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A Dialogue between Banyankole-Bakiga Peoples' Traditional Pre- and Marital Counseling Since 1870S and the Western Cognitive Behavior and Object Relations Therapies: A Reciprocal Challenge and Insight?

Cecilia Y. Nibyobyonka

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN BANYANKOLE-BAKIGA PEOPLES' TRADITIONAL
PRE- AND MARITAL COUNSELING SINCE 1870s
AND THE WESTERN COGNITIVE BEHAVIOR AND OBJECT RELATIONS
THERAPIES: A RECIPROCAL CHALLENGE AND INSIGHT?

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BY

CECILIA Y. NIBYOBONKA, OLGC

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INTRODUCTION

One day I had a daydream in which I saw a relatively big crowd of people seated on a hill slope that overlooked a brook below. The people in the crowd looked dusty, exhausted and parched, with weary feet. They were of different ages and sexes, both children and adults. Apparently the crowd had just sat down to rest their fatigued legs and feet. They were all Africans. Since they were all of the African continent, I can say that I saw, in my dream, African families on the move, moving from the secure past to an unknown and un-navigated future.

As I went on sharing with people the topic of my paper and made a few visits to libraries, I felt as if I was navigating unknown waters. It became evident to me that my course of study was singular in a Western environment. However, I now feel satisfied that I followed my natural inclination and curiosity because, through an adventurous journey of search, reading from limited sources and consultation in the field, I have discovered my own cultural heritage about which I did not know much. I have come to know the cultural beliefs, values, and practices of Bantu ethnic groups in general and, particularly, what beliefs and fears are prevalent in the community of Banyankole and Bakiga. The unity of African people in their diversity of beliefs and practices has amazed me. The common value of the African people is a network of relationships of extended families in community of warmth and hospitality.

In my dream, the crowd was seated on a few patches of grass and one could see

an exposed rough surface of the ground, bits of rock here and there and yet the people looked happy and sat very close to one another almost touching. One seated on such ground feels uncomfortable and keeps watching where one's feet step, and this sort of environment does not give a sense of security. Comfort is only obtained from others in the crowd who seem to be forming a community of sojourners. The future of Banyankole-Bakiga cultural traditions remains unsure. Change is one of the rules of any culture.

My interest in this sort of study came out of a desire to know what makes a difference between knowing and unknowing. My desire to know and learn was encouraged and honored by my colleagues, faculty of IPS, and friends. I was cheered up by their encouragement. I have come to realize that Bantu beliefs and some cultural values and practices stand contrapositive to the current Western cultural expressions although both poles of values can be juxtaposed in some particular aspects. This is what I have attempted to show in my study.

My choice of the topic of this thesis came out of sheer conviction that the Banyankole and Bakiga people have a deep well of religious and social beliefs and values that need to be tapped into and brought to bear on the trends of academic, social, economic and religious development occurring today in Uganda. I am also of the opinion that the time has come for these people and others in Africa to speak with conviction their truth to the rest of the world. How this truth is received and applied in international relations and in the field of therapy and pastoral counseling still remains to be seen by the future generations. If the Bantu people do not tell their

story of traditional counseling, how else will others know it? If the Banyankole and Bakiga as well as other Bantu groups of Africa do not claim that there is another way of counseling, how will the Western therapists and counselors stop the imposition of their counseling ideologies and practices on the non-Western people?

My dream tells me that Banyankole and Bakiga are a people moving into the future with a longstanding religious world where one Supreme being (**Ruhanga**), the spirits of the ancestors, and a network of kinship are intertwined into a single reality in a social world where human life finds expression in sharing, hospitality, community, story-telling, proverbial sayings, poetry and weaving, hunting and cultivation. All this calls for reclaiming what seems to be waning in the face of contemporary challenges that have crept in through institutions of learning and education which are the main route for the entry of the Western culture into the traditional communities of Uganda. Preservation and enhancement of the circle of continuity of life through the honor of the cosmos, human relationships in the family and togetherness in community. The traditional mode of counseling which we can look at as of the past arose out of a patriarchal based society where hierarchy of values and ranks of people prevailed as a way of life that was accepted by all without questioning. Today many Banyankole and Bakiga have become more inquisitive about their past and they seem to want to retrieve that which is still significant to them as the people of modern Uganda. A counselor in such a transient condition of the Ugandan society will need to weave the past into the present for the purpose of allowing clients to test, challenge, and at times work for the retrieving of values for

adaptive living in a modern society of Uganda.

The chapters of this thesis paper gradually unfold according to their individual themes. Chapter 1 deals with the origins of the Bantu in East Africa, and of Banyankole and Bakiga as one of the several Bantu ethnic groups in Africa whose existence in East Africa can be traced as far back as a 1000 years ago among the people who migrated and settled in this part of Africa. Chapters 2 and 3 treat the subject of traditional pre- and marital counseling in their various forms and shapes among the Banyankole and Bakiga. Chapter 4 explores two evocative theories of Western psychology as they apply to therapy and counseling. These theories are cognitive-behavioral modification of Aaron T. Beck and Donald Meichenbaum, and Self psychology of Heinz Kohut. Finally, Chapter 5 pulls the divergent and correlative threads deriving from the previous chapters for the purpose of drawing relevant conclusions on which I have based some proposals for the future.

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF BANYANKOLE AND BAKIGA IN EAST AFRICA

Introduction

I chose the topic of this investigation first to satisfy my own curiosity regarding cultural issues in a context of multicultural counseling. I know that I will encounter groups other than Banyankole and Bakiga seeking counseling services from me, but this investigation should help me to become sensitive to other people's cultural concerns. In addition, I chose this topic because it gave me an opportunity to work within a theoretical framework for counseling in a truly African, or Bantu, or Ugandan style as I translate the Western notions of counseling and therapeutic theories into a local context. My desire and purpose is to explore the riches of these traditions with a goal of examining them more closely and making a selection as to their effectiveness in the modern context of Bantu culture, and more especially of Banyankole and Bakiga tradition. This implies that I seek to discover and affirm the aspects of traditional counseling among the Banyankole and Bakiga that can stand in dialogue with some of the Western modes of counseling and reach integration each without losing its own identity and contribution in the dialogue.

After the discovery of an area of integration, I will propose a somewhat new framework of counseling that will serve to answer the counseling needs of Banyankole and Bakiga in a familiar cultural context. This direction will give the Bantu ethnic groups opportunity to receive counseling services without feeling oppressed by the technically loaded modes of psychotherapy and counseling of the Western culture. Several African writers have made some fruitful attempts to throw light on the traditional beliefs, values, and customs that the African people had in a traditional society, (Masamba Ma Mpolo, *African Pastoral Studies*, 1985, 1991). I have heard these voices from Nigeria (Wilhelmina Kalu and Daniel I. Denga), Zaire (Masamba Ma Mpolo), Ghana (Abraham Adu Berinyuu), Kenya (Kimani wa Chege), Malawi (Alex Chima), Uganda (Sebastian Ssempijja, Akiiki Byaruhanga, and Deusdedit R. Nkurunziza). I have chosen my area of investigation with the hope that I can contribute to this dialogue. To help you as a reader, I will describe for you the geographical location of the people I am writing about. I will also write a very brief history of Bantu in East Africa, and especially of the Banyankole and Bakiga. By way of introducing the environment of the ethnic groups I am writing about, I will briefly describe Uganda as country that has attracted many people from diverse origins over a millennium (Akiiki Byaruhanga, 1978, 258).

Uganda: Her People and Their Languages

Uganda is a land-locked nation with an area of 91,133 square miles, or 236,036 square kilometers. On the north, Uganda has a border with Sudan, on the east with Kenya, on the south with Tanzania and Rwanda, and on the west with Zaire. These borders are the creation of colonial powers of the nineteenth century. Modern Uganda obtained its independence from Britain in 1962. The country is more or less a mass of highland, a plateau ranging in elevation from 3,000 feet, or 900 meters, in the north to 5000 feet, or 1,500 meters in the south. The Banyankole and Bakiga live on the more elevated land of Uganda where one can enjoy the best climate of the country. On the eastern border with Kenya, Uganda has several extinct volcanoes, Mount Elgon being the most massive part of the land with an elevation of up to 14,178 feet, or 4,321 meters. On the west, bordering with Zaire, Uganda is marked by a towering, perpetually snowcapped range of mountains called Rwenzori, originally known by the local people as Rwenjura (rain giving). Margherita is the highest peak, rising to 16,763 feet, or 5,109 meters. Rwenzori lies between lakes Edward and Albert. On the southwest of Uganda stands Muhavura, formerly called Muhabura by the "local people". It means "the one that gives direction to travellers." Muhavura has an elevation of 13,540 feet, or 4,127 meters.

Lakes cover one-sixth of the territory of Uganda, and the largest of these is Lake Victoria which is the main source of the Nile. Lake Victoria is actually the largest lake on the continent of Africa. Temperatures sometimes rise to as much as 95

degrees Fahrenheit, (35 degrees Celsius), in the Ugandan lowlands but in the high country of the southwest, the temperatures can "dip" into the forties or about 5 degrees Celsius, (Encyclopedia Americana, 1993, p.338-342).

For two thousand years, Uganda has been a place of migration, intermarriage and political changes. Jorgensen, as quoted by Akiiki Byaruhanga below, expresses this so succinctly:

Because of migrations, conquests, conquests, intermarriages, and assimilation over the past two millennia and the increased tempo and technological change during the past five centuries, there are no pure ethnic groups in Uganda in the colonial sense of 'tribes' or 'physiognomic races'. The present 'tribes' of Uganda are at least partially the product of amalgamation and divisions imposed by the colonial occupation. Nevertheless, the diversity of peoples and politics in the nineteenth-century Uganda can be illustrated in terms of languages and socio-political structures, (Akiiki Byaruhanga, 1980, p.357).

Within the past 1,000 years, Uganda has become a land of about forty ethnic groups belonging to three main language groups of **Bantu, Nilotic, and Nilo-Hamitic**. Those who speak Bantu comprise about 65 percent of the total population of Uganda; the Eastern Sudanic (Nilo-Hamitic) languages are spoken by the remainder of the population. There is a minority of the people of Uganda who speak the Central Sudanic languages, Lugbara (Nilotic). Swahili, a lingua franco, is sporadically spoken in Uganda and it is mainly a commercial languag. The official language of the state is English.

The Origins and Linguistic Identity of Bantu Group

Approximately 60,000,000 Bantu groups, who speak more than 200 distinct languages of the Niger-Congofamily, occupy almost the entire southern projection of

the African continent previously the domain of the San (Bushmen) and Negrillos (Pygmies) some centuries ago. The classifications of these peoples is primarily linguistic for their cultural patterns are extremely diverse. It is speculated that Bantu groups have their ultimate origin in the middle region of the present-day Benue of Nigeria and the Cameroon, West Africa. Other scholars hypothesize that through migration the Bantu group spread as early as before 2000 years ago. Sutton's carbon-dating points to the interlacustrine region of East Africa as an early independent center of iron-working and agriculture ranging from 450 B.C.E. to 300 A.C.E. The studies of the origins of the sickle-cell gene show the movement of the Bantu from East Africa to Central and Southern Africa. In East and Southern Africa there is, among the peoples described as Bantu, similarity in the cultural expressions of which marriage and child rearing are central, (Akiiki Byaruhanga, 1978 p. 258).

The extreme diversity in the social, religious and political organization of Bantu societies reflects the wide range of environments they occupy on the continent. In regard to the concept of the universe, the Bantu-speaking groups of Africa conceive the universe as a dynamic interconnected visible and invisible reality, consisting of what the human beings can perceive as material and what they cannot bodily perceive through their senses. The former is comprised of the material world, the cosmos, and the latter of the spiritual world. They believe that the life principle is continuous in the material universe and the spiritual world. This concept implies that Bantu groups are aware of the existence of life in different dimensions in the world, some life of which may be manifested by observable things and organic beings like plants, rocks,

seas and lakes, people and animal groups on one hand. On the other hand, they see the life principle in the invisible universe/world as non-observable and yet as truly present. The non-observable form of life makes up the spirit-world of the divinities and the ancestors. This same universe includes the Creative Force, God, although he/she is believed to be found everywhere. Bantu philosophy of life reflects the values they have toward the Supreme Force and the origin of all life in the universe. The Supreme Being (Creative Force) is conceived as the source and origin of all life and authority. The spirit- world is comprised of Supreme Being, (God), lesser divinities and the ancestors. There is a hierarchy of being, life, and authority in the reality of the spirit-world.

Bantu world-view then, is made up of a belief in a material-spirit cosmos. They believe that all the material world, both the organic and non-living possess life, but of different degrees. Bantu philosophy attributes life of the organic and non-organic universe, of the spirits of their deceased relatives who make the ancestral spiritual world to God. Continuity of life implies the conceptualization of life as present without a break among the organic and the spiritual beings. The values of Bantu groups are rooted in their beliefs in a supreme Creator. The Banyankole and Bakiga do not believe in other divinities besides the one supreme God. Some other peoples of Africa believe in lesser divinities, an example being some ethnic groups of West Africa. The supreme Creator is seen to be behind all objects of nature and phenomena.

Nature and the universe are conceived by Bantu groups as being filled with vital dynamism (Nkurunziza, 1989) resulting from a common participation in the same principle of life, a vital reality that unites all. Theo-centricism marks the words, symbols and rituals of Bantu. There is a hierarchy of life, from God to the smallest non-organic object, the grain of sand. All reality, visible and invisible, physical and the cosmos, are ontologically bound in this hierarchy. Religion for Bantu permeates all the dimensions of life. It is said that natural religion is alive in all African cultures, (Nkurunziza, 1989). Bantu philosophy of life also upholds a hierarchy of power among the beings in the cosmos (Akiiki Byaruhanga, 1980 p. 357). As a consequence, Bantu societies evolved political structures with strong personalities at the top, the kings. The power of the king was modeled on the concept that the Bantu have about God, believing that power is for protection of the community and individuals in society. It was a well-known and established custom that a chief would not himself directly inflict physical harm to any one of his subjects. He would, however, impose a severe punishment through agents within his domain.

Omukama otwara kubi atwara bakye, no.2672, (Seite)

This saying means that "If the chief is cruel then he will have few subjects, followers." Bantu ethnic groups, including Banyankole and Bakiga, envisage power in the divine-spirit world to be hierarchical, with God being on top and the spirits with the possession of subordinate powers below him. Human beings come next and the other beings are last in the hierarchy of power. This kind of hierarchy is observed in the daily interactions of Bantu groups among themselves and with other beings. In

other African cultures that believe in lesser divinities, these divinities are closer to God in the ladder of power and serve as his intermediaries. Reverence and respect rested on the value of hierarchy in the traditional society.

Values that dominate the Bantu culture include honesty, loyalty, generosity in sharing and hospitality to strangers and one's own. These are the qualities that enable an individual to live at peace with other members of the clan and in a larger community. The gravest offence among the Bantu groups is theft. It is a counter-force to justice. Traditionally, there was a form of warning to members of a community or clan who did not measure up to the expectations of other members. I will speak about this later.

Anthropologically, a value is meaning or function that a culture attaches to an action, object or an event. To arrive at a cultural value, one has to address the connection of the words, symbols and rituals that a group of people use or manifest in the culture. Culture includes everything one learns from one's social group. The deepest level of culture forms the psychology of a society (Luzbetak, 1991, p. 254-306) and gives rise to the basic assumptions, values and drives which may be the starting points in reasoning, reacting and motivating members of that society. Culture then is a dynamic system of socially acquired and socially shared ideas, beliefs, and practices by which an interacting cultural group enables itself to adapt to its physical, social, organizational and thought system that make the environment of the group conducive to survival. Luzbetak explains the nature and function of culture of any given society in this way, " Culture is a set of norms for living.... that is always in

the process of formation and adjustment," (Luzbetak, 1991, p. 254).

I want to take time and carefully explain certain words in their linguistic structure of the Bantu languages to help the reader of this investigation understand why I have chosen to use the words as the indigenous Bantu speakers use them, but not according to the way they are commonly written in some of the encyclopedia and certain books written by non-Bantu speakers. The Non-Bantu speakers refer to Banyankole as "Nyankole", (people of Ankole), and Bakiga as "Kiga", or even "Chiga", (the people of Kigezi). However, for Bantu speaking ethnic groups, it comes natural to us to have a prefix "ba-" for the plural of "people class" in the linguistic structure of the language. A prefix "mu-" is used to indicate singular. You will find later that I speak of "Munyankole" in reference for a single person from the group of Banyankole, and "Mukiga" from the Bakiga ethnic group. The Bantu speakers words like "Nyankole", or "Chiga" do not really carry complete meaning, (Encyclopedia Americana, 1993, p. 338). The ethnic language of Banyankole is "Runyankole", and that of Bakiga, "Rukiga." The prefix for a class category of language, (tongue), is "ru-". The "ru-" stem is always in the singular. The ethnic language of Banyankole and Bakiga is commonly called Runyankole-Rukiga. The legends, aphorism and proverbs that I will use in this work are from Runyankole-Rukiga.

Like all the other 200 different languages of Bantu speakers, the languages of Banyankole and Bakiga have similar linguistic genders of words according to the number of objects or people, and so forth. Nouns and other parts of speech are grouped into categories and genders, using prefixes and suffixes. The suffix stem

"-ntu" is consistent among the various Bantu ethnic group languages and it is a particular category of nouns in which we find human beings. Sometimes the "-ntu" becomes so soft-spoken and is heard as "-ndu" among certain groups of Bantu speakers, for example the Bafumbira, Banyarwanda, Kikuyu.

The Ethnic Origins of the Banyankole-Bakiga

Banyankole and Bakiga have kin-ethnic groups that occupy the western part of Uganda north of Banyankole. These are Batoro and Banyoro. These two groups are also closely related by a similar language. The four ethnic groups of Banyankole, Bakiga, Batoro and Banyoro speak more or less a structurally similar language. Kigezi land is shared by another Bantu group, the Bafumbira whose ethnic language is closer to that of Banyarwanda in the south of Kigezi and to that of Zulu of South Africa. I am restricting this current investigation to Banyankole and Bakiga.

The census of 1988 showed Uganda with a population of 17,000,000, taking into account various civil wars of 1966, 1972, and 1979-1982, that caused thousands of deaths and economic deterioration. A census of 1979 showed that of a population of 12,630,076 of that period, 400,000 were Banyankole, and 390,000 were Bakiga. The general population density of Uganda is 184 people per square mile. Only 10% of the people live in urban areas (Colliers Encyclopedia, 1990, p. 569-574).

