelana bentlungu*” (we are sharers of pain). Not surprisingly, in the *apartheid* era, with its *dom* passes and strict laws on loitering, the Zionist places served as places of refuge and rest.

In the post-1994 era the laws are no longer that restrictive outside. But where there is high unemployment, vulnerability and general ennui, the tavern or beer hall are not regarded by Zionist believers as viable options for resting and conversing. So the Zionist church grounds are still resting places for many. Indeed by their name – *iZion* - the Zionist churches have captured and conveyed the idea of rest and comfort in an age of alienation, ostracism and separatism. The churches provide some form of oasis of peace away from the often attendant horrors of protest marches, *toi-toing*, necklacing and shootings in a world outside.²¹⁷ Indeed it was from these observations and memoirs that the concepts of community, communication and spiritual cure were abstracted.

²¹⁶In the book edited by Kitshoff, *African Independent Churches today*, Van Zyl (1996) discusses the same notion of *umzi kaThixo* in his paper “Zion” Zionists Doing Theology” The idea is of Mount Zion and the Temple (I Samuel 5:7; I Kings 8:10-11; Isaiah 40:9; Isaiah 51:16). The main references are to Old Testament institutions which (Va Zyl 1996:230).

²¹⁷ Yolisa Tswana (2013) reported of one, among many, graphic incidences neck-lacing in Khayelitsha.

At the church centres as well as in the Zionist homes there is always an air of welcome, repose as well as encouragement to take up Zionist church membership. At some centres refreshments and even meals are freely offered even to strangers. Could it not be that there is something in all this overt hospitality which is therapeutic? Such Zionists seem to want to convey a sense of something akin to what the Lord Jesus said – “come unto Me and I will give you rest” (Matthew 11:28). In such homely atmosphere prayers are offered: afterwards the pastor may share a word from the Scriptures.

It was in such a home interview that, after some praying, the pastor announced that a sick lady who was in the house had been healed. This is reminiscent of the young growing church depicted in the book of the Acts of the Apostles. That church in Acts Chapter 2 was a home church. It is to the home church movement that rapid church growth has been attributed. In China, after the wholesale 1951 expulsion of missionaries from there, in spite of persecution and the fact that the church had to go underground, the church indigenised and increased as house churches. Dykstra (2014) of the mission organisation Open Day reports that one house church leader currently has over 2 million Christians involved in his underground church. The house assembly form which Zionists practise is a strong mission expansion factor. Indeed at the dawn of the twenty first century the model of the missional church has been developed along one the patterns in the post-Pentecost Acts 2 experience (q.v. Section 8.5.4).

However, it is true that in other Zionist churches the welcome and hospitality described above are not as easily observable. At some Zionist centres the leaders drive in and out in their expensive Mercedes Benz-type cars. Their positions and authority in the church are well known. Even the uniforms indicate what echelon the wearer holds in hierarchy of the Church. Such churches still practise some healing ministry. They do not preach much but their expansion is rather limited.

The negative impression just described above, happily, represents a few places and people within the Zionist spectrum. Other factors militate against the strict status distinctions among the Zionists in the same church. One such factor is poverty. The other is the idea of *ubuntu*. The other is the feeling of shared suffering. The spectre of suffering, as depicted in Chapter 3, is inescapable. Of the Cape Zionists, Pretorius (2004:120) recorded this:

As believers we say that we are pain sharers (*singamabelana ngentlungu*), one needs to help someone who is in pain. There are words that say, ‘If you have fed someone who is hungry you will go to the house of the Lord in peace. I think that we live with this saying.

Zionists generally live that way – together. Sometimes long after a church service the lay people just hang around. They tarry around talking to each other – about what? Sometimes it is about

where to find a job, about who has passed away and about suffering and about healing. Then where healing is needed they call one of the pastors and he prays for the sick. Out of these situations of being together occur the ministry of healing. The people are seeking for something.

6.8 Conclusions on the quest for spiritual wholeness: a quest universal

Through all that has been observed among the Zionists, the connecting concept is the quest for some spiritual solution to the problems of this life. Healing has been the main focus. Life beyond the tangible and visible is a lifelong quest and a universal quest. It is a spiritual quest that seeks answers in the spiritual realm. As has been noted, testimonies concerning this quest are evidenced in many other religions. It is a quest which transcends illness, healing and death. From the grassroots narratives of healing experiences and from literature, the healing phenomenon is a very important one among the Zionists. It touches on how the Zionists think concerning the operation of the Holy Spirit and other spirits.

Generalisations about the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing among the *amaZioni* are bound to be imprecise. The diversity of the Zionist churches works against such an attempt. However, it has been possible to think of the Zionist movement in terms of a spectrum, an AIC spectrum. The research reveals that among the independent churches of the first- and second-generation churches which moved away from the mission established churches, the expectation that the Holy Spirit is involved in healing is great. This is so also among the New Pentecostal Churches (Anderson 1998, Born 2000). That expectation was accompanied by an anticipation that the same Holy Spirit would make manifest the spiritual gifts, among them the gift of healing. They were accompanied by the proliferation of Spiritist and Pentecostal churches around the world in a case of *Spiritus ubi vult Spirat* (Kärkkäinen, 1998). It was then also that and various independent churches, among them the Zionist Churches, appeared in the sub-continent.

At the one end of the AIC spectrum there are churches which held on to the Scriptures and what they saw as promises in the Gospel accounts. Those promises included those which encouraged the believer to ask for the blessing of spiritual gifts (Matthew 7:7,11; Luke 11:13). In the administration of the gift of healing may also manifest other gifts – such as tongues and prophecy. Zionist understanding is that with such gifts the Holy Spirit equips the healers - the *abaprofeta*, *abaphilisi* and *abathandazeli*. There are Zionists who genuinely seek something that does not involve what they see as continuity with certain African religious traditions.

Moving on towards the other end of the AIC spectrum there are Zionist churches in which is the expectation that other spirits may also collaborate in the process of healing. One strand of this end

of the spectrum shares affinities with the traditional methods of healing. Such spirits are perceived to operate the healing through ritual - ritual sacrifice, ritual communication and appeasement. The rituals are (and must be) performed by the living on behalf of the sick.

Still on this side of the Zionist spectrum, according to John Mbiti (1975), these kinds of AICs seek solutions to their problems in terms of continuity and assimilation with certain aspects African traditional religion. They accept the Christian ethos and assimilate it with tradition or their culture. Such people will attend the Christian church by day and then proceed to seek those (*nyangas*) who throw bones and communicate with spirits. Writing about one Pentecostal movement in Southern Africa, Mbiti (1999) quoted Akan saying: “When the rain beats the leopard, its fur becomes wet, but its spots do not wash away.”²¹⁸ In short for these the Bible and the bones are both solutions to their lives’ problems.

Such also was Presler’s description of the Pentecostal all-night prayer vigils (the *pungwe*) in Zimbabwe. Presler noted that the vigils were efforts at calling and communicating with the dead or the spirits, and with God and the people. Therefore among some, but not all, of the *amaZioni* there continues the existence of “spots” of traditional religion which remain. This is so especially among those of the fourth and fifth generation since the original mission established churches.

To speak of the grassroots perspective concerning the Zionists churches in this way begs the question: “What can be learnt from the Zionist experience?” From this kaleidoscopic multi-faceted (*amabalabala*) nature of the Zionist Churches and their practice of healing one can learn something about the church universal, the global church. The understanding covers a number of issues.

For one thing the understanding brings the issue of the spirits to the fore. From their search for solutions spiritual one detects an indication that there is a real ‘world’ of unseen beings. The most spiritually intense periods are those of funerals. The rituals and oblations offered then are supposed to be ways to bring calm and peace to broken relations.

Another issue is the issue of suffering and affliction. The very environment and conditions in which the research population lives communicate the seriousness of these concerns Zionists. We live on a globe where there is suffering and affliction – currently 10 wars, eight serious; armed conflicts (Goldstein, 2014) and over 10 pandemics raging in the world (Grabianowski, 2014). This is not paradise, not *umzi kaThixo* at all. Zionists, in their literal reading of the Scriptures, take comfort in the Scriptures. A couple of such portion of Scripture read:

²¹⁸ Mbiti’s remarks in the foreword are noted in the book *Transfigured night* by Titus Presler(1999). The content of the book is about the all night prayer vigils’ (*pungwe*) . Such vigils involve the encounter between the Gospel and African traditional religion there can be three outcomes; namely appropriation , accommodation or transformation.

These things I have spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace. In the world ye shall have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world (John 16:33).

For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worked for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal (II Corinth 4:17-18. KJV).

Then there is also the understanding that what the Zionists are really searching for is holistic therapy, whole healing. This has an allusion to the idea of the “healing of the nations” (Revelation 22:2). “The healing of the nations” is the theme and title of a book by David Burnett (1986). It is interesting to note that the Zionists use water, leaves, stick and rivers which are the same reference items mentioned in Revelation 22.

In his book, Burnett (1986:19) made this observation:

Harold Turner in a study of preaching of African Independent Churches found far greater reference to portions of Scripture dealing with healing and spirits than would ever be found in a western church.

Burnett traced the history of mission across the world cultures from Genesis to Revelation. As with many others who have embarked on such Bible surveys (Kelsey 1973; Brown, 1995, Bosch, 1991) Burnett noted the “intensification of evil,” the preaching of the Gospel to all nations, then the final judgment and the eschatological vision of the New City, even Zion. He concludes: “God will gather unto Himself a people!” (Burnett, 1986:223). Zionist affinity to the concepts of gathering and the city of Zion have been studied above.

In abstracting from the narratives of the Zionists, one gets some insights into the eternal vision which is represented in the final book of the Bible. The Zionist experiences below allude to the Zion above. From Genesis to Revelation it is a kind of a journey, a pilgrimage as Müller (2011) portrays. But it is not a journey for the sake of traveling: it is a journey of searching, seeking for something whole. The trigger motive may have been the need for physical or mental healing. In Zionists preaching there is mention of the need for healing because of the fall, because of the alienation the gulf between God the Creator and created beings. It turns out to be a journey of restoration relief and redemption. The song with the chorus *Noyan noyana* is sung by many as a quest and request for everyone to proceed to Zion.

The Zionists cherish and are familiar with the idea of journeying, of pilgrimage. Their two-home life situation informs them. But in fact, in the Scripture record, the journey/search story is initiated by the Creator. It begins with a searching call, “Adam where are you?” continues with the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to shew himself strong in the behalf of *them*

whose heart *is* perfect toward him”(II Chron 16:9). Then comes the incarnation with its goal: “For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost’(Luke 19:10). It closes with a vision by the sides of a river and John the revelator observed:

On each side of the river stood the tree of life, bearing twelve crops of fruit, yielding its fruit every month. And the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations. No longer will there be any curse” (Revelation 22:1-2). The journey is a mission, God’s mission. This is what is appropriate to give a closer attention in the next chapter.

The journey started at the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:17): it arrives at the tree of life (Revelation 22:2).

Chapter 7: The spiritual in healing and mission praxis

But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses (Acts 1:8. NIV)

7.1 Introduction

In the first chapter it has been pointed out how healing has been identified as one of the key factors in the growth of African Independent Churches. Admittedly, healing is not the only factor. To single out healing as a major reason for church expansion, and therefore for mission, is not to overstate the case. Indeed, a missiological perspective that does not accentuate and emphasise the power of the preaching of the Gospel and the other aspects of God's mission is bound to be defective. But where the gifts of the Holy Spirit are seen to be following and accompanying the preaching of the Gospel and the church expands and grows then consideration of and attention to this one spiritual gift is not misplaced attention. The AIC experience, especially in the area of mission, calls for attention to the spiritual gifts of healing. The same factor has been witnessed not only in the expansion of the churches but also in the fission of the Zionist churches.

Such is the significance of healing that in relation to other gifts of the Spirit - such as prophecy, tongues, words of faith and words of knowledge - healing is probably second only to, but not exclusive of, the practice of exorcism.²¹⁹ This is because in many healing services the prognosis may lead to casting out of the offending spirit or the breaking of the spiritual bondages which lurk behind the illness. Hence healing and protection from evil spirits are the most prominent features which accompany Zionist proclamations of the Gospel, worship of God and Zionist mission (Anderson, 2001a: 252). The need for protection is itself an indication of the challenges associated with mission advance especially in connection with issues about the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing.

The kind of challenges encountered on mission are many. Following Grounded Theory principles, some of the real in-the-field challenges which the *amaZioni* encounter from day to day have already been noted and highlighted in Chapter 3. This chapter considers some of those challenges which are related to mission and mission praxis. Undoubtedly with such dynamic and constantly changing Zionist experiences the challenges take new modes over the years while yet other new ones appear. But such has been the experience of the those who profess to follow God since the

²¹⁹ The I Corinthians list of spiritual gifts has a total of nine. However some Pentecostal theologians suggest up to 21 spiritual gifts (Wagner 1984).

days of Adam and of the apostles. In giving consideration to the ones cited in this chapter, emphasis is mainly on the major early twenty-first century challenges.

7.2 Zionist churches and mission

The multi-faceted character of the *amaZioni* churches in southern Africa has been referred to in several places throughout the research. The existence of 364 types of different Zionist churches on the Cape Flats alone is testimony to the fact that *iZion yingwe emabalabala* (Pretorius, 2004:49). Zionists – both the leadership and the laity - see themselves as spiritual churches. One is led to agree with Pretorius (2009) that “Zion is first and foremost the City of God, a spiritual entity” and “the essence of Zion” in purely spiritual terms which include healing is that Zion is the church (*inkonzo*) of the Spirit”. They are identified as *inkonzo zoMoya* (churches of the Spirit). The church’s multifaceted spiritual quality presents a formidable challenge to the effort of making sweeping generalisations on what is happening among the Zionist when healing takes place. However, from the research done a few characteristics do stand out in terms of the relationship of the churches to the Holy Spirit, the other spirits and healing.

Theologically and even ecclesiologically, as has been explored earlier (q.v. Section 5.10) the first-generation AICs which broke away from the mission instituted churches tend to carry the same or similar kind of doctrines and structures as the MICs (Daneel, 1988).²²⁰ Then there is an observable general movement in doctrine and practices with the emergence of the second- and third-generation churches. By the time there arises a fourth-generation Zionist church (a breakaway of new black church leaders from black-led churches) there are observably new kinds of churches which are much more removed from their MIC counterparts. This fourth-generation type of church also tends to show a move away from orthodoxy and embraces many features of the cultural milieu in which it finds itself. It was these fourth - and later-generation churches which Pastor Ruphili called *inkonzo zemvelo* (churches of indigenous origin). The expression, *inkonzo zemvelo*, encapsulates way the Zionist churches of this type perceive of their nature. If, as Scripture attests, God has not left Himself without a witness in the world (Acts 14:17) then questions arise around how the churches pursue their mission and what hindrances to those missionary efforts do they encounter? In other words, missiologically then, what is the relationship of the church to the Holy Spirit? What is the relationship of the Church to the other spirits? How is the Church to carry out its mission

²²⁰ Evidently Daneel, also known as *Mudavanhu* (people Lover) according to Bishop Ruben Marinda was regarded as the AICs “Moses” (Cuthbertson, 2003:36-38). Local AICs looked up to him and Reformed church clergy for teaching and training.

globally (which includes healing) in the imminent centuries between the time of the ascension and second return of the Lord Jesus Christ – the “in between times” (Padilla, 2010).²²¹

7.3 Challenges to Zionist mission

In this research the term ‘mission’ is used with reference to the task, the business, of God: hence *missio Dei*. The research sought to learn and understand what is happening at grassroots not only with the proviso that the church population in focus has a tradition and presence of over a century but also because of the general AIC expansion in mission in southern Africa. It is from understanding what the grassroots story is that a theory of mission praxis developed. Mission is initiated early in the Genesis record. Focus is made on God’s initiative summed up in relation in the Genesis question, “Adam, where are you?” (Genesis 3:9). Thereafter the story of God's intentional redeeming work in history unfolds. It is a record of not only redemptive history but salvation history - *Heilsgeschichte* (Bosch, 1991: 393-408). While as the first call to Adam recorded in Genesis 3 may be regarded as the first call of the historical catalogues of God's saving acts and Revelation 7 as the gathering together unto Him it is clear from the very first verse that God the Creator is involved. Some missiologist have referred to the nature of that mission as Christo-centric and cosmocentric (Goheen, 2005). But for this research it is the Trinitarian nature of mission - with particular reference to the Holy Spirit, which is of primary concern. Right from the beginning of creation the Holy Spirit is involved (second verse if Genesis 1). In summary, Bosch (1991:32) put it this way: “Since God is a missionary God, God's people are a missionary people.” This involves the church – hence the term *missio ecclesia* - which is where healing takes place.

The other sense missions includes the carrying out of all other acts and works which are in carried out accordance with the above-stated purpose. (Jongeneel, 1992; Hesselgrave & Edward, 1989; Kane, 1978). In this sense, Bosch did much to contribute to the understanding of missions. Missions manifest in such efforts as evangelism, justice, liberation witnessing, enculturation and contextualisation of the Good News. The Zionist church’s work in healing will be considered in the context of the latter concerns. But it is not limited to missions only.

Right from the beginning the rise and expansion of the Zionist churches, their missions faced many besetting challenges. In the current context of healing, the roles of the Holy Spirit and other spirits have been in focus. The leading question has been: “What is happening in *amaZioni* healing practices?” The Zionists in various ways indicated what they perceived as the challenges relating to the identities and characteristics of beings involved in the spiritual realm. This has been noted above. According to the Zionists narratives there are other challenges as well. What follows is

²²¹ “Mission in the in between times” is the title of the book by Padilla (2010 edition),

some consideration, albeit brief, of the other attendant challenges as they relate to Zionist expansion which *ipso facto* is part of its mission along the theme of healing. They were expressed as needs.

7.3.1 The need for Christian literature

Among the vernacular-speaking churches in South Africa there is usually a general need for printed Christian literature. Discipleship books, devotional literature and hymn books are conspicuous by their absence. Many Zionists were surprised to find that there has been some literature concerning the Zionist churches - literature which they were not aware of. The greatest challenge facing the *amaZioni* is the need for Christian literature especially literature in the vernacular – isiXhosa, isiSuthu and isiZulu. In-house magazines produced by the Zionists churches are held in high regard. In an age where many resources and tools for studying the Scriptures are available even in Southern Africa, that lack of the printed word is among the Zionists a great drawback.

Among the causes for this cited by the *amaZioni* are cost factors, the difficulties of gaining access to Christian literature outlets and, as the research discovered, sometimes mere lack of knowledge of where to procure such Bibles as are needed.²²² As for access to internet resources, very few Zionists have the computer facilities and the computer skills needed to tap the literary benefits from the cyber-space facilities. Even at the main local Bible colleges in Khayelitsha, few students are trained to use computers. As for training pastors and evangelists in Bible languages, the research did not discover any such institution in the Zionist neighbourhoods. The available options are the internet shops, which tend to be costly also, and the Bible teaching institutions. The latter also tend to be outside the area of the substantial population.

So what Anderson (2001a) has called the “African Reformation” has, surprisingly, proceeded on a faint literary foundation. This is not to deny the existence of such literature as some AIC members and AIC authors have produced over time.²²³ However, where such literature appears there tends to be problems of accessibility and comprehensibility by the lay Zionists. Such books as *Mission in an African Way* (2008) represent an intentional effort to overcome some of the problems related to literature availability and accessibility.

²²² When for example it was discovered that the Bible Society shop had Xhosa Bibles selling at R20 several members of Mketsus Zionist Church asked the researcher to bring some for them. Their problem was that the Bible Society shop is far from the Khayelitsha population location.

²²³ Christian Literature Fund, African Initiatives in Mission (UNISA), Khanya, The Edwin Mellen Press. The NERMIC work connected to the University of Zululand and Southern African Missiological Society (SAMS) have contributed much to the understanding of AIC ecclesiology and missiology.

7.3.2 Specific need for Bibles

The need for Christian Scriptures is generally a serious enough feature of most African Independent Churches today. One could take a lesson from the revival-and-renewal-Scripture relationship from elsewhere in the world. The European reformation was in part an attempt to put the Scriptures in the hands of the believers. In some cases the pioneers of the reformation paid by their lives for that effort.²²⁴ Availability of Scriptures gradually sustained the reformation momentum. Lack of copies of the Bible, either in English or in the vernacular among the Zionists, has been noted. There are many reasons for this. But even among mission established churches – with the use of overhead projected texts in the churches service – the number of personal Bibles in the hands of believers seems to have decreased over the years. This development may augur a step towards Biblical illiteracy. In the areas where the research was conducted, another factor complicates the situation – the problem of analphabetism. Some of those who have access to copies of the Bible are not able to read. Where real revival and re-awakenings have occurred in history, they have been followed by a deep hunger for the written and spoken Word of God.

Evidently the revival during the times of Ezra (Nehemiah 8), the post-Pentecost house Bible studies (Acts 2:42-52) and the reformation commitment to *sola Scriptura* are examples of Holy Spirit-led revivalism accompanied by Scriptures in hand. In the book, *The Spirit of revival*, by Sproul (2008) followed Jonathan Edwards (1741) in identifying the distinguishing marks of the works of the Holy Spirit. Sproul rightly noted that one of the positive marks and Biblical signs of true revival was that “the Holy Spirit causes greater regard for the Holy Scriptures.” Sproul (2000:33) added:

Perhaps what is even more alarming is that even within the churches and churches that still profess a high view of Scripture, there is an alarming ignorance of the content of Scripture. For many being “led of the Spirit” means being led by some inner light or impulse rather than by the Spirit’s testimony to the written Word of God.

This is a cry enounced by many Zionists. It has been noted that among the Zionists the number of church uniforms outstrips that of Bibles.

The Zionists insist on dependence on the Holy Spirit. But even from the beginning they realise realisation that the Spirit and Scripture go together. Hence the popularity of home-based Bible study movements among Zionists. So also the increasing desire for education by extension.

Writing in *Reformation and Revival*, Evans (2001) has noted that:

²²⁴ John Huss, John Wycliffe, Ulrich Zwingli, Thomas Cranmer, Desiderius Erasmus , Jerome Savonarola and William Tyndale through the hall of those persecuted and martyred in the reformation. This is the content of John Foxe’s, 1848 *Book of Martyrs*.

Along with faith in Christ's person and work as the ground of our salvation, the Holy Spirit imparts faith in Christ's office as teacher and also in his teaching regarding Scripture as true. For Calvin, to introduce a dichotomy between the Word and the Spirit, or between the Word and Christ, was theological and spiritual suicide.

In some of the Zionist sermons which were part of the research collection process, such a dichotomy tends to replicate in the situation where the written Word is not readily available. In one Zionist meeting one church member said that the “Spirit” of prophecy had led him to buy a copy of the Church magazine. He bought the magazine rather than the Bible: he had no copy of the Bible. Here in lies the vulnerability of the Zionists.

Without doubt, knowledge and possession of the Scriptures are very essential for information and for the spiritual formation in correct belief and correct behaviour, the correct creeds and correct deeds. The correct knowledge of the Scriptures provides correct discernment (John 15:25; I Corinth 2:9-13; I Corinth 12:10) which is so needful for understanding what is happening when there is healing. Where the spiritual gifts of healing work together with the correct gift of discernment it is easier to know what spiritual beings are in operation during healing services. As such, Scriptures provide an objective standard to discern what proceeds from the Holy Spirit and what proceeds from other spirits as well as the nature of such spirits. The research could not avoid picking up signs which indicate the need for correct teaching.

7.3.3 Need to “make disciples of all nations”

The movement of the Zionists into other parts of the sub-continent and across the seas is part of the Zionist story concerning mission. It can be noted that this is done through pilgrimage (Müller, 2011). But it is effected also through assemblies of Zionist in the diaspora. In relation to this Gerloff's terms “mission crossing frontiers” is notable (Gerloff, 2003). It is obvious that when doing such mission is an intentional act on the face of the globe. While mission has always involved the factor of crossing cult ‘crossing’.

Continuing on the note of the Scriptures, it can be commented that in all valedictory addresses of the Lord Jesus Christ one inescapable theme of the post-resurrection discourse is hinged on mission: that has come to be known as the Great Commission *matheteuein* (Bosch, 1991:73). Although there are variations of the text the simple concept of followers, or modelling after the Lord Jesus Christ is obvious (Bosch, 1991:74). This is conveyed through the injunction to make disciples (Matthew 28:19). In the Matthean text the imperative is to make disciples.²²⁵ The disciples

²²⁵ Matthew 28:19: μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη - make disciples of all ethnic groups.

were commissioned to make “disciples of all nations” – a simple imperative, a direct injunction. The idea is one of ‘making” people followers of the Lord, people of the Way (Acts 9:2). That would happen while they were going, baptising, and teaching them to observe what the Master had taught them. They were to go to the people to preach the Gospel (Mark 16) and “be witnesses” for the Lord (Acts 1:8), to all people groups.

Making disciples (*mathēteuō*) involves helping anyone anywhere so to progressively learn and be transformed by the Word of God as to gradually become a mature, growing follower of the Lord Jesus Christ (Vine 1985:171). Thus part of the need expressed in many of the Zionists churches has been the need for doing just that and doing that in the power of the Holy Spirit. In the Zionists churches most of that teaching has to be done orally. Disciple-making obviously means more than just going, teaching and baptising people. The disciple’s task is more than being a student. The disciple is a follower, an adherent, an imitator of the teacher for life (Bosch, 1991:80-83; Vine, 1985:171).²²⁶

Disciplining the nations is of crucial importance: “This is a message,” writes Zambian theologian Joe Kapolyo (2006:1170), “that the African church needs to hear loud and clearly.” The Great Commission according to Joe Kapolyo “is given by the highest authority in the Universe, and it is binding on all disciples for all times. No other task comes with the same authority, the same universal scope or the same eternal consequence.” Indeed this was the final charge for the “in between times.”

Where Bibles are available there may be a further problem: they are not read because there is no teacher. Often a thorough study of the Scriptures and expository preaching are also needful. This is not generalising over all Zionist churches as such. But as with the Ethiopian eunuch the cry of some is: “How can I understand unless someone explains it to me?” (Acts 8:31). The “hunger” for God’s word is definitely there.²²⁷ There is the need for theological education by every method or means possible.

The Zionist methods of using the Scriptures – such as placing the Bible on the forehead of the sick and noting Scripture texts mentioned by preachers – are not signs of bibliolatry but signs of respect for God’s Word. In MICs as well as in AICs is a cry like the Ethiopian eunuch’s cry - a plea for someone who could “explain” (NIV), or “guide” (Acts 8:31: KJV, NASB, ESV). Missiologists

²²⁶ In the Matthew 28 text the word disciple is a verb: to make a disciple. It is an aorist, active second person, plural verb which is the imperative sense (Vine 1984: 171).

²²⁷ Enoch’s response has been cited in Chapter 5. It was not that he did not reject the Scriptures but that no one has ever explained to him what the Scriptures say concerning the spirits.

consider that authority leader from Africa (Candace) one of the very first post-Pentecost Holy Spirit filled missionary into Africa.

However it was interesting to observe that a majority of the participants and their pastor were keen to acquire their own copies of the Bible. They were also keen to seek further theological education. Indicative of this need is the fact that, soon after that preliminary interviews occurred in Khayelitsha, a pastor of the Zionist church indicated that he needed teachers to conducting Bible teaching session with members of his church. Openness to learning such as this is not prevalent in all Zionist churches. But where it occurs, as again in Masiphumelele, it is a sign of a genuine seeking for spiritual things by the Zionists.

One organisation that has ventured into theological education among the Zionists is the Zion Evangelical Ministries of Africa (ZEMA).²²⁸ ZEMA is connected to the Dowie church outside Chicago. Zionists are open to theological teaching and training especially in those areas where their emphasis falls, that is, in healing.²²⁹ The other ministries are Theological Education by Extension (TEE) and the More than a Mile Deep organisation (MMD). There are some Zionist pastors who are very open to be engaged in such theological education. One such was pastor Mande of the Catholic Christian Church in Zion in Khayelitsha.

Empirical research which involves a degree of participation has a link to development. In the book, *Development: Theory, Policy and Practice*, Prozesky and Mouton (2001:537) point out the link in the chapter “Participatory Research Paradigm.” The authors state that participatory research is an activity which can be used to “serve the ends to empowerment, conscientisation and emancipation”. As indicated by the aforementioned cases among the Zionists, there is a potential for teaching programmes, provision of literature and the conducting of Bible training and discipleship. Such programmes would reduce the problem of Biblical illiteracy concerning the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing.

7.3.4 Teachings on the Holy Spirit

Much research effort into African Independent Churches has noted the importance of the Holy Spirit in drawing people to God and to the churches (Anderson, 2001a; Pretorius, 2004). Such research has identified the phenomenon of healing as one of the main attractions for AIC

²²⁸ The Zion Evangelical Ministries of Africa website is <http://www.zema.org/> . Bible Education Extension Ministry is on <http://www.beeworld.org/forms/AppStaff.pdf>. Accessed on 22.10.2010.

²²⁹ See picture on Appendix 10. At the church’s graduation ceremony (December 2011) in Khayelitsha the researcher was invited to attend and he was asked “Pastor , come and pray over the graduates” It was such a festive occasion full of contrasts. The graduates resplendently adorned in proper academic gowns and a group of traditional dancers in typical traditional Xhosa dancing regalia.

membership. "In Zion," wrote Marinder (2000:240), "the Holy Spirit holds sway. The Father sent the Holy Spirit to bear witness to the Son." Marinder added that without that witness of the Holy Spirit all the church activity is futile. One may ask though: "Is it possible to engage in some church activity which is not of the Holy Spirit, and still claim that it is of the Holy Spirit?" Such activity could even be healing.

Certainly the one area in which there is much need for teaching is the area that concerns the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. While one very positive attitude of the *amaZioni* in general is the zeal for the things of the Spirit, there tends to be a need for teaching in this particular area. An example of this zeal is given by Paul concerning the Jews. Paul wrote: "For I bear them witness that they have a zeal for God " (Rom. 10:2). This was genuine, fervent, unquestionably sincere zeal. It was like the one he had before conversion. But he went on to note that it was "not in accordance with knowledge". It was zeal without real inspired truthful content.

Among the Zionists the research recorded that knowledge of who the Holy Spirit is ranged over many perceptions. To some the Holy Spirit as a force, as an influence, a partner with spirits, a collaborator with the ancestors. To others the Holy Spirit as one of the spirits (small 's') created by God. Some did not associate the Holy Spirit with healing. Others did not think of the Holy Spirit as having personality. Teaching concerning the Holy Spirit is also needful since there are some people who believe that the Holy Spirit is the spirit of dead ancestors, or is the same as the spirit of witches?

While collecting data and analysing it and then making constant comparison, this is where the research process slowed down to taking one concept at a time. To discern what was happening involved not only comparing, contrasting and reflecting upon the emerging concepts but also required much reflexive consideration. Reflecting on what was said concerning the Holy Spirit, one could pick up the indications that in the hearts of many Zionists was an underlying desire, a search for the truth. Once the concept of 'searching' or 'quest' had been arrived at the next problem was indeed how to find where the focus of that search was. It was at this point that the concepts emerged, namely, community, communication, power and spiritual therapy.

7.3.5 The gifts and fruit of the Holy Spirit

For most of the Zionists, however, true spiritual gifts (healing included) are always associated with the work of the Holy Spirit. What emerged from the participants was that true healing would lead to both cure and growing good character as well. Even where the cure was not received, the sick were encouraged to be faithful to God. Good character, it was said, was more valuable than even healing. For the *amaZioni*, good character included moral faithfulness even in the face of continuing

sickness. After all, this is part of being sharers of the pain on this side of the heavenly Zion. It is probably also due to this understanding that present in many Zionist church grounds are people seated, waiting, expecting something. That character is shown in such outward acts as faithfulness in attendance at church and participation in meetings. It is in this sense that the Biblical idea of the fruit of the Holy Spirit is associated with true healing, healing beyond cure. It is the fruit which is composed of “love, joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control” (Gal 5:22,23).

7.3.6 The Holy Spirit and other spirits

The problem of drawing distinctions between the identity of the Holy Spirit and the other spirits has been encountered since the writings of Sundkler’s book, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. Basically the problem revolves around the identification of which power is in operation during any spiritual activity. Is it the Holy Spirit or is it other spirits? To Sundkler it was more a case of the operation of certain spirits other than the Holy Spirit. The same question is addressed in *Post Christianity in Africa* by GC Oosthuizen (1968). It was in this book that Oosthuizen noted that Sundkler had followed up his book *Bantu prophets* by another entitled *Healer Prophet*. In the latter book the comparison is made between the AIC healer who is usually considered to be a prophet and the traditional medicine man, the *nganga*. Here again the issue was about making a distinction between that which was of the Holy Spirit and that which was not (Anderson, 2000:192). Between AIC and ATR practice where does one draw the line? Later, in his study of *Zulu Zion*, Sundkler (1969) made the distinction between the *amadiki* (spirit) possession and the *Umoya* - the latter being identified as the Holy Spirit. There were aspects of AIC practice - especially the apparent spirit possession - which were disconsolate with Sundkler’s Lutheran pneumatology.

Across the multi-coloured spectrum of Zionism there are various kinds of attitudes and views to the existence and influence of spirits: rejection, reception or replacement of the spirits. Anderson’s (1993: 26-39) contribution to an understanding of the problem was presented in two approaches. The one is *accommodation* and the other is *confrontation*. The former involves reception while the latter is aligned with rejection. Of course, rejection is taken further to include exorcism. However, in practice, in cases which involve spirits clinical diagnosis and discernment are not easy matters. At times, as has been mentioned above, the prayer for healing and/or deliverance extends into long hours of spiritual travail.

In terms of the accommodation attitude, one of the things pointed out, even by Anderson (1993:26-39; 2001a) was the practice of ritual killings and ceremonies. The aim of such practices, it is said, is to bring home spirits of the dead. As has been noted earlier, views vary among the Zionists.

Nevertheless, in other instances Anderson (2000:196) concluded that Zionists have “challenged the traditional spirit world by their message of the power of the Holy Spirit.” They do this to liberate the sick “from the oppression of malevolent and capricious spirits that daunt their people’s everyday lives.” As indicated above, many of such AIC churches tend to be the ones closer to the MIC position in teaching and practice. It is in these churches that the confrontation services occurs with shouts of *Phuma dimoni!* It is interesting to note that coming from a Pentecostal background himself, Anderson has not adopted a cessationist attitude towards the AIC healing practices.

A word may be appropriate here concerning the third view, the *replacement* attitude. Here the idea is that the Holy Spirit has taken over the role of the ‘ancestor spirits.’ Some Zionists go to the extent of insisting that the Holy Spirit “has thereby become ancestor” (Anderson, 2000:198). This attitude did not seem to be borne by many participants neither in Khayelitsha nor in Masiphumelele. Perhaps the factor of urbanisation may have contributed to this, so that indeed distance of town from rural home extends the detachment between the practice in urban areas and the practice in the rural areas. What seemed to be happening in healing was said to be an identification of the Holy Spirit with the spirits without saying that the Holy Spirit is now a ‘super ancestor’. When asked for clarification a participant would furnish the general answer that “they are all spirits of God”.

The ‘super ancestor’ idea has also appeared through the works of a number of African theologians. In particular, the use of the ‘ancestor’ term is used with reference to the Lord Jesus Christ. Timothy Palmer (2008:65) noted that among the common terms deployed are “Great and Greatest ancestor” used by Pobe; “Ancestor par excellence” used by J Mutiso-Mubinda, Benézét Bujo and “supreme Ancestor” used by Kwame Bediako. In his survey of representatives from 42 Nigerian tribes, Palmer (2008:69) found “an almost universal rejection of the ancestorship of Christ based on many grounds.” The one obvious argument is that Christ is a sinless human being while as in ancestors are each and every one fallen human beings fallen and later redeemed by the sinless One. The divinity of Christ is obviously part of the creator Trinity, which cannot be not be compared with the ancestors, who are created beings (Exodus 15:11-12; Isaiah 40:25). The point is that issues concerning ancestorship touch both on the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit – the givers of life, the Ones responsible for the resurrection (John 11:25; Romans 8:11).

Problems in identifying which spirit is in operation in the healing process are more complicated because, on the ground, the Bible injunctions concerning the spirits are not always observed. One such injunction is to test the spirits (I John 4:1). It is not enough on the one hand to regret, as many missiologists have regretted, that the first European missionaries were children of the

Enlightenment in Europe and therefore tended to deny the existence of the supernatural (Anderson, 2006:225). On the other hand, the danger is to make a swing to the extreme and to accept that everything that occurs in the supernatural healing process is an act of the Holy Spirit. Among the *amaZioni* such a view is not generally held. Evidently instances of spirits wanting to cast the sick into fire and wanting to kill them were not uncommon in the ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ (Mark 9:22).

7.3.7 The Holy Spirit: conviction and conversion

Healing can be considered as a spiritual gift, as has been alluded to above. In the sense of healing as a holistic term this encompasses deliverance from sickness, from evil spirits and from all other forms of misfortune. From the Zionist perspective, healing also involves relationships. As has been mentioned above, many Zionists acknowledge that true healing is through the Holy Spirit. As with all other gifts of the Holy Spirit healing is a free gift (Luke 11:13, James 1:17). There is always also the danger of focusing on the gift (the healing) and neglecting the giver (the Lord). Evidently, being holy, the Holy Spirit brings more than just the gifts. This is part of the Reformed faith that it is the sovereign Lord who gives good gifts (James 1:17). It comes with a realisation of the holiness of God very different from the ungodliness of self.

Essentially, the Holy Spirit brings about conviction of sin and conversion of character. This can be illustrated through the famous song, *Nkosi, sikelel' iAfrika*. Composed by Methodist minister Enoch Sontonga (1897) the song has become the national anthem of a number of countries.²³⁰ The lyrics of the song reveal a searching, a desire and as such a plea for blessing from God: *Nkosi, sikelel' iAfrika*. Specifically, it is a prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit: *Yehla, yehla Moya Oyingcwele*.

The chorus calls on the Holy Spirit to descend (*Yehla*). Indeed, this is a deep and repeated plea. The plea can be read in light of the Scriptures, namely John 16:8-11:

When (the Holy Spirit) is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment: Of sin, because they believe not on me; Of righteousness, because I go to my Father, and ye see me no more; Of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged.

The word “reprove” carries the sense of ‘convict.’ In the *New Bible Commentary* Guthrie (1984:1058) comments that “the action of the Holy Spirit will be to convict.” Then Guthrie continues: “The world has no true understanding of the nature of sin, but the Spirit will show people that they are sinners because of their unbelief in Christ.” The idea is one of exposure,

²³⁰ To the original Sontonga composition were added seven more verses in 1899 by Xhosa poet Samuel Mqhayi.

unveiling, bringing to light. It is not a small matter to state that many Zionists are aware of the struggle with sin. In most of the services attended the sermons would rally around one or two of the commandments. Sin is perceived as a breaking of the commandments. Part of the Zionists' respect for blood is related to protection from evil spirit; another is reference to the cleansing nature of blood. In some Zionist churches the use of animal blood is evident.

Evidently, when and where the Holy Spirit does descend and fills the occasion with an elentic experience – that deep conviction of sin and sinfulness – it is as a prelude to repentance. This is the pathway to Calvary - to receiving the benefits of the atonement in and through the blessed spotless Lamb of God, Jesus Christ, who “suffered once for our sins, the righteous for the unrighteous ... He was put to death in the body but made alive in the Spirit” (I Pet. 3:18). He it was who “was put to death in the body but made alive in the Spirit” (Romans 6:10). The Scriptures continue: “For by one sacrifice He has made perfect forever those who are being made holy. The Holy Spirit also testifies to us about this” (Hebrews 10:14,15). So the understanding is that the Holy Spirit comes first to illuminate the sinner concerning sin and sinfulness and show what God has done about sin.

Being “Holy” the Holy Spirit leads to the only one atonement in Christ and thus does avoid or circumvent the sacrifice of Calvary and the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. According to John Calvin's *Institutes of The Christian Religion*, the Holy Spirit brings illumination and sanctification in conformity with the Scriptures. A very appropriate passage from Calvin (1599:544), put it in this way:

That Spirit is not the patron of murder, adultery, drunkenness, pride, contention, avarice, and fraud, but the author of love, chastity, sobriety, modesty, peace, moderation, and truth. He is not a Spirit of giddiness, rushing rashly and precipitately, without regard to right and wrong, but full of wisdom and understanding, by which he can duly distinguish between justice and injustice. He instigates not to lawless and unrestrained licentiousness, but, discriminating between lawful and unlawful, teaches temperance and moderation.

Where the Holy Spirit draws people to the crucified Christ, to the finished work of the Lord, then one would expect some of the above-mentioned character values to be manifest in the believer. The changes include a turning away (repentance) from sin, unrighteousness and injustice. In that way is fulfilled the plea in the Sontonga song. Such an understanding concerning the Holy Spirit helps in the process of discerning the workings of the Holy Spirit and the spirits.

On the other hand it is reasonable to think that the Holy Spirit can be resisted – i.e. there is no repentance. Such works as are aforementioned - murder, adultery, drunkenness, pride, contention, avarice, and fraud - where they occur can be seen as works that are not of the Holy Spirit. This does not make the case of discerning what is happening in healing any easier. This is because there are

some healers who profess to be led by the Holy Spirit. They practise healing and they also produce such diverse works. Of course testimony of the Scriptures seems to indicate that resistance to the Holy Spirit has its results.²³¹

However, repentance implies a change of character. That change is accompanied by obedience to the Scriptures – especially in the area of worship of the one living God and Creator of the universe. Could it be that a paucity of the knowledge of the Scriptures contributes to the risk of attributing every miracle (including healing) as an act of the Holy Spirit? Could it be that some Zionists and national anthem singers are pleading to God for the Holy Spirit and yet, when the Holy Spirit reveals sin, there is resistance to change - there is no repentance? If so, who then is causing the resistance to change? Could it be the other spirits? Hence the pursuit for a holy life which the *amaZioni* desire becomes hindered (Jongeneel, 1997:24).²³²

7.3.8 Experiences concerning the spirits

The issue is: who are the spirits? Analysis of data from the field led to three main views that the *amaZioni* hold concerning the spirits. As has been recorded above, the Zionists admit to the existence of various kinds of spirits. There is some agreement that spirits are invisible beings. They manifest themselves through the bodies of living beings. Some spirits are said to be ‘good’ spirits. Others are ‘bad’ spirits, ‘evil’ spirits. The ‘good’ ones include those which are said to represent long dead parents. Some Zionists consider the good spirits to be the fore-parents who come to communicate with the living descendants.²³³ The list of the ‘bad’ or ‘evil’ spirits seemed much longer than that of the ‘good’ spirits. This grassroots perception comes out of the experiences of suffering and the afflictions of this life.

So far the research has isolated one gap, namely the identity of the spirits. That is the gap presented by the unknown spirits. When the *amaZioni* give names to the various spirit beings, they do so to fill that gap. The way they do this is to accept what the spirits say about themselves. The living Zionists do not challenge or question the spirits. This then is the case where the spirits claim to be, or to represent, the relatives who are dead.

Another way which was obvious on the field was to call out, to conjure the spirits, to call on them to take residence in the living. This is the way it is done in indigenous religion. Conjuring spirits, it

²³¹ Perhaps a good example of this is Steven’s preaching in Acts 7:51: “You stiff-necked people! Your hearts and ears are still uncircumcised. You are just like your ancestors: You always *resist* the Holy Spirit!”(my emphasis). Earlier on two church members had met their death after lying to the Holy Spirit.

²³² “Several independent church in Africa also emphasize holiness.” (Jongeneel, 1997:88).

²³³ Mbiti (1990) calls such spirit mediums the ‘living dead.’

was said, involves opening oneself to the provide entry and space for such spirit beings to take over. When the spirits enter, the person is possessed and begins to speak with a different voice or voices. It is then that the spirits, speaking through the host, instruct the family members on what is to be done to obtain healing or any other benefit. In one incident it was reported that the voices of several old women were speaking through a fifteen-year-old girl. The girl was sick.

In all this there are gaps in the understanding the of spirits. One gap is in determining the real identity of those spirits. Even where the spirits seem to know much about the sick, the identity of the spirits is not easy to discern. The real identity of the spirits remains very unverifiable and therefore questionable on a multiple fronts. In the first place, one has to accept their *prima facie* self-confession that the spirits are telling the truth when they say they are ancestors and not just representatives. Another gap is that of misrepresentation (lying). The other gap is that the sick people have to open themselves up so as to provide entry space for such spirits. As in the testimony of pastor Gandiya, the spirits never come uninvited.

As has been noted in the previous chapter, the arguments concerning the issue of spirits linked or representing or otherwise related to the ancestor are often based on the Biblical idea of the communion of saints (Hebrews 12:1-3). Communion and community, according to Scriptures, have their centrality in the Person of the Lord Jesus Christ.²³⁴ The Lord made fervent intercession for that blood-bought, blood-cleansed community and communion. These concepts predicated on “the promise” of the New Covenant which has much to do with the Holy Spirit (John 17:24; 20,21; Luke 24:49, Jeremiah 31:31-34). Quintessentially embedded in that covenant is the advent and pouring out of the Holy Spirit (Joel 2:28; Acts 1:8; 2:16). The terms used in three consecutive chapters of the Gospel according to John concerning that Spirit are very personal (John 14, 15 and 16). The promised Spirit is “another Comforter” - literally another kind of helper - a Helper or Advocate of the same nature as the Lord Jesus Christ Himself.²³⁵ Such an Advocate or Counsellor, as Donald Guthrie (2004:1055) puts it, “would do what Jesus Himself would have done during His ministry.” Hence the communion and community would be the same as the kind which the Lord had with the disciples. The book of Acts becomes a record of that kind of communion and community.

²³⁴ The sharing of the Last Super (I Corinthians 10: 16,17) focuses on Christ. The unity of the Church (I Jn1:6,7) is based on Christ headship. The cleansing from sin and the consequent fellowship (unity) center on the blood of Christ. In all the church or believers’ fellowship Christ is the centre; the living are in focus.

²³⁵ The term used is another Helper (ἄλλον παράκλητον): according to Vine’s *Expository Dictionary of the New Testament* ‘another’ (allos) here denotes ‘another of the same sort.’ Christ promised to send “another like Himself” not *hetros* which means “another of a different sort (Vine 1985:29). In the *New Bible Commentary* Guthrie (1984:1055) proceeds to note that the Spirit is identified as the Spirit of Truth.

The whole discussion of the issue of the spirits leads one to agree with the position taken by many evangelical scholars, among them Gehman (2006) and Nürnberger (2007). In a paper, ‘Communion with the dead according to the Scriptures’, Gehman engages in a thorough exegeses of the relevant Scripture passages (Hebrew 12:1; 22; and 1 Corinthians 15:29). Gehman comments that even John Calvin rejected the idea that the living could be baptised as representatives for the dead, the dead who did not even believe in the resurrection! Thus concludes Gehman (2006:14):

There is no place in Scripture where we find any teaching that the living can influence the dead or that the dead can pray for and help the living. Nor do we find any support for the idea that the living can have fellowship with the dead or enjoy a personal, conscious communion with them.

In connection with this is the testimony of one evangelist of an Apostolic Faith Church pastor, Chiweshe. Pastor Chiweshe, who is regarded as a veteran evangelist, was involved in many Gospel preaching campaigns in the urban and rural areas. In some of those campaigns spirits would manifest themselves through some individuals present. In most cases the spirits would speak. Pastor Chiweshe (2010) commented: *Thina sayazi ukuba imoto efileyo ayidonsi le engafanga, hayi; le efileyo idonsa le engafanga* (What we know is that the dead vehicle cannot tow the one that is all right: it is the one which is all right that tows the dead one).²³⁶ This very simple picture language is very easily understood by the *amaZioni*. Those who seek spirits of the ancestors are seeking the dead ones to tow the live ones.

At this stage it may be useful to sum up this consideration of what happens in the spiritual realm during healing. To sum up, reference is made to that very concise and succinct research work, *Jesus Christ as Ancestor: an African Christian understand*, by Mphahlele and Beyers (2008). The research was done among the Sotho-speaking inhabitants of Mohlakeng township in Randfontein, West Rand, in Gauteng province. To the question, “Is Jesus the great ancestor?” the authors concluded by identifying three standpoints:

- a. Yes: Jesus is an ancestor (Pobee, 1979; Bujo, 1981)
- b. No: Jesus can never be an ancestor (Nürnberger, 2007) and
- c. Uncertainty: It is unclear whether Jesus can be an ancestor or not (Stinton, 2004).

Although the debate focused on the title which can be given to the Redeemer Christ, the relevance of this is critical to an understanding of the role of the Holy Spirit and other spirits in healing.

²³⁶ Pastor Chiweshe: telephone conversation in May 2010. A member of an AIC close to the Apostolic Faith Mission.

7.4 Mission in the era of globalism

In what ways then does what happens at grassroots level among the Zionists relate to global mission? The question is not an irrelevant one. For one thing the AIC and Zionists experiences trace their roots to revivalist and Pentecostal movements in the other parts of the globe, including Europe and the Americas.

For another the AIC and Zionist emphasis on the Holy Spirit motivates the interest to examine whether what happens at the local level is the same at the global level. The term *glocalisation* has been used to refer to this global-local development (Roberts Jr, 2007). Roberts produced a paper - "Glocalization - how followers of Jesus engage a flat world" - meaning "the simultaneity ... the co-presence ... of both universalising and particularising tendencies." This development calls for a new perspective, a new model of missions.

This is also so because on the ground, at grassroots level, the AIC growth and expansion has spread into the diaspora in many lands such as the United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Russia and North America (Gerloff, 2001). The method of establishing these diaspora churches indicates an interesting paradigm in mission. As with the first-century Jewish missionaries (Peter, Paul and other mission pioneers) the Zionists have tended to start church plantings with those of their own kind, the black Africans. It may be too early to conclude that, because the AIC diaspora congregants are blacks, these churches are mono-racial and not, for instance, multiracial or inter-racial as was the Church of Antioch (Acts 13:1-4). But of course this factor also indicates a desire, a search for something. In that search are wrapped the concepts of language, extended family concretions. Many in the diaspora are refugees, war displaced and exiles whose status is not without problems. Again from this was abstracted the concept of community – like tending to gravitate towards like.

What is obvious is a number of contributions by the Zionists to the global church. One such contribution has been the emphasis on the agency of the Holy Spirit. This is important, especially in the First World where it may be said that the zeal for things of the Christian spirituality has been declining through the last century. In this area of course the contribution of the AICs and of Zionists has been the re-emphasis on the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

The one great contribution of the Spirit-sensitive diaspora churches is in their practice of healing. Here of course it may be noted that the issue is not only healing. The Spiritist (Zionist) Churches are not alone in this. Missiologists have long been following research and studies on the Pentecostal movements around the globe. The writings of many missiologists – among them Kärkkäinen

(2010), Omenyo (2002) and others, have done much to draw attention to the role of the Holy Spirit in salvation and healing. Many note that salvation is the one distinct experience in the empowerment and enablement which the Holy Spirit gives. In spite of the many debates about the hypostases of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Spirit has been the primary agency for dispensing spiritual gifts which include healing (Kärkkäinen, 2010).

One interesting feature of the movement of the Holy Spirit over the ages is the ecumenical dimension of what Kärkkäinen (2002b:7) has called the “pneumatological renaissance.” That renaissance involves the growing interest in the movement of the Holy Spirit not as a force hovering over the globe but as a “Person of the Triune God who indwells the believer.” This indwelling give the experience of the Holy Spirit contextual expression and meaning. Indeed, relevant to this research is the development of a contextual theology from that local experience. This development has been noted also by Omenyo (2002:305) in his book *Pentecost outside Pentecostalism*. Later, Omenyo (2006) observed:

The emergence of the AICs and Pentecostalism has brought to light the realization among Africans that it is possible for Africans to express themselves as Christians without losing their African identity. This has enabled Christianity to sink its roots deep in African soil.

In some countries, Onyemo (2002:305) has observed that some members of the Spiritist groups have decided to join the mainline churches. Maluleke (2010) and Kombo (2001) have also noted that some of the worship forms associated with Pentecostalism - such as hand-clapping, dancing and simultaneous praying - are now also common in the mainline churches in southern Africa. In this way they have contributed to the renewal and revival ministries which include healing ministries.

It may very well be that because the AIC-Spiritist churches have grown out of situations of suffering, deprivation, vulnerability and risk their members have learnt much about spiritual disciplines - self-denial, moral discipline, fasting and praying. It need not be over-emphasised that in the first-century church and mission experience in the Middle East, or to be precise in west Asia, such spiritual disciplines were part of the hallmark of followers of the Way, Jesus Christ. Within the very culturally diverse church in Antioch (Acts 13:1-3) by the Orontes river, it was recorded that:

Now in the church at Antioch there were prophets and teachers: Barnabas, Simeon called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen (who had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch) and Saul. While they were worshipping the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said, “Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them.” So after they had fasted and prayed, they placed their hands on them and sent them off.

In this, which is one of the first missionary ventures from West Asia, the disciplines of habitual fasting and prayer were significant aspects in mission initiative. Paramount in that was the superintendence of the Holy Spirit.

Another contribution of the AICs to the global church is in the area of maintaining spiritual security for the faith, or what the apostle Jude called “contending for the faith” (Jude 3). According to the *New Bible Commentary* the concept of contending for the faith carries with it two senses. The first sense concerns maintaining the effort to “understand and teach the Word of God” (Wheaton, 1994: 1417). This has to do with the uniqueness of the Word in the world – being in this world but not of this world (John 17:15,16). In this is implicit the concept of dual citizenship, of two homes, for the follower of the Lord (John 17:14).