Descent systems and religious practices among the Banyankole and Bakiga point to their similar link with other Bantu ethnic groups in other areas of Africa. Although

economic, social, and political organization of Bantu-speaking peoples show a great diversity, many aspects of common traditional social and political organization are evident among the Banyankole and Bakiga. The Banyankole and Bakiga have a patrilineal descent system. The Banyankole-Bakiga people are two similar ethnic groups closely related by the same language. The two groups occupy an area in southwestern Uganda between Lakes Edward and George; Ankole shares a border with Tanzania, and Rwanda in the south, while Kigezi has a common border with Rwanda also in the south. Earlier in this century the geographical area of Banyankole was known as Ankole, and that of Bakiga as Kigezi. In recent years, Ankole has been divided into four districts: Mbarara, Bushenyi, Ibanda and Kikagati. Kigezi has also been divided into Kabale, Rukungiri and Kisoro districts for easier administration by the present-day government.

The Bakiga did not have an institutional political organization. Their political organization was based on an elder elected from among them. Clans had elders to give them such organization. It was only in 1926 that the Bakiga attained a political organization based on an elected elder from among them. This type of political organization was inserted into the social structure of the Bakiga by the colonial power. The Bakiga do not have a history of traditional monarchy. As to their origins in the area, the Bakiga do not have a tradition that indicates their common origin in Southwestern Uganda. It is believed that some Bakiga came from Rwanda in the south, and others from the north in the direction of Lake Edward which is toward the border of Zaire and Uganda. Some anthropologists speculate that the Bakiga are a

surviving enclave of the original southern population which came under the dominance of the Bahima ethnic group of Ankole and of Banyarwanda, (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1993, p. 105-106).

In the earlier years of the twentieth century, the Banyankole were ruled by a traditional king called **omugabe**. Traditionally the Banyankole, similar to other Bantu ethnic groups, were divided into two quite distinct social groups of different social status that spoke a common language. The two social classes were Bahima (Hima) and Bairu (Iru). The ruling king was traditionally of the Bahima class. The Bahima and Bairu were culturally prohibited from crossing boundaries of their social classes through marriage. However, both Bahima and Bairu borrowed extensively from the culture of the other and each had a social system of patrilineal descent and their patriarchal social system had members divided into clans and groups. There was general polygamy, with a few exceptions. Among the Bahima, Bairu and Bakiga, marriage was taken to be a call for every human being; the exceptions were a curse in a community. For a Munyankole woman who had failed to marry, some ritual had to be performed at her funeral rite by her brother to remove the curse. This form of burial ritual was so much dreaded by her brothers that they made all attempts to make her marry even in her late years of old age to avoid the burial ritual (Akiiki Byaruhanga, 1978, p. 258). There is no space in this investigation to go into the details of that horrible burial ritual which an unmarried Munyankole woman and her brother were threatened by.

Like other Bantu ethnic groups, the Banyankole and Bakiga value kinship and

community. For the Bantu, living is inextricably involved with the community both of the living and dead; it is a participation in the sacred life of the Creative force and of the spirits of the ancestors. The human person cannot be passive in the physical world; the person must be an active participant with the help of the ancestors. What interrupts the continuity of a harmonious life with **Ruhanga** (Creator) and the ancestors may be neglect on the part of the living to give due respect to the Supreme Being and the ancestors. This is seen as an offence of the living progeny that can cause the anger of God or of the ancestral spirits. Life is shared by all and by everything in the universe. The life of the individual is grasped as shared. The members of a clan, family, know that each has a part or a role to take in the flow of life within the community and the universe; both men and women are equally responsible for that flow. Child-bearing is a major aspect of continuity of life. Apart from being a member of an individual nuclear family, a person is a member of another larger social group, the clan. Kinship is the intrinsic fabric of solidarity and oneness in the clan. The kinship system gives different affiliations to an individual which involve particular expectations, patterned attitudes and obligations. Today kinship organization still influences the life style of Banyankole and Bakiga, even those who live in the city.

The Banyankole and Bakiga had means in the traditional society to go beyond the boundary of kinship. There used to be affiliations created by a covenant of blood pact; making blood pact with a relative was prohibited. By the act of blood pact a covenant was set up between different families and between members of different

clans. The clans and families became one by this act. Vital solidarity and oneness in life came about thereafter. The covenant of blood pact among the non-biologically related individuals became a source of communion and created community. This was a very important value among the Bakiga and Banyankole. Another source of creating community of families and clans was marriage .

The Banyankole and Bakiga believed in life after death, even before Christianity appeared on the scene. As in other Bantu ethnic groups, life after death was a very important value in the traditional society of Banyankole and Bakiga. Life was considered not to be utterly extinguished at death. Banyankole and Bakiga still believe, apart from what Christianity teaches them, that the deceased relatives continue communion and communication with the living members of the family and/or the clan. The deceased good ancestors are somehow re-incarnated into the family. This is shown at times when names are given to children in memory of the deceased ancestor. Angry and bad ancestors may still roam about inflicting pain as revenge, or may show up in a medium threatening revenge unless reconciliation with the living is symbolically performed. A medium would be any relative, child or adult, in which the spirit of the ancestor speaks and communicates his/her message to the living. A medium, in the sense I am using the term here, is not a sorcerer. A sorcerer (Dillon-Malone, 1986, p. 375-379) would be any person that practices witchery, or black magic, through sorcery. Sorcery is a practice of a person who is thought of and believed to have godly/divine powers which are granted to the person by evil spirits, but not by good spirits or good divinities. A sorcerer is different from a "witch-

doctor" whom I shall refer to as a traditional healer/medium, or **omufumu**, in Runyankole-Rukiga. A traditional healer is a person who attempts to cure sickness and/or to avert calamity through natural means by giving herbal medicine, or by invoking ancestral spirits for help. A traditional healer, **omufumu**, may at times use his/her powers to exorcise evil spirits brought about by the presence of bewitchment in the afflicted. Magic may be a phenomenon common to both the traditional healer and the sorcerer. However, the traditional healer uses what I call "psychic magic", and the sorcerer uses manipulative evil-oriented magic called "black magic" to achieve his/her ends. In this work I will later describe a specialized traditional healer known as a diviner, and his/her role of traditional counseling. The diviner claims a divine call for his/her practice. His manner of healing is a process, not a once for all cure. The diviner takes steps to arrive at healing of the afflicted.

An ordinary **mufumu** is not necessarily a diviner. He/she may end by just giving the medicinal herbs to cure diseases and/or to prevent some mishap, and this may be done in a ritualized performance. The Banyankole and Bakiga believe in a traditional healer, and they feel better when the healer is a diviner as well. You will often find that the sick go to a modern society medical person after realizing that they are failing to get a cure from their own private traditional healer. The case also may be that the sick discharge themselves from the hospital because they have more hope in the traditional mode of curing diseases. This citation creates a big question about the imported mode of treatment of the sick in a traditional society. The Munyankole and Mukiga perceive illness not simply as something that just attacks one part of the

body, but as a malfunctioning of the whole person (body, spirit, soul and psychic), particularly in the area of relations and faithfulness to one's role in the community.

Wisdom of the Ancestral Spirits

Traditional religious beliefs are very much reflected in the cult of devotion to the ancestral spirits. In the hierarchy of power respected by the Bantu ethnic groups is found the authority of the ancestral spirits which are the spirits of the ancestors who remain part of the community network of relationships prevalent among the Banyankole and Bakiga. Traditional counseling, whether of children, the married, or any other member of the clan and group, is done in the context of the community, not so much as a one-to-one encounter. Often, counseling is directed to moral education and correction of damaging conduct to the individual and the community. The ancestors are always in the picture of everyday community life of the Bantu ethnic groups.

Who are the ancestors? Nkurunziza (1989) in his research goes to great lengths to explain how traditional societies of Banyankole and Bakiga practiced rituals to show their beliefs in the spiritual world of the ancestors and guardian spirits. He defines the term "ancestors" in this way:

Ancestors are the deceased/departed forefathers, (and foremothers), progenitors, who are remembered and respected by the descendants. They are believed to be somehow near the Supreme Being/God, the source of life, in the invisible world and are believed to have power over the affairs of human beings in their daily life. The descendants have a constant desire to please ancestors and to be at peace with them by making sacrificial offerings from time to time... Ancestors are also

subject to the same emotions like anger, jealousy as the living members," (Nkurunziza, 1989).

Ancestors are believed to be the best group of intermediary spirits between human beings and God. They are, therefore, part of those who counsel the family, clan, and community. They are part of the traditional counseling system. Ancestors are the natural patrons of the family, of its affairs, traditions, ethics and activities. The living need to approach the ancestors as often as circumstances demand with prayer, offerings of food and libations at the shrines of the ancestors. It is the communication with the ancestral spirits that helps the diviner (therapist) or counselor (elder) to identify the conflicting social web of relationships in the clan or community of clans.

The ancestors have rival spirits that disturb a family, clan, and a community. These are the malevolent spirits called by Banyankole and Bakiga **emizimu**. While the ancestors of the lineages of the couple are benevolent and helpful, the malevolent spirits punish bad actions and cause misfortunes related to witchcraft and magic. The Banyankole and Bakiga have another type of spirit called the "guardian spirits" (Nkurunziza p.73, 1989). The people relate to the guardian spirit through a religious cult; this cult is central to the religious thought and practice of Banyankole and Bakiga. The guardian spirit of Banyankole was called **Emandwa**, and that of Bakiga, **Nyabingi**. Nyabingi was a prophetess whose spirit after her death returned to dwell in those who were faithful to her and who in turn developed the same religious cult of **Nyabingi**. The Bakiga adherents of **Nyabingi** traditionally frustrated the evangelization by early Christian missionaries in the land. The ancestral spirits played a big

role in the stability or instability of traditional marriage.

In the traditional sense, marriage is an institution that marks the beginnings of the rights and obligations of veneration, sacrificial offerings and libation which are to win favor of good spirits and ward off misfortune of malevolent spirits. The cult of the guardian spirit was often a source of tension between the couple because of rituals that were involved. The rituals of such a nature could easily block an intended marriage. A diviner was consulted to give advice about how to settle possible future conflicts arising out of the presence of **emandwa** in either family.

To be a member in a traditional society is inevitably to be a participant in the sacred life of the ancestors since living is an extension of the life of the forefathers. The ancestors can bless or curse their descendants. The power to bless or curse is no other than the previous authority that the forefather or foremother possessed as a parent when still living. The ancestral spirit of a father or mother could curse in anger, even to ostracism. Failure to respect the ancestral spirits or failure to perform the last funeral rite and to observe the social codes of behavior could result in a curse or loss of the protection by the ancestors. Sometimes the curse was very severe. The one cursed had to flee the community and live where she or he was not known, a very strict punishment. The absence of the ancestors from the life of the individual or of the family or of the clan, made each vulnerable to witchcraft attack. For that reason, marriage rituals were carried out with scrupulosity.

Witchcraft was commonly linked with a wide range of evil spirits. Almost all the time witch spirits were included in the analysis by the medicine person and/or diviner

for identification of barrenness, sudden death in the family, death of a child, illness, or any other problem in the family and/or clan, (Masamba Ma Mpolo, 1990, p. 38-52). Witches and wizards spirits were the malevolent ones. Diseases, misfortune, social and political chaos, death and other evils were directly attributed to witchcraft in the community just as health, good fortune, order and harmony were attributed to ancestral spirits. The Banyankole and Bakiga used to accept witchcraft as a reality and directly saw it in its perceived effects in people afflicted by it, especially in those they believed were bewitched. From another perspective different from a traditional outlook, it can be said that bewitchment is an indication of emotional disorders, (Masamba ma Mpolo, 1990, p. 38-52). Rituals that a diviner or medicine person prescribed for those afflicted with bewitchment was not only performed by an individual but by the extended family, a social structure that provided the mechanics that reduced stress and shared whatever guilt feelings were concurrent with the situation.

Owing to the mystery of witchcraft and bewitchment and to mysterious and overpowering forces of nature and the riddles of life lived with the ancestors, the Supreme Being, and in community of other human beings, the Banyankole and Bakiga constantly faced anguish and a sense of insecurity. The traditional religious cult helped in giving the needed assurance, provided the rituals were done right. The belief that, besides the one and unique God, there are other invisible spirits (Singleton, 1977, p. 185-194). invested with spiritual authority for good or for evil made the family or clan constantly need to offer sacrifice and prayer in appeasement. They had

hope in the ancestral spirits and believed that the good spirits that act as intermediaries between one Supreme God and human beings would set right things that had gone wrong. God, the ancestors, and the good spirits, including the guardian spirit altogether formed a battery of counselors in the traditional society because the medicine person, the diviner, and any medium approached by the afflicted were not acting on their own, but in conjunction with the spirits of the clan and the family.

Christianity: An Alternative to Traditional Beliefs

Protestant and Catholic missionaries (Faupel, 1962) arrived within two years of one another. On June 30, 1877, the first Protestant missionaries, sent by British Church Missionary Foreign Society, arrived in Uganda at the court of the then Buganda King. They presented a letter from the office of the sending British Missionary Society. This event somehow created in the mind of Buganda King an image that combined Christianity and the British political power as one, a reality that has lasted up to the present. The first Catholic missionaries arrived in Uganda at the Court of Buganda King, from Tanzania region, in February, 1879. It would not surprise me if the two groups had an intention of making an alliance with the King of Buganda to establish some kind of Christian Kingdom in line with the French or British political organization at home, as was the practice on the continent of Africa. There was rivalry between the early groups of Christian missionaries due to their home differences and conflicts. One of the differences was the language; another one

was the content of their preaching about Christianity.

The new religion of the missionaries attracted the royal pages (intelligentsia) and people from the environs of the palace. The Christian missionaries arrived much later than the Moslems. The king was a bit confused as to which religion was more suitable for his kingdom and people. He wanted a religion that would make his subjects continue to obey him in every way without questioning. At first he played off missionaries against each other to make them disagree and fight among themselves. He almost succeeded. By the end of 1879, King Mutesa I of Buganda imposed a ban on the foreign religions of Christianity and Islam. This did not stop the Christian pages from practicing their religion and even teaching it to others they could influence. They were interested in a change in the kingdom, change that would bring freedom to learn the new ways, including writing, that the Europeans brought and to choose whatever religion they preferred. The Catholic royal pages to the king's court continued receiving Christian instruction in secret, relying on using their free time to learn about Christ and his message.

The royal pages quickly embraced the new religion, Christianity, because it offered a new version of human life through change, and they hoped to acquire effective skills through learning reading which the Arab and Swahili Moslems had introduced in the country prior to the coming of the Christian missionaries. The first Catholic catechumens were baptized in 1880 and were followed by others in 1882. In 1882, the Catholic missionaries made fled Uganda because of the ban imposed by the King which prevented them from preaching Christianity. The King also made many

threats to those who had embraced the Christian faith. The Moslems had already fallen out of favor with the King because they had challenged his authority. In traditional society our kings claimed that they had divine power and the authority of the ancestral spirits. In this way they commanded obedience of their subjects without questioning.

The Catholic French missionaries later returned to Tanzania where they stayed for three years. During these three years the young Church in Buganda continued to grow under the leadership of the Ugandan laity. The threats of the King ended in persecution and execution of a number of Christian believers both Catholic and Protestants. This is how the martyrdom of first Christians took place in Uganda. The Christian faith reached Ankole and Kigezi later, perhaps at the turn of this century. The Christian faith was taken to Banyankole and Bakiga by lay catechists from Buganda who were sent by priests, and the priests would follow to give more instruction in the faith and to baptize.

The Christian gospel was readily welcomed, but its connection with their traditional religious beliefs was not immediately seen nor easily understood by the people wherever it was spread by enthusiastic Ugandan lay missionaries and the missionary priests, the White Fathers, (now called Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa). Traditional communities were content with their way of life and practices. I must say that the encounter of Christianity and traditional beliefs and practices was largely superficial because this encounter did not affect the nature of life of the believers at the core of their traditional practices; there was no integration of life. Deep down the

encounter did not bring about cultural changes leading to a better preparation for the reception of the new faith, Christianity. Both Protestant and Catholic missionaries brought with them their own culture and used that for communicating the Christian faith. They learned the local languages, but not the culture of the people. The sending authorities had instructed the missionaries to learn the languages of the people they were evangelizing. They also gave a general instruction that the missionaries use the local believers to help them propagate the faith among their own people. The early missionaries precisely did that, and it worked. The missionaries were handicapped in the preaching of the Christian faith and practices because of their Western mind and world view. They had come from countries, (Britain and France), that considered themselves lettered and of more technological advancement than the state of Uganda. It is not surprising that missionaries, in some cases, were backed by their home government to implement some political policies.

At times the people of Uganda found it hard to distinguish the message of missionaries from the political propaganda. The introduction of the central place of Jesus in the belief in God that Banyankole and Bakiga already had must have confused them. Moreover, the missionaries referred to the traditional beliefs and practices as pagan, witchcraft, fetishism, a sign that what was not known remained foreign and suspected. I believe the missionaries saw only differences that existed between the cultural beliefs and practices of Banyankole and Bakiga and the Christian faith. This has continued to be a source of tension in the history of missionaries in Uganda. The missionaries needed to be reminded that we have different ways of knowing God,

nature, and other human beings. Generally Africans know most intimately through relationships, not through empirical categories; we know by experience. One writer, has shown this difference of knowing in these words, "The Western mind, more than other minds, seeks concepts representing reality, categories, principles and theories; the mind seeks statements, dogma, and laws - it seeks certitude and control," (Luzbetak, p. 254).

I believe a counselor who operates within the framework of Western thought patterns will be frustrated by traditional expressions that a counselee from a traditional community would use in a counseling session. No one culture is better than another, I believe, yet there is always bound to be tension when two cultures meet.

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL COUNSELING AMONG THE BANYANKOLE AND BAKIGA

The Wisdom and Nature of Traditional Counseling

Speaking about traditional counseling among the Banyankole and Bakiga group to someone from a non-Bantu group is like, I think trying to point out to an airplane passenger something as small as an ant on the highway. Using this image will speak more than my explanations. Another way of telling an outsider what traditional counseling among the Banyankole and Bakiga is would be to use an analogy of "a carpet of underlying organic cache on a fallow field" that a peasant uncovers when clearing a bushy area for new crops. The importance of humus is known most by peasants and learned agriculturalists because that is a word in their every day language of preparing fields for a new crop. This simple word may be unfamiliar to city dwellers. The Banyankole and Bakiga are peasants and used to live simpler lives than they do at this point in history in their traditions as I will show later. For a philosopher or a Western society scientist, counseling among the Banyankole and Bakiga may not fit their western definition of counseling, and in particular of pastoral counseling.