On the one hand the church has to maintain its unique status of being in the world and not being of the world. The church has this double citizenship: its members are citizens of this world and citizens of Heaven. A unique church with unique laws are the people of God, the *laos* of God.²³⁷ They are a people called out of the world, “strangers and pilgrims” on the earth (I Peter 2:11). In the world but not of the world therefore the church will always remain a mystery in the world.

The second sense is about defence or combat (Burdick, 2002).²³⁸ It is in the second sense of fighting to prevent evil in the apostate world from prevailing. In the epistle of Jude the danger was the apostasy and heresy which the church faced. There is that which takes place when the prayer for healing moves to the level of exorcism with shouts of “*Phuma Dimoni!*” This is understood by the Zionists as direct combat and fighting against evil spirits. Being what it is, then, the church finds itself out of step with the world and the world system. In fact the idea of spiritual conflict does not merely refer to standing firm against principalities and powers. There is a sense in which the church contends for the wholeness of living beings and the values which include the peace (*shalom*), justice and dignity of the community. In focusing on the quest for spiritual redress, renewal or therapy the AICs and Zionist churches have drawn attention to the fact that there is something wrong in this world and that there are spiritual forces lurking behind the visible scenes and they are responsible for situations adversarial to good health and good life.

²³⁷ For example Deuteronomy 4:6-8: “What other nation is so great as to have their gods near them the way the LORD our God is near us whenever we pray to him? ⁸ And what other nation is so great as to have such righteous decrees and laws as this body of laws I am setting before you today?” I Peter 2:9 addresses the church thus: “But you are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God’s special possession, that you may declare the praises of him who called you.”

²³⁸ Burdick (2002: 2590) in the *New International Version* of the Bible comments that when Jude wrote “the truth was under attack and had to be defended.”

7.5 Contemporary mission

Perhaps an appreciation of the Zionist story can be attained in considering some contemporary ways of doing mission. The AIC expansion both in Southern Africa and in other lands has drawn the attention of many missiologists into viewing mission through various models which assist in understanding mission on a global level. It is worth reviewing the way in which the AIC mission operates and to contrast it with others especially with respect to the phenomenon of healing. This is of interest in terms of reflecting on the other ways which have been adapted over the years in the missionary experience. To do so one has to analyse and draw out the salient aspects of the AIC and especially, the Zionist mission model. The concepts and the ideas which are applicable elsewhere will be pointed out below.

In doing this one is not ignoring particular aspects of the context in which the genesis and development of these Zionist churches took their origin. For one thing, it is impossible to ignore that the church expansion occurred in a particularly African context at a particularly significant period in the history of that continent. The period was the closing years of the Great Century in missions.

7.5.1 Mission the Zionist way

Although it is not easy to generalise, in view of the multifaceted nature of Zionist churches, the following fourteen hallmarks are observable in the model reflected in the Zionist mission:

1. Contextualisation - both of the message the messengers and the communication of the message; hence use of vernacular or local languages;
2. Need for focused ministry: the Zionists ministry and mission cover not only in spiritual but material needs as well as the promotion of self-help projects; debates about evangelism and social concern play a less significant role;
3. Healing and protection from health-threatening forces (Daneel, 1970, Kealotswe, 2001, Anderson, 2000:252);
4. Church self -governance, self-support and self -propagation as in the three Venn principles;²³⁹
5. Holy Spirit focus – dependence more on *uMoya* (Spirit) than the written Word (Anderson, 1991);
6. Use of local indigenous leadership; less emphasis on long-term formal training;
7. Enculturation – adapting to local cultures (Bate, 1993; 1999; Omyeno, 2006);
8. Community focus – inculcating a sense of belonging or *ubuntu* (Daneel, 1987; Anderson, 1992); outreach ministry to the poor in the community;
9. Spiritual warfare - prayer and exorcism directed against evil forces (Dowie, 1904; Lukhaimane, 1980);
10. Separation from political involvement (Pretorius, 2004; Lukhaimane, 1980)

²³⁹ Three-selves formula proposed by Henry Venn was mean to work in indigenous church planting situations. In following this formula way the dependence on foreign resources would be diminished.

11. Cooperation with ecumenical organisations such as the national Christian councils; (Pobbe, 1998);
12. Simple structures - no big church buildings (Makhubu, 1988);
13. Pilgrimage: this is evident in two ways – the people’s pilgrimages to national headquarters and also the bishops’ and pastors’ tours (Daneel, 1983; Muller, 2011);²⁴⁰
14. House churches: home groups which meet weekly for prayer, Bible study and fellowship (Makhubu, 1988; Pretorius, 2004).

In his paper, ‘The missionary outreach in African independent churches,’ Daneel (1980) attempted to demonstrate the interplay of some of these aspects in mission. Indeed in the expansion of the church to other regions it will be observed that, although the Zionists will begin by contacting people of the same regional and ethnic background, they tend to include others from other regions and nations. It is true that of the four million members of the Zionist Christian Church over 95% are from the same black ethnic background. The 5% are mainly coloureds and a sprinkling of European origin. Asians are conspicuously absent.

7.5.2 Culture-sensitive mission models

Beyond the parameters of healing, one observation needs be made concerning culture. The one thing learnt from the AICs in general and from the Zionists in particular is that there is a need to show some concern about culture. Examples of culture-sensitive mission models include the ones which emphasise the homogeneous unit principles.²⁴¹ In a way the growth of the AICs may pattern with the concepts of homogeneity in which the AICs are seen as “a section of society in which all the members have some characteristics in common” (McGravan, 1970:85). In terms of ethnic, social and economic characteristics, the Zionist mission tends to follow this pattern. In fact, even in the diaspora there has been a noticeable tendency to follow the same principles – reaching people from Africa first.

However, in view of the context of the AIC in South Africa, such homogeneous models with their emphasis on race, if they continue *ad infinitum*, may be seen to be another form of apartheid. This would be an aberration in terms of multi-racial mission and the Revelation 7 vision. Besides, the very *amabalabala* nature of AIC membership with its different linguistic and national diversity seems to be the pulling attraction in AIC mission, not the homogeneity.

The concern for culture has been advanced in other ways. M’Timkhulu (1967:22-23) put it this way:

²⁴⁰ Müller’s *African Pilgrimage* records a vast amount of information of the journeys and visit of the ZCC bishop around southern Africa,

²⁴¹ Donald McGravan and the Fuller School of World Mission have since the 1970s propagated this for church growth.

The church will have to create new rites which are in harmony with the African mentality rather than attempt to take over and adapt the ancient pagan rites.

By “pagan rites”, M’Timkhulu (1967) was referring to the ritual practices which seem in conflict with the written Scriptures. As noted earlier on, there is always the tension which some Zionists have to deal with in relation to other religions, especially African traditional religions.

M’Timkhulu was encouraging the effort to find new symbols and rituals for the church. That effort has to be guided by the Scriptures and the Holy Spirit. The need to engage with culture has been expressed by other theologians. One of them conveyed the same idea in this way: “A critical appropriation of African culture will contribute to the evolution of an authentic African Christianity to enrich world Christianity as well as make Christ at home in Africa” (Oduyoye, 1995:86). With guidance by the Holy Spirit who enlightens on the Scriptures, the effort of trying to make mission culture-sensitive will prove successful. In saying this, of course Oduyoye was enthused more by the concept of power demonstrated in AIC worship. When faith leads to following Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour in ways consonant with Biblical principles then that will legitimise AIC mission.

There are indeed certain aspects of traditional religions which, by being enlightened by the Spirit and reflecting on the Scriptures, are seen to be at odds with the canon. Idolatry and anything contradictory to the Decalogue are examples readily identifiable. Traditional practices which encourage worship of other gods or spirits or created beings would be contradictory to the Biblical norm. There are certain aspects and doctrines of the Christian faith which cannot be compromised. In the search for culture-sensitive mission models Oduyoye(1989:77–90) was keen to maintain what she called “the non-negotiables of Christianity”.

In dealing with complexities brought about by encounter with culture, missionary Hesselgrave and Edward (1989:54) emphasised the need for a missionary strategy, a plan, such as Paul had. “However, to be Christian, that plan should not be based primarily on human observation. It must be developed under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and subject to His direction and control.” This was Hesselgrave’s counsel in his book, *Planting Churches Cross-culturally*. At the heart of cross-cultural mission is the concern of the Holy Spirit.

On the issue of ancestors, it may be obvious that the issue has been raised in all societies. In a prayer meeting in Lakeside, Cape Town, an elderly English man whose wife had passed away raised the question, “When someone has died, can they, do they speak? I am sure I heard my wife speaking to me this morning.” The question arose because the widower was seeking something. He attested to hearing his wife’s voice. Was this not some evidence for the view that the dead do

communicate? Evidently, where Christianity has taken deep roots over a long period of time as, for instance, in Reformation Europe, the question of communication with loved ones who have passed on has not been an issue commanding continuing serious attention. Some who seek for answers in the area of the dead have found comfort in Scripture (Leviticus 19:31, Isaiah 8:19, Acts 16:16).

In a paper with a very enquiring title, ‘The magical worldview in the African Church: What is going on?’ Jim Harries (2000) details the reality of the magical and other occult powers. A teacher in theological education in Zambia and Kenya, Harries emphasises the need for critical Bible study for all believers in order to learn how to distinguish and discern things in the spiritual realm. But - and this is where this research links in - such study must also be connected to what Harries calls “the people’s desire for release from spiritual and not primarily for understanding in an apparently abstract way.” Release from the oppression of sorcery and witchcraft, curses and demonic powers - these are the ‘non-negotiables.’ It was in this sense that Oosthuizen (1988) drew attention to the deep-seated realities of sicknesses related to demonic influences. In this sense Oosthuizen (1988:18) spoke of the ministry of “the prophet and the need for contextual healing.” In many Zionist ministries the gifts of prophecy and healing are said to accompany one another. The prophet in the Spirit discerns what is needed and gives counsels on the healing to be administered.

One observation that has been made between MICs and AICs by Kombo (2001:160) is that the MICs in Africa are incorporating some of the AIC practices. This is what Kombo (2001) called “*AIC-isation*”. On the other hand AICs are also adopting some of the MIC practices. An example of this is where some AICs have adopted the use of the MIC hymn books. Essentially, in Kombo’s view there is need for readjustments within the AIC camp. For a long time AIC theology has existed in oral form: one adjustment is for AICs to engage in formal theology. Indeed, on this concern Kombo has drawn attention to the same need as Bongani Mazibuko and other African theologians did. That need, according to Khumalo (2005), is the need for theological education.²⁴²

7.5.3 The North African church model

For quite some time the importance of church expansion and mission from one end of the continent, southern Africa, has been a concern for many missiologists including Bengt Sundkler (1961). Some reflection on church expansion and mission from the other end of the continent, North Africa, is also appropriate at this stage. In a veritable sense, Christian mission to Africa began in North Africa (Isichei, 1995; Kane, 1978). After all, mission to Africa pre-dates mission to the western Europe. Post-Pentecost mission to Africa was marked by the ventures of converted

²⁴² Khumalo (2005) shared these ideas in his paper, ‘Doing Christian education at the edges in South Africa: A review of the work of Bongani Mazibuko as a Christian educator and missiologist’.

proselytes and Jews such as Philip (Acts 8:26 - 40).²⁴³ It was a vibrant growing church blessed with theological institutes, facilities with very capable staff of deep theological convictions (Gonzalez, 1983). The population of believers also included those who were also committed to mission - educated people such as Simon the Niger and Lucius of Cyrene (Acts 13:1-2).

However, Sundkler (2000) has rightly noted that one of the reasons for the demise of the North African church was its failure to evangelise the nations. Florin Costea (2012) has contributed some useful insights concerning the rise and fall of the North African church. Some of these are identifiable with the African independent church movement, and indeed the with Zionists, in southern Africa. Here they are put in form of answers to two questions.

Why was it that the North African Church grew so fast? As reasons, Costea has pointed out that the church:

1. proclaimed a very practical Gospel related to the felt needs of both the educated and the uneducated;
2. had a supportive Christian worshipping community with house fellowships;
3. sought to be light and salt in the street and villages;
4. knew and learnt how to handle persecution;
5. had a very simple and effective organisational structure.

Indeed, much of what has been said of the North African Church applies to the Zionist or Spirit churches in southern Africa. Worth noting are these same growth aspects – a practical Gospel related to needs, a worshipping community with house fellowships, endurance in persecution and a simple church structure and organisation – all this a very similar AIC pattern.

The North African church roots can be traced to the Holy Spirit revival in Samaria and the subsequent encounter of the evangelist Philip with the minister from Africa (Acts 8). Then the Church spread into Ethiopia, Egypt and then westward into the Maghreb lands. But by end of the eighth century it is said that the North African Church had failed and fallen. The Maghreb became known best as the “Land of the Vanished Church”.²⁴⁴

But why did the church fail and fade away? This is a question which may bring some light into the situation of the church even in southern Africa. Costea (2012) has noted that gradually and unfortunately the North African church:

1. developed an educated priestly caste which was removed from its laity;

²⁴³ Belief in the Torah (Teaching), the Nevi'im (Prophets) and the Ketuvim (Writings) among the Jewish Diaspora and the proselytes was strong: many believers made the yearly pilgrimages to Jerusalem to attend the feasts.

²⁴⁴ The information comes in the AD 2000 Report (11.29.99) “Ancient North Africa Yearns for Rebirth “

2. adopted centralised (Catholic) organisational control;
3. tolerated immorality and worldliness;
4. was distracted and demoralised by internal controversy – especially over heresies;
5. entangled itself with socio-political issues at the expense of the Gospel and Christ;
6. failed to make Scripture available in a form understandable to the ordinary people; instead the church used the language of the educated only;
7. lost their vision, their God-given aim, and their spirit of self-sacrifice
8. became “getters” rather than “givers,” willing to “spend and be spent,”
9. failed to count the cost and to lay down their lives;
10. lacked or lost self-denying, humble Christ likeness.

So, in recounting the reasons for the demise of the church in the Maghreb - clericalism, worldliness, division, politicisation, paucity of accessibility of Scriptures and bereft of vision for mission - the general diagnosis points to a dearth in the desire and zeal for the things of the Holy Spirit. The diagnosis applies to the church in southern Africa, particularly to the Zionists. The points of weakness are as afore-mentioned. When, by the mid-seventh century, a new militant religion came sword in hand in the region the Christian Church was too weak to withstand it.

7.5.4 The missional church model

At the close of the twentieth century a growing understanding of the church in mission is that the church is a missional church (Guder 1998; Keller 2009, Hirsch 2010). This understanding draws the mission horizons closer in a way. The understanding is that mission is not only an activity that happens out there in foreign lands. “Missional” or “missional living” is a late twentieth century Christian term that in essence describes a missionary lifestyle at home and abroad. Being missional includes embracing the posture, the thinking, behaviours, and practices of a missionary.

This intentional attitude strategises for the whole church to reach out to others with the message of the Gospel. To Americans Tim Keller (2009) and Darrel Guder (1998) as well as South African Alan Hirsch (2010) the basic idea is the church is sent into the world. This is reminiscent of words from the book of David Bosch (1991) in *Transforming Mission* from which various quotes are cited:

The church is not the sender but the one sent. Its mission (its "being sent") is not secondary to its being; the church exists in being sent and in building up itself for the sake of its mission.

The church is essentially missionary.

Missionary activity is not so much the work of the church as simply the Church at work.

It has become impossible to talk about the church without at the same time talking about mission. One can no longer talk about church and mission, only about the mission of the church.

Since God is a missionary God, God's people are a missionary people.

Hence all believers, as witnesses to the Lord, have a commitment in the Great Commission (Matthew 28:19-20, John 20:21). That commitment is comprehensive of their whole lives as witnesses (Acts 1:8).

In his book, De Vries (2011) identifies five distinctive characteristics of a missional church. A missional church is one which is a) sent by the Lord Jesus Christ; b) sent into the community; c) into every culture; d) sent with the message of the Cross; and finally e) in service for the King and the Kingdom.²⁴⁵ Although this is basically a mission model based on a substantial population which is American, one can take cognisance of similar Zionist efforts in terms of community, culture and the Kingdom. The missionary Zionists churches show the same or similar principles of outreach into the world. The idea of being sent by the Lord Jesus Christ will be re-visited in the chapter which follows.

In connection with what comes out of missional church principles, some reflections on the Zionist mission can now be made. Where missional living involves living daily as a believer-witness then the *amaZioni* efforts towards that goal is obvious. Not only is their presence and visibility displayed by their symbolic uniforms, staffs, badges, cloths, photos and regular water ingestion habits but also their out-door meetings speak of their public belief/witness of their faith. Moreover, the aforementioned symbols and artefacts themselves can be considered as having health-enhancing as well as ministry advertising effects.

When wondering about in Khayelitsha trying to locate the house of one Zionist participant, the researcher met one local resident who came up and asked *Udinga indlu yomZioni?* (You are looking for the house of the Zionist?) Within seconds the resident pointed to the house of the *umZioni* pastor. *AmaZioni* presence in neighbourhoods is well known. In Masiphumelele while walking with a Zionist pastor in a fire-ravished section of the township there was the repeated salutations of *Ah Muruti* and *Yebo Mfundisi*. In times of such suffering and adversities the local people know the *amaZioni* who can help them.

²⁴⁵De Vries lists the relevant texts, namely – sent a) by Jesus Christ (John 17:18; 20:21, Luke 9:2; Matt 28: 19–20; Acts 1:8), b) into community (Acts 2:42 –47; 5:42; John 13:34 –35; 1 John 3:16, c) into every culture (John 1:14; Matt 20:28; Acts 17:22 –34; Luke 5:29), d)with the cross (1 Cor 1:18 , Eph 2:16 , Col 2:14 , 1 Pet2:24, 2 Cor 5:17 –24), and finally and e) for the King and His Kingdom (Matt 10:7; 25:34; Luke 4:43; Rev 11:15 –17; Jer 10:7; John 18:36).

By using the local vernacular in pulpit and healing ministry the Zionists churches can also be seen as attractional and missionary.²⁴⁶ For one thing, the Zionist use basic building structures rather than ornate brick and mortar. Their church buildings seem to blend with their socio-economic environment. A church member can come in and go out without the need for pomp and circumstance which are associated with some MIC establishments. In that way the lay Zionist rich and the poor feel at home. The *amaZioni* members seem to take joy in inviting strangers to church. The author of *African Pilgrimage* found out soon that the Zionist lay people were really keen on him joining the Zion Christian Church (Müller, 2011).

7.5.5 Twenty-first century mission: “From everywhere to everywhere”

In the first chapter, mention was made of the shift which has occurred in global Christianity, a shift from the global north to the global south (Jenkins, 2001). At the dawn of the third millennium the new paradigm of mission is seem not so much “from the west to the rest” or even “from the east to the west.” But is has been a shift “from everywhere to everywhere” (Escobar, 2003). Ease of travel, cyber transfer of funds and teaching of languages and even circular migration due to trouble in certain developing states are some of the push-pull factors responsible for harnessing the synergy of the west-east-north-south movements of missionaries globally.

A kingdom orientation seems to have led the believers to every part of the globe. Hence there is a Ndebele pastor planting a big church in Kiev, a Cape Coloured missionary couple in Kazakhstan, a Mozambican missionary in Buenos Aires and a Zionist pastor in Glasgow. The AIC diaspora has become a prominent feature of modern world mission (Gerloff, 2012).²⁴⁷

In his book, *The New Global Mission: The Gospel from Everywhere to Everyone: Christian Doctrine in Global Perspective*, Samuel Escobar comments that "Christian mission in the twenty-first century has become the responsibility of a global church." Escobar (2003:15) continues:

We live in a multicultural world where western Christianity is being confronted by the Christianity of the southern hemisphere, which is "marked by a culture of poverty, an oral liturgy, narrative preaching, uninhibited emotionalism, maximum participation in prayer and worship, dreams and visions, faith healing, and an intense search for community and belonging.

Himself a Peruvian-born missiologist, now based in the United States, Escobar (2003:112) rightly quoted from Bishop John V Taylor that “The chief actor in the historic mission of the Christian church is the Holy Spirit. He is the director of the whole enterprise”. Moreover, Escobar continued

²⁴⁶ Terms used by authors of missional studies.

²⁴⁷ It is estimated that the diaspora population constitutes 3% of the global population (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2008).

(2003,129): “Scripture was a fundamental component” of missionary methodology and still is. All this produces holistic and incarnational ministries in the service of Christ in mission through compassion, serving, and confronting. There have been many believers who, although their departure from Africa was due to economic or political factors, yet in their sojourn in the diaspora lands have felt the call to enter the pastoral ministry through church planting and making disciples.²⁴⁸ This orientation is not confined to those of the Zionist faith.²⁴⁹ The deep search had always been for something spiritual.

In his conclusion in ‘New Way of Looking at Our World’ Escobar has pointed out that when it comes to mission the people of this world are people looking for meaning and purpose: Jesus' mission was holistic and met all of the people's needs and our mission should be spiritual in proclaiming the word and physical in meeting human needs” (Escobar, 2003: 154).

The last sentence conveys the same principles of mission praxis which have been observed in the Zionist mission in southern Africa and in foreign lands. The ministry of the Zionists at the grassroots level involves what has been well summed up by Andrew Walls and Cathy Roos (2010). In their paper, ‘Mission in the twenty-first century: Exploring the five marks of global mission’ Wallace and Roos have identified the key marks of mission as: Gospel proclamation; teaching the nations; meeting the needs of people; promoting justice; and preserving Creation. With reference to the *amaZioni* churches, the proclamation of the Gospel has been accompanied by healing and other spiritual gifts and ministries which point to the Lord Jesus Christ.

7.6 The Zionist church and the millennium goals

On the global level other aspects of mission call for attention – AIC mission resonates with the health concerns which have been advanced by other global agencies. Much has been said about the holistic nature of the AIC healing ministries (Anderson, 1998). Just over two decades have passed since the World Council of Churches (WCC) faced the question of the Holy Spirit and other spirits at the Canberra Assembly (1991). Again, there the WCC concern was to seek some spiritual answers to the maladies and medical miseries in an age of global pandemics. Southern Africa is one region most affected by killer epidemics such as tuberculosis, diabetes and HIV-AIDS. The Zionists by their teachings on spiritual and moral disciplines have focused attention on issues of global concern at the WCC, the World Health Council and the United Nations. The United Nations is prioritising health and healing in their current Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and

²⁴⁸ This was the case in the departure of with Aquila and Priscilla from Rome (Acts 18:2,18,26). Their departure led to meeting and ministry with one of the greatest first century cross-cultural missionaries, Paul.

²⁴⁹ Even MICs such as the Anglican and Presbyterian churches now have clergy of African origin pastoring their European congregations.

other global development programmes.²⁵⁰ In relation to this, the Zionists also target at least three of the MDGs, namely, to reduce child mortality, to improve maternal health and to combat HIV-AIDS, malaria and other diseases.²⁵¹

There have been testimonies of people who were healed of some of these illnesses and diseases through prayer. Such testimonies are not many though. But the sharing of any testimony of true healing always has many other overt effects on the hearers. Open testimony always also contributes to the destigmatisation of certain illnesses. On the one hand, testimonies of healing encourage the hearers to grow in faith and on the other hand they are proof that even in the spiritual realm any prayer or pleading is likely to be heeded. It is this attraction, even if it entails only a promise of a possibility of healing, that has popularised some of the big Christian and Gospel campaigns such as those of Christ For the Nations, Christ Assembly, Benny Hinn, Luis Palau and T.B. Joshua. The success of the healing has been questioned. But the fact that multitudes of people flock to these movements is also indicative of a real search for something spiritual.

The Zionist contribution to health is indicated in two areas of activity. First, on the preventative side are activities such as the teaching of moral and health disciplines; on the other side are prayer, deliverance, counselling and care ministries for sufferers. What the Zionists also major in is of course the counselling and treatment of geriatric, palliative and convalescence care. Care, especially home-based care, has been one of the strengths of Zionists who see themselves as – in that recurring phrase - *amabelana bentlungu*, “pain sharers” (Pretorius, 2004). Both national governments and non-governmental institutions have recognised the strategic importance of home-based care. To the *amaZioni*, care and compassion are often perceived as a greater service than what is offered in public health biomedical health facilities.

7.7 God’s heartbeat and God’s witnesses in the twenty-first century

If, on the one side (creation, living beings), the Zionist quest is for something spiritual it is logical to ask what is the quest from the other side (the Creator, God). In the three west-Asian religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) the accounts of the creation give a common indication: they indicate an immemorial past when sickness and death were not part of the human experience. Most Christian missiologists trace God’s heart for missions from the time of God’s call to Abram in Genesis 12. The call of “Adam, where are you?” (Genesis 3:9) is a demonstrable first sign of the Creator’s quest, a search for living humanity. This has been seen as God’s initiative in mission, *missio Dei* (Bosch, 1991; Hartenstein, 1934; Verkuyl, 1979). Johannes Verkuyl (1979) wrote on

²⁵⁰ Government Statistics South Africa records that Sub-Saharan Africa (2009) has just 10% of the world's population, but is home to 68% of all people living with HIV in the world.

²⁵¹ Appendix 10 gives a brief listing of all the eight goals for the period 2002 to 2015.

this in his paper, ‘The Kingdom of God as the Goal of the *Missio Dei*’. Later, Philip Wickeri (2004) also produced his paper with the title, ‘Mission from the Margins: The *Missio Dei* in the Crisis of World Christianity’. In that paper the Genesis account presents the quest of the Creator before the response from a creature and seems to prioritise the order of the two in the ensuing dialogue. It is God who first seeks for fallen man. That quest seems to set the inauguration of global universal *missio Dei*. Another dialogical encounter, this time with a woman, is recoded in John’s Gospel:

...the hour cometh, and now is when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father *seeketh* such to worship Him. For God is Spirit, so those who worship him must worship in spirit and in truth (my emphasis).

In the New Testament dialogue referred to above, the emphasis has been placed on the terms “the Father *seeketh*.” God who is seen as seeking when the canon opens is still seeking when the incarnation occurs.²⁵² Elsewhere the purpose of the incantation is summarised thus: “the Son of Man came to seek and to save what was lost” (Luke 19:10). This as well as in many other passages is testament to the same intentional divine search, the quest by God. This is not the same concept as that of the deist who perceives of a God who watches from a distance (Gold, 1985; Richard, 1990).

The quest has its *terminus ad quem* in the eschatological visions portrayed in Daniel 7:

As I looked thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of Days took his seat ... there ... was one like a son of man¹ coming with the clouds of heaven. He approached the Ancient of Days and was led into his presence. He was given authority, glory and sovereign power; all nations and peoples of every language worshiped him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that will not pass away, and His kingdom is one that will never be destroyed (Daniel 7: 9-14).

In between the Genesis account and the eschatological *finale* is a period of in-between time constitutive of God's positive saving actions throughout history, the historical catalogues of God's saving acts (*Heilsgeschichte*).

God’s initiated search for the lost is God’s mission – *missio Dei*. It was J Hebert Kane (1978) who noted that “the Old Testament is a missionary book because the Lord God (JHWH) is a missionary God.” Bosch (1991) clearly stated the same when he wrote that the living "God is a missionary God.” Walter Kaiser(1996) rightly maintains that in the divine drama of that *Heilsgeschichte* upon Israel was placed the missionary mantle to be priests to the nations.²⁵³ But “God never elected Israel only to be engrossed in ‘navel gazing’ – only to receive the blessing for herself. The call and

²⁵² Other texts which underscore the same intentional quest are II Chronicles 16:9; Psalm 14:2; 53:2. A fuller list in Appendix 12.

²⁵³ Kaiser, Walter (1996) summarised “Israel’s Missionary Call” in the book by Ralph Martin and Stephen Hawthorne *Perspectives in the World Christian Movement*. Israel’s many episodes of failure God remained faithful to His mission.

mantle were for service unto the nations of the earth.”²⁵⁴ Hence “worldwide missions forms the heartbeat of the message and purposes of the Old Testament.” God’s plan, implicit in the proto-evangelism of Genesis 3:15 is fulfilled through the incarnation of the Messiah (*Māšîah, ho Christós*) of Daniel 9:26 and Psalm 2:2 and the completed work of full atonement accomplished on Calvary. Put briefly, “God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself not imputing their trespasses unto them.” (II Corinthians 5:19).

Part of that ensuing salvation story is well summarised in the title *Israel’s Divine Healer*, a book by Michael Brown (1995). The book has a more specific focus on the salvation story through the prophets - Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel and others. Brown also closes by making a consideration of the problem of “sickness and sin; chastisement and healing.” This thorough systematic treatment of the Biblical motif of God as “Divine Healer” shows the continuity and discontinuity of the divine desire both to heal and to reveal God as the world's Divine Healer. Other Christian mission historians have examined the same subject of healing on a Biblical basis. David Burnett’s 1986 book was simply entitled *God’ Mission: The Healing of the Nations*. Later Justo Gonzalez (1999) dealt with the issue of culture, conflict and mission. His book is *For the Healing of the Nations: The book of Revelation in an Age of Cultural Conflict*.

The theme of healing has been adopted by several authors. One such is John Sanford (2000). In his book, *Healing the Nations*, Sanford follows the II Chronicles 7:14 motif.²⁵⁵ The believers have not only the calling and responsibility but also the authority to minister as healing agents in the nations. Sanford shows how believers can participate in the healing process through intercession. After all, even the advance of the Great Commission started with prayer. Sanford makes “a call for praying people to catch the Father’s heart, to arise and stand between destiny and destruction (Tenny, 2000). To catch the divine heart involves the church in participating in breaking Satan's hold over lands and peoples concerning issues such as racial prejudice, family conflicts generational strongholds, ethnic cleansing and individual addictions.

What are the principal fundamentals for world mission? In his paper, ‘Invitation to world mission’, Tennant (2010) has suggested four main fundamentals to mission. The first, he emphasises, is that mission is really “what God is doing in the world not what we are doing.” It is God carrying out that “redemptive, historical initiative on behalf of His creation.” That is, *missio Dei*. Of course God does that mission using various agents, primarily the believers.

²⁵⁴ Kaiser (1996) in the paper, “The Great Commission in the Old Testament” available on http://www.ijfm.org/PDFs_IJFM/13_1_PDFs/01_Kaiser.pdf.

²⁵⁵

Second, mission Trinitarian. It is the work of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. “The Father is the Sender, the “Lord of the harvest.” The incarnate Son is the model embodiment of mission in the world; and the Holy Spirit is “the divine, empowering presence for all of mission.” The Holy Spirit empowers the church to live as the new creation and fulfil God’s purpose on earth. As “God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself” (II Corinthians 5:21) so is Christ over the Church reconciling the world to the living God. This understanding helped the researcher to realise that southern African Zionists churches can be viewed in terms of a spectrum. The closer a Zionist church is to the mission established church, the nearer the church is to the aforementioned doctrinal code of belief. The further away, then, the nearer to the code of the local indigenous religions.

The other fundamentals are the new creation and the global church. The new creation is composed of the born-again followers, the witnesses, of the Lord Jesus Christ. This is the confession of most Zionists. The church at present is a majority world church doing ministry in and for the kingdom. The kingdom is understood as “already but not yet.” These four fundamentals are the heartbeat of God in mission. In all this the focus on the spiritual is obvious.

Therefore in these in between times the Lord God works through His born-again Holy Spirit-filled witnesses to advance the *missio Dei* on Earth (Acts 1:8). God’s heartbeat is realised through the agency of His witnesses. According to Pieter Verster and Frans Hancke, “although the witness is important - God is still the author of mission” (Bosch, 1989:78).²⁵⁶ It is at this grassroots level that the witness (*marturia*) and service (*diaconia*) as well as the community sharing (*koinonia*) show the work of God on Earth. “The mission of the church,” observed Engen (1991:89) “emerges when its members increasingly participate in the church’s being-in-the-world through *koinonia*, *kerygma*, *diakonia* and *marturia*”. Engen could have added another aspect - the church at worship, *leitourgia*. For this research the choice of the Grounded Theory Approach facilitated the understanding of what at ground level is happening among the *amaZioni*. It is an effort to listen to what Pretorius (2004) has called the “drumbeats, sounds of the Zionists in the Cape Flats” and, while at ground level, to listen to the heartbeat of God the Creator.

7.8 Mission and spiritual confrontation

Discussions concerning the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing have serious missiological implications in the area of spiritual confrontation. That confrontation, some call it spiritual warfare, is involved even in the ministry of healing, and more so, as seen above in the case of exorcism. In his book *Healing and Christianity*, Kelsey (1973) wrote that Christ “was against domination by

²⁵⁶ Pieter Verster and Frans Hancke (2004) expressed this well in the article “Common Critical Success factors that determine the Mission impact of the local Church.”

alien spirits". Kesley's comment, especially the emphasis on Christ being *against* spiritual domination, is important. "For this purpose," wrote the apostle John, "the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." (I John 3:8). Kelsey notes that Christ's coming was "to bring the power and healing of God's loving Spirit to bear upon the moral, mental and physical illnesses of the people around Him ... rescuing man from a situation in which he could not rescue himself" (Kelsey, 1973:67). This speaks of liberty, freedom from spiritual bondage. The ministry was focused on the priority of the proclamation of the Good News (*kerygma*). That process of carrying out that kerygmatic ministry was accompanied not only by power (*dunamis*) but also by signs (*semeia*) and wonders (Bate, 1995:164) Included in the power and the signs is the work of healing.

Many Zionists struggle to survive in situations in which they cannot help themselves. They know that solutions for many of their day-to-day problems lie beyond them. They perceive that such solutions lie in the spiritual realm therefore the search for such solutions has to be spiritual - spiritual remedies and rescues, spiritual therapies, spiritual healing. This is more so because, as has been indicated above, in Zionist cosmology the spiritual world is real. The Zionists perceive of a world of spirits - a world before which they feel very powerless and very vulnerable. In view of the situations and conditions observed in Chapter 3, in any ministry which to them appears in the power of the Holy Spirit with signs and wonders is no doubt appreciated. Inevitably such a ministry is confrontational (Daneel, 1983).

The world of most *amaZioni* is a world of spirits. Zionists are conscious of many kinds of spirit beings, namely - *thokoloshe*, *dipoho*, *idliso*, *amafufunyane*, *amakhosi*, *malopo*, *izinyanya*, *umamlambo*, *umthakathi* and many more. Zionists wonder with what weapons they are going to resist, stand and withstand these powers. In a study of the missionaries who served in (what was then) Transvaal, the missiologist Christoffer Grundmann bewailed the missionaries' lack of understanding of these forces.²⁵⁷ Grundmann's paper has a self-explanatory title: "Inviting the Spirit to fight the spirits". The fight is involved in the process of healing. Healing and exorcism were part of the ways in which to present the claims of the Lord Jesus Christ.²⁵⁸ What are these spirits? To the Zionists and others living in the Khayelitsha – Masiphumelele type of environment these powers are real spirit beings. They are vocal, active, mobile, malevolent and powerful. But

²⁵⁷ One of the missionaries cited is German Carl Edelmann who commented that the religion of the Pedi was 'the religion of the devil, their priests are sorcerers' The quote is from Grundmann's paper.

²⁵⁸ Grundmann (2009) in his paper raises the question "Inviting the Spirit to fight the spirits? Pneumatological challenges for missions in healing and exorcism. Of course the Holy Spirit is not to be taken as an instrument for healing and exorcism.

the greatest threat comes from their invisibility and unpredictability. The last two characteristics also obfuscate any attempts to identify them.

Grundmann (2009) identified and listed some passages in the New Testament Scriptures which refer to the nature and existence of spirit beings. These listed “unclean spirits,” (Matt 10:a; 12:43, Acts 8:7), evil and demonic spirits (Matt 7:22; 9:34), the spirit of error (1 John 4:6), “spirits not from God” (1 John 2:3); the “spirit of this world” (1 Cor 2:12); demons who shudder (James 2:19), Beelzebub or Satan (Mark 3:22-23) and those of the “ruler of the power of the air,” (Eph 2:2) as well as deceitful spirits (1 Tim 4:1). These are what the *amaZioni* believe they are also faced with. To fight against such spiritual powers requires appropriate (that is, greater) spiritual counter-powers. It is that perception which accounts for the militaristic shouts in casting out domineering spiritual beings which are adversarial to good health.

7.9 Developing capacities for spiritual discernment

How then does one challenge the invisible spirit beings? Certainly a deeper understanding of the happenings in Zionist healing phenomenon has to incorporate some measure of spiritual discernment. It was interesting to note that, in a Zionist healing service, when it comes to exorcism the *abathandazi* depend much on the visible effects manifested by the spirits domineering the sick. They diagnose the bad results of possession - the unusual body movements, the changes in voice, the contorted faces and, sometimes, the foaming at the mouth. The cause, Zionist diagnosis concludes, must be spiritual. The prognosis is that only spiritual weapons can dislodge the resident spiritual beings and they seek methods of casting out the offending spirits. Although Zionist prognosis may include the prescription of herbal and other material artefacts as in traditional healing inventory, the Zionist diagnosis does not employ the material objects of its traditional counterpart.

Mention has been made of the symbolic uses of the Bible, sticks and other artefacts in Zionist healing services. In some cases the healing ministry is based on input information which the sick or their relatives proffer. In some Zionists churches where some Bible training is given – for example, through Zion Evangelical Mission Africa Bible classes - the leadership have developed some measure of the capacity to discern the spirits (1 John 4:1-4). That Scripture training, plus the common knowledge acquired from some years in such a healing ministry, provides a basis for understanding what spirits are involved in each healing session. However, many Zionist healers admit that it certainly is not easy to immediately discern between a manifestation which is of the Holy Spirit and that which is not. What complicates the issue further is that some of the spirits also know the Bible and the church hymns. Worse, they may counterfeit even the gift of tongues. In one

case during a worship service, a woman started speaking in an unknown tongue. Many would have thought she was praising God as everyone else was doing. However, the visiting Pentecostal Indian preacher recognised the tongue in which the woman was speaking. It was an Indian tongue but in that language she was cursing God. The preacher stood up and commanded the woman to cease.

Zionist churches, as with other churches, have a great need in the area of discernment of spirits. As indicated, one way towards meeting that need is through thorough solid Bible teaching, teaching which involves a component of some practical internship in the things of the spirit. Some evangelical ministers and theologians have provided some guidelines on how to proceed in determining what spirit is in operation. Johan Malan (1977:9-11) goes a long way in providing some guidelines to assist in making a clinical diagnosis to distinguish between what is of the sovereign Holy Spirit and what belongs to “another spirit.” Essentially, Malan’s work is an attempt at answering the question, “How will one know what is happening?” If what is happening is led of the Holy Spirit it may be expected that the Holy Spirit will serve to: ²⁵⁹

- Exalt the Lord Jesus Christ and not curse the Lord (I Corinth 12:3);
- Bring conviction of sin and lead the seeker to the finished work of Calvary;
- Illuminate and convince and the seeker of God’s righteousness as revealed in Christ’s perfect life and atonement;
- Speak through and in accordance with the Word of God – the Bible;
- Lead the seeker to develop a life of prayer;
- Create a character of humbleness and holiness;
- Impart spiritual gifts and spiritual fruit;
- Help the seeker to lead others to Christ.

The last two – spiritual gifts and leading others - would include the gift of healing. In other words the sick will not only know that healing has occurred but will no longer suffer from any side effects or resurgence of the sickness. Then of course they will live to share testimony about the healing. Concerning testimony it is true that, as in the big urban Gospel campaigns, those who are healed are encouraged to testify there and then.

Since all this is operational at the spiritual level the ability to discern what is of the Holy Spirit is developed. This facilitates discerning what true healing (a spiritual gift) is. Still at that operational level, when healing occurs the process of discerning in the spiritual realm what is happening cannot be considered as an easy one. Evidently, with the healings administered by the Lord Jesus many questions were raised and much misapprehension was exercised by many religious leaders. But none of the questions were about whether the healing had actually occurred or not. Apparently part

²⁵⁹ In proceeding at this point the informing faith (theology) of the author is conservative and reformed evangelical.

of their ability was name-calling motivated by jealousy (Matthew 12:24 -26, Luke 11;15-19). The risk they took was attributing to Beelzebub what had been done by the Holy Spirit.

7.10 The hermeneutical problems

How then does one understand mission in view of, among others, the need for healing at the global level? The aforementioned risk, in part, has to do with hermeneutics. Right throughout this research it has been noted that the aim was to seek to understand the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the other spirits in cases of healing among the *amaZioni*. According to Kombo (2001:170) the issues can be understood from two hermeneutical perspectives. These perspectives are with regard to the use made of the Bible by the Zionists. The one is to so focus on interpreting the “life with the instrument of the Bible.” This was advocated by Ngubane (1986) and Daneel (2008). In doing so one ends up with what has been called “enacted theology” or a “narrative theology.” Kombo (2001), Daneel (1987). Laurent Magesa (1997) and others have followed this way. Ngubane (1986:75) advocated for black exegetes to “apply African insights and perspectives to interpreting the Scriptures.” There are however some problems with this approach.²⁶⁰

The other way is to focus on interpreting the Bible in a formal way. In the latter, what is involved is decoding the grassroots theologies from the narrative/oral matrix and understanding them in the perspective of formal theology. The process involves engaging in clarification of the problem as seen on the ground, that is in real life, and in that way move from real problems to solutions. Kombo (2001) maintains that the independent churches are part of the universal church and “they do not have another story ... the same universal story that has been told for the last two thousand years.” The independents have to develop the capacity to *clarify* the problem which the “story” is likely to encounter in their various cultures. Kombo (2001:73) put it in this way: “Once the problem has been clarified and the right questions have been asked one should suggest solutions.” Faced with many problems, the believers on the African continent need to come up with that *emic* understanding of the problems which they face. In that way they move from diagnosis to prognosis and then to ground-based prescription. This is the substance of another book, *Hope for Africa*, by the Christian author George Kinoti (1994). In that book Kinoti, as this research has also indicated, locates the solutions in the spiritual realm. Those solutions involve much “theological reflection as well as implementation of missions” (Kombo, 2001:175).

²⁶⁰ Tite Tiéno (2001:158) writing in *Evangelical Mission Quarterly*, noted that when problems - such as in the encounter with secularism, post-modernism, traditional religions - do arise “instead of running straight to the Bible we’ve run to our culture: African culture becomes the instrument for interpreting the Gospel of Christ as the African Gospel.”

This way of understanding Scripture first enables the Scriptures to enlighten the situation on the ground, what the German theologians have called the *Sitz im Leben*. Also in that way then that understanding will not be experience-driven. The idea of experience-driven theology, as Naudé (1995) noted in his study, *The Zionist Christian Church in South Africa*, appears in several forms of African theology. The works of John Mbiti and Gabriel Setiloane are examples of this. It is a way in which an appeal is made to “experiencing rather than formulating and expressing religion in set terms”.

The process of discerning and understanding what is going on in the field can also be assisted by using not one but a multiplicity of approaches. Indeed in this instance where the Holy Spirit is so important the suggestion by Amos Young (2004) was that one should approach the problem through a “consensual hermeneutic.” This is what one would engage in both in the field work stage and in the subsequent data analysis. The current research employed this approach in part.

‘Consensual’ is a term that conveys the idea of agreeing, of being ‘in step’ with the Holy Spirit (Gal 5:25). In other words the ‘witness’ of the Holy Spirit is predicated by and appreciated in terms of the new birth, the conviction of sin, the confession and separation from sin, the continuous growing relationship in the Lord Jesus Christ. The Holy Spirit works first in the believer. Following that injunction in Galatians 5 to “Walk in the Holy Spirit” is a contrast between the works of the flesh (verse 19-21) and fruit of the Holy Spirit (verse 22, 23). Though the lists may be said to be incomplete in that pericope and may indeed be exemplary, the key intent is the “walk” (character) agreeing with the Holy Spirit. Other versions use the terms “guided by the Holy Spirit” (ISV), “follow the Spirit's leading” (NLT), and “walk by the Spirit” (ESV, NASB). A simple rendering would cast this as to be fine-tuned and sensitive to the Holy Spirit and indeed fine-tuned by the Holy Spirit. In this way there will be some resonance (consensus) with that which is of the Holy Spirit. Hence the gifts of the Holy Spirit as well as the fruit are cardinal to an understanding of the spiritual world. Thus when, say, some healing occurs or does not occur the character of the beneficiary of the healing or the character of the benefactor have to conform, be in step with the fruit of the Spirit. This is where the research had to exercise a degree of reflexivity in trying to understand the happenings as the Zionist understood at grassroots level. Some real illumination of the Holy Spirit was thoroughly needed. The fact that the subject of research involved the same Holy Spirit made it more intricate.

Furthermore, Young (2002) suggested an approach which combines understating the Spirit, the Word and the Community. He called it a hermeneutical tria-lectic. It is a method which identifies the wind of the Spirit, the Word of God and the world. The last one, the world, is what the

Grounded Theory commenced with. This involved trying to find out what happens on the ground. It has not been an easy path to keep between the three, especially to avoid the pull of the world and thus accentuate traditions (such as what is called ancestral spirits) at the expense of the written Word and the Holy Spirit. The pull towards accentuating on traditions had been a common practice not only in the Catholic churches but in some AICs of the third and fourth generations.²⁶¹

The understanding of the tria-lectic is likened to understanding the Trinity. A correct understanding of one member of the Trinity leads to an understating of the other. This is possible because of the divine peri-chorectic relationship between the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit - each mutually indwelling the other. At this point then a relationship with or in the Holy Spirit is a key to understanding the relationship between the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing in the independent churches. This is one front which, in the next chapter, the research indicates as needful of further exploration and study.

If then what is happening among the Zionists is a seeking for spiritual solutions in the spiritual realm then entering into that experience with the *amaZioni* – living, seeing and learning among them – has facilitated the understanding of what is happening. It was an understanding necessary from the time healing options were considered, that is, from the decision to seek the Zionist healers and the decision to choose among many such healers. It was an understanding needed when an engagement with the healers was made, how the diagnosis-to-prescription process operated and the including the post-healing experience.

In many mission-minded seminaries and mission organisations, part of preparation for a missionary career now involves what they call “mission immersion” (Brewster & Brewster, 1982). Basically it is internship at grassroots level. The missionary candidates are encouraged to enter the field to live and learn even before they preach or proclaim the Good News in contextually relevant communication. Another term used is “incarnational immersion based learning” (Trokan, 2005). Such models of learning and understanding render themselves adaptable even for research in spite of, among other things, time limitations. This is a way of engaging with the local culture and learning how to communicate spirituality at the local level of understanding. Another term is “enculturation” (Bate 1993). In practice then Kombo has suggested that new strategies for mission world have to involve redistributing missionaries among the African Independent Churches. The whole aim of all these strategies is to understand the people at the grassroots level. Some mission agencies are doing this very process. In a sense this is what ZEMA is attempting to do with the 18 million Zionists in Southern Africa.

²⁶¹ The IPC leader Modise accuses the ZCC Lekganyane for believing in spirits of the dead: the ZCC and IPC leaders are both polygynists.

7.11 Conclusions and reflections

That eighteen million people Zionist population in southern Africa presents a formidable force for mission. As a force for mission it represents a formidable frontier on the macro level of global religious blocks as a frontier to be penetrated. It is also an important frontier in terms of the “from everywhere to everywhere” paradigm shift – a missionary sending frontier. In short, the Zionists to be reached are reaching out also. The former state is obvious due to the challenges which have been discussed in this chapter. In the later state they form part of a twenty-first century “mission in reverse” (Oduro, Pretorius, Nussbaum & Born, 1984:12). A succinct comment from one westerner has been that “Now that God sends the Third World to us” (Swedish theologian Walter Hollenweger (1997:168). Moreover, by the end of the last century missionaries were moving from everywhere to go and serve everywhere (Escobar 2003). As far as the Zionists are concerned it would be fair to summarise their mission status as reached, reaching out and to be reached.

As has been discussed, at the core of the mission endeavour is the making of disciples (Matthew 28:19-20). The making is itself a process, or more precisely, a present-continuous kind of process. Part of that making process involves bringing healing to the nations. According to the valedictory passages in the Gospel according to Mark, the healing ministry was indeed part of the mission mandate.²⁶² This was so also in the earlier sending of the twelve. In that sending the Lord Jesus “called his twelve disciples to him and gave them authority to drive out impure spirits and to heal every disease and sickness” (Matthew 10:1).

As has been noted above, disciple-making involved more than just going, teaching and baptising people. As a follower of the Lord Jesus Christ, the disciple had to reflect a life that shows a growing relationship to the master. A key characteristic of a disciple is the disciple’s character. This is very clear from the final discourse of the Lord Jesus Christ (John 13:16). It is also evident in Matthew 10:24-25 thus: “The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord.” Character is related to no less than being a witness (Acts 1:8). This is what the Zionists seek to be by their beliefs and practices, their uniforms and healing.

Notwithstanding their goal to be witnesses for the Lord, it is in this very critical issue of character that in many ways some of the Zionists have reaped bad press. Besides the challenges mentioned in this chapter, there have been other areas of challenge in terms of character and practice. There are other areas as well, namely polygyny, ritual animal sacrifice and the deification of leaders,

²⁶² This is not to ignore the textual problems that have been raised concerning the whole sixteenth chapter of Mark.

communication with evil spirits, their apolitical stance, their affluent clergy and affinity to traditional religious practices.

In writing about the spiritual churches in Ghana Opoku Onyinah (2002) commented:

Since the missionaries were unable to do deal with the situation satisfactorily, there emerged a prophetic ministry in Ghana which announced a new dawn of Christianity whose fulfilment was seen in the African Indigenous Churches, called spiritual churches in Ghana. Healing and exorcism were central in their services. Although these churches attracted a lot of adherence, their weaknesses, such as lack of theological framework and accountability from the ministers which made some involved in some questionable practices such as exploitation and immorality, caused a decline and paved a way for the popularity of the classical Pentecostal Churches.

This observation by Onyinah sheds some light on the ministry of healing. It also sheds light on the importance of Christian character. The former is the focus of this research. The latter merits a few comments here. The disciple has to follow the one who called him for life. A follower is more than a student: a follower is an adherent, an imitator. In all this there is a measure of faithfulness that should be evident. This is where often the Zionists fall short of the Biblical principles. The next chapter will seek to draw the two strands of spiritual gifts and character as these pertain to the Zionist mission.

Chapter 8: Mission: The march of Zion

We're marching to Zion,
Beautiful, beautiful Zion;
We're marching upward to Zion,
The beautiful city of God.

8.1 Introduction: The Zionist churches and the global church

If the last chapter ended with a rather dark view concerning the *amaZioni*, it is important to note that such a view is nonetheless very different from that which was portrayed by earlier researchers such as Sundkler and some MIC leaders of the last century. Contemporary views tend to be very different as reflected in the recent publications, for example *Zion City RSA* (Roy, 2000), *Zion: profile and self-perception* (Pretorius, 2000) and *Drumbeats: Sounds of Zion on the Cape flats* (Pretorius, 2004); as well as *African pilgrimage* (Müller, 2011). This does not ignore the fact that there has also been some negative press about some other Zionist churches.²⁶³

The idea of a pilgrimage is akin to that of a march. At least in one Zionist church marches are a frequent happening. Zionists drums no less that trombones and many other kinds of instruments accompany Zionist singing. One of the songs cherished by Zionist is “we are marching to Zion” (Watts, 1715). The eschatological nuances of the singing are obvious.

It has been noted in the first chapter that many of the contemporary Zionist churches are third- or fourth-generation churches with roots traceable to the Pentecostal revival and missionary movement which also occurred elsewhere on the globe at the close of the Great Century. Names such as Alexander Dowie, John G Lake, William Seymour, Daniel Bryant Hezmelhalch and Pieter le Roux are still mentioned among others such as Edward Motaung, David du Plessis (1965), Elias Mahlangu and Daniel Nkonyane along with significant place names including Azusa Street, Wakkerstroom and Zion City (Roy, 2000:113). The research has established that it is possible to think in terms of a spectrum of Zionist churches ranging from those close to the MICs (such as the Christian Catholic Church in Zion) and those close to the African traditional religions (such as the Zion Christian Church). Their common characteristic is their perception of themselves as “the people of Zion”, or as *amaZioni* (Sullivan, 2013) and also as essentially as churches of the Spirit, *inkonzo zikaMoya* (Anderson, 1991). But their distinctive feature is in that they are also churches where one can seek healing. Being churches which practice healing then, it is not surprising why

²⁶³ Some critical material has been in local newspapers, through the Dean Ministries and the Therismos Kairos Mission.

many sick people have sought assistance and healing through these churches. Being churches of the Spirit, it is not surprising that people seek spiritual solutions to their health problems. Their profession of being “Christian” has added another dimension of credibility to their claim to heal.

This chapter will attend to the nature of the Zionist mission praxis which has already been identified in the fifth chapter. At this point the research has moved from action as it happens on the field to reflection and abstraction to theory. The theory stage allows for further examination in view of the global developments in mission. Included is an examination of the arrears where there appears to be need for further research.

8.2 Mission praxis: “The march of Zion”

It is possible to summarise what has been learnt from the narratives concerning healing in the Zionists churches as “the march of Zion”. The “march of Zion” includes not only what is happening during healing from a local grassroots emic perspective, but also how that projects onto mission beyond the local horizon to the global stage. The *amaZioni* people are involved in a spiritual quest – a quest for wholeness of life – a quest of which the first steps are initiated by the need for healing. In the ensuing health-seeking, problem-solving endeavour, the Holy Spirit and spirits are involved. In the encounter with the spiritual realm are spiritual struggles and battles with evil forces, some of which masquerade as departed relatives. No doubt some causalities occur; some wounded are not healed. But the ‘march’ continues.