Traditional counseling is guidance in its basic sense. However, there is hardly any literature in English of what this tradition is and how it is carried out among the Banyankole and Bakiga. In the ethnic language of both Banyankole and Bakiga, "counseling", **okuhabura**, **okuhabuura**, **obuhabuzi**, literally means "showing a way to someone floundering," "re-directing a person who has lost a way," or "giving advice." Traditional counseling is on a continuum. It involves attempts to integrate spiritual and cultural values into daily life and responding to an emergency in the case of a crisis. Counseling for Banyankole and Bakiga is not quite like teaching or giving instructions. When one teaches another, or instructs a child about something, the teacher or instructor aims at making the child or the other see the sense of the instruction. The teacher or instructor tries to make the other understand what is said or done. In counseling a child or another person, the counselor's goal is to reach the "heart" of the matter and of the other being counseled and to invite both to merge into a continuity of embodiment geared to coping with living. In the Bantu culture there is this persistent notion that all beings in the visible and non-visible universe form a unity, and this unity rests on their participation in a life principle which is continuous in all. The visible universe is that which holds things we can perceive with our senses, and the invisible universe is the world of the spiritual beings, the mighty ones, and the less powerful. Life is multi-dimensional and yet it is one.

The Collins Dictionary and Thesaurus gives the English word "guidance", or "to guide", a closer meaning to the Runyankole-Rukiga words given above when they speak of counseling. For the Banyankole and Bakiga, the counselor is any person, a

parent, grandparent, aunt, uncle, or a wise person, man or woman, that takes the role of a concerned unseen companion except at the moment when the counselee hears the words of the counselor. The counselor calls the attention of the hearer to stop and look, examine and then change behavior. Counseling for the Banyankole and Bakiga is inevitably linked up with a call or, at times, a demand for a change of heart and consequently of conduct. Traditionally, a counselor was regarded as a person of influence in the community. Because there could be a multiple number of counselors, the community had to designate the individual, a person by related by blood or marriage, or one holding position in the community, to guide and help the young to slowly develop their skills of coping to live an adult life later on. Children and the youth had to acquire personal perspective in learning to do what is best for themselves and others in their family and the community at large.

The Basis of Traditional Community Counseling: The General African View

The general world view that most Africans have does influence the manner in which the Banyankole and Bakiga do and receive their counseling since they, too, share in that belief and value system. An African writer, Masamba ma Mpolo, (Zaire), gives his reflection on the African pastoral care and counseling in these words:

Pastoral care, counseling and psychiatry in the western sense are relatively new disciplines in Africa... Pastoral counseling and psychiatry, in a sense, were aspects of the indigenous African religious and medical systems. Specialized healers and priests provided assistance, guidance, diagnosis and care to

families, groups in communities and individuals, (Masamba ma Mpolo and Wilhelmina, ed., 1985).

The African people, including Banyankole and Bakiga, are quick to believe that moral goodness is attainable by every human being in his or her right mind. In addition to that they believe that morality is not so much dictated by the Supreme Creative Force and Life principle, (God), but rather by human understanding and desire to be good and acceptable by others in the community of family, friends and clan. The universe of the Banyankole and Bakiga is hierarchically arranged among the beings that occupy the visible and non-visible worlds. The closer the being would be to the spiritual world the more power and influence that being would have among the rest of other beings. Banyankole and Bakiga believe in one Supreme Being, the mightiest of all the beings in the world of the spirits. The community of the human and the spiritual beings makes one interacting world. This community has as one of its main roles the responsibility to watch over the moral rectitude of all. Counseling, therefore, will be used as one of the tools for personal and community rectitude. Counseling is geared toward a moral life by assisting a person through advice to eliminate misbehavior and conduct unacceptable to the community. The focus of the Africans on the continuity of life among all the elements of nature, animals and people both living and dead makes them celebrants of this life and advocates of the joy of living a good and friendly life with all the cosmos. Life is cyclic in the thinking of Bantu ethnic groups, beginning at the moment of conception, running through childhood, adulthood, and into those who have died, and returning to the living on earth in the form of the

ancestral spirits. The Creator is the powerful hand that maintains life behind all its cycles both in the living and the deceased. For this reason a misbehaving child or adult, man or woman shames all, not just him or herself. One of the goals of counseling, then, was to call people to right living, a religious goal. For Bantu, the world was and is one, life was and is a unity, and not a dichotomous reality where the world has two separate parts, the parts of the sacred and the profane. For the Banyankole and Bakiga every person should know his or her place and role in the community and society at large.

A sense of justice is also part of the world view of Africans, including Banyankole and Bakiga. The universe, or world, of the Banyankole and Bakiga is hierarchically ordered. The perspective of, or framework for traditional counseling is: there is order in the universe and that order should be respected and maintained by individuals and communities. Bad conduct damages by dismantling that order, and it should be rectified. The world view of Banyankole and Bakiga, like that of other Africans, holds that beliefs are not abstract notions, and values are not speculations. Beliefs and values are concretely alive in everyday life of the people in a traditional society. One has just to observe and listen.

Pre- and Marital Counseling Through Story-telling and Proverbs

Every culture has its own means of passing on its cherished beliefs, values and customs from one generation to the next. Among the Banyankole and Bakiga;

counseling is one way of handing on traditions. When it comes to passing on the cultural values, then traditional counseling takes on the role of a teacher. The values are passed on to children who are taught by their parents and close relatives what life is all about. Again, values are passed on at marriage to inform the young couple what their role will be when they begin their own home and bear children. Cultural beliefs and values are at play when the married are brought before the council of their elders for settling their disputes in the home.

To capture the imagination and convey a vivid picture of the matter to the counselee, or learner, the Munyankole or Mukiga counselor will use a song poem, legends, myths, aphorisms, proverbs and story telling. Traditional counseling did not have a specific place (office) for counseling. Boys and girls were given counsel by their parents any time they needed it. Other people who would give counsel to children and youth were an aunt, uncle, or wives of the uncles and married sisters and brothers. Girls and boys would also consult their friends about important matters relating to their age. The paternal aunts and uncles were particularly given the authority to educate the youth in preparation for their marriage. Any child or youth who would fail to be educated through the counsels of their parents, aunts and uncles would be thought of as bewitched. Because people giving traditional counseling did not have a psychology of personality as a reference, they frequently were unable to help those who were unusually hardheaded and heartless.

As a child became old enough to go along with parents and other adult relatives to the fields for sowing, weeding and harvesting crop, she or he would be quietly

listening to the aphorisms in the songs that adults were singing and to the proverbs they were exchanging. On a rainy day, members of a household would stay together at home. They would make fire to warm themselves. This was a very important place of counseling. Lyrics and chanting would be filling the air from the members of the household. Travellers in transit would stop by because of the rain and they, too, would contribute their wisdom in recitation of proverbs and myths of great people, of clans. At nightfall everybody would be in the home with the exception of he who was known by all to be the head of the family, who was fond of drinking with other men of the village as a social event.

Traditionally children were taught from early childhood to say little in the company of adults, but to listen more to them for counsel and wisdom. In the home there was a time when all members of the household would enjoy listening to legends and aphorism. This, too, was an important time of learning for children. I will give two examples of myths that children would be made to listen to at one of the periods cited above for a lesson into the wickedness of characters with a view toward influencing children to prevent catastrophe in their own adult life. Frequently whenever a mythical story was narrated, here and there a proverb, a lyric, or aphorism would be inserted for the teaching of the hearers. One can say, then, that traditional counseling was very informal, and was made concrete by cultural strategies of story telling, recitation of proverbs and aphorisms, and lyrics. Unfortunately this rich tradition is waning among the Banyankole and Bakiga.

Proverbs are Paradoxical and Require Explanation

Proverbs are, most of the time, intertwined with stories that the story-teller narrates to children and adults, either to entertain them, or to pass on the wisdom of the past generations, or to give counsel to his or her listeners. Proverbs are paradoxical, (Chima, 1984, p. 52), and they are elicited by the kind of conversation that goes on as adults gather for a particular occasion of the community, or clan. Traditionally a lot of proverbs would be told as a pointer to dangers of bad conduct such as laziness, injustice, greed, violence and conceit, promiscuity and adultery. Proverbs would be told to challenge a person, or call the person to good life. The wise woman, or man, tells the proverb so fast that the one hearing it has to pay extra effort to catch it. That was also a technique to know who really wanted to learn, or gain some insight in life. The wise recited the proverb without force. One proverb gives a wide scope of thought and choice. Proverbs speak about different qualities that a child, an adult, a father or mother must work for and acquire in order to be happy, wise, respectful, obedient, cooperative, just, contented, a good neighbor and one who values work, self and other.

Whenever a child was being counseled, he or she was usually asked to repeat the story after the story-teller, or to say what the proverb said. The adult then would ask the child which part of the story, or which character in the story the child likes and why. This would be followed by an explanation to the child what the story is about

and who the bad, or good, person is in the story and what the adult is telling the child what to do in order to be good, or to stay out of trouble. Stories and proverbs that an adult would use to talk to a child would be simpler than those told the youth, or an older person. The youth often would be sent to someone to ask what the story or proverb meant from other sources, to ask her mother for a girl and his father or uncle for a boy, showing the youth that it is through search and hard work that a person acquires knowledge.

When I speak about traditional counseling, I include youth counseling, beginning from age 7 upward. It used to be the custom of Banyankole and Bakiga to give into marriage their young girls to young boys. Traditionally a girl at an age of 9 years, or even younger, would be given into marriage while the parents of the child entrusted her to the mother-in-law-to-be to further rear her. The Bakiga were notorious for this custom because for them marriage was largely based, on the quality and wealth of a family rather than on the two marrying individuals. The Banyankole gave the daughter into marriage at a later age, probably 12 up to 15 years of age. The wife-to be was not to sleep with her husband-to-be in the home. She was to remain close to her future mother in-law. From her, she learned what adult life, especially marriage, was all about. The rule was to wait until a girl reached "womanhood". The custom of marrying at an earlier age was common among the wealthy. Marriage was by custom arranged by parents of both the girl and the boy. A person chosen by the boy's father, because of her or his blood connection with both families, was entrusted with the role of finding the boy a girl of good character, who

was hard-working, clean, beautiful and warm in welcoming people. The family of the girl had to be approved for good standing in their clan. The boy was scrutinized for qualities such as hospitality, industriousness, justice and gentleness. Any home known among the people for "witching craft" practices or for violence, especially murderous acts, or for psychiatric traces (mental illness) was disregarded and feared. Therefore when I speak about pre-marital counseling I am focusing more on educative and thus preventive counseling that was done by various educators and growth process promoters. This counseling was to prepare a youth, as young as 9 years of age, for a happy future as an adult. The story of Kabangire and Kirungi is for both the youth and the married. It may be recounted to listeners to show them what can ruin marriage, family life and the community. The story is about jealousy and responsibility.

Jealousy: Marriage's Deadly Poison

A Legend of Kabangire and Kirungi

A long, long time ago, there once lived a man with two wives. One of the two died and left two children, a son and a daughter, to her husband. The son was called Kabangire and the daughter was known as Kirungi, and they were well-behaved children.

The one living wife had a daughter. This stepmother of Kirungi became jealous of her and her brother Kabangire because they were well behaved and beloved children of the father.

The stepmother of Kirungi started to weave a very big basket. Now and again she would call her own daughter and make her stand inside the basket to measure its depth.

One day, when she saw that her daughter, of the same size and height as Kirungi, fitted in the basket she immediately knew that Kirungi would also fit in the basket. Then the stepmother wove a lid to fit the huge basket. When the lid was done, the stepmother sent on errand her own daughter and Kirungi, making sure that her daughter went further on than Kirungi.

In sending the two girls the stepmother gave this message, **"Who among the two of you arrives back earlier, I will give her a garland of beads."** Kirungi was sent to the nearest place. This meant that Kirungi arrived earlier. Of course, Kirungi arrived earlier because she was already nearby.

Leaving aside the meal she was preparing when Kirungi arrived, the stepmother asked Kirungi to get into the basket, telling her that she wanted to see how deep the basket was. As soon as Kirungi was in the basket, the woman immediately took the basket lid and pressed it down over Kirungi to cover the basket firmly. No one was around to see what had happened since the stepmother had sent her own daughter to farther place and she had not yet returned.

The stepmother took the basket with Kirungi inside to the river and pleaded with the fishermen to help her to hang up the basket in the tree on the bank of the river. They agreed and hung up the basket.

About two days afterwards, Kirungi's father began to ask the whereabouts of his daughter, Kirungi. His wife responded by relating how she sent the two daughters on an errand and that Kirungi had not yet returned. The husband was disturbed and began to insist, with threats of killing his wife, that Kirungi was to be brought back immediately from wherever she was sent. Days passed by and Kirungi did not return.

Late that afternoon, Kirungi's brother, Kabangire, took the cows to the river to drink as usual, to a place close to where the basket containing Kirungi hung. He did not look up. The cows refused to drink the water. Kabangire eventually started to sing to entice one of them, Rugondo, to drink the water. Suddenly, Kabangire heard a voice singing in these words, " My brother, Kabangire, do not force Rugondo to drink the water; Rugondo has smelt my aura. My stepmother wove a basket for me; measured me; put me in the basket, and placed a heavy lid and pressed it down on me. One of my eyes is gone; one of my arm, one of my sides, and one of my legs are all gone."

After hearing all that, Kabangire herded the cows and returned home. He related to his father what he had heard along the river bank. Kabangire's father was sure that the voice was that of his daughter, Kirungi. The next morning, Kabangire and his father went to the river to the very spot where the cows refused to drink the water. When Kirungi heard the voices of her father and brother, she intoned a chant, calling out-loud to her brother to look up in the tree.

Kirungi's father did not know how to climb the tree that had no branches in

which hung the basket on the bank of the river. He gave the best heifer to the fishermen and asked them to bring down the basket. They did. Kirungi's father and her brother, Kabangire, took her home and hid her to nurse her wounds until she was healed. Nevertheless Kirungi became a cripple.

When Kirungi's wounds had healed, her father asked his wife to brew large amount of beer and informed her that he was going to invite her own people for a special occasion. The woman did what her husband told her to do. Kirungi's father invited all the in-laws to his home.

After their first drink, as was the custom then, he disclosed his reason for summoning them. He then related the story of what his wife, and their daughter, had done to his daughter. He brought out the cripple, Kirungi, for all to see with their own eyes. Everyone who saw Kirungi was infuriated. In rage they all condemned the woman to death for her wicked deed to Kirungi. The woman was put to death. Kirungi's father was happy to remain unmarried until his three children, Kirungi, and her brother, Kabangire, and their half sister were old enough. He then got married again. (Festo Karwemera, 1993 cassette)

Several questions arise. The child, or an adult, listening to the story asks the question: "What is the story of Kirungi, her brother, Kabangire, and the father telling me?" The story may need to be explained to the child. By then the child might be showing fear regarding the fate of Kirungi and the stepmother. But the child is also encouraged to look at the role of the cows, Kirungi's brother, and her father. What happens when one is not loving? What happens when one is too trusting, like Kirungi? Where is the voice of the child with a mother, and what is that saying about the importance of a mother in a home? What happens when there is an injustice in a community? Do the people of your blood spare you when you do evil?

The story of Kabangire and Kirungi shows a situation of estrangement of community members to one another because of an unhappy turn of events in a single

family. The theme of the story is about watchfulness over the most vulnerable members of the community, the children. The story fits in with the preparation of both the boy and girl for marriage. When a woman marries a man with several wives, she has to take care because all the children in the home have a father who loves them. A father's role is to love all his children without distinction. When there is calamity that has befallen a home, it is a good tradition that all adults on both sides of the future wrangling due to suspicion on either side of the fence. A boy getting ready to marry is taught by the story that he is not the only responsible person for his family; he has other relatives he can call upon. The girl is taught to embrace and practice justice in her dealings in her future home and beyond her family. The story then has several dimensions. The person listening to the legend might not get to all the dimensions of the story. The proverbs are inserted to help. It is hoped by the story teller (Masamba ma Mpolo, 1985, 324-326), that one day the legend will be a source of teaching and counsel to the listener. This is what is called informal traditional counseling. The legend of Kabangire and Kirungi and their father would be a good story to tell a bride-to-be how to love step-children. It was a good story for a boy to show him how a father must love his children, regardless of who their mother is. Since a man was traditionally polygamous, he was constantly facing jealousy among his wives. He was also aware of how this jealousy and envy would affect his children. The story warns a father to keep watching over his children lest their lives become endangered.

The meaning of the legend of Kabangire and Kirungi may be further brought

out by aphorisms accompanying the story. I am going to give relevant proverbial sayings as a follow-up in the lines that follow which, in my judgement, may clarify the significance of the story. Needless to say, that one proverb gives a wide scope of thought, significance, and choice. Children and youth, though sitting apart from the place of adults, must have overheard many proverbs.

Let us examine here several proverbs of Runyankole-Rukiga that were researched by two Catholic Missionaries, M. Cisternino (1987), a Comboni Missionary, and A. Seite (1989), Missionaries of Africa. The proverbs are given in the following section.

Akarema nyoko, niko karema nyokozaara, n.284 (Seite & Cisternino).

What your mother has failed to change about you, your mother in-law will not manage it, nor will any other woman be willing to give you advice. This proverb is saying that development of one's character starts early in life.

The teaching here is that your mother is your best teacher and educator. All women have similar problems in child-rearing; give them equal respect and consideration. Another meaning of the proverb is that any man or woman has his or her worth, strengths or limitations; or what a man may be able to do a woman cannot, and vice versa. One person cannot do all. He or she will be good at one thing but not so good at another. In other words, accept limitations and live with them as a friend and practice tolerance. Another proverb speaks about regrets and remorse after a person has encountered failure, and this what it says,

" Kuri naamanyire" eija bwanyima, no. 1796, (Site).

Bad luck, or misfortune, strike like a traitor, just when one is tempo-

rarily unaware, or distracted by some other preoccupation. When bad happenings or losses converge on a person, a person feels at a real loss and experiences remorse.

The signification of this is that a youth, or bride-to-be, must learn how to control her own emotions, lest they become a source of trouble and shame in her marriage. The stepmother of Kirungi showed her true color of lack of control over her jealousy and hatred, part of her character that she acquired from childhood. Her mother, perhaps, tried to shape her into a loving child and, for the future, a loving wife and stepmother.

As the two clans gathered to listen to the tragedy of Kirungi, I am sure many of the adults there continually exchanged sayings or aphorism and proverbs. Children listened intently. Let us look at what the proverbs said in deep sorrow and regret for what took place to Kirungi. The father of Kabangire and Kirungi must have felt like that as his relatives and those of his terrible wife kept on talking. Kabangire must have desired for his sister less wealth than a deformed body brought about by the cruelty of a woman.

A proverb indicating discouragement follows below. A good listener would pick this up from almost every member of the Kabangire and Kirungi. This is a gateway into counseling connected with depression. Here is the proverb,

Enaku zikanyiha hare nk'ente ecwekire omukira, no.2395 (Cisternino)

Problems striking in youth stifle one's life forever. Hardships coming in youth make a person like a cow with a cut tail, the tail as a tool of self-protection against flies. Suffering strikes early in life as a cow that loses its tail and fails to keep flies away from biting it.

The Banyankole and Bakiga very often use two particular proverbs when life becomes challenging. These sayings are given below. The first one says,

"Oshwera abuuza, ohingira araguza, no. 1962" (Cisternino)

Significantly, this proverb means this:

Before marrying, one should be informed, and should make consultation about important matters. Before arranging marriage one should consult a diviner. One should not hurry through matters of marriage, or any other important plan. One has to choose a wife by the ear (hearing) rather than by the eye (looks).

The proverb points to the necessity of consultation and seeking advice before marrying or handing over a daughter into marriage. It reiterates the importance of research in marriage.

Oshwera atabuurize, afa atabuurize, no. 1962 (Cisterino)

Take care, if you don't, noone will know the cause of your death. Prepare well for marriage, lest you marry a traitor.

The two proverbs above encourage the youth, or any adult, to do prior reflection before embarking on something that is not yet well known for its benefits. In marriage, slow moves are demanded, particularly in acquiring new land and cattle, and violence is discouraged. Prudence in choosing a mate (family) is of paramount importance for everyone in the community. The two proverbs above are close in meaning. They indicate how a hurried marriage can create a problem in the future. The aphorism could have been told in the hearing of the father of Kirungi and Kabangire when all gathered to look at the sad situation of their home. This is the same proverb that is recited when there is disheartening, unpleasant or disastrous events. It marks regret about a sad event, or events, that occur in a family or

community, or even in a clan. The saying would be inviting the listener to pay attention and reflect before making an important decision. The story-teller and proverb announcer also encourages the youth to be brave in facing life problems through this saying,

Enaku ziteera ogumire, no.430, (Cisternino)

Troubles are overcome by the strong; the weak die under troubles. Children are unable to stand hazardous life. However, troubles are part of life; one needs to live with difficult situations that cannot be resolved.

Other proverbial sayings point to relationships in community and to cases of other-blaming among the members of the family and/or community. The concept of human relationship in general is the same for all peoples of the earth except that its application and weaving into a fiber of everyday human existence varies from culture to culture. There are Banyankole-Bakiga proverbial sayings that talk about childhood, learning how to relate to others and adult friendships. The following is about educating in other-blaming,

Mazaara nduga omu maisho, oruyenje tirwine buzaare, no. 1982 (Cisternino)

Due to its deadly poisonous sap, a cactus has no kinship; and whosoever says to the in-law, leave me alone will be isolated.

There is a good proverb about parenting that gives comfort to parents when their children become difficult to control.

An example is given below.

Bazaara omubiri, tibazaara mutima, no. 2030 (Cisternino)

Parents give birth to the body, not to the heart (spirit). Wisdom and goodness, or perversion, of character may be personally acquired, not necessarily passed on by parents.

Sequential Events of Marriage Preparation and Ceremony

Traditional preparation for marriage had sequential events to mark its stages of development or decline. There was a designated emissary whose role was to make frequent visitations for contact that the two families needed. The girl's family and that of the boy intending to marry each other did not have direct contact; they made their contact through an agreed upon emissary. It used to take several visitations of the emissary to have the parents of the girl say "Yes" to the parents of the boy. It was like that because, perhaps, a lot of times wives received ill-treatment and physical abuse from their husbands. On the part of the man, physical abuse gave him satisfaction because of the huge dowry that his wife's parents demanded without exoneration. For a long time the husband kept on remembering the trials he had to withstand during the long period of research, questioning and waiting before marriage was finalized. Among the Banyankole it took as many as two years of defined visitation (Mubangizi, 1963) of the emissary. Sometimes some of these visitations were simply to solicit favor of the girl's parents.

The Bakiga, too, passed through similar phases of marriage preparation and arranging. The period of the two years was a time of probation for both the girl and the young man. The boy's love and determination to marry the girl was tested in that way, and the girl was also tried by her silence over the prolonged time. If the girl felt that she was no longer interested in marrying the boy who had proposed, she had a symbolic way of saying it. As the emissary with accompanying men who had come

to the girl's father to further their interest in marrying from that home gathered, the disinterested girl would boldly and simply walk past them in defiance. This shows that even arranged marriages had a loop hole for either the girl or the boy to say "No" to their parents. A brother of the girl marrying had a role of giving away his sister into marriage. The ritual act of giving into marriage by a brother was critical to both the bride and her brother at the moment when the bride was leaving her father's home. In the legend of Kabugu-ka-Mwera, we see her brother in the background trying to help Kabugu make her own choice. He assure his sister of his support by his presence and suggestion. Traditionally the girl is encouraged to take seriously the counsel of her brother regarding marriage. Failure of the girl to marry was a heavy burden on her brother because of the implications in the future of her burial ritual.

Preparing the youth for a happy future is the responsibility of everyone close to the youth in community. Brothers play a big role in the life of their sisters regarding making a proper choice for marriage, just as the sisters watch out for the best future wives of their brothers. The myth that follows shows how a story-teller manages to tell young men and women the sad side of life when a marriageable woman fails to find a wooer. It is also a source of counseling. The story related below shows the despairing young woman who sees no future.

A Legend of Kabugu-ka-Mwera

Kabugu-ka-Mwera yearned and waited for a long time, hoping to get an admirer. She had reached a marriageable age. Sure of her beauty and charm that any young man would desire about a young woman, Kabugu graciously and patiently kept on waiting. When she noticed her youth waning, as her beauty and charm were receding, Kabugu-ka-Mwera turned to her brother in sobs and started to chant in these words:

My brother, son of my mother, I am innocent. I did not pick up quarrels with a medicine man; Nor with a medicine woman, nor with a witch. I am innocent. I have not lacked respect for any woman of honor, who has given birth to children here in our neighborhood and around our village. What is it that has caused me misfortune of failing to find a suitor, a lover, like other young women, (A repeated chanted chorus of remorse and questions).

Then one day, Kabugu-ka-Mwera made a suggestion to her brother. She told him of her plan to make a strong brewery for the neighbors and then invite all men to come and drink, hoping to find a lover among them. Her brother agreed.

When the drink was ready, Kabugu invited a lot of men and among them several young men to come to drink of her brewery.

On seeing them arriving, Kabugu returned to her chamber and put on her elegant animal-skin robe and beautiful jewelry. She emerged from the room shining with stunning beauty as she reflected within, saying to herself, "Definitely, tonight among this crowd, I will find a suitor." Kabugu-ka-Mwera kept her eyes open to catch one proposing to her that night. Behold, she did not get a wooer. The story-teller inserts this proverb,

Amainaro gatoroozya enkoko

Ominous and strenuous circumstances, and events, occur like what happens to mother chicken that suffers from miscarriage (losing eggs).

Amainaro n'eibaare ogatsindika tigagyenda

Look! Calamity befalls a person and there is terror. It is like an underground quarry. No matter what shakes the earth, the quarry remains unshaken, unmoved.

Kabugu-ka-Mwera sighted four charming young men among those who were at her party of drink. She liked them all, and hoped that one of them would approach her and propose to her for marriage. The four men arrived last at the party. As everyone was enjoying the drink and the party moved on ahead into the night, one of the four youth gave an excuse to leave the company. Others thought, including Kabugu, that he had gone to ease himself. Kabugu-ka-Mwera believed that the man would return. He did not.

A second man did the same. A third man said to the one companion remaining that he was out to check on the whereabouts of their companions. Kabugu believed what the man said. He never returned either. Kabugu leaped forward,

hoping to win the last young man, and gave the youth a hearty embrace as she invited him to stay over for the night. Cunningly the young man managed to pull himself from Kabugu's arms and run away, leaving Kabugu-ka-Mwera shocked and very, very disappointed.

Kabugu started all over her chant of regrets, remorse, and disappointment as before, but this time she included a question addressed to her brother seeking an explanation for her failure to secure a lover. Then the brother of Kabugu-ka-Mwera replied chanting away a proverb to her of this nature:

Akazira kazira; esasi terya mbwa

(Translated):

What is not meant to be, cannot be; the dog does not appreciate the flea-eating bird which cows seem to like by carrying it on the backs as they graze.

Do not attempt making use of anything by forcing nature; a person cannot marry in-laws, or "One's meat is another man's poison."

Kabugu in tears made up her mind to leave home and said Good-bye to her brother. Kabugu's brother did not want her leave in despair without consulting a diviner. Therefore he told her what to do. Instead of leaving home, Kabugu's brother proposes that she was to go to the seer to find out why she cannot find a wooer, in these words:

My sister, daughter of my mother, do not go away. Consult a diviner. Take bean and pea seeds and place the mixture in a small basket. When you meet a group of children on the way herding cows, listen to what they will tell you.

Early in the morning Kabugu and her brother set out in search of an admirer for Kabugu. As the two approached children tending a flock by the wayside, a voice of a child from among them told Kabugu not to proceed but to return home in these words:

Young woman, go back home; you will not find a man to marry you.

Disheartened, Kabugu-ka-Mwera and her brother returned toward their home. As they walked, Kabugu with a heavy heart, cast her eyes on a huge herd of cattle. Kabugu asked the herdsman to tell her the name of the owner of the cattle. They gave her the name, Bikaku-bya-Roori. In sobs, looking more miserable, Kabugu intoned the usual sorrowful chorus, inserting these words:

It was my deep desire to marry a wealthy man like Bikaku-bya-Roori. What is it that caused me such a great misfortune? What has God done to me?

When they returned home, Kabugu had a sleepless night. The next morning, Kabugu sorrowfully asserted that she was going away. In the late afternoon, on her way to an unknown destination, Kabugu-ka-Mwera met with children and among them there was a charming young boy of marriageable age. On seeing Kabugu, the boy fell in love with her. He then said to Kabugu:

Young woman, I love you deeply. Come along, and I will take you home and introduce you to my mother. The dowry is ready; will give my prized heifer, Itangaazo-rya-Mukira-ngwe, in exchange. Kabugu's heart leaped with joy and she said "Yes" to her lover. The youth led Kabugu away to his mother's home. On arrival, the youth introduced his beloved to his mother and said:

Maawe, (mother), this is my beloved. She is my precious pearl. Let her win your favor for my sake. I cherish her the way I cherish you. She has become part of me and part of you. You and she stand equal to me. If she ever leaves this home and runs away, you will be held answerable.

The newly wed youth returned to the grazing area to bring home his cattle. As he was rounding them up, it started to rain; the rain turned thunderous. The cattle keepers looked for a temporary field shelter-hut. Then lightning struck followed by a thunderbolt which left the beloved of Kabugu dead. One of the boys ran to the home of the dead youth to give his mother the bad news. As he was relating the story, Kabugu overheard it and she became heartbroken by the news. The mother of the dead boy turned to Kabugu in the bride's chamber and, with grief, said:

Young woman, you are the cause of what has happened to my son. I am no longer like other mother; I have lost a son. Quickly get away, back to your home. What has happened cannot be reversed. You have brought me a great misfortune.

Kabugu-ka-Mwera in shame, deep sorrow, bewilderment and with a broken heart, left the bride's chamber. She went away back to her brother. She related to her brother the incident regarding her loss of a husband. She had a sleepless night again.

The next morning she said a final good-bye to her brother in tears. Kabugu walked miles and miles away from home. When she reached a lake she stood staring at it from the shore and started chanting a chorus about her fate in these words:

I was born with many other girls and among many women. Others girls and

women found admirers and got married. Not all were attractive, though. Look ! I have a tender skin, as tender as that of a baby. Look at my brown skin, my well-built body of attractive composure!

Mm...mm... Surprisingly, Kinyabooya, (hairy like a caterpillar), found a suitor, how could that be?

She was not only hairy, but she had less than a nose; she had a hog's snout! Her fingers looked like logs! Yes, maybe Kinyabooya could get a suitor, but not the other one, Kacwamizigo-ka-Mushagi, with a flat head like a fish, with elephantine feet, how could she be married, and not me, Kabugu-ka-Mwera!

Kabugu looked and glared at the lake; she quickly jumped into it, drowning in desperation, (Karwemera, 1993 cassette).

This story invites any counselee to keep on trying to overcome obstacles to progress. It is an example of a paradox that a traditional counselor has to be aware of. At times the guide of youth has to prepare them for whatever life may bring their way. When we look at the myth of the elegant and self-directing woman called Kabugu-ka-Mwera, above, then it becomes difficult to understand how traditions worked for some people and failed for others. Kabugu wanted to marry in the traditions as other women married. In one sense, Kabugu was loyal to the traditional way of remaining a virgin until marriage. However, she did not have an adult to tell her how to go about winning suitors. She had her brother who was also an experienced youth. The two of them were in the same dilemma. They knew one way of getting help, and that was to consult a diviner. Consulting a skilled traditional therapist and counselor, or a diviner, is very important in traditional counseling.

Some good proverbs that would give direction to Kabugu and her brother are proposed in the following lines below. One of them is,

Okutaaga kwa rufu n'okuranguza, no. 2466. (Seite).

This proverb signifies this,

To avoid death, consult and find out from a medicine man/ woman; don't just remain inactive, but cry out.

This is equivalent to the English axiom, "Two heads are better than one."

Another similar proverb says this:

Etagamba efa etyo, no. 421 (Cisternino)

This saying signifies that,

Those who try to express their fears, needs or wants, or desires, will die, having been heard, but not in silence. " The cow that does not bellow (moo), dies.

A person, as Kabugu-ka-Mwera, is encouraged to cry out; to keep on looking to alternatives in time or distress. At least Kabugu-ka-Mwera made attempts to reverse her condition of spinsterhood. Kabugu, or any bride-to-be, should pay attention to another proverb that calls for effort:

Ka bikanye niyo Kabicweke, no. 58 (Cisternino),

The saying means,

Waiting and delaying for great things to happen, they may never occur.

The English proverb version is : "Procrastination is the thief of time." By this saying, the boy is put on the spot; he has to start early to prepare for his marriage by first building his own house, and accumulating so many heads of cattle for a dowry. A father of such a boy will be very happy with him. To get ready for marriage demands a lot of time and patience. A proverb to the same effect puts it this way:

Endwano ziteera omwera, no. 60, (Cisternino)

When literally translated the proverb says,

All fights turn a warrior pale as dust and sweat stick on the face.

Another proverb puts the same message this way,

Ak'okunda kakwita, katututura, no. 356, (Seite)

Once you become fond of something, you will find yourself over-powered by the desire of it in such a way that you will do everything possible to get what your heart desires.

Still, there is another saying that calls every person to be a zealous seeker, worker, and committed individual.

Owaaguma naakubuuza taburwa kiyaamanya, no. 3334, (Seite)

The one who seeks to know and asks you questions will surely, in the end, learn something from you.

All the proverbs in this section reflect the wisdom of earnest search and the eagerness to do what one believes is good and beneficial, no matter how difficult it may be.

Kaguga-ka-Mwera might have gone to the other extreme of action, but what else was left for her to lean on, without a child and a husband, the things most valued by the Banyankole and Bakiga. A proverb that would be used to give praise to a person like Kabugu at least for expressing what was on her heart, and to invite others to emulate the example of Kabugu-ka-Mwera. This is the saying,

Ndyagamba akafa atagambire, no. 391, (Cisternino)

The longer one waits to express what is in his or her heart, the more one dies in silence without letting other people know what is most important to the person.

Those who came to witness the tragedy of Kirungi in the community were reminded of something in their own lives, and so did they learn from Kabugu's story.

Who Gives Traditional Marital Counseling and When

Traditional marital counseling begins with preparation for marriage. Marriage for Banyankole and Bakiga, as it is for other most Africans, is patterned along successive stages of research, negotiation and exchange of gifts, betrothal, phase one of bride seclusion in the parents' home, wedding ceremony of handing over of the bride, reception followed by a second phase of seclusion in the new home for service and initiation. A series of rituals accompany each stage of customary or common law marriage among the Banyankole and Bakiga. These rituals make traditional marriage one dynamic entity, creating alliances and transforming the couple into adults ready to start their own home. All along, the parents, clan, and community are involved.

To perceive a Munyankole or Mukiga woman as one destined to an inferior place and life in the home and community is to miss a point that the cultural rituals express at different stages of marriage preparation and at the wedding. The philosophy of marriage among the Banyankole and Bakiga is that marriage is an honored and socially accepted status which women and men reach after being prepared for it by their parents and the community of relatives. In marriage one can see well the significance of hierarchy of powers and the concept of a struggle to balance dualism by upholding that earth/nature and heaven/spiritual reality are one. Marriage is also conceived as similar to procreation. Counseling then at the various stages of marriage must encompass the rituals that are part of the ceremonies. Counseling is always part of the rituals in traditional marriage. Therefore I cannot speak about traditional

marital counseling without giving a background for it by explaining briefly the various stages of marriage listed above.

The various rituals of marriage stages have marked actors and actresses and counselors, while involving the entire community of neighbors. Preparation for both the girl and the boy for marriage was traditionally taken seriously. As the girl was reaching puberty, she was closely educated by her mother, or paternal aunts, in domestic matters, taking responsibility of a home, courtesy toward senior women, toward men and in-laws, and child care. Boys were guided by their fathers, or paternal uncles, to learn trades and craft, acquire knowledge of shamba care (gardening), family defense and protection, learn skills in acquisition and accumulation of wealth through hardwork and thrift, and courtesy toward women and in-laws, (**EACE Syllabus**, 223). Choosing a partner to marry for both Munyankole-Mukiga girl and boy was left entirely to one's father and wise relatives. A father played his role of bride choice for his son most scrupulously. To minimize future misgivings for a couple, research was extensively done by the emissary, or marriage intermediary prior to marriage. Relatives were also included in the research by inviting anyone of them to disclose any wrong that any of the relative on the side of either family of the girl or boy had done to the person. Although at first glance traditional marriage looks arranged, it was not entirely so; parents took care to include at some stage of marriage the bride and bridegroom so that the two could make a personal choice, especially among the Banyankole.