This is part of the story of the *amaZioni*. The other part is that the Creator is also seeking and searching. The kairoitic incarnation was divinely purposed “to seek to save that which was lost (Mark 10:45). Did not God the Creator initiate this search, this quest: “Adam where are you?” (Genesis 3:9). At the close of the age, from both MICs and AICs, God finds them – “they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb” (Revelation 7:14). Thus, beyond the earthly stage, the march to Zion encapsulates the eschatological view that reaches beyond the temporal earthly Zion centres (the Morias) to *umuzi kaBawo*, the City of God. This is the ‘story’ of the march of Zion.

It is worth recalling the fourteen mission characteristics of the Zionist way (7.5). Of the fourteen, the following tend to emerge as being the most important, namely – community, communication, power and the pursuit of spiritual wholeness. It is the last one through which the Zionists set themselves to extend their mission. This is facilitated by the fact that people are seeking: they are seeking for something spiritual. So the onlookers join the march, which they regard as truly African – *inkonzo zomvelo*, indigenous assemblies.

8.2.1 The march under ‘orders’

The Zionist way, it need be reiterated, is a way under orders from the Spirit. They pride themselves as *inkonzo zoMoya* not because they don’t drink, don’t smoke and don’t eat pork, but because they do desire to be controlled and led by the Spirit of God. They regard themselves as led more by the Spirit than by the Scriptures. When they dance and run around in circles the idea is to seek such control from above. They respond to the challenges of life as having some spiritual cause. Therefore when sickness attacks it has something to do with the spiritual realm

But the spiritual realm is also fraught with other spirits. Therefore the march includes the fighting – confrontation with life negating unseen forces. In this spirit war they Zionists use all the tolls and artefact which they consider effective against perceived enemies. But is also in this area that the challenges of identifying which spirit is which where casualties. Zionists are not unique in falling prey to deceiving spirits which pronounce health giving programmes and yet lead to bondage.

8.2.2 Zionist march with care

Care – especially care for each other – is writ large in the Zionist mind. Whether they seek for each other in terms of clan or tribal connections the Zionist also tend to look after one another. The churches are seen as places where one can receive counselling and encouragement. When all this occurs to someone who is already sick and weak some form of bonding develops. Whether the person is eventually healed or not the care shown to members. This is what makes sense of the concept of the quest for spiritual wholeness.

The same main quest projects itself first onto the missional and missionary imperative by reaching out to other areas, relationships and regions even into the diaspora. In the latter stages healing is seen as the main thrust of mission for a people. The same pattern of operation and expansion of the church’s mission into other lands has been observed.

The emphasis has been on reliance on the Holy Spirit. The part concerning the Holy Spirit has been easy to understand given the informing MIC foundation, theology and experience. That theology

and practice has been around for over a hundred years. What has been even more complicated to deal with, given the diversity of beliefs and backgrounds, is the part which concerns the other spirits. This part also involved ways of identifying and characterizing the spirits.

8.2.3 The continuing march

At the grassroots level the research findings indicate that deep within the *amaZioni* psyche and soul is a “hunger,” a quest for spiritual realities. In conditions of vulnerability and risk such as the Zionist live in when the sick seek for health remedies, their quests translate into seeking spiritual answers. They live in the consciousness of what to them are spiritual realities (Anderson, 1991) When the Zionists speak of *Umoya* they seek for spiritual therapy which will go beyond a mere cure of the sickness to include matters of restoration, including of relationships - in short, total well-being (*shalom*). The quest is for a comprehensive holistic healing.

It is not surprising that the quest for spiritual therapy extends to the wider horizon. For one thing healing is itself a universal need. The wider horizon is the global horizon level. Some understanding of this is enlightened by Anderson (2014) in his recent book, *An introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity*. After tracing the movement of the Holy Spirit even in the Azusa Street revivals and his own personal Pentecostal experience, Anderson (2014:189) quotes Gary Babcock:

The role of the Spirit in African Christianity is closely related to the theme of wholeness in terms of the perception and realisation of the vitalist principle that ultimately binds the whole of society and the world together in the normal expectation of healing and vision in the celebration of life. This pneumatology is dynamic and contextualised manifestation of biblical revelation.

Although some of these observations need some critical consideration, it is important to note that the issues of gifts, especially healing, is recognised not only as a phenomenon of local concern but as a global concern.²⁶⁴ In that healing ministry is recognised the dynamism which occurs with the manifestation of accompanying gifts - the exorcism, the dreams and power.

It is out of such spiritual experiences that the theology evolves. As observed by Daneel (2000) so in Anderson (2000) this is a theology which comes out of doing. It is enacted theology rather than a theology developed through philosophizing and reasoning. No doubt it weighs heavily on the experience on the ground. Since it involves relationships it is appropriate to consider the implications of the enacted theology and experience on personal relationships, church relationships

²⁶⁴ In southern Africa there have been notable Pentecostal ministries such as the one of *Back To God* campaign (Nicholas Bhengu), Christ For All Nations (Reinhard Bonnke).

and also with the Scriptures. This is where it becomes necessary to examine its relationship with Biblical revelation, in other words, with what has already been revealed in the Scriptures in hand. Indeed it is at this point that the effort of this research turns to consider areas needful of further research.

8.3 The areas for further research

Throughout this research there were several areas of potential interest and research which were indicated but not investigated. Undoubtedly the area of study which embraces the Holy Spirits and other spirits itself has an ever-broadening horizon. This is an area into which many missiologists have ventured productively (Kärkkäinen, 1998; Kombo, 2001; Onyinah, 2002; Omenyo, 2012 and others). It is so broad an area that the current research had to constantly focus and refocus on the one AIC phenomenon - healing - in its multifaceted forms in the one AIC field represented by the *amaZioni*. Moreover, the exigencies of time and space determined the delimitation of the research to the narratives of the Zionists thus indicating and not going into depth in some other areas of interest. Those areas of interest would indeed be appropriate areas for further exploration and study. Some of those areas are obvious, for instance the relations between the spirits and community, the spirits and the ancestors and the types of healings in which the Zionist specialise in. Other areas are less conspicuous yet also important. These include the relationship between Zionist (and indeed AIC) healing and biomedical healing, the concern about the unhealed and the whole issue of the gifts of the Holy Spirit in relationship to healing,

Part of the problem encouraged in delving into this research is that on the field the environment and developments of the independent churches are very dynamic. For one thing, the macro-socio-political environment of the early 1920s has changed and is still changing. In terms of residence, many second-generation descendants of the Zionists have moved since 1994. The urban population rate has risen from 52% in 1990 to 62% in 2012. It is not unreasonable to assume that the majority of these changes have augmented the number of the members of the independent churches..

However, in terms of the physical location and racial composition of Zionists, not much has changed. What has changed significantly is the density of the population. That population also includes a considerable proportion of foreigners, i.e. non-South Africans. However, the *amaZioni* population continues to reflect a high percentage of indigenous vernacular-speaking members (Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Venda and others). There are very few coloureds and a very conspicuous minority of people of European or Asian ethnicity.

8.3.1 Familiar spirits and community

After arriving at some level of data saturation and finding not much in terms of new emerging categories, the first area which attracted further attention was the examination of what is happening in connection with the spirits and the community. One participant, Enoch, had indicated an area which is interesting - that, for example, family spirits would not cross over and affect a non-family member. But if familiar spirits operate at the level of the individual family (*usapho, ifani*) how does outreach and mission flow along the same family lines. The promise to Abraham in Genesis 12 were also to flow through every family. Besides what happens at the level of *isiduko* (clan) and *isizwe* (nation)? Are there the same spirits? Then there is the global level: what happens at that level?

This is one area in which the picture gets a bit more complicated. As far as the identity and classification of the spirits are concerned, much more research work is needed. Pentecostal scholars such as Anderson and Kärkkäinen have shed some light on a local and global scale concerning the spirits. More is needful from such indigenous authors such as Omenyo and Kombo. Although both academic and practical missionary endeavours on the grassroots level have developed much from the days of Sundkler, Oosthuizen, Mazibuko and Daneel this frontier needs more attention.

There is some literature coming from elsewhere concerning the issue of spirits. But much of it is more in the area of spiritual combat against evil spirits. Such are the works of Jim Harris and Peter Wagner (1999). The authors sought to examine the cases of spirits associated with certain geographical areas. Wagner (2012) has written ‘Territorial spirits: practical strategies for how to crush the enemy through spiritual warfare.’ In both cases the idea of discerning the identity of the spirits in a key factor in line with the Zionist form of exorcism. But further research into this area would be useful to inform ministry at the global and local level.

In considering the matter of spirits, of course one cannot ignore the current world interest in spiritual issues. This is indicated in, for instance, the surge in the interest in eastern spirituality (transcendental meditation, yoga, visualisation, paganism and New Age religions). This post-modern phenomenon both in the west and in the majority world is indicative of a search for spiritual realities in the face of great spiritual hunger. While such a search may stem from a sincere desire to find some permanent solutions in the spiritual realm, the goals are not always attained. This may also be one explanation for those who go still unhealed.

8.3.2 Spirits and ancestors

One other area in which research can seek to be more specific is that which concerns the relationship or identity of spirits with ancestors. This is another area of great need for enlightenment. Much reflexivity of the part of the indigenous scholars is necessary in examining the frontiers or confluence of these areas. It means going further than the works of John Mbiti, Kwame Bediako and Pobee. There is a need to discern the identities of spirits. Research is needful along the approaches suggested by Anderson (1993). These include confrontation. Perhaps this is where the academia and field missionary can work together. Implicit in this is the understanding that in pursuing research in the area of spirits and ancestors it may be very challenging to maintain an attitude of neutrality. To do that a deep conviction and commitment to the Holy Spirit is definitely indispensable.²⁶⁵ Certainly the interplay of the gifts of the Holy Spirit will provide spiritual facilities and faculties needed for such a work. Such other gifts include wisdom, knowledge and discernment of spirits (I Corinthians 12:3-11). The real problem is that this is an area where deceiving (satanic) spirits may manifest themselves as “angels of light” (II Corinthians 11:14).

It is also encouraging to note that even in some of the MICs there is a recognition that the area of ancestors and healing needs some attention. In the Lutheran Church since 2004 there have been meetings and discussions over this subject. A paper was presented at the church’s 2004 Johannesburg seminar which sought to address that very theme: ‘Ancestors and Healing in African Spirituality: Challenges to the Churches in Africa.’ As in other churches, this set a pace of probing into this very complicated matter. Testimonies from lay persons of South African indigenous origin spoke from a diversity of (emic) views. But in general they did not deny the existence of evil spirits. The problem is over the spirits which claim to be ancestors. Those claims have not been tested nor the validity of the claim challenged. In two encounters reported in this research it was later found out that they were not really ancestors speaking. They were deceiving spirits.

In this area as well a study of the global manifestation of testing of the spirits would be suggested as indicated in the Scriptures (Mark 16:17; I John 4:1-4). Why is it, or why does it seem to be, that where the Christian faith has been for a long period of time and therefore has taken deep roots (as in the Christian global north), matters about spirits proceed from the ancestors tend to be of less prominence? Examples of studies coming out of the global south (Asian, especially Chinese and Korean scholarship, as well as South American scholarship) may provide some valuable leads as has been indicated in Chapter 7. In terms of Grounded Theory, then, hopefully it will be possible to

²⁶⁵ A deep evangelical conservative commitment to the Scriptures hardly needs to be overemphasised.

develop more focused global theories and theologies concerning the relationships of spirits and ancestors.

8.3.3 Healing: the kaleidoscope of healing methods

The nature of healing itself presents its own challenges. Healing occurs in kaleidoscopic forms not only among the Zionists and the AICs. There are other agencies, among them traditional healing forms. There is also the search into holistic healing. It is possible to examine how holistic healing is related to the Jewish concept of *shalom*, healing and cure, healing and national reconciliation.

Another area would be to find how healing is related to national repentance. Theologically, also the idea of healing and salvation is of great interest. The other area of interest is the relationship of healing to sin. Reflecting on the matter of sin brings one to consider the kind of understanding one has of God – who God is and what God has done. From this research it is obvious that in seeking spiritual solutions rather than mere bio-physical solutions the *amaZioni* are seeking for a much greater power, even God the Creator. This matter of two quests – the Creator seeking and the creature seeking – will be considered further below (8:5).

8.3.4 Healing and spirits

The research findings do admit the involvement of the Holy Spirit in healing. As noted in Chapter 5, there are some differences as to how the Holy Spirit and the spirits in general are involved in healing. But the one area of general agreement at the grassroots level is about the involvement of spirits which are said to be the cause of the sickness or health problems. In this case the identification of such spirits as evil spirits leads to a simple prescription: exorcism. Jim Harries (2011) wrote about his experiences in deliverance-type ministries in Zambia. In his paper, ‘Deliverance Ministry in an African Cultural Perspective’, Harries (2011) discusses the problem of understanding how spirits are (perceived to be) involved in many cases of sicknesses and illnesses. He attempts to present an understanding of how the local Zambian people seek solutions through prayer and deliverance.

The understanding of the fact that evil spirits exist is shown by the names the *amaZioni* give to such unseen powers and beings. Evil spirits are known by their ability to torment and trouble. What seems still worth exploring is how the spirits get such powers, and from whom. How do such spirits enter the living person? It is obvious that once the source of such power or influence has been determined then strategies of counterinsurgency (that is deliverance) would be more precise and focused. Also, further research can unveil insights into how believers can altogether avoid the influence of such spirits. This is an area worth doing further grassroots empirical research on.

8.3.5 Spirits, faith healing and biomedical healing

For some decades now the issue of the relationship between spiritual or faith healing and biomedical healing has been of great concern. As embarked on by other agencies, including the church agencies, the World Council of Churches has so prioritised this concern as to make it an agenda item and a conference matter. The effort has been to find out where the two can establish some cooperation in the ministry of healing. The World Council of Churches has encouraged such further exploration since the mid-last century. Medical missionary Gerard Jansen (2000) and many others have tried to explore areas of relationships between faith healing, biomedical healing and traditional healing systems. In some cases the patient searches from one area to another and back again without receiving the desired healing. So complicated is this that in Africa Jansen (2000) called this area the “labyrinth of medical pluralism.” In some countries the state has incorporated traditional healers in their retinue of health consultants. In one Pentecostal church there has been seminars with traditional healers over health and healing (Bulawayo 24,2012).

In some countries questions have been raised concerning tele-evangelism of certain Pentecostal persuasions which promise healing to all who attend their campaigns or listen to their tele-messages. The basic message is always that healing is available for all. But in some cases which have been followed up, the sick are found to be not healed. In the newsletter, *The Healing Line* even renowned an author on healing, Francis MacNutt (1991), admitted that the fact that some are healed and others are not is a “mystery.” MacNutt tried to give some reasons for non-healing – lack of faith, lack of earnestness, need for deeper healing. But the problem of why some are healed and others are not healed is still a “mystery.”

That healing is a mystery is one explanation for non-healing. The other explanation of what happens is that the healing will have not occurred but that the preachers are deceiving people. Missionary Jim Harries (2014) in Kenya has observed the phenomenon of “churches offering fake miracles in the name of Jesus.” In the same country ran a newspaper report “ Kenya Bans New Churches Amid 'Miracle-Faking Spree” (Moon, 2014).

The other type of healing which is a concern is that professed by traditional healers. In other countries the state authorities have struggled with the possibility of licensing both traditional healers and traditional *sangomas* (diviners). In some instances these healers also use herbs. Some Zionists, as noted above, also use not only various kinds of artefacts but also such objects as the traditional healers use - ash-water mix (*isiwasho*), ashes, herbs, sea-shells and sea water.

The search for healing continues to be fuelled by the threat of new life-threatening world pandemics. Certainly more insights are needed into the areas of convergence and divergence in the

relationship between faith healing and bio-medical healing. The biomedical sciences have long been seeking ways of appropriating some of the lessons from herbal practitioners.

In the Gospel accounts and in the epistles Christ showed His great compassion to the people, especially the poor, lowly and sick and certainly healed them. Healing and the accompanying miracles were not what was the primary purpose of His ministry. His ministry in the world is valued at a level more in terms of the “unspeakable gift” of full atonement. That “unspeakable gift” was the Lord Jesus Himself laying down His life for the whole world. The prophet Isaiah put it in these words

He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon Him; and with his stripes we are healed (Isaiah 53:5,6).

God’s love for the world is demonstrated in the “wounded Healer” Israel’s “divine Healer” (Brown, 1995). The focus of the salvation story, the *Heilsgeschichte*, is on the Giver, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Healer.

8.4 Healing as proceeding from the healer

When there is some light for all or some of the abovementioned concerns – spirits, artefacts, healing methods, prophets, *abathandazi*, the living and the dead - then this should bring some clarity concerning the relationship between the source of the healing, the healing, the supplicant. The source of the healing is the healer. Associating healing with a particular healer is not unique to tele-evangelists or to the Christian faith *per se*. Many shamans, *nyangas*, preachers, and medicine and medical specialists abound the world over whose health restoring and health giving activities are known by their names. Even in bio-medical healing some medical perceptions and diseases have for some reason or other been associated with names of people who prepared them.. Thus from Hippocrates to Benny Hinn the association of a personal healer and the healing process has been a common trend. The laying on of hands on the sick or use the of water, cloths, photos and other artefacts of healing are easily associated with certain healers.

Healing is sought as a spiritual gift. The exhortation is to look to the giver of the gift rather than to the focus of the gift. In some situations the *abathandazi* are looked upon as the main givers or dispensers of the gift of healing. In such situations the consequence may be the exultation of the names of the *abathandazi* or the prophet or the preacher. It is in this way that some Zionist churches were planted. Some Zionists churches are indeed known by the name of the founder.

In his study of Judeo-Christian faith healing through the ages, Michael Brown (1995) has summarised the search for healing under the title of *Israel's divine Healer*. Brown's study traces the theme of God as the healer throughout both the Old and New Testaments. As in the current research, familiar subjects and concepts come up in the book. They include terms such as community, faith, sickness, sin, disease, demons and Satanic powers. In the light of the understanding that healing is a spiritual gift (I Corinthians 12:9) and a sign (John 20:30), the gift benefits the sick but the sign points to the Healer. In the Scripture the Healer is the Lord Jesus Christ. Right from the beginning of His ministry was the declaration:

The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to set the oppressed free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour (Luke 4:19).

Taken as His brief, this very prophetic declaration summarises the prophetic ministry, namely as proclamation, sight recovery, freedom of oppressed. The declaration was in part a fulfilment of the Isaiah prophecy (Isaiah 61). Commenting on this, Howard Marshall stated that it was not only a "personal fulfilment" and a "present fulfilment" it was also "a gracious fulfilment, the era of God's salvation had now arrived" (Marshall, 1994:988). It is possible to view the grassroots level healings and miracles administered in that enclave in west Asia as indicative of a greater healing ministry. The greater ministry was for all the nations – the healing of the nations.

It was also a fulfilment of the covenant of God with the people of God. That covenant involved the ministry of the Holy Spirit. The prophet Ezekiel had seen this vision: "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh"(Ezekiel 36:26). It also involved the forgiveness of sins as in the new covenant Word delivered by the prophet Jeremiah:

The days are coming, declares the LORD, when I will make a new covenant with the people of Israel and with the people of Judah.... This is the covenant I will make with the people of Israel after that time, declares the LORD. I will put my law in their minds and write it on their hearts. I will be their God, and they will be my people... For I will forgive their wickedness and will remember their sins no more (Jeremiah 31:31-34).

This work of the Lord God resolved once and for all the sin-caused chasm which had occurred in the Garden of Eden. God brought reconciliation and redress, forgiveness of sin and healing of relationship through the work of Christ. Being a Holy Spirit covenant it was for the benefit of all the world.

In his conclusion Brown reflected on God's compassion:

In His ultimate act of sacrificial love He gave His Son for us, offering Him up for our rebellion. Through His death, Jesus struck at the root cause of all human suffering, viz., our sins, nailing them to the cross and thereby opening the door for a profusion of healing grace to come to the whole person – spirit, soul and body (Brown, 1995:245).

What has been described above is special revelation through the Lord Jesus Christ. The one thing which seems always to be a barrier is the matter of sin or sins. In writing about globalism, evangelisation and global missiology Steven Moon and David Tai-Wong (2000) had this comment:

From Adam's and Eve's first disobedience has sprung a history of multigenerational disobedience to the Creator.

That "multigenerational disobedience" is summarised simply as sin. It is not only that so much has been done (propitiation, expiation, remission, forgiveness for sin - in short full atonement) it is also that the Giver has come and that those who believe and follow Him may have life and have it "more abundantly" with the filling, guidance and companionship and communion of the Holy Spirit (John 14:15,16; 15:26; 16:13). For the Zionists living in a situation of great vulnerability and risk this is good news. This is what is worth seeking and searching for.

The Holy Spirit brings also in the willingness and power to accept and confess sin and confess Jesus Christ as Lord (John 16:8-11; I John 1:9). Thus the process of conviction, confession and conversion focuses what the Lord Jesus Christ accomplished in His death on the cross and resurrection from death.

One heart-touching and practical example of this is the first recorded case of the Gospel advent into Africa. It is captured in the evangelistic dialogue between the dignitary from Candace and the evangelist Philip.

Surely he hath borne our grief's, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth (Isiah 53:4-7 KJV).

Filled and led by the Holy Spirit Philip's expository proclamation focused on the suffering servant of that Isaiah vision (Acts 8:25 -40). The leader from Africa was converted and baptised.

Concerning the same Isaiah passage the apostle Peter put it like this:

He himself bore our sins in his body on the cross, so that we might die to sins and live for righteousness; by his wounds you have been healed. For “you were like sheep going astray,” but now you have returned to the Shepherd and Overseer of your souls.

The particular reference to the same prophetic context (Isaiah 53:5,6) is not incidental; it is quintessential to the whole process of conviction and conversion with healing as one of the consequences.²⁶⁶ Given all this provision which God has made for those who seek the new abundant life, what remains then is the need, or the search, for that to be realised in day-to-day life. It is a search, a quest of and from the human heart.

8.5 The search, the quest for the Healer

The Biblical record is replete with injunctions to seek the Lord God. The list of citations of the terms “seek,” “seeking” and “search” amounts to over 300 instances.²⁶⁷ In the Psalms there is a kind of higher rate of repetition, a kind of fortissimo effect. In the Gospel according to Matthew, the sermon on the mount overflows to the Chapter 6 conclusion: “But seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be added to you” (ESV 2001).

This search is from the side of created beings or of human side of the search. The search and seeking is clearly demonstrated in the Psalms. The Psalms represent some of Israel’s finest spiritual hymnody and doxologies.²⁶⁸ It is a story of a people on a journey reflecting on the search for the Creator who has called them out to worship (Exodus 3:12). A study of the texts on searching indicates that it is in the Psalms that there is the greatest concentration of such search texts. Psalm 1 begins with walking: the final Psalms are mainly psalms of ascent – ascent to the City of God. In short, when Israel is worshipping - ‘in spirit and in truth’ - there is the search and seeking for the One who has been called “Israel’s divine Healer (Brown, 1995).

The idea is obvious, so also the context. The essence of the seeking and searching is a whole life pursuit, quest, a search, a hunger for the things spiritual. It is such a dramatic contrast to the spectacle of the nearly forty references to meaninglessness, vanity and futility “under the sun” encountered in the book of Ecclesiastes. It is not too difficult to read the Zionist context as akin to that of Ecclesiastes. The description of the Zionist environment in Chapter 3 is akin to the situation of being “under the sun.” More than 20 times in Ecclesiastes, the reference is to situations on earth. In a commentary on this passage, Frank Luke (2014) noted that the phrase signifies "on earth" as in

²⁶⁶ The author is not oblivious of the possible question of “Is healing part of the atonement.” At his stage the focus here is not on the gift (the healing) but the Giver – one who loved so much that He laid down His life as a ransom from sin (John 10:17,18; Mark 10:45) .

²⁶⁷ The references - God seeking the lost - are listed in Appendix 16.

²⁶⁸ From the word *hymn* (Greek *hymnos*), which means "a song of praise", one gets the idea that all that Israel doing was declaring who the Creator is – the great YHWH - and what the Creator has done.

The Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament and continues to cite a message by Ravi Zacharius (2012):

What is worthwhile under the sun? The message puts it simply that under the sun is a Hebrew idiom meaning, figuratively, "life without God." The contrast is clear: it is between the physical world and life with God: more like, that which is earthly, human, mutable, brief and weak, in contrast to the divine, spiritual, immutable, eternal and invincible.

The contrast between the world, or world system, and the life divine and spiritual is not an indication of the condemnation of the world. The sermon on the mount is delivered by "a man of sorrows, acquainted with grief" (Isaiah 53:3) who had "nowhere to lay His head" (Luke 9:58). The Matthean injunction is to seek God's kingdom and righteousness, to follow after righteousness (Matthew 6:33). It is call to be a disciple and make disciples of the nations.

The *amaZioni* are seeking and searching. Their search is not confined to searching under the sun. It means search through everything under the sun – even under the open rain showers as in Moriah. They are searching for spiritual resolutions to their life problems. This is the same understanding that came to the researcher while standing under the rain showers in the cold on that open Moriah mountain side with thousands of *amaZioni* in the Limpopo province. The Christian context which the name of the church depicted probably had much to do with attracting the multitudes in their march to Moria, that earthly Zion. The multitudes who heard the sermon on the mount, it is not too unreasonable to assume, were also searching.

8.6 Conclusions and relations on the Holy Spirit, other spirits and healing

What has emerged out of the research converges and dovetails with the Biblical view concerning searching for things of the spirit. These findings from the grassroots may be comparable to those of David Richardson, a long-time missionary to the Sawi people of New Guinea - a poor people, a searching people. In a preface to the book *Eternity in their hearts*, the publisher raises the question: "Has the God who prepared the Gospel for all peoples also prepared all peoples for the Gospel?" Richardson's book takes its title from Ecclesiastes 3:11. As observed above, Ecclesiastes re-iterates many times over that without God life "under the sun" (on this side of Heaven) is meaningless, empty, useless and vain. Without pursuing God what the people pursue is futile: it is nothing. Yet right in the midst of that repeated proclamation there is the suggestion that God "has set eternity in their heart" (ASV).²⁶⁹ The context of the Scripture speaks of God's beautiful creation as a testimony of God's existence and being, a testimony to living people.

²⁶⁹ Gill's (2012) *Exposition of the Bible* reads: "For God has put something "hidden", or "sealed up," in the midst of them, in their hearts.

The same concept is expressed on the missionary message of Paul in Athens:

From one man He made all the nations, that they should inhabit the whole earth; and He marked out their appointed times in history and the boundaries of their lands. God did this so that *they would seek him* and perhaps *reach out for Him* and *find Him*. (Acts 17:26-27 NIV, my emphasis).

Evidently, then, in created beings there is that Creator-constituted conscience and desire to seek, to search and to find the Creator thereof. Richardson's conviction is that as God has prepared the Gospel for all peoples, so He has prepared all peoples for the Gospel.