Research Stage for a Traditional Marriage

This is a primary phase of marriage. The main actor/actress is a person I have called emissary, and often called an intermediary. The role of the intermediary is to carry out extensive research on both families. It was easy for the intermediary to do it because of her or his blood relation with both families, of the bride-to-be and the bridegroom-to-be. The intermediary was commissioned to do her or his work most thoroughly, to the minutest detail in the research. The area of the intermediary's research included the background of each family as to lineage, formidable diseases like psychosis, epilepsy, and body deformity, practices like witchery and sorcery, and deeply seated enmity between the two families and clans. Negative findings in this area of research would easily block marriage. For the lineage, when it was found that the girl's family and that of the boy had a similar totem the two could not marry because the same totem meant that they were distantly related by blood. The marriage intermediary was not only concerned with research, but also with arranging meetings for the girl's father and his entourage and that of the boy with his entourage. She or he was a stand-by informant of both families. By entourage here I am referring to a group of men, and at times of men and women, girls and boys who were selected because of their blood connection with either family to go with a father, or his representative, whenever there was a visitation of one family to the other.

Ritual Consultation of the Spirits of the Ancestors

For consulting the diviner concerning marriage, the culture of Banyankole and Bakiga provided the necessary procedure to follow. There was also a prescribed procedure for consulting with the spirits of ancestors. This area will be explored by another study. The parents of the bride-to-be and bridegroom-to-be consulted any spirit that they thought would be interested, or disinterested, in the prosperity of their arranged marriage. They would begin consulting with spirits of people known to them, those of the family, or clan members. Marriage then took place in the context of the living and dead. This shows that there are human and spiritual intermediaries in the marriages of Bantu, and of most people of Africa, (Kaut, 1963). Rituals that are performed at each stage before and after marriage must respect the role of the spirits, parents, and the community. We can say that human counseling that is given to those intending to marry is interrelated to the consultations obtained by parents from the community and the spirits.

Besides disclosures regarding families brought forward by the marriage intermediary, a relative of either the bride, or bridegroom, could come forth and declare to those concerned that the party offended him or her in the past. The offense could range from a light to serious matter such as refusal to share when there was a need or occasion, telling misleading stories, or simply lies about the offended, disloyalty or betrayal when the offended party was in need of support in a community other than their own. The parents on the accused side had to make amends for the past as judged by the community of the offended. Settling the matter was of urgent consequences of the accusations could block the marriage. It is seen again that before marriage,

according to Banyankole and Bakiga culture, everything possible is done to really know the background of the two families involved in the marriage of their daughter or son.

Negotiation Stage by an Emissary, or a Go-between

This stage begins when the marriage intermediary leads the way, taking the boy's father to the home of the girl's father to introduce the two parents to one and another. After this occasion the central role of the emissary wanes to that of a messenger who declares visitations of one side to the other. On this occasion the girl's father symbolically greets the boy's father by giving him his hand to kiss. This gesture indicates that research is over and no impediment to the marriage has been found and that the girl's father is giving his consent to the marriage. On this occasion the father of the boy can see for himself what the family and home of the girl is like. The stage of negotiation is also a stage of preparation for future announcements regarding further visits and the exchange of gifts between the fathers of the boy girl.

Among the Banyankole, on one occasion of pre-arranged visitation the father, his son, and their entourage will come specifically to introduce the bridegroom-to-be to the bride-to-be. This time the boy will be asked to make some gesture of personal choice of his beloved, and the girl will be asked to do the same. The two will use a symbolic language to express their consent to marry each other. Their consent will confirm the choice the fathers had made. However, the boy and girl are not bound to

stick to the choice the parents had made, although they generally do. In the previous pages I described how a girl shows her consent. The boy points directly to the girl he wants to marry from among the many girls presented to him. He is helped by previous description of the features of the girl given to him by his father and the marriage intermediary.

Prior to this occasion the boy has been guided by his father and uncles to choose a good woman according to traditional standards, not necessarily according to the way he feels. The girl does the same. The fathers are somehow given an okay to proceed with marriage negotiation by the exchange of gifts between the boy and girl (their way of saying "yes" to each other). After the consent was given, the partners will enter will enter a period of intense counseling. This is given by the relatives, especially aunts and uncles, senior men and women.

Marriage negotiation includes a bargain on the amount of property (heads of cattle, money, other gifts), that the father of the bride will offer as a gift of appreciation to the parents of the bride. This is a dowry that has acquired a bad connotation over generations of those marrying among the Banyankole and Bakiga. Sourness of the tradition of dowry arrangement as a prerequisite for marriage arose with the arrival of Western notions of marriage that came with the advent of Christianity to the Banyankole and Bakiga at the beginning of this century. The Bakiga used to demand a lot more than Banyankole in this regard. At times the amount allocated to the boy would be brought to minimum, especially if the boy was coming from a poorer family, or was an orphan.

A proverb among the senior team members discussing how much could be excused of the boy would be uttered to advise each member of the team to give consideration where required

Eyagwire teyamurwa, no. 2151, (Cisternino)

Fallen rain is not forecast.

This signifies that " what has already happened (to the family of the boy), cannot be reversed; it has to be accepted". Another proverb that would give direction to those discussing is this:

Otari waanyu akukomera entanda y'eminekye, no. 81, (Cisternino)

This saying reiterates the importance of commitment and kind consideration in marriage arrangement because it implies that,

A stranger, or an uncommitted person to you, just offers a few bananas as a packed meal for your long journey. He or she who feels no commitment towards people gives or tells the least helpful things.

Banyankole and Bakiga hold marriage in high esteem. Their notion of marriage is that it is a communal event, and not an individual and private affair. Those who married had a social obligation toward the survival of the family and the extension of the lineage of the clan in future generations (Akiiki Byaruhanga, 1989). The survival of the lineage was so important that the parents used to go to great extent in the research to eliminate errors that could lead to extinction. Marriage was also another means to open up families to new social contacts brought about by the community celebration of marriage.

Wedding Ceremonial Ritual in the Home of the Bride's Parents

The wedding consists of two phases: the first one takes place in the home of the bride and the second in the home of the bridegroom. These ceremonies come at the very end of negotiations and gift exchanges. The first part of wedding ceremony was comprised of the handing over of the bride, and the second of the reception of the bride by the bridegroom. The handing over celebration lasted three days at the home of her father. Each day was marked by and had its ceremony and ritual. The Runyankole-Rukiga has beautiful poetry in which the ceremony lyrics and dance songs and chants are embedded. I cannot reproduce these in this paper because of the limited goal of counseling in this study. All the lyrics and chants portray the beauty, glory, hardships and uncertainties of married life. When the father of the bride-to-be and the father of the groom-to-be come to a consensus as to the date of marriage of their children the day of wedding is announced. From the time of the announcement of a wedding day by the bride's father to the bridegroom, the bride was prohibited from any hard work, including cooking. She ate, wove baskets and received visitors among whom were relatives of particular importance, especially the paternal aunt who had a special duty to privately counsel the bride in all the secrets of marriage. The aunt was assisted by the mother of the bride and, later, by senior women (women who had already gone through the ritual of handing over a daughter into marriage). On the other side, the boy was counseled by his paternal uncle and his father. What was the counsel about? It was really genuine individual counsel, **okuhabura**. The

bride's fears had to be calmed down. The bridegroom's uncertainty had to be curtailed. The girl was supposedly still a virgin, and the boy, too. The couple then had to be given instruction, direction and guidance in what is better, how and when. Each of the partners, I am sure, had questions, expressed anxiety and uncertainty. The aunts and uncles were entrusted with the social duty of helping the couple before they met each other. The bride also made a composition of her own poems during the time of about six to eight weeks seclusion. In these she expressed her "Good-byes" to her sisters, brothers, parents and all her close relatives on the night of handing over by her father to the father, or his representative, of the bridegroom.

Proverbial Sayings for Encouragement, Teaching, and Warning

The handing over took place in the bride's home and in the late evening, at dusk. There were several proverbs were told now and again at that significance moment. I am sure they were repeated by different counselors to either the bride or the bridegroom, as each sat and listened reflectively to what was said to her or him. Some of these proverbs are given below:

Kwata oti niyo ngabo, no. 1804, (Seite)

The one who shows you the how of things, life, and especially by showing you pertinent tools, gives a person wisdom like a shield.

This saying signifies that the counsel given and embraced and followed by practice is like a shield. A number of proverbs mixed with recitations of poems and songs are uttered in the night prior to the day of customary marriage. These proverbs talk about a variety of subjects that the bride needs to know about. I am going to give a few selected sayings that concern the future of the bride in her new home.

A different proverb invites for courage in this way:

Ku gubura ebiso, ogwendera enyima, no. 1642, (Seite)

The meaning of this proverb is,

If you missed a lot of blessings, before you can look forward now, you might get what you missed earlier. Do not be discouraged by future problems and hardships that strike you, but stand firm and wait; one day problems will dissipate and blessings will come.

The following proverb basically says the same thing, but allows for outside consultations:

Obutagamba bwita eka, no. 1988 (Cisternino)

Silence kills the home. The absence of consultation, dialogue between the couple, and reticence often result in trouble within the home. The head of a group who does not consult and has few insights and thoughts for the building of a group will eventually ruin what was already erected.

The young couple has to learn who to respect in the community because of their seniority and position and the proverb below puts it this way,

Omutegyeko gwita, no. 2832 (Seite)

Airs of superiority bring about ruin, may destroy a person, or a home. Being "bossy" will take a person nowhere in his/her life.

The saying warns against pride and arrogance. A person in the family or community should have respect for others. For the women, of course, this would imply obeying and giving due respect to her husband and the in-laws as the traditions of a patriarchal society dictated.

Here's a proverb about respect for the in-laws:

Otatiina bakuru tatiinwa bato, no. 2168, (Cisternino).

He who does not respect the senior leader, will not be respected by the young.

Children who fail to give due respect to their own parents will not get it either from their own children.

Below is a proverb that discourages comparisons among the partners, and between neighbors and friends.

Osiimwa bakye, oyangwa baingi, no. 480, (Cisternino)

The proverb says,

Praisers are scarce and few, blamers many. Provided you are doing good work, let not public opinion discourage you; go on with your positive work.

Ekyasiimwa omugyenzi, omutwarirwa takisiima, no. 481 (Cisternino)

This saying means that,

What is praised by passersby is not similarly praised by the one receiving it, or the one who lives with you.

The bride is reminded that no matter what she will try to do, she has to remember that what one person praises is despised by another. Proverbs that invite and encourage the parents to give good and adequate care to their children are given below,

Ku oiba oheekire oyerekyerera ow'omu mugongo, no. 2169, (Cisternino)

While you steal with your child on your back, you show the child how to steal. Better watch out what you teach or show by example to your own children.

Omushaija osinda azaara omwana oyomba, no. 2172 (Cisternino)

Drunkard fathers beget noisy children. Fathers in the home are teachers as well.

Children, especially boys, will do what their fathers do. There are numerous proverbs that can be directed to the bride which address all areas of married life: relationship with her husband, children, parents, in-laws, strangers, sexual promiscuity, neglect,

jealousy and anger, love and justice, humor, hard work, and criticism by others.

Spouses are to watch-out and are not to be discouraged by criticism. Instead they have to know who criticizes them, and why. Another proverb reminds the bride about the dowry given to her father and this saying is intended to alert the bride to learn to discriminate words from deeds.

Amarya-nte tigarema nk'amaihura, no. 1925, (Cisternino)

The proverb gives the bride this message,
Be alert, it is easier to receive a favor than to pay for it, than to give it.

Fears about the future should become the springboard for action in the present since no one knows what to expect in the future. Fears about the future should not stop one from working to survive. The bride knows that in the future she will spend time for others; her time to do what she pleases is drawing to an end. In the future, she will have limited time for her own needs. The bride is also counseled to keep in mind her own responsibility to initiate action in her home in the following proverb,

Omugambi akunagisa ebyawe, no 2548, (Seite)

Translated, this proverb says that,

Listening to those who simply talk can lead one to forget one's own insightfulness.

The proverb reiterates the significance of personal decisions on the part of the bride and implies that marital relationships must be created and maintained by the effort of the two spouses. All these proverbs are told by different relatives and wise women and men who come to say their good-byes to the bride-to-be. Meanwhile, they give their gifts to her, their tokens of love, and their best wishes. During the last six to

eight weeks of seclusion, the bride has been fed and cared for in almost every way; she has woven baskets for her future home (a collection to which relatives will add even more). The final ceremony that brings to closure the period of the bride's seclusion is the washing and anointing with special herbs and oils.

When all is said and done according to ritual, the bride is washed, anointed and smeared with sweet smelling herbs and sprinkled with water as her father, mother and other senior women bless her. Women and young girls chant and encircle her in mixed feelings of jubilation and sadness. They continue to sing praises to her mother for the good upbringing of her daughter. The bride, too, has her turn to chant her poem in which she praise every member of her family and close relatives. At this time the bride in truth reveals her perceptions about her relatives, good or bad, without sparing any one of them. She expresses her gratitude to each and future expectations in case she needs help, particularly from her brothers who eventually replace her father in old age.

When it is time for the bride to leave her home, she is brought out of her chamber and placed on her father's and mother's laps and she says Farewell to each one of them in tears. Finally her brother places her in a neatly and newly made carrier. He will carry her with the help of other young men, perhaps paternal cousins, to her husband. The carrier is prepared by the bride's in-law and his team on the eve of the handing over at her own home where they come specifically to weave the

basket. The Bakiga and Banyankole had no cars. This was the sort of "car" that transported the bride to her beloved.

When the ritual of handing over is done, the girl cannot stay in the home for another night, and cannot return home even if something happens on the way. She is regarded married by her family. Later on when she happens to remarry on the death of her husband, she will not go through the handing over rituals. Equivalent rituals, though a few compared with those performed for the bride, are done to make the boy realize that he is becoming an adult, a husband and soon a father. He, too, will not go through the same rituals in subsequent remarrying ceremonies. This hints at a point that Bantu group recognized monogamy and simply tolerated polygamy. They also believed that marriage is permanent, especially with the first wife. She was to be treated with honor and in time of barrenness be given her own house if the husband decided to remarry. Often she gave the suggestion to her husband for the sake of getting children. At times she would have an affair with one of the brothers-in law to prove her fruitfulness.

Reception of the Bride by the Bridegroom

The bride is received first by her father-in-law who summons all senior and relevant members of the family and clan to come and welcome the bride. This greeting is done in loud jubilation and chants. She is then led to her husband's chamber specially prepared for her. The bride is accompanied by a relatively large group of her relatives, women and men, boys and girls. They stay for some time but leave to return home, and not spending the night with her. The bride now is received by her mother-in-law, or her substitute, who she formally hands her over to a designated person to be cared for and initiated into an adult role in her new home. This is the second period of seclusion. Commonly, it is the sister-in-law who gives the instructions and explanations of the customs of the new home. More proverbs will be poured into the ears of the newly wed. Most likely, the newly-wed will hear now and again several sayings from senior men and women in her new home. These are intended to either encourage or praise her, or even warn her of future irresponsible conduct. The sister-in-law of the newly-wed will give her service that she needs for some time, about another six weeks. She will not be allowed to do any manual work, including cooking, until her parents send some other relatives to initiate her anew into the skills of home keeping in the new surroundings. This has always been done by her mother-in-law and her sisters-in-law. Slowly she learns to adapt to the in-laws' way of living. The couple begin their own life, but remain close to the parents of the bridegroom to learn together adaptive skills of the married life

The Second Period of Seclusion of the Bride

Marriage has taken place. The bride is under the direction and guidance of her mother-in-law, or her substitute, a particularly designated sister-in-law of the bride. The bride is cared for in matters of feeding. She is taking complete rest for a number of months, being coached in customary ways, meal preparation and housekeeping of her husband's family. After this period of seclusion, the husband of the bride secures permission from her parents, seeking to end the period of seclusion and rest of the bride. The two families go through exchange of gifts again and various rituals to celebrate the beginning of adult life for their daughter and son. Now both the wife and husband have become part of the two extended families and clan of each other's lineage.

The couple receive their own share of the property of the husband's father and thereafter become a relatively independent family. Everybody feels satisfied by now, believing that the ancestors have become happy with all that the two families had gone through to fulfill the marriage ceremonial ritual through their various roles. Life begins to take an ordinary shape until the couple are tested with the presence or absence of a child or many children.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY AND A DIVINER IN TRADITIONAL COUNSELING: RELEVANT CHALLENGING BELIEFS AND VALUES

How the Bantu People Understand Community and Marriage

In Chapter 2 I talked at length about ordinary traditional counseling which is more educative and preventive than solving marital conflicts. However, traditional counseling seems to be for everyone in the community and continues through life. In this chapter I will focus on crisis counseling and the designated individuals who do it in the community.

In the traditional society of Banyankole and Bakiga, there is an assumption that marriage is an alliance between the two families of the spouses, particularly between the fathers and/or brothers. Why is it so? Among the Banyankole and Bakiga, marriage takes place between two unrelated families, thus creating between two families an alliance by which they join in a new relationship, furthering a new type of extended family. The new relationship brought about through marriage considers the lineage of the husband to be the beneficiary through children of the union as the arrangement is built on the belief that children belong to the man, and thereby the

perpetuation of a clan is insured. Along with the belief that children belong to the lineage of the man due to patrilineal marriage, the status of the wife seems to be ambivalent in the husband's clan. If she survives her husband, she will be claimed wife by one of her husband's brothers who has a traditional right of inheritance to the wife, children and property of the deceased. She remarries in the clan. The woman's future is determined by others. Everything connected with marriage is still arranged by the paternal line. The wife then is never fully integrated into the husband's lineage. The children then born of the spouses in the patrilineal union belong to the father's lineage. The family lineage group, therefore, consists of a large number of descendants in one paternal line from a common ancestor.

Each nuclear household of the extended family lives independently of each other. Co-responsibility and cooperation exists; consultation and action take place among them on occasions like marriage, death, crop harvest, migration even when the nuclear families do not live close to one another. A husband has a right to discipline his wife beating in a patrilineal system. This was common in a traditional society when the bride was younger because she was treated like a child. Unfortunately, the Banyankole and Bakiga traditionally do not have an idea of another marriage arrangement, of a matrilineal system that may be found in some other African countries. In a matrilineal system the wife is more respected; physical abuse is avoided in fear of her brothers and relatives who live close by.

Marital tensions will arise out of various situations in an extended family. The tension may ease when children are born, but become more intense when marriage

turns out to be childless. In a patrilineal system, the husband alone is the head of the family. Equality of the wife and husband is a matter of mutual respect, not of sharing authority. In practice the wife bears considerable influence and power, particularly in all that concerns teaching traditional values, taboos, and the control of hospitality in the home.

Marital counseling must consider the tensions that patrilineal union brings about in a family. If a marriage turns out childless, the clan and community place the guilt on the woman; marriage must be fruitful. Fertility and virility are the most valuable qualities in marriage. Raising children to the family community is seen as essential to being alive, for to live means to transmit life in the traditional society of Banyankole and Bakiga. Transmission of life has important implications for the status of a woman in the community. We see that senior women have a big role in marriage ceremonies; they must be present to give ample advice to the bride as a preventive counseling means. A childless marriage is considered incomplete. Traditionally it was always the women who were blamed for childlessness. Today infertility or barrenness may be based on scientific knowledge regarding biological mechanisms of human fertility of either one partner of the couple rather than on natural guesses. It is important to see the link of marriage rituals with fecundity. There used to be many blessings prayed for the bride's fecundity and the diviner was consulted largely to ward off any source of interference with child bearing. Infertility was used to get away from marital commitment to one wife; it led to easy divorce. If a woman wanted to remain in marriage, she took some initiative to suggest to her husband to

marry another woman. Therefore, infertility was another way of sanctioning polygamy.

Traditionally, Banyankole and Bakiga practiced polygamy. Polygamy was either simultaneous, (Ministry of Education, East Africa, EACE **Syllabus**, 223), or successive. Simultaneous polygamy appeared better because a man lived with and supported his wives with their children, but in successive polygamy a man took another wife without officially, according to custom, dismissing his previous wife or wives and did not give them support. Polygamy then created partiality and jealousy in the family and the community. Today successive polygamy seems to be rampant. A traditional counselor of couples must wrestle with that problem again and again. Traditionally, not much was done to prevent the situation from arising. Only poverty restricted a man in marrying more than one wife. In these cases, a family council of elders would be convened by a member of the nuclear family to look into the matter of conflict between the wife and husband arising from lack of children. The council would be the one to propose how the husband should treat the apparently barren wife. The community would complain to the man about his treatment of the wife. The husband perhaps, out of shame and guilt, would consider the needs of the wife and make provisions for her by giving her a separate house of her own. The family council would also settle other matters of marital conflict.

When a family council gathered they were very careful not to show partiality. The role of the council was to work according to distributive justice. They also considered children's primary care in the midst of marital conflict of parents. The

council was always chaired by the most senior person among them. Council senior men and women among the Banyankole and Bakiga were people respected for their wisdom, partiality and good morals. The council members can be referred to as "jurors" in settling marital conflict in a particular family. The jurors were not expected to find who was or not guilty; their role was to help settle differences and bring marital stability and thereby community harmony. Traditionally, the family council had in turn to consult the spirits of family ancestors prior to passing their own judgment regarding the conflict. The ancestors were considered superior authority of the family and the ultimate referral point.

For the Bantu groups of people, marriage is an alliance contracted through a dowry that incorporates two lineages. The guarantee of the alliance are the children resulting from the union of the spouses of the two lineages. The alliance is still sealed by the dowry or bride-wealth even today. Just as marriage is a community event, marital counseling then must be community-based. The element of incorporation of two lineages brings about, or creates, a large community. Therefore, anything that touches marriage affects that community. Modern approaches to counseling must take into account the traditions and spirituality of the Banyankole and Bakiga people. As in traditional counseling, they must be community based. The community in the traditional setting has been a reliable source of support and protection, where individual needs of members are taken care of. Traditional counseling is primarily community focused. Just as traditional chiefs in Ankole used to have their own councils, it was a working arrangement that families, too, had senior men and women

they could consult in time of trouble.

Counseling in most traditional societies of Africa is embedded in the philosophy of togetherness in community, a reverse of the biblical story of what happened between Abel and his brother Cain. This story reveals Cain's irresponsibility toward his brother that caused God to become angry with Cain for murdering his brother. The value of unity in community is rooted in the philosophy that everybody is his or her brother's or sister's keeper. Someone in the community experiencing some social, psychological, spiritual difficulty or material scarcity looks for help from a relative or neighbor, and most often the person gets that assistance. A traditional counselor is a resource in the community and traditional society. The counselor must be one of the many helpers in a traditional society in Ankole and Kigezi.

Although there is an emphasis on community based counseling among several African writers, a one-to-one therapy and/or counseling is essential because of the need to assist an individual attain self identity and personal responsibility within the context of community. In the past the individuals learned traditional beliefs and values, things they were expected to know, as they listened to stories, wise sayings, which were passed on orally from generation to generation. The people from outside the Bantu group had to discover these beliefs and values through personal encounter with the people.

The Community and the Individual Person

It must have been very hard in traditional society for an individual to find who she or he really was. In a hierarchical society, and such was the traditional community of Banyankole and Bakiga, every person occupied his or her already prescribed place. Every person had a marked status or position in the family or community. The community was very important. For this reason some African writers, contradicting what Rene Descartes, a French philosopher, have coined a phrase of their own regarding an identity a person within the community. The African expression is, "I belong, therefore, I am", (Mwakumba, 1989). The reality and ability of belonging to, participating and sharing in the community make the personality of an African, of Munyankole and Mukiga. It is the influence of a culture that shapes the individual's perceptions towards self, others and the social environment. It is believed by most Africans that an African person's traits of personality include a comforting dependency due to the interconnection that exists between the individual and the group, freedom of spontaneity in group encounter experience, positive affirmation of life, human interactions and the centrality of interpersonal relationships, mystical interpretation of human interactions with the spirits and cosmos, an instinctual response and a belief in the power of spoken words. The Banyankole and Bakiga have a share in these traits, (Nkurunziza, 1989).

Cultural Truths and Values about Human Relationship

To express the depth of the experiences of human relationships between individual persons in marriage, the Bantu and, in particular, the Banyankole and Bakiga, use a lot of proverbs. I am going to give a few of these wise sayings.

Omukago gubagarwa akagyere, no. 1436 (Cisternino).

The meaning of this proverb is,

Visiting and communication is the means of contact through which friendship is cultivated and nurtured, otherwise someone will say about a friend, "Out of sight out of mind."

Another proverb reiterates the cultural nuances of friendship in this way,

Omukago gutafiire gucweka efunguro, no. 1510 (Cisternino).

The translation of this saying is,

An unending friendship (relationship) boils into an open celebration of drink and meal. One must keep one's friendship alive by sharing whatever good things are available to oneself and friends.

Another proverb puts it this way,

Okukunda takushereka kigambo, no. 2430 (Seite).

It signifies that,

The one who loves you cannot hide from you the "word going around" in the community, but will disclose to you what other people cannot dare tell you.

Furthermore, friendship is understood to be marked by commitment and faithfulness.

A proverb that shows this concept of relationship is,

Okurebera habiri kugiza amaraari, no. 2447 (Seite).

Its meaning is given below,

Double dealing in friendship, and particularly in marriage, is like having a squint; honesty and faithfulness are the essence of friendship, and they bring about growth and intimacy.

Other wise sayings below reiterate the meaning of the above proverb,

Omushaija obeiha ashendekyereza omugyenyi otamuraariire,

no. 2800 (Seite).

A lying husband, or man, will unnecessarily escort a woman passerby on the pretext that she is his guest, and thus using little excuses to get away with lot of acts of unfaithfulness.

Omukazi enshambani areeberwa aha maisho, no. 1987 (Seite)

The unfaithful wife, or woman, is betrayed by her looks.

Omushaija oharara, araara n'omugyenyi, no. 2801 (Seite).

The husband, or man, who is carried away by his infatuation will not hesitate to sleep with a charming woman guest.

Owagamba maingi taremwa kubeiha, no. 3329 (Seite).

The one who chats ceaselessly has a lot to tell, and is not far from exaggeration in telling a lie to friends and other people.

Omutaahi oraakuziikye aguma naakushuura, no. 2828 (Seite)

A reliable neighbor keeps in touch with you, and when a tragedy happens to you he or she is there to assist you. Contact among neighbors creates friendship.

Ababiri bamira ebigambo: abashatu babishatura, no. 12 (Seite).

A confidence is better kept by two, but not by three; one of the three individuals in league to keep the word secret, will let the confidence of the group out.

Okwangire akugamba kubi n'obu oba oriho, no. 2495 (Seite).

The one who dislikes you will talk in your hearing to insult, or hurt you when you least expect it. The one who hates you will utter insults in your face.

Katurye-kumwe egirwa babiri, no.1610 (Seite).

It takes two to make a team that gathers around a table to celebrate a meal. A relationship is made by two.

The above proverbs refer to the theme of faithfulness, truthfulness, and commitment to a neighbor and/or friend. This is another way of describing the value of hospitality in the traditional community. To these values is added honesty or sincerity. One must be able to distinguish between sincere and insincere words, gestures and criticism. The proverb below indicates this,

Okwanika amaino tikwo kusheka, no.2497 (Seite).

The above saying underscores sincerity, and its meaning is,

Showing one's teeth does not necessarily mean that one is happy and laughing.

Proverbs form an indirect communication of truth. The Bakiga group are more direct. A traditional counselor is adept in the deployment of proverbs in situations and relationships of conflicts, potential or actual. Deploying proverbs is an illusive way of introducing messages that the conflicting partners would not dare bring out so explicitly. Proverbs also express the people's desire for community, solidarity, cooperation and stability. Traditional counseling through proverbs is likely to appear strange to a person of the Western style or mode of therapy or counseling who tend to be more direct, precise and fact finding directed; directness of this nature frustrates the Munyankole. Some Eastern Africa writers believe that proverbs would be effective in African judicial systems because of the paradoxical nature of proverbs.

Those who talk in proverbs in a free and open conversation and/or counseling situations choose to make use of them because of their inherent confrontational nature in resolving conflicts and alleviating tension without attacking the offender.

Clan tales, legends and stories arising from a cultural context, describe the community's values, aspirations and world view from which the community sees and appreciates realities and behavior within their culture. The proverbs may reverberate to the individual and the community the need for self-assessment and one's relationship with others in community, the universe, and spirits. Proverbs and story-telling are more handy for everyone to use in counseling than other traditional means that require specialization as an art. An example of this is divination. Story-telling is a handy oral medium for helping the Banyankole and Bakiga become aware of the depth and subtleties of the world and human life. The tale of Kabangire and Kirungi in Chapter 2 of this study indicates the community's awareness of the difficult circumstances that children without mothers encounter. I first heard this story related by my father before he remarried when I was eight years of age. At that time I thought it was my father's story since he had lost his own wife and we had no mother. It fitted so well with our family story and made us feel important to our father and made him a hero in the eyes of my sister, brother and me. The tale was a source of hope for a happier life because someone "bigger" in the community cared.

The folklore of myth, proverbial sayings, tales, or fables all provide a chief way of enculturation since they make an ordinary channel for the transmission of the social and spiritual heritage of the group. Human beings are born with a distinctly

human capacity to learn, adapt and change.

The proverbs that follow express the need for privacy and confidentiality. One of these sayings is this,

Ku oza kuhana omufu (orikutwaza kubi) omuta aheekikire,

no. 1787 (Seite)

This proverb means that,

When you want to give an advice, a warning, to an individual, take the person aside and explain to him or her what good behavior is.

Another proverb, giving the same message is this,

Ku oburwa obu, otayo obu... no. 1659 (Seite)

The literal meaning of this saying is "When one way fails to assist you reach your goal, better try another way."

The third proverb given below puts it this way,

Otacwa orwa Nyakaishiki, otakareebire rwa Nyakoojo

no. 3111 (Seite)

The signification of this proverb is,

Do not judge what the wife has done to the husband before you listen to what her husband has done to her in private.

In marital relationship, spouses first try to settle privately their own marital conflicts. Failing to resolve them, they then disclose them to the third party, first to the parents of the husband and then to the parents of the wife if the parents of the husband fail. When all that fails, the case becomes public and is brought before the council of the elders. The third proverb is meant for the elders.

Community Councilors and Counselors

Traditional counseling has a community context of council elders and ancestors. It is of great importance to non-Banyankole and non-Bakiga counselors to realize that individual privacy in counseling is at stake in traditional counseling because the individual privacy is always submersed in family and community involvement and responsibility for the individual. One missionary John Rieschick, (Wicks and Estadt, 1993, p.32), describes a painful realization of this in the comment,

The cross-cultural counselor in Kenya straddles two cultures. The home culture (i. e. United States) is familiar; it can, more or less, be taken for granted. Kenya, however, will always to some degree remain unfamiliar. The culture, the language, thought pattern, philosophy, and people, however close they become, will always be something "other than" what is native to the counselor(Wicks & Estadt, 1993, 32).

Another non-African United States trained counselor, says the same thing in these words,

Initiating a cross-cultural pastoral counseling relationship is far more complex than one with "someone like me." Cross-cultural counseling necessitates passage through all the surface appearances which can be deceiving. . . . Western culture makes much of the body- mind-soul trilogy . . . the Malawians would find it much more relevant to speak of self in relation to others, God, and nature. . . . We never really become one with the culture of adoption. There are responses that surprise us and remain beyond our comprehension. We must constantly resist the temptation to label negative what is simply different, (Wicks & Estadt, 1993, p.46).

The influence of the traditional concept of respect for and obedience of and reliance on the elders makes children and, later adults, essentially "other-directed", which means having an "external locus" (Berinyuu, 1987, p. 47) almost all the time

in every day living. Individuality in a typical Bantu society seems to have been equated with self-centeredness. One needed to sound the opinion of the elders and the ancestors in a traditional society and of friends who gave support to him or her in time of need. Concepts of community and veneration of the ancestors among the Banyankole and Bakiga are present also in most African traditional societies, particularly in Bantu societies. Community for the Banyankole and Bakiga includes the presence of ancestors, or the spirits of the departed forefathers and foremothers. Community therefore implies harmonious relationships between the members of the extended family and of the clan and the ancestors, an inter-connection between the living human beings, members of the clan and the spirit-world of the ancestors. The ancestors are the rallying point of the group's solidarity; they are the custodians of the law and morality of the group.

The ancestors are regarded as having emotions and feelings like the living members and consequently the ancestors may punish or reward the living in order to ensure the maintenance of the group's equilibrium, (Nkurunziza, 1989). The same harmony must prevail between the Supreme Being, **Ruhanga**, (Creator) and the ancestors and human beings in order that the rewarding good life be realized. The Banyankole and Bakiga have a belief in a Supreme Being, the Creator, who is one, unique, and controller or provider for the universe. Besides him there are no other gods. A traditional counselor or diviners always takes into account the beliefs of the people who come to him or her for consultation, healing and reconciliation. The diagnosis is based on what the ancestors reveal, in harmony with the Creator.

The married couple therefore do not only seek to live in harmony with each other but also in harmony with the spirits connected to their lineages. Banyankole and Bakiga uphold the existence of spirits other than the ancestral spirits. However, these other spirits are shrouded in mystery even if people experience them in their activities. These spirits make an invisible world in their own category. They make a temporary dwelling in many forms, such as a bird, rock, animal, lake, mountain, animal, light on the wayside, a human being, a river, a tree. These spirits are unpredictable as to what they can do to human beings. Most often these spirits are regarded as harmless, but people fear them believing that all spirits are malevolent, at least some of the time. The couple have to cope with the presence of such spirits and come to terms with their power in daily living. Perhaps Kabugu-ka-Mwera had one of those evil spirits haunting her and that is why she failed to find a lover. In her chant she shows that she was innocent; her life was in harmony with all in the community especially the elder of the clan. She was not guilty of disrespect. For the couple to live in a community of so many dimensions means to live either in fear or blamelessly. In either way, tension is likely to build up. The community and clan offer the couple a wide range of interaction and a likely source of help, but also of misunderstanding and dissatisfaction in terms of human relationships. Pastoral counseling, influenced by the Western literal world, must deal with this world view of the Mukiga or Munyankole counselee.

Crisis Traditional Counseling of Couple

Although the couple may find a traditional community supportive, this does not rule out jealousy, envy, and mean spiritedness in the community among its members. Good, and/or bad and ill-feelings are part of a community. An attempt to inculcate good morals in the children of a community is geared toward the prevention of failure, guilt, and shame in the community. The same kind of preventive counseling is given to those getting married as I already have shown in chapter 2. At this level of counseling the young adult is called to responsibility for his or her own failure in the future. A third dimension of counseling, besides inculcating morals and giving hints to success in life, involves resolution of either a conflict or a crisis. Therefore, there may arise a need for crisis counseling. Crisis counseling refers to a form of conflict resolution in emergency, and there may arise a series of misunderstanding, mistrust, and complaints that lead to gradual stages leading to the collapse of some good relations in a family, or between partners of a couple, or a whole clan with another clan. When conflict, or bigotry, and bickering emerge between the partners of a couple, the woman who was once considered permanently married finds herself choosing to return to her parents for a recourse.

Once she has reached home she is received by her father, or his substitute if he is no longer living, pending her husband to come and give an explanation of what happened between them. If the husband wants his wife to return to him, then he has to settle the difference between him and the wife before a family council that includes his own father, or his substitute if he is already dead. The father of the wife invites

some elders known for their impartial judgement and general good morals in the community to look into the current situation of conflict between his daughter and her husband. Senior women are also included on the family and/or clan council. The members of the council will be the ones to tell each partner of the couple where his or her fault lies and how he or she can mend what had happened. Some form of gesture is meted out for the offender, or the less caring in their marital relationship in a form of a symbolic reconciliation. However, no matter how the settling of the conflict ends, all those who have worked at the case and the members of the family have a shared meal at the expense of the one who started the conflict or fight in the home of the couple. If anyone partner refuses to share in that meal, he or she signifies his or her refusal to reconcile. Definitely that sort of behavior marks the first step to permanent separation or divorce of the couple. If divorce is declared by the husband then the father of the wife has to return all that went into bride wealth to him. If the wife refuses to return to her husband, she makes it more difficult for her family, and for herself, too. Traditionally marriage was considered to be the right thing to do by every woman and man. Sometimes the woman would be coaxed by her own family to return to her husband for the sake of children. It used to be taken for granted that whenever any of the two partners would find some conflicts emerging again he or she would consult wise man or woman for private talk. Private guidance and consultation was not ruled out in a traditional community.

Traditional counseling dealt with fear in people and had a strategic way of overcoming that fear and of inviting to reconciliation. This strategy was with the

diviners. I think, the diviner was the most effective traditional counselor. Diviners are still current among the traditional populations in the villages of the districts of Banyankole and Bakiga. The diviner is a crisis counselor because when a misfortune befalls some member of a family, or the entire family, or a clan and no elder can immediately determine the cause in the assembly of elders of the family or clan, then the group turns to a diviner to make consultations.