The same idea was also clear in the autobiography *Bruchko* by Bruce Olson (1973). Olson worked among the Motilone Indians in South America. The Motilones called themselves the *Bari*, a word which, like the word *Bantu*, simply means "people". The *Bari* had little contact with the outside world. But they believed in the existence of one God. They also believed in the existence of evil spirits. The *Bari* had the idea that God had rejected them hence, so they reasoned, they were subject to also sorts of illnesses, diseases, **dysentery, hepatitis, and a chronic problems with parasites** and other epidemics. In such context and conditions they felt helpless, vulnerable, at risk all the time.

The author suggests that the Holy Spirit was at work preparing the Indians for the presentation of the message. Key to the conversion of the *Bari* was Olson's proclamation about the incarnation and Jesus' substitutionary death on the cross. Their response to the teaching was gradual but phenomenal acceptance of the Good News of Christ. The idea of seeking God, who is Spirit, is a common theme in these and such-like findings from the mission field. In the current research what was happening when the *amaZioni* were seeking healing constitutes part of that search, that quest for the spiritual solutions to problems of life.

Following the same line of thought is a text which is a favourite one among the spirit (Zionist) churches. It is in John's Gospel Chapter 4. The context is of a scene in Samaria in fact, and the dialogue is between the Samaritan woman and the Lord Jesus. He tells her:

...a time is coming and has now come when the true worshipers will worship the Father in the Spirit and in truth, for they are the kind of worshipers the Father seeks. God is spirit, and his worshipers must worship in the Spirit and in truth (John 4:23, NIV).

The teaching and principle here are very clear: the Father is seeking for worshippers, worshippers who worship in spirit and in truth. Is there any other Biblical example of this other search, the search by God? Indeed, one thing that has been noted is that God has 'placed eternity' in the hearts of living people to seek, to reach and to find Him. The call from of the One who walked in the

Garden was “Adam, where are you?” (Genesis 3:9). It is re-iterated in terms such as “the eyes of the Lord searches the whole earth” (II Chronicles 16:9); God “looks for” (Psalm 14:2; 33:13; 53:2); God “sought for” (Ezekiel 22:30). The revelation is that the sovereign Lord seeks those who worship Him in spirit and in truth (John 4:24). Thus finally the incarnation sums it up in this that “the Son of Man has come to *seek* and *save* that which was lost” (Luke 19:10, AV, emphasis added). All this is from what can be called the search from the God-side.²⁷⁰

A similar study of the texts which reveal God’s search and seeking for the lost shows a surprisingly much shorter list²⁷¹ and the question can be asked why? Could the Holy Spirit-inspired Scriptures deliberately have gone into *pianissimo* when announcing the divine search for lost souls? The answer that suggest itself to this is as expressed in the words of that song of the sixties by Afro-American singer André Crouch (1974): “Jesus is the Answer for all the world today; above Him there’s no other.” That the incarnation and its predetermined purpose of full atonement manifests and exhibits the divine search in *fortissimo* writ large since the proto-evangelism of Genesis 3:1, the call to Abraham in Genesis 22 and the whole temple and in the sacrificial worship forms of the old covenant. In that is the demonstration in physical and visible form of God’s initiative and programme in the mission of searching for the lost, seeking to save that which was lost.

The centre of the *Heilsgeschichte* is summarised in the words of the disciple John: “The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us. We have seen his glory, the glory of the One and Only, who came from the Father, full of grace and truth” (John 1:14). The apostle and missionary Paul put it in this way: “God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them” (II Corinthians 5:19).

This is the Good News - revealed in all the four Gospel accounts. The rest of the New Testament can be looked at as the witness of that incarnation and atonement. That witness also expands over the world as mission (Acts 1:8). The search from the side of God and the search from the side of the living creation find confluence in the incarnation, the death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. In this way the human search is not an indulgence in vanity, nor futility nor meaninglessness. It finds the final and effective answer in the “Answer” writ large - the Lord Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour.

Thus what the *amaZioni* are doing in seeking for things spiritual at the grassroots level is part of the bigger search by all humanity for redress and redemption - for healing, the healing of the nations

²⁷⁰ In what may appear not so reverend language Francis Thompson (1893) depicted this divine search in his poem “The Hound of Heaven.”

²⁷¹ Appendix 16 is a list of texts of God seeking the lost.

(Sandford 2000). The phrase “the healing of the nation” as has been noted provided a title for a number of books; namely *The healing of the nations; the Biblical basis of mission of God* (Burnett (1996), *Healing the Nation: a call to global intercession* (Sandford, 2000) and *The healing of nations: the promise and limits of political forgiveness* (Amstutz, 2004). The last book focused on a number of concerns including the healing in relationships through forgiveness and restorative justice. Such concerns are relevant in a South African context.²⁷² As in the eschatological vision of the Zionists, healing is very important.

It is a search that goes beyond the physical and seeks for lasting answers in the spiritual realm. The *amaZioni*, it has been noted, do not claim that the church centres such as Moria are the final goal of their search. Indeed there are some disappointments with such temporary goals. Rather the Zion from which they look for answers for their day-to-day questions and problems is envisaged as the Zion from above, the real *umzi kaBawo*. It is a place of rest, of healing, of no more pain or sorrow. While listening and hearing the Zionist speak and sing eschatologically there is a passion for that City of God. It is a vision which is best presented as in the closing texts of the book Revelation:

God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain for the former things are passed away (Revelation 21:4).

This is the vision of that City:

In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve Him (Revelation 22:1-3).

8.7 Conclusion

This research began as a survey, an examination, of the advent and ministries of the nineteenth century missionaries in Africa. Out of those ministries arose the indigenous initiatives at further church planting: the African indigenous churches mushroomed and expanded. Among these latter churches, especially from those emphasising the Pentecostal experience which includes the manifestation of spiritual gifts, arose a variety of Zionist churches. Zionist churches because of their emphasis on the Holy Spirit and eschatological view of the Zion city of God, were known as *inkonzo zikaMoya* – assemblies of the (Holy) Spirit. In that the Holy Spirit is seen as the dispenser of spiritual gifts facilitated the focus of the research on to one of the gifts specific to the Zionist experience – the gift of healing. For the Zionist healing occurs in a particular context, a context reminiscent of what Bosch (1991:86) called “the Lukan missionary paradigm” – characterised by

²⁷² Amstutz (2004) deals with two other case studies also from the majority world context (Argentina and Chile).

the Spirit, the poor, the suffering, culture, mission, witness, repentance, prayer, forgiveness and salvation, acceptance of enemies and the *shalom* of God. For the research it meant listening to the narratives of the *amaZioni* in order to capture the heartfelt hermeneutic at the grassroots level.²⁷³ Inevitably the emphasis on the Holy Spirit, and especially the focus on what happens in healing, suggested the need for a pneumatological approach to mission.

Such a suggestion is not new. What the story of the Zionists incentivises revolves around and the main principle of a quest, a search. This pneumatological approach was suggested by many missiologists at the turn of the last century. For some years Amos Young has been exploring and encouraging such an approach. In the book *Discerning the Spirit (s): A Pentecostal-charismatic contribution to Christian theology of religions*, Young (2000) advocated what would be a focus on the presence and work of the Holy Spirit in the world. Seen as God working through the Third member of the Trinity this approach is relevant to the subject of the Holy Spirit and spirits in terms of global spiritualities. In line with this Kärkkäinen (2012:76) commented:

While it can be identified in more than one way it has everything to do with a Christ-centered charismatic spirituality characterised by a passionate desire to “meet” with Jesus Christ, who is perceived as the bearer of the “full gospel,” that is Jesus as Saviour, sanctifier, healer, baptiser with the Holy Spirit and soon coming King.

In all this, from Young, Kärkkäinen and other missiologists the centrality of the Saviour Jesus Christ is highlighted. From the beginning The Holy Spirit is seen as leading to the Saviour and Lord. This is consonant to the teaching and discourse in the three chapters of John’s Gospel, Chapters 14, 15 and 16. Perhaps this is indeed one factor which distinguishes the same universal Spirit from other spirits even in healing.

Kärkkäinen (2012:75-76) has made a simple observation that while the established churches (and thus the MICs included) emphasised the presence of the Holy Spirit, the Pentecostal and hence the Spirit churches, emphasised the empowerment. Such empowerment, along with the spiritual gifts and not just *glossolalia* alone, has as one hallmark the ministry of healing, holistic healing so that the people of God are not only protected but are they not tossed about by every evil spirit or false doctrine.

This pneumatological approach has implications on the whole church, the whole *oikoumen* in the world. For the World Council of Churches (WCC) since the last decade there have been strategic statements which emphasise life in the Holy Spirit. While there are real challenges - and discourse

²⁷³ This hermeneutic of the narratives approach was proposed by Michael Goshen (2005) in a review of the Bosch reflections of the poor.

of the Holy Spirit does involve many issues - the recent WCC New Affirmation on Mission and evangelism statement noted that “Life in the Holy Spirit is the essence of mission, the core of why we do what we do and how we live our lives” (WCC Statement, 2012: 1 point 3). The search is for creative, transformative expressions of the mission of the Triune God, (*missio Dei*) by God’s Spirit—the *ru’ach* of God. It is interesting to note that in the affirmations the context of a world in pain was not ignored. Hence the universal need for healing and wholeness.

The challenges comprise of “life-destroying forces.” These forces include the evil spirits and life negating oppressive structures. The challenges were more clearly expressed by another global mission organisation, the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelisation (2010). The 2010 Cape Town Congress acknowledged challenges which “cause us grief and anxiety – global poverty, war, ethnic conflict, disease, the ecological crisis and climate change.” This, Congress observed, is a world “broken by sin and evil” and “the forces of darkness,” and the plight of “ world’s poor and suffering.” Furthermore the Congress in the commitment statement “A Confession of Faith and a Call to Action,” also observed the “many abuses that masquerade under the name of the Holy Spirit, the many ways in which all kinds of phenomena are practiced and praised which are not the gifts of the Holy Spirit” (Birdsall & Brown, 2010).

Another insight concerning mission is from the World Evangelical Alliance. This organisation with its roots in the mid-nineteenth century revivalism in Europe has its focus on Gospel proclamation and discipleship making. While as social action is not neglected the primacy of presenting the Gospel as an answer to the greatest spiritual questions in life is emphasised. Of course the Gospel is quintessentially about a Person – Jesus Christ who is both Lord and Saviour. Imbedded in the meaning of Saviour is the concept of healing, *sozo*. In seeking for solutions to health problems the Zionists are in a very real sense seeking both for help and for the Helper.

But all this has to be seen within a context. The context of the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit is as akin to the post- Babylonian captivity (re) construction of the second Temple. There, among redeemed of the Lord who had just come from exile in Babylon, people who were not well-endowed with earthly possessions, a fragile state vulnerable and weak the temple builder, Zerubbabel, was exhorted: “This is the word of the LORD to Zerubbabel: ‘Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit,’ says the LORD Almighty” (Zechariah 4:6). This was working to build the Temple before the first coming of the Lord - the temple to which the Living Word, the Lord Jesus Christ was going to come. Perhaps this exhortation is also key to the building of the current Temple, the *ecclesia*, before the second coming of the Lord. This temple building process is done under the superintendence and direction of God’s *ruach*.

It is this primacy and essence of the Holy Spirit which are keys to understanding what happens in healing and restoration at the grassroots level and at the global level. Taking note of the observations made by Kärkkäinen (2012) it is now possible to assert that both the presence and empowerment of the Holy Spirit are essential in the healing process. It is the Holy Spirit who, backed by the written Word, and according to the word of the people at the grassroots level dispenses of the gifts of healing.²⁷⁴ The primacy and essence of the Holy Spirit participation are also important because after all the Holy Spirit is holy and shares in the Trinity.

There are indeed spirits which are life-negating and health-threatening. There are evil spirits which must be dealt with. Behind such spirits is the devil, *diabolos*, the one who is the adversary to everything that God desires and plans for the living. Hence the spiritual fight witnessed at the grassroots level are indeed part of a great global and cosmic war. In the war the devil "is filled with fury, because he knows that his time is short" (Revelation 12:13).

The research began with an examination and analysis of narratives the Zionists. It closes with a story of what is happening when a manifestation of healing happens among the Zionists: the whole happening is a manifestation of a spiritual quest- not only for the felt physical need but, and essentially, for the spiritual need for the whole person. At the local grassroots level fight and the global level there is also a cosmic war in which the sick and poor know their vulnerability. Hence the cry *Yehla Moya Oyingcwele*. The quest is understood from a essentially pneumatological approach which leads to the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is interesting to note that many of the largest independent churches have chosen to retain the term "Christian" in their identity as churches.

The research has acknowledged the complexity of the prevalence of non-healing. Another complexity is the existence and influence of evil and demonic spirits. It is within these complexities that mission praxis finds its expression. There are also serious issues around what has been identified by Zionists as false teachings and false doctrines. Nor is the issue of sin something that can be ignored. Indeed there are many Zionists who, while admitting that even the early missionaries did not come as sinless angels really appreciate their obedience to the call of mission.

Mission is executed not in terms of a static 'mission station' which does not move but in terms of pilgrimage, a march which for many is between three homes here on earth – the rural home, the urban home and the church home. As it was encountered in the emerging categories, it is while

²⁷⁴ It has been said that some spirits can cause affliction and have to be appeased for the affliction to leave. But such spirits are not sovereign. Even where they are supposed to have effected some healing the result is said to be temporary. Some people called such results false healing as in Jeremiah 6:14 and 8:14.

passing through all these that the church's activities of *diakonia*, *lirtourgia*, *marturia* and *koinonia* find their manifestation. But the march goes on, the sounds of the drumbeats continue and, in the words of Isaac Watts (1715), "we are marching upward to Zion" – to Zion *umzi kaThixo*.

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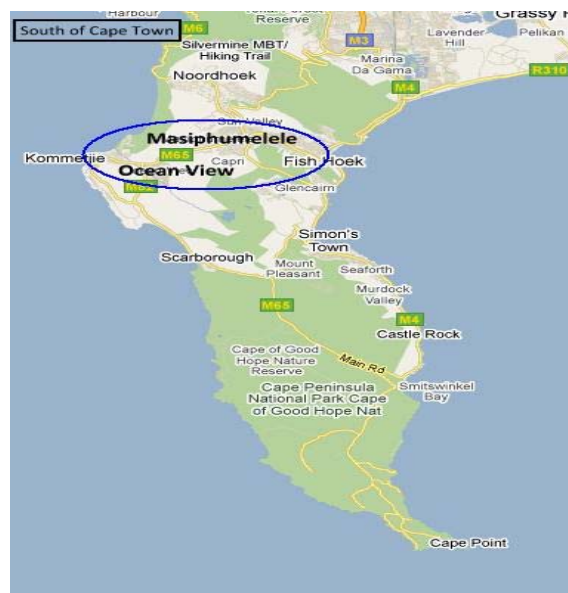
ADDENDA

1. Khayelitsha



Map of Khayelitsha (adapted from Hyo Sang Kwon, 2008)

2. Map location of Masiphumelele



Location of Masiphumelele in the Cape Peninsula (permission from Open Doors Scholarship Programme, 2014)



3. Research ethics documentation

It has been noted that serious attention was given to maintaining the highest level of consideration of research ethics. The research observed confidentiality, anonymity, safety and security of the participants. Due respect was shown in each interview and conversation. Where necessary assistance for the participants was provided. In the focus group situations voluntary commitment to attend meetings and to complete questionnaire sheets were discharged in a professional manner. But beyond that the researcher sought to observe relevant statutory or contractual rules useful both to the participants and the research.

Therefore careful attention was given with particular reference to the following (Mouton: 2001:238-246; Denscombe, 2007:149-151):

informed consent – secured from the participants after full and adequate explanation of the aims and objectives of the research;

privacy and deception; participants were assured of privacy of their identity and faithful representation of information collected from them;

confidentiality – assurance that all information would be treated and kept in confidence. Participant's identities were covered under pseudonymity;

sensitive issues – care was exercised in relation to information sensitive within the church circles; some measure of guarantee was made that the respondent's contributions would be kept privacy and anonymity (Denscombe, 2007:150);

legislation – conformity and observance of rules or laws regarding data protection, copyright (trademarks, intellectual property rights);

non-practice of plagiarism, falsification or fabrication – every source of material written or verbalized and acknowledged without change;

objectivity and integrity of the research – avoiding researchers own biased subjective views; respect for the respondent's opinions.

4. Grounded Theory use in Southern African research

The studies done in southern Africa are accessible through the web site Grounded Theory use in Southern Africa.

Müller B.A. & Wepener, C.J. 2011. Applying grounded theory to data collected through participatory research on African Independent Churches' liturgical rituals: A comparative study. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 67(2) [Online]. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v67i2.1034> [May 23, 2011]. Accessed 22.05.2012.

Roth, A.-S. & Becker, P. 2011. *Challenges to disaster risk reduction: A study of stakeholders' perspectives in Imizamo Yethu, South Africa* [Online]. Available: http://acds.co.za/uploads/jamba/vol3no2/roth_3_2.pdf [2012, November 27].

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Lishan, A. & Wood, F. Communication technologies in sub-Saharan Africa. University of Sheffield, UK [Online]. Available: <http://jis.sagepub.com/content/25/4/307.short> [2011, August 22].

5. HIV-AIDS report by Jo-Anne Smetherham (2001)

The AIDS pandemic is hitting Cape Town as the number of related deaths has nearly trebled in three years. In the worst-hit areas of Khayelitsha, Langa and Gugulethu, there are scores of funerals every weekend. At the cemetery in Khayelitsha alone, there are 25 to 30 burials each weekend. Undertakers say business in Langa and Gugulethu is like a factory at weekends, with up to 20 burials at once. In the Cape Town administration area alone, which excludes Khayelitsha, northern suburbs and south Peninsula, the percentage of AIDS-related deaths has more than trebled - 474 people died of AIDS-related illnesses between July 1999 and June 2000. Three years earlier, the figure was 168. In Johannesburg and rural KwaZulu-Natal, death rates have rocketed because of AIDS. Jack Bloom of the Democratic Alliance said that, in Johannesburg alone, the number of funerals had doubled in the past five years from 15 000 to 30 000 a year and figures were expected to double again by 2005 (Source: *Cape Times*, 16 April 2001).

6. Spirit beings identified by *amaZioni* in the southern African context

The participants' understanding of the world of the spirits is that it is a world of real spiritual beings.

amafufuyane: spirits identified by their possession of patient's minds, thus causing mental derangement; the symptoms of which are wriggling, tossing and turning, murmuring and fuming at the mouth;

amakhosi: ancestral spirits said to whistle and speak from tops of huts;

amadhlozi (Zulu), *mudzimu* (Shona): spirits from some dead fore-parents or member of the family;

charms: artefacts believed to be dwelt by spirits who give manifest some magical powers;

chikwambo: a spirit to whom a debt is owed; for example a childless; man who has killed someone whose spirit is said to return to possess a female host in the murderer's family;

demoni: an evil spirit (term derived from English word demon); characterised by violence and opposition to the Christian Scriptures;

dipoho, (Sotho): *spook* (Afrikaans) ghosts; spirits which manifest at night outside like strange light or fire or in the house causing objects to move or levitate;

mimoya – spirits – generally evil ones;

muloyi - (Vhenda) – a witch, antisocial, may cause fatality, an evil person;

isangoma: traditional diviner, usually a woman; whose instrument of divination are bones, shells, animal and human parts;

mashavi (Shona): nature spirits and an alien spirits; spirits associated with certain places – for instance on the way or road where someone was murdered;

midzimu (Vhenda) family spirit, family divinity;

malopo (Pedi): avenging spirits;

mhondoro (Shona): a territorial spirit, a physical or visionary lion that embodies a territorial spirit

ngozi (Shona): avenging spirits; thought to manifest themselves as agents of vendettas;

umamlambo (Xhosa), *njuzu* (water spirit) which are said to manifest itself as beautiful alluring women; they can allure a person into river fountains and keep them there for a long time; upon release the person has both healing and magical powers;

izinyanya (Xhosa);

svikiro (Shona): spirit mediums, family or generic spirits;

thokoloshe, *tokoloshe*: anthropomorphic spirits, dwarf-like male like; vile in nature; can take advantage of women and practise immoral acts;

umthakathi (Xhosa, Zulu) witch; one who is said to use of magic to harm others through invisible spiritual agents;

Related to these are, among others, such experiences as dreams, visions, trances, magic practices, ecstasy (Dube, 1996:2008). The world of the spirits also involves witchcraft, sorcery, magic, misfortune and illness. It is regarded as a world of darkness and evil.

7. Zionist churches - the Lekganyane churches

The **Zion Christian Church** (or ZCC) was established by Engenas Lekganyane in Limpopo Province, South Africa in about 1925. It is essentially a black church which broke away from a black church, Edward Motaung's Apostolic Faith Mission. Upon Lekganyane's death in 1948 the schism resulted in two leaderships – one ZCC Barnabas Lekganyane, (star of David symbol), and

the ZCC Saint Engenas Lekganyane Church (dove as its symbol) The two separated and divided the Lekganyane farm between them.

Icons of the post-1948 churches and the sign on the mountain outside Polokwane, Limpopo Province.

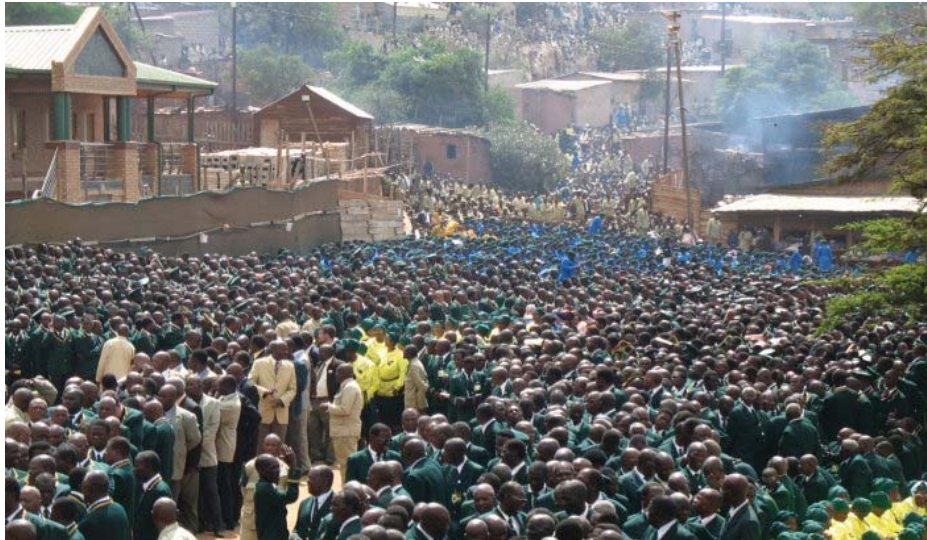


The mountainside sign of the Barnabas ZCC in Moriah.



Although the two churches divided the farm Moriah where the original headquarters was, they are so close that, while attending a service of the one group, one can hear the singing of the Barnabas others.

8. Pictures of the *amaZioni* at worship: Conferencing, marching, dancing and drumming



Members of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC). The nearer to the podium, the “greener” the uniform of the members; also more men than women are seen here (Moriah, Easter 2010).



Zionist leaders marching



Zionist worship dance

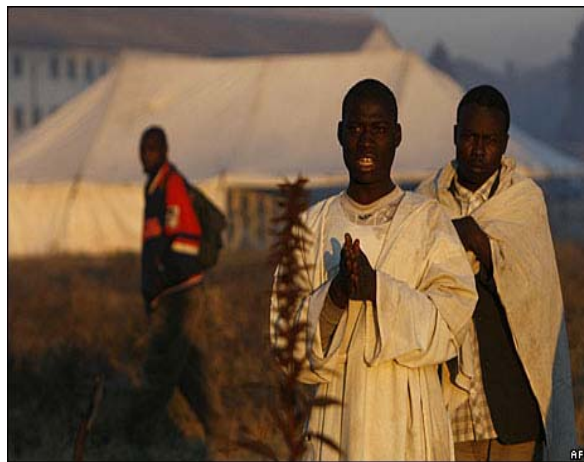


Zionist dance (ZCC)



Youth meeting at the Catholic Church in Zion

Church uniforms are a significant feature of Zionism, not only for displaying religious distinctives but also for prayer and worship in general. Zionist uniforms are perceived by some as sources of some spiritual power.



Zionists at a public worship tent



The Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion at worship

9. Popular Zionist hymnology

Hymns and Choruses

Amasango e Zion U Jehova uya wathanda (The gates of Zion God, God loves them (Psalm 87)

Bawo ndingu mtwana wakho –(Father I am your child)

Hosana enyangweni – (Hosana in the highest)

Iziyoni yingwe enamababala (Zion is like a leopard with many colours)

Akhekho umhlobo onje ngo Yesu (There is not a friend like Jesus)

Mandi' luve ufefe lwakho – (May I feel Your Grace)

Masibulele u Yesu (Let us give thanks to Jesus)

Mazithi ngqondo zenu zimbonge u Yehova (Let your souls give thanks to Jehovah)

Ndikhokhele o Yehovah – (Guide me o Jehovah)

Nkosi sihlangane (Lord we are gathered)

Phezu komhlaba ngamazwe namazwe – (Over the earth are many many nations)

Sikuyo indlela yo bom. (We are on the way of Life)

Siyakudumisa, Nkosi yamakhosi (We praise You, Lord of lords).

Wazithwal izono zethu (You bore our sins)

Choruses

Akhekho ofana naYe (There's no one like Him)

Jerusalem khaya lam (Jerusalem my home)

Limnandi iVangeli –(It is sweet the Good News)

Malibongwe lona igama (Thanks be to the Name (of the Lord))

Mina ndino Jesu wam ondithandayo – (I have Jesus who loves me)

Ngase manzini abilayo (By the boiling waters)

Sibambelela ku Yesu (We hold on (trust in) the Lord Jesus)

Siyabonga Jesu, Haleluja (We give thanks Hallelujah)

Som'landela, somlandel' uYesu (We follow, we follow Jesus)

Una bantu bakho Thixo (You are with Your people Lord)

Vumani izono (Confess your sins)

Wakrazulwa ngenxa yam (You were wounded because of me)

Yizwa imthandazo wethu (Hear our prayer)

10. Zion, Sion: meanings and definitions

A. Christian religious writings / Bible- the hill on David built the city Jerusalem.

B. Non-Christian Religions / Judaism) *Judaism*

the ancient Israelites of the Bible

the modern Jewish nation

Israel as the national home of the Jewish people

C. Christianity / ecclesiastical terms: heaven regarded as the city of God and the final abode of God's elect.

D. Sociology: any form of social organization, way of life, or life after death regarded as an ultimate goal

E. Christianity / Ecclesiastical Terms

a religious community or its site, regarded as chosen by God and under his special protection

an ideal theocratic community, especially any of the Christian Churches regarded as such a community.

Adapted from: Butterfield, J. (ed.). 2003. Collins English Dictionary, Complete and Unabridged, Fulham: Harper Collins Publishers,

11. Favourite Bible texts generally referred to by Zionists.

The Authorised Kim James Version is usually their preferred version.