Bantu World view as Related to Infertility and Counseling

In his Essays regarding psychiatric research in Africa, Masamba ma Mpolo, says this,

The traditional Africa cosmology is dynamic. It recognizes and integrates the duality of mind and body, magic and rationality, order and disorder, negative and positive powers, and individual and communal consciousness. . . . The maintenance of personal and social equilibrium in the midst of this apparent dualism becomes the major role of traditional diagnosis, psychotherapy and medical systems. . . . Beliefs in witchcraft and sorcery form the most important cosmological and medical etiological category of the traditional African systems studied thus far, (Masamba ma Mpolo, 1993, p. 24)

The cosmology of the seen and unseen spirit-beings constitute forces which constantly interact with and influence the course of human life for good or for ill. The traditionalists believe that the presence of this interaction and influence is seen in the case of barrenness, or infertility.

The world view of Banyankole and Bakiga, and of Bantu in general, children are a blessing and barrenness a curse. Barrenness is an area where any human counselor in a given traditional community more closely works with other healers in the community, and these include a diviner and/or a medicine person. The diviner

may combine both, the scrutinizing of the causes of barrenness and giving herbal medicine for a cure. In the hearts and minds of Banyankole and Bakiga people and other groups of the Bantu the departed ancestors are part of the spirit-beings with power to influence the course of events of the human life. The ancestors are endowed with special powers. They enable the birth of children and protect the living family from attack of malevolent spirits of witches so long as the ancestral spirits are happy with the living progeny. It is traditionally believed that evil spirits coexist with the benevolent or good spirits of the ancestors and of the spirit of the supreme Being, God.

Counseling a barren woman means helping her reconnect with the spirit-beings by scrutinizing her behavior. Traditionally, it is believed that adultery as well, causes barrenness unless the wife confesses it herself to her husband. The ancestors can be petitioned for fecundity. Since traditional counseling aims at the maintenance of personal and communal stability, the traditional counselor, in this case a diviner and/or medicine person, must keep in touch with the present as well as with the past. The present regards the behavior of the one consulting him/her and the past regards how the seeker is harmoniously connected with the spirit world. The counselor must be with the barren woman in her trial because of the lack of children from her marital union with her true husband, and the counselor yet remains also connected to the community in their anguish and shame due to the lack of children in the clan. Marriage fails to produce children because either the spirits of the ancestors are not happy with the couple, or because the couple has been bewitched. The counselor

looks for the missing pieces in the rituals that were connected with the marriage ceremony, or for one responsible in the community, the witch or wizard. The diviner must get at both in the process of healing the barren woman. In the matter of dialoguing with the spirit world for the restoration of broken relationships and the establishment of social equilibrium for the revitalization of the individual and the community, a professional is required, and such professional is the diviner and/or medicine person.

The medicine person, when not a diviner, is deemed to have special powers for healing and wholeness of the human person who is afflicted by all sorts of suffering and pain. The wholeness resulting from healing includes the psychic, social, religious and physical. The medicine person will prescribe a remedy, and sometimes the remedy is ritualized. Many writers that describe the African medicine person spread the concept to cover different levels of healing. Therefore, according to the conceptualization of traditional religion, the category of medicine person consists of a diviner, a medium, and "witch doctor" (Kaut, p .240-260). I will from now on refer to the person who combined a number of skills in the profession of healing as a traditional healer. A traditional healer cures as well as wards off the evil effect of witches in the lives of people. The traditional healer is considered to be a good community member, and the witch or wizard is not.

Traditionally, a witch or wizard is considered a source of suffering and pain and barrenness in the world. She or he is feared. The traditional healer acquires skills to ward off bewitchment in the individual or the community or clan. An individual

can be trained to become a witch doctor, and through this training acquires special powers that he or she, as a traditional healer uses to contact the spiritual world and dialogue with the spirits pleading for the healing of the consulter. The traditional healer may prescribe truly medicinal herbs to cure illness and/or may prescribe a ritual for reconciliatory medicine to eradicate witches and wizards in the individual or the community.

Witches and wizards are the personification of evil and suffering. A traditional healer may take on the role of witch hunting in the community, and may come to be regarded as a medicine person and/or diviner. As such, a traditional healer will the more be honored and sought out for his/her powers of healing and curing diseases, of the physical, psychosomatic and psychosocial nature. The healer is appreciated for lessening suffering, pain, shame and guilt of the individual, family or clan. If the traditional healer is also a diviner, but not a mere medicine man or woman, he usually uses uncommon insights derived from the ancestral spirits to treat the afflicted in the community. Because of the shroud of mystery over the traditional healer, it is common that many people may approach him/her for other purposes, an example being a desire to retaliate due to enmity between individuals or families or clans. In this case then the traditional healer becomes something else, an aide in causing death and no longer a healer. Sometimes traditional healers are forced to turn out that way because of greed for money or property, or because that is what the consulter wants them to be.

A traditional healer may also be a professional person due to his natural gifts or

his acquired skills. The traditional healer may turn out that he is as well a diviner. In his strict profession as a diviner the traditional healer will use past insight of the ancestral spirits that he has acquired in treating other similar cases, as he now and again reconnects with the spiritual world to heal the afflicted. The way the diviner works resembles in some aspects that of a Western psychotherapist in that the diviner asks questions for clarifying and unearthing the consulter's past actions and the quality of his or her relationship with the spirits and human beings that are very important to him or her. Because his or her diagnosis of the ill is based on what the consulter discloses, the diviner is truly a person skilled in the psychology of the human mind and emotions. The diviner, because of what he or she discovers in his or her talk with the consulter, becomes an expert in revealing knowledge about the condition of the sufferer and foretells the future by tapping into and interacting with the spiritual powers, and it could be that he/she uses his or her own interiority to get the needed insights in healing. The diviner is thus capable of mediating the wills of the ancestors and the living. The concern of the diviner is to deal and eradicate evil both in its active state and in its prevention. This sort of religious vocation that the diviner possesses makes him and her very valuable in the community.

The barren couple is likely to consult a diviner. Traditionally, it is believed that only traditional ways can cure illness that people suffer from in a traditional community. Only traditional approach to healing can console a barren woman, a barren Munyankole or Mukiga in a traditional society. The diviner may succeed in healing the barrenness of a couple, or he or she may fail. The failure of a diviner is looked

upon as a calamity. This topic will be re-visited when I discuss the impact of Christianity on the traditional religions. Traditional counseling most often deals with the issue of fear in the couple, especially in the wife because of other sources of oppression to her in the community.

Quite often the woman was ill-treated on account of the bride dowry that the man had given to the bride's parents to marry her. The bride wealth had to come in the counseling session as a point of reference for reconciliation. Barrenness was at times tied up with the way some important relatives were treated in the share of the particular portion of the bride wealth, e.g., aunts, uncles. Infertility is a great issue and a difficult one to be handled by an ordinary and usual family council. The woman had to consult other counselors in the community, or her own mother. There was a built-in strategy to rectify a condition of barrenness of the couple. This strategy was with the diviners. People believed that the diviner was the most effective traditional counselor because of his or her skills in finding out the cause of a misfortune or evil. Diviners are still current among the traditional populations in the village of the districts of Banyankole and Bakiga. The diviner is a crisis counselor because when a misfortune befalls some member of a family, or the entire family, or a clan and no elder can immediately determine the cause in the assembly of elders of the family or clan, then the group turns to a diviner to make consultations. The process of divination is the means by which a community traces the presence of witchcraft in the individual, family and/or clan. Divination discloses the culprit and the victim in witchcraft connected with bewitchment. The community shares the shame of the

culprit and victim. Divination brings about healing of the psychosocial and the psychological and/or the psychosomatic aspects of the individual, family and/or clan, (Berinyuu, 1987, p. 38-39). The challenge to the diviner is to help the family identify the fundamental conflict in the community relationships that has caused the misfortune. The diviner uses outstanding observable objects such as beads, sticks, feathers, guards, seeds, stones, hair of animals or human, dice, shells, mask, facial features of human body as physiological or psychological signs. The divination process is performed in steps and at the end of it a ritual is prescribed for the person or family.

The elements for the questions that a diviner asks the consulter are drawn from the "socio-cosmic universe which make up roots of the inquirer," (Berinyuu, 1987, p.41). The questions are paired and are in a form of contrast, or opposites, connected with favorable against unfavorable phenomena in the life circumstances of the consulter or inquirer. The diviner then determines the meaning or significance of the signs or symbols that he is using in connection with the information that the consulter has shared. Finally the diviner will prescribe methods of treatment to alleviate or avert the affliction of the consulter or the family. The diviner's role is to unveil the hidden matters that he obtains from his contact with the spirits-world before sharing with the consulter the actual stuff which is hidden from the consulter. The methodically formulated questions that the diviner asks the consulter bring to light the unconscious impulses, hidden elements in conflicting relationships in the community, or between husband and wife, or parents and child, or between in-laws. The diviner's skills to

track down the psychological predispositions and beliefs of the consultee make him or her an expert counselor.

Some African writers, especially those from West Africa seem to suggest that divination is traditional psychotherapy, and that it is a form of social analysis, (Berinyuu, 1987, p.44). Divination is seen as a means for re-integration of an individual or family and/or clan or community to achieve healing and restoration of relationships. The basic principle of a traditional community is interdependence, and the strength of the community depends on the members' degree of their interdependence and solidarity in terms of sharing problems and cooperation in solving them, even when it is difficult.

One may ask about the call of a diviner to the profession of healing. A diviner is chosen; the spirit of the ancestor who was a diviner must choose among the descendants who will be a replacement as a diviner for others in the community of clans. After the individual's call is recognized, tested and confirmed by the community, then training of the beginner follows in the art of divination. Coping with suffering, loss and pain was an ever devastating event in the community, and therefore divination was a handy tool to regain an equilibrium. Diviners were, and still are, special consultants about the spirits. As consultants, the diviners can bargain with and control malevolent spirits and even use spirits to the advantage of human beings. Many medicine/herbal doctors claim to have been taught medicine by spirits. When a spirit, or spirits, take possession of a person, that person becomes a medium of the spirit/s and is respected in the community. What has this to do with traditional counseling ? Every

medium can claim to have an answer to a person's problem because of the revelation of it through the spirit/s. A belief of the Banyankole and Bakiga in the spirits, ancestors, one unique supreme Creator, immortality, prayer and sacrifice, and in morality connected with proper order in the universe is an indication of the strength of their traditional society which was built on their traditional religion, a natural religion that the Christian missionaries did not have knowledge of at all on their arrival in Uganda. Being an oral tradition, even today, the culture of the Banyankole and Bakiga, therefore, depends on the use and hearing of words in story-telling, myths narration, and proverbial sayings. They have myths, too, that recount the beginnings of the universe of which I will not go into detail. The human traditional counselor was a wise person and an expert at story-telling and at the use of proverbs and myths as I have indicated. A contemporary counselor is invited to model his or her approach to counseling Banyankole and Bakiga, or other Bantu people, on the counseling pattern of the traditional story-telling, proverbial proclaiming, and informal conversation with clients to recapture their beliefs, values and customs, expectations of instant alteration of events through the wearing of charms, amulets, talism, and to grapple with the underlying distortions that clients have. The symbols of an indigenous cultural group must be understood clearly by the foreigner. For examples the objects mentioned above stunned the early missionaries, and are still suspected by most Catholics today.

The proverbs, legends, myths, and poetic chants during the wedding ritual and ceremony contain messages and reveal beliefs, preoccupations, and values and a

social moral code by which Banyankole and Bakiga organized human relations and institutions of marriage and family life. Proverbs show the drives that motivate behavior and the controls, or a code of ethics, that regulate the relations of an individual to others. They show the lifestyle or interests of Banyankole and Bakiga. A traditional counselor was aware of the human capacity to tell stories and use proverbs to convey a message. Since ideas and values are most effectively transmitted within a cultural framework of the community, it will be difficult for a person from one culture to really enter the world view of another person of a different culture and know, be emotive, and have a feel for another group's "secret to success in life," (Luzbetak, 1963, p. 196).

Since cultural ways and patterns become second nature to the native of the culture, being socially transmitted as beliefs, values and behavior, culture can become a kind of cage and trap although the cultural habits of believing, and acting are innocently acquired in the process of enculturation or assimilation. Therefore everything African must have appeared strange to the first Christian missionaries in Uganda among the Banyankole and Bakiga. An African instinctual frame of mind patterned on the desire to want to relate to and respond to other human beings in a network of relationships made it easier for Banyankole and Bakiga to receive the Christian missionaries.

CHAPTER IV

THERAPEUTIC IMPLICATIONS OF THREE THEORIES OF THE WESTERN PSYCHOLOGY AND SOME ELEMENTS OF PASTORAL COUNSELING.

Introduction

After giving a detailed account of the traditional counseling among the Banyankole and Bakiga group through story-telling, proverbial sayings, and conflict resolution with the help of the community council of elders in the previous two chapters, I now turn to the Western psychology to see how it applies to counseling and/or therapy. I believe in the West there are various kinds of psychologies with varying standardized approaches of definite formats. I have chosen two: Cognitive-behavior theories and therapy of Aaron T. Beck and Donald Meichenbaum. I also will consider object relations theory especially as it refers to the Self psychology perspective which was developed by Heinz Kohut. A close study of these three theories of the Western psychology will enable me to establish for myself a basis of comparison of the Banyankole- Bakiga traditional counseling and the Western mode of counseling and/or therapy. Through comparison I hope to find common and differing elements between the two approaches so that I can get a framework on which to base my proposals that

I will make in the concluding chapter. These proposals will be made to help the West and Banyankole-Bakiga counselors to meet and dialogue concerning how best non-Western clients can be offered counseling and/or therapy without oppression, and also how Western clients can be given counseling by non-Western counselors without coercion either.

Beginning with some clarification about how counseling is understood in the West, let us examine a few definitions given by some Western writers about it. Patterson (1986) describes psychotherapy and counseling as differing modes of service although they are closely related. He defines counseling in this way,

Counseling as a mode of treatment deals with and includes the cognition and affective realm - attitudes, feelings, and emotions and not simply with ideas. When there is little affect involved, then the process is not counseling but is probably teaching, information giving, or an intellectual discussion (Patterson, 1986, p. xix).

From the start it is already seen that Paterson will have a question, even doubt, about Banyankole and Bakiga traditional counseling. Perhaps Patterson sees counseling in a strict formal setting as it is practiced in most Western situations. If counseling is looked at from a multicultural perspective, it will then be defined differently. An emphasis on a primarily formal process of counseling creates another point of view about who should do counseling. A perspective which holds that counseling should be formal, by implication, maintains that counseling should be done by trained professionals, with specialization in mental health services.

The pattern or design of social system in Western culture is significantly different from that in non-Western cultures, particularly, in this case, from the culture

of Banyankole and Bakiga. Therefore, the mental health service in non-Western cultures will be given in a different mode of cultural reference. Pedersen (1988) maintains that counseling can occur in an informal as well as a formal mode, and that, "In most non-Western systems there is less tendency than in Western societies to locate the problem inside the isolated individual than to relate a person's difficulty to other persons, the cosmology, or informal support systems," (Pedersen, 1988, p. 110).

Pedersen again maintains that,

there are no essential differences between counseling and psychotherapy in the nature of the relationship, in the process, in the methods or techniques, in goals or outcomes broadly conceived, or even in the kinds of clients involved. . . . For practical or political reasons, counseling often refers to work with less seriously disturbed clients or with clients who have rather specific problems with less accompanying personality problems, usually in a non medical setting; psychotherapy refers to work with more seriously disturbed clients usually in a medical setting (Patterson, 1986, p. xix).

This definition of counseling and psychotherapy fits in with the theories and techniques of counseling/therapy that Beck and Kohut have advanced in their work in research and practice. Both counseling and therapy are two closely related modes of the many alternatives for intervention to influence a person's mental health.

Beck's Theory of Automatic Thoughts and their Influence

Beck (1989), organizes his speculations about human behavior and therapy around his cognitive theory. His theoretical configuration and therapeutic techniques are based on his assumptions with regard to cognitive patterns of human beings, and

in particular therapy of depressed clients. For Beck the problems of the mind lead to difficulties that intimate partners in marriage have. He believes that he has something to offer to resolve these difficulties by putting forward his theory of cognitive therapy.

For Beck ,

the word cognitive, derived from the Latin word for **thinking**, refers to ways in which people make judgments and decisions, and the ways in which they interpret - or misinterpret - one another's actions. . . . This revolution has provided a new focus on how people use their minds to solve problems - or to create or aggravate them. How we think determines to a large extent whether we will succeed and enjoy life, or even survive. If our thinking is straightforward and clear, we are better equipped to reach these goals. If it is bogged down by distorted symbolic meanings, illogical reasoning, and erroneous interpretations, we become in effect deaf and blind... As we misjudge and miscommunicate, we inflict pain on both ourselves and our mates and, in turn, bear the brunt of painful retaliation (Beck, 1988, p. 2).

To arrive at the above conclusions, Beck did a lot of close observations of his clients suffering from depression, anxiety, phobias, neurosis and obsessive-compulsive disorders. He carried out observation and cognitive analysis of the thoughts of his patients for a number of years and eventually arrived at a working formulation of the disorders they were suffering from. He went further in his postulation of the cognitive theory and explained neurosis in terms of cognitive distortions. Beck also backed up his cognitive theory by developing various maneuvers, cognitive techniques to correct the faulty thinking in his neurotic patients or clients. Beck was originally trained and practiced as a psychoanalyst, but he later became dissatisfied with the complexity and abstraction of psychoanalysis. He then chose to develop his own theory and mode of therapy to treat neurosis and depression, (Patterson, 1986, p.34-35). Beck was a

certified psychiatrist and was thus prepared to respond to the therapeutic needs of his clients. Beck was also attracted to the emerging school of behaviorist therapy. He had realized the demand in his clients for something different that made him expand the horizon of the behaviorist school by introducing cognition as the primary source of behavior.

Beck was convinced that behavioral therapy is more effective because it evokes attitudinal or cognitive changes in the client which in turn leads to change of behavior. Beck believed that what people think and say, as is indicated in the above quotation from his work, is relevant and important; the kind of ideas, beliefs, ideals, attitudes that they have matter. He was of the opinion that living is part of common sense and people use common sense in the formal action and test their hunches about their experiences in the external world. In the course of human development, human beings acquire a huge store of information (schema), concepts and formulas for use in the general living and for dealing with psychological existential problems, for instance, in marriage. People continue to amass knowledge of their environment throughout their lives and make attempts to cope with problems arising thereof through a cognitive process. At times, from the mental framework of their cultural heritage and through education and experience, human beings continue to make observations, develop and test their hypotheses (White, 1982, p. 195.), to make judgements about their external world by a process of arbitrary inference (conclusions without ground for them), selective abstraction (focusing on a negative element in the picture rather than positive elements), over-generalization drawing conclusions from

a single incident), magnification and minimization (magnifying negative elements while minimizing the positive ones, which leads to a distortion of reality), and personalization (feeling that the words and actions of other people are motivated to hurt). However, Beck gives an exception of the mentally disturbed people who are incapable of the aforesaid process.