I am the LORD, who heals you.” (Exo. 15:26);

The LORD will keep you free from every disease. (Deut 7:15);

The LORD will sustain him on his sickbed and restore him from his bed of illness (Psa 41:1-3);

Praise the LORD, O my soul; all my inmost being, praise His holy name. Praise the LORD, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits who forgives all your sins and heals all your diseases, who redeems your life from the pit and crowns you with love and compassion, who satisfies your desires with good things so that your youth is renewed like the eagle’s. (Psa 103:1-5)

I will not die but live, and will proclaim what the LORD has done (Psa 118:17).

Surely he took up our infirmities and carried our sorrows, yet we considered him stricken by God, smitten by him, and afflicted. But He was pierced for our transgressions, He was crushed for our iniquities; the punishment that brought us peace was upon Him, and by His wounds we are healed (Isa 53:4-5)

No weapon forged against you will prevail, and you will refute every tongue that accuses you. This is the heritage of the servants of the LORD, and this is their vindication from me, declares the LORD. (Isa 54:17)

The LORD said to me, “You have seen correctly, for I am watching to see that my word is fulfilled.” (Jer 1:12)

But I will restore you to health and heal your wounds,’ declares the LORD, ‘because you are called an outcast, Zion for whom no one cares.’ (Jer 30:17)

But for you who revere my name, the sun of righteousness will rise with healing in its wings. And you will go out and leap like calves released from the stall. (Mal 4:2)

“I tell you the truth, whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven. {19} “Again, I tell you that if two of you on earth agree about anything you ask for, it will be done for you by my Father in heaven. (Mat 18:18-20)

If you believe, you will receive whatever you ask for in prayer.” (Mat 21:22)

Therefore I tell you, whatever you ask for in prayer, believe that you have received it, and it will be yours. (Mark 11:24)

And these signs will accompany those who believe: In my name they will drive out demons; they will speak in new tongues; they will pick up snakes with their hands; and when they drink deadly poison, it will not hurt them at all; they will place their hands on sick people, and they will get well. (Mark 16:17-18)

I tell you the truth, anyone who has faith in me will do what I have been doing. He will do even greater things than these, because I am going to the Father. And I will do whatever you ask in my name, so that the Son may bring glory to the Father. (John 14:12-13)

If you remain in Me and my words remain in you, ask whatever you wish, and it will be given you. (John 15:7)

God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and power, and how He went around doing good and healing all who were under the power of the devil, because God was with him. (Acts 10:38)

And if the Spirit of Him who raised Jesus from the dead is living in you, He who raised Christ from the dead will also give life to your mortal bodies through his Spirit, who lives in you. (Rom 8:11)

Consequently, faith comes from hearing the message, and the message is heard through the word of Christ. (Rom 10:17)

Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law (this includes ALL sickness- Deut. 28:61) by becoming a curse for us, for it is written: "Cursed is everyone who is hung on a tree (Gal 3:13-14)

Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today and forever. (Heb 13:8)

Submit yourselves, then, to God. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you. (James 4:7)

Is any one of you sick? He should call the elders of the church to pray over him and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord. {15} And the prayer offered in faith will make the sick person well; the Lord will raise him up. If he has sinned, he will be forgiven. {16} Therefore confess your sins to each other and pray for each other so that you may be healed. The prayer of a righteous man is powerful and effective. (James 5:14-16)

He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, so that we might die to sins and live for righteousness; by his wounds you have been healed. (1 Pet 2:24)

You, dear children, are from God and have overcome them, because the one who is in you is greater than the one who is in the world. (1 John 4:4)

They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony; (Rev 12:11)

12. Cape Town, 2010: Lausanne Congress on World Evangelisation

While there were meetings in Edinburgh commemorating the great Missionary Conference there a hundred years ago a similar ecumenical congress was held in Cape Town, the third Lausanne Congress on World Evangelisation. Below is a list of the congress occasional papers (LOPS). Relevant to this research is the section on new religious movements.

Introduction

1. Portraits of the New Religious Movements: The "seed" and the "soil"

- a. Kimbanguism
- b. Dehima—Sub-Sahara
- c. Sokka-Gakkai—Japan
- d. Umbanda—Brazil
- e. Course in Miracles — U.S.A.
- f. The AAO—Germany, Austria, Switzerland
- g. The Unification Church—United Kingdom
- h. Cargo Cults—Papua New Guinea

2. The Urges that Underlie the New Religious Movements

- a) The Religious Urge
- b) The Quest for Community
- c) The Quest for Authority
- d) The Quest for the Transcendent
- e) The Quest for an All-of-life Religion

3. An Indictment

- a) To the Christian Church
- b) To Christian Mission

Available at <http://www.lausanne.org/en/documents/lops/56-lop-11.html>. Accessed on 12.01.2011.

13. Assessment criteria for Grounded theory: Straus/Corbin and Creswell (2002)

Straus and Corbin suggested eight questions, namely:

Are concepts generated?

Are the concepts systematically related?

Are there many conceptual linkages, and are the categories well developed? Do categories have conceptual density (richness of the description of a concept)?

Is variation within the phenomena built into the theory (how differences are explored, described, and incorporated into the theory)?

Are the conditions under which variation can be found built into the study and explained?

Has process been taken into account?

Do the theoretical findings seem significant, and to what extent?

Does the theory stand the test of time and become part of the discussions and ideas exchanged among relevant social and professional groups? (pp.270-272)

Creswell (2002) proposed 10 questions:

Is there an obvious connection between the categories and the raw data?

Is the theory useful as a conceptual explanation for the process being studied?

Does the theory provide a relevant explanation of actual problems and a basic process?

Can the theory be modified as conditions change or further data are gathered?

Is a theoretical model developed or generated that conceptualizes a process, action, or interaction?

Is there a central phenomenon (or core category) specified at the heart of the model?

Does the model emerge through phases of coding? (e.g. initial codes to more theoretically oriented codes or open coding to axial coding to selective coding)

Does the researcher attempt to interrelate categories?

Does the researcher gather extensive data so as to develop a detailed conceptual theory as well saturated in the data?

Does the study show how the researcher validated the evolving theory by comparing it to the data, examining how the theory supports or refutes existing theories in the literature, or checking theory with participants? (pp.458- 459)

14. United Nations Millennium Goals (MDGs), 2002 – 2015

The current United Nations list of the eight goals on which they have been agreed signed by 193 member states. Some other international organizations, at least 23, and at least 23 have also agreed to aim to achieve by the year 2015. They goals are

To achieve universal primary education.

To promote gender equality and empower women.

To reduce child mortality.

To improve maternal health.

To combat HIV/Aids, malaria and other diseases.

To ensure environmental sustainability.

To develop a global partnership for development. Available at

<http://www.southafrica.info/about/social/mdg-050805.htm>. Accessed on 24.11.2011

15. Scripture Texts on seeking the Lord God

He went out to meet Asa and said to him, "Listen to me, Asa and all Judah and Benjamin. The LORD is with you when you are with him. If you **seek him**, he will be found by you, but if you forsake him, he will forsake you. (2 Chronicles 15:2).

I was ashamed to ask the king for soldiers and horsemen to protect us from enemies on the road, because we had told the king, "The gracious hand of our God is on everyone who **looks to him**, but his great anger is against all who forsake him." (Ezra 8:22).

As for me , I would seek God, and to God would I submit my cause, who does great things and unsearchable, marvelous things without number (Job5:8-9).

But if you will **look to God** and plead with the Almighty, if you are pure and upright, even now he will rouse himself on your behalf and restore you to your rightful place (Job 8:5-6).

Those who know your name will trust in you, for you, LORD, have never forsaken those who **seek** you. (Psalm 9:10).

The LORD looks down from heaven on the sons of men to see if there are any who understand, any who **seek** God. (Psalm 14:1).

He will receive blessing from the LORD and vindication from God his Savior. Such is the generation of those who seek him, who **seek** your face, O God of Jacob. Selah (Psalm 24:5-6).

One thing have I desired of the Lord: that will I seek after; that I might dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to gaze upon the beauty of the Lord and to seek him in the temple (Ps 27:4).

My heart says of you: "Seek my face" Your face I will seek (Ps 27:8).

I sought the Lord and He answered me and delivered me from all my fears. Those who look to Him, are radiant and their faces shall never be ashamed (Ps 34:4).

The young lions may grow weak and hungry, but those who seek the Lord lack no good thing (Ps 34:10).

Let all those that seek you rejoice and be glad in you; let such as love your salvation say continually "let God be magnified." (Ps 40:16)

God looks down from heaven on the sons of men to see if there are any who understand and seek God (Ps 53:2)

O God you are my God , earnestly I seek you, my soul thirst for you; my body longs for you, in a dry and weary land where there is no water (Ps 63:1).

Seek the Lord and His strength: seek His face forever more (Psalm 105:4).

Blessed are they who keep his statutes and seek him with all their heart.(Psalm 119:2).

I seek you with all my heart; do not let me stray from your commands. (Psalm 119:10).

I love those who love me, and those who seek me find me.(Proverbs 8:17).

Seek the LORD while he may be found; call on him while he is near. (Isaiah 55:6).

You will seek me and find me when you seek me with all your heart. (Jeremiah 29:13).

I say to myself, "The LORD is my portion; therefore I will wait for him." The LORD is good to those whose hope is in him, to the one who seeks him (Lamentations 3:24-25).

Sow for yourselves righteousness, reap the fruit of unfailing love, and break up your unplowed ground; for it is time to seek the LORD, until he comes and showers righteousness on you. (**Hosea 10:12**)

This is what the LORD says to the house of Israel: "**Seek me** and live; (Amos 5:4)

So I say to you: Ask and it will be given to you; **seek** and you will find; knock and the door will be opened to you. (Luke 11:9)

But **seek** his kingdom, and these things will be given to you as well.(Luke 12:31)

For the Son of Man came to **seek** and to save what was lost." (Luke 19:10)

From one man he made every nation of men, that they should inhabit the whole earth; and he determined the times set for them and the exact places where they should live. God did this so that men would **seek him** and perhaps **reach** out for him and **find** him, though he is not far from each one of us (Acts 17:26-28).

And without faith it is impossible to please God, because anyone who comes to him must believe that he exists and that he rewards those who earnestly **seek** him (Hebrews 11:6).

Source: KJV, NIV, ASV and ESV Bibles.

16. Scripture Texts on the Lord God seeking the created/lost beings

And the LORD God *called* unto Adam, and said unto him, *Where are you?* (Genesis 3:9)

The eyes of the LORD *search* the whole earth in order to strengthen those whose hearts are fully committed to him (I Chronicles 16:9).

The LORD **looks** down from heaven on the sons of men to see if there are any who understand, any who **seek** God. (Psalm 14:2).

The LORD **looks** down from heaven; he beholds all the sons of men; from the place of his habitation he looks upon all the inhabitants of the earth. (Ps 33:13).

God **looks** down from heaven on the sons of men to see if there are any who understand, any who seek God (Ps 53:2).

I **love** all who love me. Those who *search* for me will surely find me. (Proverbs 8:17)

And I, the Son of Man, have come to **seek** and **save** those who are lost. (Luke 19:10)

For people can't come to me unless the Father who sent me **draws** them to me, and at the last day I will raise them from the dead. (John 6:44).

But God showed his great love for us by **sending Christ** to die for us while we were still sinners. (Romans 5:8).

Sources: AV, NIV, ASV. ESV Bibles.

17. Testimonies of encounters with spirits

A. The Gandiya case.

The first is of local Pastor Gandiya. One of his regular church member had suddenly stopped attending services at church. The pastors ventured to inquire why this was so. The man answered that at that time there were some family business they were taking care of So he could not attend church services.

The pastor asked what the business was. The man said it was really some one visiting them, and uncle and they were holding some family rituals. Upon hearing this Pastor Gandiya asked who the uncle was. It turned out that in fact the same man was involved in rituals in which a spirit of his long dead great grandfather would come and through him speak to the family.

The pastor asked if he could come and be present when the ritual took place. The man agreed. At the ritual after some traditional music singing the man was indeed seen to be under the influence of some spirit, then some possession by the same spirit. His voice and posture changed, so also his face. The voice speaking were not his own. The voice spoke using first person plural nouns and pronouns – we, ours, and us.

The pastor took opportunity to ask the spirit. “Are you relay the great grandfather of this man?” The spirit responded. “No, we are not his great grandfather: we were wandering around in the air and when we got to this man we saw an opening; so we got in and stayed. We speak as his great grandfather; but we are not.”

B. the Sibongile case.

After one church service pastor Zana was asked to accompany one deacon to the house of his mother in law. There in the house, lying on the bed was Sibongile. Sibongile, a high school girl about 18 years of age. Sibongile had been sent home from boarding school because she was sick. Sibongile’s father had died a year before. Two women, one of them her mother were in the house seated helplessly some distance from the bed. Sibongile’s siblings were outside, looking

The son-in-law and pastor entered. One of the women explained the problem of the illness. Immediately the pastor led in prayer. Then he and the other man tried to lay hands on Sibongile as she lay on the bed. The girl had so much power that she threw off the hands of the two men - pastor and son-in-law. It was as if Sibongile had the power of ten men.

But the pastor continued to pray. Then he addressed the spirit who was manifesting through the body of the girl. Briefly the spirit said “he” was the spirit of the father of the girl the girl’s mother was his wife he had come to protect the family though ‘dead’ he was not stupid

The pastor said faced with these claims how could anyone consider praying casting out the father of the family. Besides the spirit would sing church hymns. But asked why in the end the pastor began to challenge and cast out the spirit his response was that he was reminded of the words of the Lord Jesus’s:

“ You are of your father the devil, and your will is to do your father's desires. He was a murderer from the beginning, and does not stand in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he lies, he speaks out of his own character, for he is a liar and the father of lies.

(John 8:44-47.ESV).

Based on that “ word” he began to fight to get the spirit driven out – told the spirit that it was a liar and must come out in the Name of the Lord. The final push was when the pastor mentioned the “Blood’ of the Lord Jesus. The spirit left. Sibongile collapsed, powerless and came to her normal senses. She committed her life to the Lord Jesus Christ there and then. Sibongile was totally delivered.

There was much rejoicing especially from the mother and other women present. Within a couple of days the Sibongile was back at the boarding school, in her right mind.

18. Questionnaire

[IsiXhosa]

Incwadi Yemibuza

UMoya Oyingwele, Imimoya, Nokuphiliswa

Isifundo esi simayelana noMoya Oyingwele, imimoya, nokuphiliswa. Sizo funda njalo sixoxe silandela imibuzo ephansi lapha. Ungayiphendula ngolwimi lwesi Xhosa, noba olwesi Ngisi, isiSuthu, isiNdebele, isiShona, isi Shangaana okanye njalo ngesi Zulu. Uya celwa ukuba impendulo zakho uzi bhale khonapha ephepheni eli ezindaweni ezi shiyiweyo.

OKU MAYELANA NAWE (Personal Details)

Igama Lakho Ifani (surname)

.....

Uyindoda Ungumfazi

.....

Isazisi sakho (Address)

.....

.....

Ucingo (phone) itelefon. iselfon

.....

Iminyaka Yoku zalwa (age)

10 – 20 41 - 50

21 – 30 51 - 60

31 – 40 61- 70

41 – 50 +70

Igama le nkonzopho okhonza khona

Igama lika Mfundisi wenkonzo

Ubungena kule icawa okwexesha elingakanani

inyanga 1 - 11.....

iminyaka 1 - 2..... 3 - 4..... 5 -10 11 - 20 21+.....

Amabanga Owaphumelele

Primary Matric College.....

Bible College..... University

Ezinye (other).....

Ukuphangela:

Uyaphangela na? HatshiYeboUphangela phi ?

.....

Mayelana nosapho nomshado (family and marital status):

Uwedwa (single) Utshatile

Ungumhlolo/hlolokwazi Nohlukene nonkosikazi/nomyeni (Separated).....

Unabantwana:

omunye

abambini

abathathu

abanye

abahlanu

abadlula abahlanu

<p>PHENDULA LE IMIBUZO ELANDELAYO, KUNGANGOKO NJALO UNIKE IMIZEKELISO OYAZIYO</p>
--

A.uMoya Oyingwele:

1.Wazi ntoni mayelana noMoya Oyingwele?

2. Ungubani uMoya Oyingwele?

3. UMoya Oyingwele uvelaphi?

4. UMoya Oyingwele ungu moya kabani?

5. Ufunyanwa njani uMoya Oyingwele?

6. Yintoni umsebenzi woMoya Oyingcwele?

7. Umntu olawulwa ngu Moya Oyingcwele uziphatha kanjani?

8. Uhluke kanjani uMoya Oyingcwele kweminye imimoya?

B. Eminye imimoya.

Wazi ntoni mayelana neminye imimoya?

Imimoya leyo ivela phi?

Izibonakalisa njani, okanye, isebenza kanjani?

Ingaba inamandla na leyo mimoya?

Ingaba imimoya leyo inamagana?

Ngobani amagama ayo imimoya leyo? Nika amagama ayo, njalo ucacise.

Ihlalaphi leyo mimoya?

Inamandla na okulawula?

Ingakwazi na ukungena, phakathi komntu okholwa eNkosini u Jesu Kristu?

Ukuphilisa; Impiliso.

1. Wazi ntoni ngeli gama elithi ukuphilisa, okanye impiliso?

2. Ukuphilisa kuvela phi?

3. Zeziphi izifo noba umkhuhlane owazi ukuba umntu anga philiswa kuzo?

4. Kwenziwa njani ukuze aphiliswe?

5. Ingaba konke ukuphilisa kuvela ndawo nye?

6. Kukhona umuntu omaziyo, okanye wena, owaphiliswa? Chaza ukuba okhu ukuphiliswa kwenzeke kanjani?

7. Umntu angakufumana njani ukuphiliswa?

8. Umntu ongakholwayo angaphiliswa na?

D. Umoya Oyingcwele, imimoya noku philisa.

1. Chaza ukuba kukhona na unxibelwano kumbe phakathi ko Moya Oyingcwele, imimoya nokuphiliswa

2. Umntu angawazi njani umahluko phakati kuka Moya Oyingcwele, nemimnye imimoya?

3. Eminye imimoya inakho ukuphilisa na? Chaza.

4. Iphilisa kanjani?

5. Xa kukho ukuphiliswa ecaweni kunceda njani ukuba ibandla likhule?

Ingaba abantu bayathanda na ukuya kwiicawa ezithandazela abantu baphiliswe?

Ngobana abathandazela abantu ukude baphiliswe?

Umntu ophilisiwe ngenene wenza njani na?

E. Ibhayibhili, Izibhalo Ezingwele

Chaza ukuthi iBhaibhile ifundisa ntoni mayelana
no Moya Oyingwele?

eminye imimoya

3. impiliso

[English Translation]

18. Questionnaire

THE HOLY SPIRIT, SPIRITTS AND HEALING

This study on the Holy Spirit, spirits and healing. As we talk over each question please answer as many questions as possible below – in Xhosa, English, Sotho, Ndebele, Shona, Shangaan or Zulu. You can write on the paper in the spaces provided or use some other blank blank paper.

Personal Details

Your Name Surname

Male..... Female

Address
.....

Landline Phone number Cell phone number

Age (Years)

10 – 20 41 - 50

21 – 30 51 - 60

31 – 40 61- 70

41 – 50 +70

Name of your Church

How long have you been worshipping at the Church?

1 - 2.....

3 - 4.....

5 -10

11 - 20

21+.....

Education

Primary.....Matric College.....

Bible College University

Other.....

Employment:

Are you employed? Yes.....No.....

What kind of employment?

.....

Family and marital status:

Single Married

Widow Separated Separated.....

Children:

Answer the following questions; giving examples where applicable.

The Holy Spirit

1. What do you know about the Holy Spirit?
2. Who or what is the Holy Spirit?
- 3 Where does the Holy Spirit come from?
4. The Holy Spirit is whose Spirit?
5. How does one receive the Holy Spirit?
6. What is the work of the Holy Spirit?
7. How does a person controlled by the Holy Spirit behave

8. How is the Holy Spirit different from other spirits?

B. Other spirits

What do you know about other spirits?

Where do the spirits come from?

How do the spirits manifest themselves?

Do the spirits have power?

Do the spirits have names?

.What are the names of the spirits

Where do the spirits reside?

Do the spirits have any power?

Can spirits enter and reside in a believer in Christ?

Healing

1. What do you know about healing?

2. Where does healing come from?

3. Which illnesses which you know can be healed by prayer?

4. What does one do to be healed?

5. Does all healing comes from one source?

6. Do you know anyone who was healed by prayer?

7. How can one receive healing?

8. Can an unbeliever also be healing?

D. The Holy Spirits, spirits and healing

1. Is there any relationship between the Holy Spirit and healing?

2. Is there any relationship between healing and the spirits?

3. How can one know the difference between the Holy Spirit and other spirits?

4. Can other spirits heal? Explain...

5. How do spirits heal??

6. In the church how does healing contribute to the growth of the church?

7. Do people prefer to attend churches which pray for the sick?

8. Who is it who prays for people who are sick?

9. What does a healed person behave?

E. The Bible

What does the Bible teach about?

1. The Holy Spirit

2. Other spirits

3. Healing

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Letter of consent from the Church of Zion

44583 NKcukach,
STREET MAKHAZA
KHAYELITSHA 7784
CAPE TOWN
Cell 0846111644

Khayelitsha

(Date)

To The Director,
Division for Research Development,
University of Stellenbosch.

STELLENBOSCH

IMVUMO YOKWENZA YEZIFUNDO NOKUXOXA NABANTU BECAWA :

(PERMISSION TO DO INTERVIEWS WITH CHURCH MEMBERS)

This letter is in connection with the research of Edson Siwella of Stellenbosch University. It is about the Holy Spirit and spirits in healing. I have seen and read the relevant papers

- a) the Questionnaire Paper;
- b) the Consent paper.

As the Pastor of our Church I am giving Edson Siwella permission to meet and interview our Church members. Also we will assist and cooperate with Mr Siwella as much as we can.

May God bless all this work in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Amen.

Yours by His grace

PASTOR *M. W. Soqwaqwa*



Appendix 2: Letter of consent from the United Congregational Church of Zion in South Africa

United Congregational Church of Zion

Khavelitsha

24th August 2010

Ku Director
Division for Research Development,
University of Stellenbosch.

STELLENBOSCH

IMVUMO YOKWENZA YEZIFUNDO NOKUXOXA NABANTU BECAWA

(PERMISSION TO DO INTERVIEWS WITH CHURCH MEMBERS)

Le yincwadi emayelana lezifundo ezika Edson Siwella. Zimayelana no Umoya Oyingcwele neminimoya ekuphilisweni. (The Holy Spirit and spirits in healing . .) Ndiwabonile amaphepha akhe athi

- a) Iphepha lemibuzo ezokusetshenziswa (Questionnaire Paper);
- b) Iphepha le Mvumo ezizo vhela kubantu (Consent paper).

Ndingu Mfundisi wecawa yethu ndiyamvumela u Siwella ukuba abonane nabantu becawa yethu, axoxe nabo njalo awenze ama "interviews" nabo. Njalo apho esingamncedisa khona sizomncedisa siphathisane naye u Siwella.

Ingathi uThixo angabusisa lomsebenzi egameni leNkosi yethu u Jesu Kristu.

Amen.

Owenu ngenceba zeNkosi.

Pastor M R Cokile
UMFINDISI NDABEZITA COKILE

UNITED CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
OF ZION IN R.S.A.
WESTERN CAPE / FISH HOEK CIRCUIT
1625 SOBUKHWE ROAD
MASIPHUMELELE
FISH HOEK. 7575

The C.C.A.C. in Zion
11 Thame Crescent
Site B
Tel/fax 021-364335
Khayelitsha

24th August 2010

Ku Director
Division for Research Development,
University of Stellenbosch.

**THE CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC
APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION
REV. M.M. MPANDE
083 771 6399
TEL/FAX: 021 361 4335**

STELLENBOSCH

IMVUMO YOKWENZA YEZIFUNDO NOKUXOXA NABANTU BECAWA

(PERMISSION TO DO INTERVIEWS WITH CHURCH MEMBERS)

Le yincwadi emayelana lezifundo ezika Edson Siwella. Zimayelana no Umoya Oyingcwele neminimoya ekuphilisweni. (The Holy Spirit and spirits in healing . .) Ndiwabonile amaphepha akhe athi

- a) Iphepha lemibuzo ezokusetshenziswa (Questionnaire Paper);
- b) Iphepha le Mvumo ezizo vhela kubantu (Consent paper).

Ndingu Mfundisi wecawa yethu ndiyamvumela u Siwella ukuba abonane nabantu becawa yethu, axoxe nabo njalo awenze ama "interviews" nabo. Njalo apho esingamncedisa khona sizomncedisa siphathisane naye u Siwella.

Ingathi uThixo angabusisa lomsebenzi egameni leNkosi yethu u Jesu Kristu.

Amen.

Owenu ngenceba zeNkosi.

UMFUNDISI Mcedisi M. Mpande



Cell 0787392789

**THE CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC
APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION
REV. M.M. MPANDE
083 771 6399
TEL/FAX: 021 361 4335**

Appendix 4: Letter of consent from the Christian Catholic Church in Zion of Africa

The C.C.A.C. in Zion
11 Thame Crescent
Site B
Tel/fax 021-364335
Khavelitsha

24th August 2010

Ku Director
Division for Research Development,
University of Stellenbosch.

**THE CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC
APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION
REV. M.M. MPANDE
083 771 8399
TEL/FAX: 021 361 4335**

STELLENBOSCH

IMVUMO YOKWENZA YEZIFUNDO NOKUXOXA NABANTU BECAWA

(PERMISSION TO DO INTERVIEWS WITH CHURCH MEMBERS)

Le yincwadi emayelana lezifundo ezika Edson Siwella. Zimayelana no Umoya Oyingcwele neminimoya ekuphilisweni. (The Holy Spirit and spirits in healing . .) Ndiwabonile amaphepha akhe athi

- a) Iphepha lemibuzo ezokusetshenziswa (Questionnaire Paper);
- b) Iphepha le Mvumo ezizo vhele kubantu (Consent paper).

Ndingu Mfundisi wecawa yethu ndiyamvumela u Siwella ukuba abonane nabantu becawa yethu, axoxe nabo njalo awenze ama "interviews" nabo. Njalo apho esingamncedisa khona sizomncedisa siphathisane naye u Siwella.

Ingathi uThixo angabusisa lomsebenzi egameni leNkosi yethu u Jesu Kristu.

Amen.

Owenu ngenceba zeNkosi.

UMFUNDISI Mncedisi M. Mpande



Cell 078 739 2789

**THE CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC
APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION
REV. M.M. MPANDE
083 771 8399
TEL/FAX: 021 361 4335**

Appendix 5: Letter of permission from Dr Kevin Roy [*Zion City*, 2000] to use his work

From: Kevin Roy [mailto:kevinroyis@gmail.com]
Sent: 22 February 2015 09:51 PM
To: Edson Siwella
Subject: Re: Book - Zion City

Dear brother Edson

I am happy for you to use any part of the book in any way that you want.

The Lord bless you in your work

Kevin

On Sat, Feb 21, 2015 at 9:49 PM, Edson Siwella <esiwella@gmail.com> wrote:

Dear Dr Roy

Greetings in the Lord.

Your book *Zion City RSA* has been a very useful resource and facility in teaching the history of the church in southern Africa. It has also been very useful in helping me have a quick grip on the AICs and Zionists – on which I am writing a dissertation.

On page is a good presentation of the churches. I found that very useful and am kindly asking if you would allow me to copy and use the timeline as it is, with acknowledgement in my dissertation. I have been down a research on the Zionist with a focus on healing.

I would greatly appreciate your favourable grant of permission.

Below is a summary of the theory (story) concerning the Zionists.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you

Edson Siwella. (pastor, Baptist Church, missionary teacher)

21 Luttrell Crescent Fish Hoek, 7975

Phone [021 782 9876](tel:0217829876) ; cell 087 304 340.

Appendix 6: Examples of raw data

I. "L"

THE HOLY SPIRIT SPIRITS AND HEALING

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

[English Translation: For the sake of anonymity names are pseudonyms and addresses are Location only]

THE HOLY SPIRIT, SPIRITS AND HEALING.

This study on the Holy Spirit, spirits and healing. As we talk over each question please answer as many questions as possible below – in Xhosa, English, Sotho, Ndebele, Shona, Shangaan or Zulu. You can write on the paper in the spaces provided or use some other blank paper.

Personal Details

Your Name . . . L..... Surname GY.....

Male. male Female X.....

Address *Makhaza*

Landline Phone number Cell phone number

Age. (Years)

10 – 20 41 - 50

21 – 30 31 51 - 60

31 – 40 61- 70

41 – 50 +70

Name of your Church . . *Zion Apostolic Faith Church of South Africa* .

How long have you been worshipping at the Church?

1 - 2.....2 years ...

3 - 4.....

5 -10.....

11 - 20..... 20.

21+.....

Education

Primary.....MatricX..... College.. Accord Bus Academy

Bible College University

Other.....

Employment:

Are you employed? Yes.X.....No

What kind of employment? *Primary school work.*

.....

Family and marital status:

Single MarriedX.....

Widow Separated

Children: 1

Answer the following questions; giving examples where applicable.

The Holy Spirit:

1. What do you know about the Holy Spirit?

Is from God above

2. Who or what is the Holy Spirit?

Is God

3. Where does the Holy Spirit come from?

From Heaven

4. The Holy Spirit is whose Spirit?

of God (Theos)

5. How does one receive the Holy Spirit?

Have to believe in Jesus, that Jesus is Lord be saved. . .

6. What is the work of the Holy Spirit?

Leads, protects helps faith grow, gives power

7. How does a person controlled by the Holy Spirit behave

Keeps himself or herself without sin, obeys God's word –

8. How is the Holy Spirit different from other spirits?

Holy Spirit comes from heaven; other spirits come with the evil one, demons

B. Other spirits.

What do you know about other spirits?

They have no place, they oppress

Where do the spirits come from?

come from Satan

How do the spirits manifest themselves?

They do bad things – torment and cause trouble, sickness too

Do the spirits have power?

No. . but am not sure

Do the spirits have names?

Yes

.What are the names of the spirits

Like demons)

Where do the spirits reside?

Inside people, makes them evil

Do the spirits have any power?

Yes. . but only to do evil

Can spirits enter and reside in a believer in Christ

No a believer is safe. . that is why we go to church

Healing.

1. What do you know about healing?

God heals, God can do anything

2. Where does healing come from?

Comes from God

3. Which illnesses which you know can be healed by prayer?

Leprosy,

4. What does one do to be healed?

laying of hands, holy hands, the pastors can do that

5. Does all healing come from one source?

No. . .other places like hospitals. .

6. Do you know anyone who was healed by prayer?

Yes someone who cast out the evil spirit from a sick person

7. How can one receive healing?

Must believe in heart, accept the Lord, say it by own mouth

8. Can an unbeliever also be healed?

no

D. The Holy Spirits, Spirist and healing.

1. is there any relationship between the Holy Spirit and healing?

No. . . we pray against the spirits

2. is there any relationship between healing and the spirits?

The Holy Spirit brings salvation

3. How can one know the difference between the Holy Spirit and other spirits?

By the deeds – like obeying God; spirits destroy life

3 Can other spirits heal? Explain...

No.. . because they we cast them out

4. How do spirits heal?

They do not

5. In the church how does healing contribute to the growth of the church?

People become free. . and others get help too

Do people prefer to attend churches which pray for the sick?

Yes. . . in my church we lay hands on sick people

Who is it who prays for people who are sick?

Anyone, believers, men and women, pastors – but must be holy, no sin

What does a healed person behave?

Becomes strong in believing, leaves behind all that is evil

E. The Bible

What does the Bible teach about?

The Holy Spirit?

The Spirit is mentioned John 14 -16 as helper

Other spirits

Are from Satan, like the imimoya yezinyanya

3. Healing

God healed many sick people, in Bible Jesus is Healer

II. "A"

THE HOLY SPIRIT SPIRITS AND HEALING

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

[English Translation: For the sake of anonymity names are pseudonyms and addresses are Location only]

THE HOLY SPIRIT, SPIRITS AND HEALING.

This study on the Holy Spirit, spirits and healing. As we talk over each question please answer as many questions as possible below – in Xhosa, English, Sotho, Ndebele, Shona, Shangaan or Zulu. You can write on the paper in the spaces provided or use some other blank paper.

Personal Details

Your Name . . . *A* **Surname** *B*

Male male **Female**

Address *Masiphumelele*

Landline Phone number **Cell phone number**

Age. (Years)

- 10 – 20 41 - 50
- 21 – 30 *27* 51 - 60
- 31 – 40 61- 70
- 41 – 50 +70

Name of your Church . . *African Apostolic Church in Zion*

How long have you been worshipping at the Church?

1 - 2.....2 years ...

3 - 4.....

5 -10.....

11 - 20.....

21+.....

Education

Primary.....MatricX..... College.....

Bible College University.....

Other.....

Employment:

Are you employed? Yes.....No.....X.....

...

What kind of employment?.....

.....

Family and marital status:

Single MarriedX.....

Widow Separated Separated.....

Children:

Answer the following questions; giving examples where applicable.

The Holy Spirit:

1. What do you know about the Holy Spirit?

Is Spirit of God

2. Who or what is the Holy Spirit?

3. Where does the Holy Spirit come from?

From God

4. The Holy Spirit is whose Spirit?

Spirit of God

5. How does one receive the Holy Spirit?

Have to be pray, or church pastor prays for you

6. What is the work of the Holy Spirit?

Helps people to understand where they are going

How does a person controlled by the Holy Spirit behave

Does good things, helps others, goes to church

How is the Holy Spirit different from other spirits?

Different – does not lead to do bad things like steal or kill

B. Other spirits.

What do you know about other spirits?

They are bad spirits

Where do the spirits come from?

Bad spirits come from Satan

How do the spirits manifest themselves?

They are spirits of bondage (mbandezelo)

Do the spirits have power?

Yes, and they do bad things (okubi)

Do the spirits have names?

Yes some of them like

.What are the names of the spirits

Like demons, spirits of uncleanness (engcolileyo)

Where do the spirits reside?

In the hearts

Do the spirits have any power?

yes

Can spirits enter and reside in a believer in Christ

Healing.

1. What do you know about healing?

I know that the Son of Man heals, and delivers for death

2. Where does healing come from?

Comes for Jesus

3. Which illnesses which you know can be healed by prayer?

Leprosy and possession by demons

4. What does one do to be healed?

Gets paid on hands, yes hands that are holy of one sent by Jesus

5. Does all healing comes from one source?

no

6. Do you know anyone who was healed by prayer?

yes

7. How can one receive healing?

*Must believe in ones heart, believe that Jesus is Lord and Saviour,
(umSindisi)*

Can an unbeliever also be healed?

no

D. The Holy Spirits, Spirit and healing.

1. is there any relationship between the Holy Spirit and healing?

The Holy Spirit saves (uyaphilisa); evil spirits cannot save.

2. is there any relationship between healing and the spirits?

The Holy Spirit helps: spirits do not, don't do good only bad

3. How can one know the difference between the Holy Spirit and other spirits?

By the good or bad which they do

3 Can other spirits heal? Explain...

No.. . because they only cause suffering

4. How do spirits heal?

They cannot

5. In the church how does healing contribute to the growth of the church?

Those healed believe more. . their families also get help

Do people prefer to attend churches which pray for the sick?

Yes. . . so as to get help and help others

Who is it who prays for people who are sick?

Anyone, . . the elders do that at church, or the pastors

What does a healed person behave?

Should be thankful should know who healed him

E. The Bible

What does the Bible teach about?

The Holy Spirit?

Is the Spirit of God. . form God

Other spirits

Are not from God bur from Satan,

3. Healing

God can heal, you believe and He heals

III. “J”

THE HOLY SPIRIT SPIRITS AND HEALING

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

[English Translation: For the sake of anonymity names are pseudonyms and addresses are Location only]

THE HOLY SPIRIT, SPIRITS AND HEALING.

This study on the Holy Spirit, spirits and healing. As we talk over each question please answer as many questions as possible below – in Xhosa, English, Sotho, Ndebele, Shona, Shangaan or Zulu. You can write on the paper in the spaces provided or use some other blank paper.

Personal Details

Your Name . . . J Surname PP.

.

Male. male Female X.

.

Address *Masiphumelele*

.

Landline Phone number Cell phone number

Age. (Years)

10 – 20 41 - 50

21 – 30 *27* 51 - 60

31 – 40 61- 70

41 – 50 X. +70

Name of your Church . . *United Congregational Church in Zion*

.

How long have you been worshipping at the Church?

1 - 2.....2 years ...

3 - 4.....

5 -10.....

11 - 20.....

21+.....X

Education

Primary.....MatricX..... College.....

Bible CollegeX..... University.....

.

Other.....

Employment:

Are you employed? Yes.....X.....No.....

What kind of employment?*Domestic work*.....

Family and marital status:

Single Married.....

WidowX..... Separated.....

Children: 5

Answer the following questions; giving examples where applicable.

The Holy Spirit:

1. What do you know about the Holy Spirit?

Is Spirit of God

2. Who or what is the Holy Spirit?

Is the Word of God

3. Where does the Holy Spirit come from?

From God

4. The Holy Spirit is whose Spirit?

Spirit of God (Thixo)

5. How does one receive the Holy Spirit?

Have to believe and pray – believe that Jesus is Lord pray always

6. What is the work of the Holy Spirit?

Helps people to live, to endure, to survive by the Spirit

How does a person controlled by the Holy Spirit behave

Keeps himself or herself holy – without blame all the time

How is the Holy Spirit different from other spirits?

Different – is Guide who comes from heaven; other spirits come with evil

B. Other spirits.

What do you know about other spirits?

They are evil spirits

Where do the spirits come from?

Bad spirits come from Satan

How do the spirits manifest themselves?

They are spirits which kill lives

Do the spirits have power?

Yes but do bad things

Do the spirits have names?

Yes like spirit of corruption (engcolileyo), anger, witch craft

.What are the names of the spirits

Like demons)

Where do the spirits reside?

In the hearts

Do the spirits have any power?

Yes. . but only to do evil

Can spirits enter and reside in a believer in Christ

Healing.

1. What do you know about healing?

I know that God can heal, God knows everything

2. Where does healing come from?

Comes for God

3. Which illnesses which you know can be healed by prayer?

Stomach pains, head aches

4. What does one do to be healed?

By prayer, laying of hands, call pastors or tell them

5. Does all healing comes from one source?

No. . one can be healed at hospital as wel

6. Do you know anyone who was healed by prayer?

yes

7. How can one receive healing?

Must ask God believe other pastors or elders can help to know

8. Can an unbeliever also be healed?

no

D. The Holy Spirits, Spirit and healing.

1. Is there any relationship between the Holy Spirit and healing?

The Holy Spirit guides to good things, good life evil spirits kill

2. Is there any relationship between healing and the spirits?

The Holy Spirit guides and leads, helps

3. How can one know the difference between the Holy Spirit and other spirits?

By the deeds – like obeying God; spirits destroy life

3 Can other spirits heal? Explain...

No... because they have no place in a believer's life

4. How do spirits heal?

They cannot, when they try to heal it is temporary healing, a lie

5. In the church how does healing contribute to the growth of the church?

Healing helps others as well... you go and pray for others

Do people prefer to attend churches which pray for the sick?

Yes... so where people can be laid hands

Who is it who prays for people who are sick?

Anyone, usually the pastors

What does a healed person behave?

Becomes strong in believing, leaves behind all that is evil

E. The Bible

What does the Bible teach about?

The Holy Spirit?

The Spirit helps and guide - to know God bel

Other spirits

Are from Satan, they do bad only

3. Healing

If you believe, and repent. . God can heal

IV. "E"

THE HOLY SPIRIT SPIRITS AND HEALING

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

[English Translation: For the sake of anonymity names are pseudonyms and addresses are Location only]

THE HOLY SPIRIT, SPIRITS AND HEALING.

This study on the Holy Spirit, spirits and healing. As we talk over each question please answer as many questions as possible below – in Xhosa, English, Sotho, Ndebele, Shona, Shangaan or Zulu. You can write on the paper in the spaces provided or use some other blank paper.

Personal Details

Your Name . . . *E* Surname *Sy*

.

Male. **Female** *X*

.

Address *Masiphumelele*

.

Landline Phone number **Cell phone number**

Age. (Years)

10 – 20 41 - 50

21 – 30 *31* 51 - 60

31 – 40 61- 70

41 – 50 +70

Name of your Church . . . *African Apostolic Church in Zion*

How long have you been worshipping at the Church?

1 - 2..... years ...

3 - 4.....

5 -107.....

11 - 20.....

21+.....

Education

Primary.....MatricX..... College.....

Bible College..... University.....

Other.....

Employment:

Are you employed? Yes.....No.....X.....

...

What kind of employment?.....

.....

Family and marital status:

Single..... Married.....X.....

Widow..... Separated..... Separated.....

Children: 1

Answer the following questions; giving examples where applicable.

The Holy Spirit:

1. What do you know about the Holy Spirit?

God is Spirit

2. Who or what is the Holy Spirit?

Is God

3. Where does the Holy Spirit come from?

From God, they are three, the one is the Spirit

4. The Holy Spirit is whose Spirit?

of God (uThixo), Creator

5. How does one receive the Holy Spirit?

Have to believe, , accept God, pastors pray for you

6. What is the work of the Holy Spirit?

Helps to live right life

How does a person controlled by the Holy Spirit behave

helps others, is holy, obeys the laws of God

How is the Holy Spirit different from other spirits?

Different – He is good; gives life; other spirits iya sokolisa (trouble)

B. Other spirits.

What do you know about other spirits?

They are bad spirits from evil people, from Satan

Where do the spirits come from?

Evil spirits come from Satan

How do the spirits manifest themselves?

They cause suffering, sickness

Do the spirits have power?

Yes No but the enter people and do bad things

Do the spirits have names?

Yes some of them,

.What are the names of the spirits

Like spirits of uncleanness (engcolileyo), madness,

Where do the spirits reside?

Inside people. . . maybe from graves

Do the spirits have any power?

Yes. . and no but they influence people

Can spirits enter and reside in a believer in Christ

Healing.

1. What do you know about healing?

Good is the one who heals

2. Where does healing come from?

Comes for God, even when you go to hospital

3. Which illnesses which you know can be healed by prayer?

Madness and possession by demons

4. What does one do to be healed?

*Pastors, or teachers at church lay on hands, pray in the name of Jesus
say Phuma Dimoni*

5. Does all healing comes from one source?

No . . not sure

6. Do you know anyone who was healed by prayer?

Yes. . me: stomach problems and headaches

7. How can one receive healing?

Must believe in , believe that Jesus is Lord and Saviour pray for healing

Can an unbeliever also be healed?

No. . not sure, because he does not believe

D. The Holy Spirits, Spirit and healing.

1. Is there any relationship between the Holy Spirit and healing?

No relationship, spirits are bad , God is good

2. Is there any relationship between healing and the spirits?

The Holy Spirit heals: spirits make trouble pain suffering

3. How can one know the difference between the Holy Spirit and other spirits?

By the good works or bad which they do

3 Can other spirits heal? Explain...

No.. . because they only pretend to heal

4. How do spirits heal?

They do not , it may be temporary only.

5. In the church how does healing contribute to the growth of the church?

In church people get help, so they invite others

Do people prefer to attend churches which pray for the sick?

Yes when pastors pray for people. They come

Who is it who prays for people who are sick?

the pastors, sometimes any leader can pray

What does a healed person behave?

Should not sin anymore, must behave

E. The Bible

What does the Bible teach about?

The Holy Spirit?

That the Spirit is God. . from Heaven

Other spirits

That are not from God bur from Satan, they are evil

3. Healing

God can heal, you believe and He heals, but make sure sin no more, obey God

V. "EL"

THE HOLY SPIRIT SPIRITS AND HEALING

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

[English Translation: For the sake of anonymity names are pseudonyms and addresses are Location only]

THE HOLY SPIRIT, SPIRITS AND HEALING.

This study on the Holy Spirit, spirits and healing. As we talk over each question please answer as many questions as possible below – in Xhosa, English, Sotho, Ndebele, Shona, Shangaan or Zulu. You can write on the paper in the spaces provided or use some other blank paper.

Personal Details

Your Name . . . EL Surname JJ

Male male Female X

Address *Khayelitsha*

Landline Phone number Cell phone number

Age. (Years)

- 10 – 20 41 - 50
- 21 – 30 51 - 60
- 31 – 40 61- 70 61
- 41 – 50 +70

Name of your Church . . . *Zion. Christian Church (ZCC Lekganyane)*

How long have you been worshipping at the Church?

1 - 2.....years ...

3 - 4.....

5 -1010

11 - 20.....

21+.....

Education

Primary.....MatricX..... College..

Bible College University

Other.....

Employment:

Are you employed? Yes.....No.....Pensioner.....

What kind of employment?

Family and marital status:

Single MarriedX.....

Widow Separated

Children: 3

Answer the following questions; giving examples where applicable.

The Holy Spirit:

1. What do you know about the Holy Spirit?

Gift from God, gives power. . .

2. Who or what is the Holy Spirit?

Is the 6th thumb (usisiqu) UmNcedis wethu (our Helper)

3 Where does the Holy Spirit come from?

From God. . .

4. The Holy Spirit is whose Spirit?

of God

5. How does one receive the Holy Spirit?

Is given by God. . . receive to trusting God. . . not sure

6. What is the work of the Holy Spirit?

Shows power so as to help other, to heal them

7. How does a person controlled by the Holy Spirit behave

Is controlled, calm humble. Goes to church, treats others well

8. How is the Holy Spirit different from other spirits?

Spirits cause sickness, the Holy Spirit heals. Helps when you are weak.

B. Other spirits.

What do you know about other spirits?

They enter, cause sickness, trouble with people

Where do the spirits come from?

come from Satan, from demons

How do the spirits manifest themselves?

They do un natural bad things, like try to chock you at night, or sick.

Do the spirits have power?

Yes but God is greater.

Do the spirits have names?

Yes many names –

.What are the names of the spirits

demons , othikoloshe, spirits of leprosy, amafufunyana

Where do the spirits reside?

Inside un believers hearts, they come from graves, dead people maybe. .

Do the spirits have any power?

No not over believers

Can spirits enter and reside in a believer in Christ

No. . . he is protected by the blood

Healing.

1. What do you know about healing?

Yes by prayer and counselling

2. Where does healing come from?

Faith (ukukholwa)

3. Which illnesses which you know can be healed by prayer?

All kinds of sicknesses, diseases

4. What does one do to be healed?

laying of hands, holy hands, the pastors can do that, but must believe also

5. Does all healing come from one source?

Yes only God heals

6. Do you know anyone who was healed by prayer?

Yes a person had amafufunyana, was given coffee, he is alive

7. How can one receive healing?

Person has to believe first

8. Can an unbeliever also be healed?

No he is under God

D. The Holy Spirits, Spirit and healing.

1. Is there any relationship between the Holy Spirit and healing?

No. . . not t all

2. Is there any relationship between healing and the spirits?

no

3. How can one know the difference between the Holy Spirit and other spirits?

God heals. . spirits do not

3 Can other spirits heal? Explain...

No.. . they have no power

4. How do spirits heal?

no

5. In the church how does healing contribute to the growth of the church?

We preachers , people come kneel, we lay hands on them .

Do people prefer to attend churches which pray for the sick?

Yes. . . because pastors call people to pray for them

Who is it who prays for people who are sick?

Preaches, pastors

What does a healed person behave?

Keep holy

E. The Bible

What does the Bible teach about?

The Holy Spirit?

That we pray speak well and teach Gods word

Other spirits

They are bad spirits

3. Healing

Pray for anyone, even at home if someone is sick

VI. "T"

THE HOLY SPIRIT SPIRITS AND HEALING

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

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THE HOLY SPIRIT, SPIRITS AND HEALING.

This study on the Holy Spirit, spirits and healing. As we talk over each question please answer as many questions as possible below – in Xhosa, English, Sotho, Ndebele, Shona, Shangaan or Zulu. You can write on the paper in the spaces provided or use some other blank paper.

Personal Details

Your Name . . . *T* **Surname** *O*

.

Male *X* **Female**

.

Address *Khayelitsha*

.

Landline Phone number **Cell phone number**

Age. (Years)

10 – 20 41 - 50

21 – 30 51 – 60 *64*

31 – 40 61- 70

41 – 50 *X* +70

Name of your Church . . *Zion Christian Church*

How long have you been worshipping at the Church?

1 - 2.....2 years ...

3 - 4.....

5 -10.....

11 - 20.....

21+.....X

Education

Primary.....MatricX..... College.....

Bible CollegeX..... University.....

.

Other.....

Employment:

Are you employed? Yes.....No.....*Pensioner*.....

.....

What kind of employment?.....

Family and marital status:

Single.....Married.....X.....

Widow.....X.....Separated.....

Children: 3fd

Answer the following questions; giving examples where applicable.

The Holy Spirit:

1. What do you know about the Holy Spirit?

Is the gift of God from above

2. Who or what is the Holy Spirit?

The power of God

3. Where does the Holy Spirit come from?

From God

4. The Holy Spirit is whose Spirit?

Spirit of God (Theos)

5. How does one receive the Holy Spirit?

You receive from God, you can ask God to give

6. What is the work of the Holy Spirit?

Helps to have power to heal people, and to discern problems people have

How does a person controlled by the Holy Spirit behave

Keeps obeying God. . goes to church

How is the Holy Spirit different from other spirits?

Different : God heals - other spirits cause sickness

B. Other spirits.

What do you know about other spirits?

The spirits cause imikhuhlane (sickness)

Where do the spirits come from?

Evil spirits come from Satan

How do the spirits manifest themselves?

They do abnormal things, cause confusion, oppose God

Do the spirits have power?

Yes but do bad not like God; they can be cast out

Do the spirits have names?

Yes like spirit and they are many

.What are the names of the spirits

Like demons, amamfufunyane,, othikoloshe, malopo, and abathakathi

Where do the spirits reside?

In the hearts of those who do not believe

Do the spirits have any power?

Yes. . but bad power

Can spirits enter and reside in a believer in Christ

Healing.

1. What do you know about healing?

I know people can be prayed for and they get healed

2. Where does healing come from?

Comes for God, by faith

3. Which illnesses which you know can be healed by prayer?

Stomach pains ,barrenness, poverty – spirits make one poor.

4. What does one do to be healed?

One has to ask for prayer, at church, elders lay hands on people.

5. Does all healing comes from one source?

No. . one can be healed at hospital as well, but we believe God heals by prayer

6. Do you know anyone who was healed by prayer?

Yes - I was healed, then my son. . . they gave me tea of life

7. How can one receive healing?

Must ask God, must go to church and be prayed for, by faith in God

8. Can an unbeliever also be healed?

no

D. The Holy Spirits, Spirit and healing.

1. Is there any relationship between the Holy Spirit and healing?

The Holy Spirit heals

2. Is there any relationship between healing and the spirits?

*No relationship The Holy Spirit . bad spirits come from graves ;
demons as in the Bible*

3. How can one know the difference between the Holy Spirit and other spirits?

Spirits cause sickness; God heals, gives strength

3 Can other spirits heal? Explain...

No.. . because they spoil life

4. How do spirits heal?

They lie; they cannot heal.

5. In the church how does healing contribute to the growth of the church?

People are prayed for. They get well

6. Do people prefer to attend churches which pray for the sick?

Yes. . . so they can get strength, power

Who is it who prays for people who are sick?

Anyone, usually the church leaders, and those raised to heal

What does a healed person behave?

Behaves well, comes to worship with others

E. The Bible

What does the Bible teach about?

The Holy Spirit?

Teaches how to pray and to speak God's Word

Other spirits

Are from Satan, they are fallen lost

3. Healing

It is good; when people are sick they are prayed for

Appendix 7: Data analysis form

THE HOLY SPIRIT SPIRITS AND HEALING

1. DATA ANALYSIS FORM

PARTICIPANT A	HEALING AGENCY		
	HOLY SPIRIT B	SPIRITS C	B AND C
EL	X		X
L	X	N	N
J	X	N	N
E	X	N	'X' & 'N'
A	X	N	X

X = Yes N = No

2. MEMOIRS – An example

Note 1. Pastor's handling of the Church leaders photo: Reverence? Worship?

2. Beads on Enoch's harms?
3. Fore used to burn newspaper - a healing artefact?
4. Hand-cleaning after a burial
5. Man shaking and muttering
6. Casual, brown uniforms, green uniforms. . . Order or power?
7. Sermon texts noted, sermon not much attended to
8. Bible placed on head of the sick

Appendix 8: Ethical Clearance Letter



UNIVERSITEIT-STELLENBOSCH-UNIVERSITY
Jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

22 September 2010

Tel.: 021 - 808-9183
Enquiries: Sidney Engelbrecht
Email: sidney@sun.ac.za

Reference No. 381/2010

Mr EM Siwella
Department of Practical Theology & Missiology
University of Stellenbosch
STELLENBOSCH
7602

MAILED and E-MAILED

Dear Mr EM Siwella

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL CLEARANCE

With regards to your application, I would like to inform you that the project, *The holy spirit and spirits in healing narratives of Zionist Churches: Generating a grounded theory of mission praxis from a selection of case studies*, has been approved on condition that:

1. The researcher/s remain within the procedures and protocols indicated in the proposal;
2. The researcher/s stay within the boundaries of applicable national legislation, institutional guidelines, and applicable standards of scientific rigor that are followed within this field of study and that
3. Any substantive changes to this research project should be brought to the attention of the Ethics Committee with a view to obtain ethical clearance for it.
4. The researcher/s implements the suggestions made by the mentioned by the Research Ethics Committee (Human Research) in order to reduce any ethical risks which may arise during the research.

We wish you success with your research activities.

Best regards




MR SF ENGELBRECHT
Secretary: Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Non-Health)

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