Beck maintains that the emotionally disturbed clients need help from a counselor or therapist to regain their native mastery again over the application of common sense to living. Beck also believes that human beings react and give meaning to events differently. People are capable of interpreting behaviors and events using cognitive processes to come to self-understanding and to predict the behavior of others, or their intimate partners. All behavior can be accounted for from the cognitive perspective. What captures the interest of cognitive psychotherapists is overt behavior, not the history of it. Cognitive therapy then will not require a concept of the unconscious, but will help clients use the problem-solving technique they employ during their normal periods of living to arrive at solving their problems, (Patterson, 1986, p. 34).

Automatic Thoughts as the Cause of Marital Conflict

Beck believes that each person carries inside silent thoughts and deciphered symbolic meanings of events in his or her environment. The silent thoughts are so fleeting that they cannot be easily pinned down in the mind. Beck calls these fleeting

thoughts automatic. He says that,

these automatic thoughts take the form of words, of images, or both . . . similar to what Freud called **preconscious thinking**. Automatic thoughts are brief bursts at the fringe of unconsciousness. . . . Although their rapidity helps galvanize us into action, their brevity makes it difficult to identify them. . . . The content of the automatic thought is usually condensed However, when people capture their automatic thoughts, they can reconstruct the entire sentence. Series of automatic thought form an internal monologue. The nonverbal signals - posture, facial expressions, tone of voice - reflect a person's automatic thoughts more accurately than the words. . . . Automatic thoughts reflect the **latent content** of a message - what is hidden - in contrast to the **manifest content** - the actual words, (Beck, 1968, p. 143).

Beck includes the **shouldst** in the content of automatic thoughts. These **shouldst**, in turn, carry the message of expectations. The automatic or silent thoughts are the source of marital conflicts. The partners commonly do not realize the actual source of their problem, and therefore they end up attributing it to some negative qualities in their partner rather than to a mismatch in their expectations for each other. Couples who show intense reactions to their partners indicate their distorted cognition or thinking process which is comprised of the **all-or-nothing thinking, mind reading, and over-generalizations**.

Cognitive Therapy from a Perspective of Silent Thoughts

Beck's belief in automatic thoughts as the cause of marital conflict led him to work out nine techniques of cognitive therapy that pay a lot of attention to negative automatic thoughts. He gives an example of automatic

thoughts in the brief statements which run like this,

My partner is incapable of change.
 Nothing can improve our relationship.
 Things will only get worse.
 People are set in their ways and can't change
 My partner won't cooperate and nothing can be
 done without his [her] cooperation.
 I have suffered enough.
 I don't have energy to try more.
 If we need to work at it, there is something
 seriously wrong.
 will make it worse.
 It only postpones the inevitable.
 Too much damage has been done
 I don't feel I'm able to change.
 If we haven't gotten along up to now, how can
 I expect that we can get along
 any better in the future?
 It doesn't matter if my partner starts
 to act more positively, it is my partner's
 attitude that is a problem,
 (Beck, 1988 p. 197, 199.).

General cognitive therapy involves the application in treatment of the common methods of logical thinking that have been lost in normal living. It implies that the individual reflects on his or her patterns of thought that activate behavior. Cognitive therapy is best for those who have affinity to and capacity for introspection and reflection. The treatment target is to enable the client overcome blind spots, blurred perceptions, self-deceptions, and incorrect judgments. The emotional reactions that lead an individual to therapy are believed to be the result of incorrect thinking.

Therapy, therefore, must be directed to bringing back correct thinking to the individual for the alleviation of the problem. Often reality may not be distorted, except in the case of paranoid clients and schizophrenics, but reality may be perceived

though the lenses of thinking based on faulty premises, erroneous inference or wrong conclusions from observations. Therefore, during therapy the therapist must directly or indirectly teach certain principles of correct thinking to the client. Through a therapeutic relationship, the therapist is to challenge the client's patterns of thinking (schema) to help the client get to the level of the stream of automatic thoughts that underlie the person's problem, while the therapist attempts, without coercion or being authoritative, to assert that human beings are both uniquely rational as well as irrational.

Marital Cognitive Therapy For Conflict Resolution

I want to discuss Aaron T. Beck's marital therapy in two situations of conflict and depression. With regard to marital conflict, Beck emphasizes correct thinking and matching communication of partners. Cognitive marital therapy that he advocates must address the issue of correct thinking and of right skills in communication. Techniques of cognitive therapy used by the therapist are meant to help couples resolve their conflicts through sessions of learning the skills of rule breaking and re-making, monologue identification, cognitive shift, reinforcement, communication, and emotion taming. Beck believed that when a therapist uses a set of simple cognitive principles that are part of cognitive therapy, he or she can help couples counteract the tendency in them to make unjustified conclusions about and to withdraw their projected distorted images of each other.

The cognitive principles arise from one basic assumption in marital therapy, and that is a belief that when a therapist works at more accurate and reasonable conclusions with a couple he or she can help prevent the cycle of misunderstanding that lead to marital conflict and hostilities among couples. This assumption guides the therapist in his or her role of therapeutic maneuvers in marital therapy to lead the couples to learn reasonableness by adopting a tentative attitude about the accuracy of their own and of each other's statements and behavior through checking out the accuracy of one's mind reading and its results in their mutual interaction. Similarly, traditional counseling through story-telling and proverbial sayings among the Banyankole and Bakiga offers several alternative explanations from which the couple may draw tentative conclusion that can lead to new insights and interactions.

When each partner is able to check for accuracy of one's conclusions, then he or she can move on to consider alternative explanations for what a partner does. Cognitive therapy focuses on the way partners in a marital relationship perceive, or mis-perceive, and the way couples communicate or mis-communicate. According to Beck (1988), the cognitive approach is designed to restore logical thinking of the couples and thus to remedy distortions and deficits in thinking and communication. Mind reading is connected with automatic thoughts. Beck agreed that thoughts emerge automatically and extremely rapidly. As they do, thoughts show themselves involuntarily as specific, discretely abbreviated, and relatively autonomous. People in general react to events in terms of the meanings they give to events and situations, and these meanings make personal interpretations of particular events. When a person is

frustrated or disappointed, the person's mind enters a cycle of automatically fleeting negative thoughts and malfunctioning, and thereafter the person becomes predisposed to misinterpret or exaggerate the meaning of other people's behavior, to make negative explanations. Then the person acts on such misinterpretations, exaggerations and negative explanations. In the case of a couple, the partner's relationship becomes strained.

The simple act of interpretation of another person's words or acts is equivalent to mind reading and can produce inaccurate predictions that result in either unnecessary anxiety or a false sense of security; one takes words or behavior for what they are not. The cognitive therapist helps the client disentangle himself or herself from habits of mind reading by teaching a sequence of steps to assist him or her to attain logical thinking and drawing conclusions from one's observations, in a sort of syllogism. The essence of marital therapy, therefore, consists of exploring with a couple the underlying automatic thoughts, unrealistic expectations, self-defeating attitudes, unjustified negative explanations and illogical conclusions each partner has toward his or her mate. Beck believed in certain qualities that help to give a foundation for marriage. These qualities include love and affection, cooperation and commitment to fidelity, all appropriate and supportive qualities that any human family would need regardless of the cultural settings.

In cognitive marital therapy, the therapist is encouraged to bring into the session with the couple their emotional experiences by inference since these experiences are part of the chain of the couple's cognitive element in their problem. Therapy must

lead to insight, insight being a recognition of the underlying specific misconception or a cluster of misconceptions in one's thinking. Insight begins the process of a desired change, because once an individual realizes the misconception he or she bears toward a partner's words or behavior, then he or she must work at changing this by discarding the misconception or misinterpretation. Beck outlines nine steps or techniques to arrive at a change of distortions in one's thinking. These guidelines invite each partner to reflect on his or her elaborate interpretations. Each step involves reflection and practices to help the couple deal with their misleading and self-defeating beliefs. Some techniques can be used by each partner separately, others work best when both partners apply them. The therapist will use his or her discretion to use and assign the practices in the therapeutic sessions with couples. Beck, (1986, p. 254), believes that steps like, "recognizing and correcting your automatic thoughts, testing your predictions, and reframing your perspective of your mate," can be done by each partner separately. The nine techniques he offers include,

- linking emotional reactions with automatic thoughts;
- using imagination to identify thoughts;
- practicing identifying automatic thoughts;
- questioning one's automatic thoughts;
- using rational responses;
- extracting the meaning;
- testing one's predictions;
- reframing and practicing alternative explanations;
- labeling one's distortions

(Beck, 1988, p.256-271).

These steps show a common procedure of the cognitive therapy that is applicable in most cases when the therapist works with a client to correct distorted beliefs about

oneself, others and the environment in general. When each partner is examining the connection between his/her emotional reaction with a given situation or event of the interaction with the mate, he or she is learning how to identify and determine the hidden connecting link of the event with their own automatic thoughts. The next step is to help the partner practice imagining by visualizing the same event and to grapple with the emotion linked with the event for identifying the underlying automatic thoughts. The individual is likely to recognize how his or her internal messages (automatic thoughts) trigger the emotional reactions, such as anger, sadness, disappointment, shame, guilt instead of blaming the situation or event for such emotions.

By acquiring the skill of recognizing one's automatic thoughts, the individual can see the inner workings of one's mind and thus gain insight into what makes him or her tick. Recognition gives a tool to the partner to deal more effectively with the real problem that their relationship is facing. Recognition frees the individual to deal with the real marital issue. This same issue can be resolved through techniques of communication that the therapist will help the client learn. Questioning one's automatic thoughts implies that one has to test them against reality in order to determine whether these thoughts and beliefs are exaggerations or distortions or plausible and correct. The testing can be done through a conversation between the couple. After the discovery of the nature of one's thoughts, then one must evaluate the reasonableness of these thoughts and beliefs in the face of reality.

The partners also face the task of extracting the hidden meaning of a piece of behavior of the other to arrive at the significance of the behavior in their relationship.

When the couple have a negative frame for each other, after their discovery of the truth about each other's behavior they can work at reframing, a skill that consists of reconsidering the negative qualities that the partners see in each other in a different light for a change. Changes come about when each partner chooses alternatives rather than sticking with the previous negative frame of mind toward the mate. Effective change can emerge if the couples get rid of their illogical thinking expressed in distortions of polarization, (all-or-nothing rule, or either-or-nothing), over-generalization or formulations of sweeping statements based on a small number of events or occurrence of behavior, a tunnel vision or taking a single detail from an experience and basing one's judgment on it alone by screening out other important data to interpret the entire event, personalization which can be equated with self-blame for the behavior of one's spouse, and global negative labeling of the mate because of one single event. In short the couple are given skills in self-examination and self-communication for happy marriage. This takes time to achieve, and the therapist must keep on encouraging the couple that wants to remain together not to give up despite the difficult journey of overcoming negative habitual thinking. The nine steps described above come under the skill of problem-solving and coping skills.

When one of the spouses is suffering from depression, cognitive therapy can be utilized to help the sufferer. Depression, too, is a source of pain for both spouses. Beck advocates a skill of cognitive-restructuring to treat clients with faulty thinking styles. Faulty styles under consideration include faulty inferences not supported by evidence, exaggeration of the significance of an event, cognitive deficiency or

disregard for an important element in a situation, dichotomous reasoning and over-generalization from a single incident. The clients collaborate with the therapist in observing and analyzing their own experiences.

Depression starts with a feeling of loss. The loss may be real or may be hypothetical or a pseudo-loss. The loss is perceived as permanent and irreversible. Comparison with others leads to lower self-esteem, and the ultimate result may be total self-rejection. Pessimism pervades the depressed client. Negative views of the self lead to negative views of the future. Depression is manifested in inertia, fatigue, and agitation, and these all are outcomes of negative cognition. Depression as condition is observable. It is an abnormal behavior or symptom with manifestations of crying spells, fatigability and suicidal threats, motivational disturbances (apathy) and avoidance of activity, and a cluster of distorted beliefs. Cognitive therapy attacks the underlying attitudes and cognition to modify the code system of belief of the client. The client is challenged to engage in concrete success behavior, while the therapist helps him or her identify the assumptions that underlie his or her depression. Sometimes an experiment is set up for the client to test his or her assumptions. The assumptions or beliefs the client has are subjected to argument through questioning by the therapist in order to elicit their reasonableness or unreasonableness. Clients are assigned some scheduled graded task or activity to give them scope to discover and utilize their own potential which normally surfaces when they are actively engaged.

When clients succeed in the structured and graded activity, then the therapist gives them some appraisal to change their self-concept of incapacitation, or the thera-

pist encourages the client to do that themselves. The therapist instructs depressed clients to keep records of all their activities and to grade each according to the degree of mastery (M) and of pleasure (P) the client has achieved in performing it. With the help of the therapist the client can give himself or herself cognitive appraisal by identifying maladaptive cognition and attitudes. In the next step of a therapeutic session, a client considers alternative explanations for negative experiences in order to recognize distortions and biases. By looking at alternative ways of coping with a situation, the client is enabled to find a solution to the problem previously thought of as insolvable. By assigning cognitive rehearsals, or the practice of the imagination regarding the problem/difficulty, (to imagine how it feels when), and by reporting back to the therapist their experience, clients are helped to spot or detect residual obstacles and conflicts which are brought to the session for discussion and resolution.

Assignments are given at each session to counteract depressive symptoms. The client is asked to record negative cognition in one column and rational response in another. This chain of assignments is to train the depressed client to reorganize his or her cognition. For inertia and activity avoidance, the client is helped to propose an activity that he or she is capable of performing and then the reasonableness of the activity is looked into by both the client and therapist. Reasons against the proposed activity elicited from the client are examined and the client is asked to weigh their validity. In doing this the client is trained to challenge thoughts and to replace those which are negative with reasonable ones. Hopelessness and suicidal ideation often present in the severely depressed clients are challenged by alternative therapy that

shows to the patient other alternative interpretations of the present situation and other possible choices for the future rather than the present which the client is inclined to carry out.

Meichenbaum's Cognitive-Behavior Modification

Meichenbaum's cognitive theory of behavior change makes this demand as a means of behavioral alteration when he says that,

the client must recognize some behavior in which he/she engages (be it a set of thoughts, images, physiological or behavioral responses) or in some instances the interpersonal responses of someone else, a necessary but not a sufficient condition to bring about change. This recognition or self-awareness acts as a cue for producing certain internal dialogue. The content of the clients' dialogue and indeed what the client will attend to is guided by the orientation of the therapist and the nature of the conceptualization that evolves between the client and the therapist, (Meichenbaum, 1977, p. 217).

It is rare that a client considers that his or her thinking process and/or the interpersonal meaning of his or her behavior is a source of disturbance. A translation process follows recognition, described above by Meichenbaum, of one's maladaptive behavior when a client is helped by the therapist to reflect on that self-awareness. Meichenbaum's theory of behavior modification emerged from his research involving treating hospitalized schizophrenic patients as he made attempts to train them to acquire skills to carry on an internal dialogue with their cognition and affective reactions. Through his research and study, Meichenbaum (Paterson, 1986) discovered that overt and covert private speech carried on by impulsive, hyperactive and aggressive children influenced their behavior, resulting in its modification. He then

embarked on a program of research to observe the role of cognitive factors in behavior modification. In doing so he supported Beck and formulated his own cognitive theory and therapy as Beck himself continued to do research about cognitive factors and their influence on people's behavior. Meichenbaum trained hyperactive children to talk to themselves differently so that they could better "comprehend problems, spontaneously produce verbal mediators and strategies, and use these mediators to guide, monitor, and control their behavior. . . .," (Patterson, 1986, p. 191). He also developed a (similar) program of training in self-instruction for patients diagnosed as schizophrenic.

Meichenbaum's theory in the development of the program of self-instruction rested on the assumption that what people say to themselves determines their behavior; behavior is affected by physiological responses, affective reactions, cognition, and interpersonal interactions. Meichenbaum's theory proved effective for the treatment of the distressed patients. Like Beck, he also stresses that for a client to change behavior he or she must become aware of his or her inadequate and self-defeating behaviors. This awareness throws light on the internal dialogue. Commonly, the internal dialogue consists of negative self-statements and images. Therapy is to enable a client to describe and define the attributes of his or her internal dialogue that has led to a problem, for a change of behavior to occur. By helping clients focus on their inner dialogue, a cognitive therapist makes clients perceive cues to their behavior and to a needed direction for change to take place.

Meichenbaum saw that not all human behavior is conditioned. He believed that

although the human may be conditioned to respond directly to many stimuli in the environment, much of the person's behavior appears spontaneous and cannot be traced directly to a specific stimuli. Such behavior is emitted rather than elicited by a stimulus. For Meichenbaum, behavior is both overt and covert. Behavior modification in human beings has to do with self-awareness and tackling the covert element, because this element expresses the cognitions of the internal dialogue. Tackling the cognitions of the dialogue, lead to behavior modification in human beings. Cognitions make that portion of the covert behavior. The inner speech is examined in therapy to see if it fits or does not fit with the person's cognitive structures, (schema). Prior to therapy, the client's inner speech (internal dialogue) about the external world is set.

Meichenbaum is talking about a similar phenomenon that Beck refers to as automatic thoughts in his cognitive therapy of re-structuring techniques in the treatment of the depressed, and in couples' conflict. Re-structuring is a therapeutic response to defeatist beliefs about one's need to change. When a spouse with an internal dialogue of an unexpressed or expressed emotion like that which is shown in the above quote is attending a session of therapy or counseling, the therapist or counselor must offer the client an empathetic listening and engage the client in a restructuring procedure to change the troublesome beliefs in the statements of the client.

Cognitive-Behavior Modification Therapy

Cognitive re-structuring involves a variety of therapeutic techniques which aim at modifying the client's thinking and premises, assumptions, and attitudes underlying cognitions of that nature by examining with the client his or her defeatist other-blaming concepts, self-justifying notions, and reciprocity demands carried in the statements above. The statements that Beck gives above as an example are referred to as cognitions, and yet they are loaded with emotion. Cognitive therapy focuses on the ideation content, i.e. the irrational inferences already mentioned. The therapist, using restructuring mode of therapy, makes attempts to familiarize himself or herself with the client's thought content, feelings, and behaviors in order to get at their inter-relational nature and the influence this inter-relational connection has on the person's cognitions and behaviors in the relationship with others or one's spouse. The therapist must help the client identify and put to test against facts about the environment specific misconceptions, distortions of reality, and maladaptive aspects of the cognitions. The underlying assumption of cognitive therapy in general is that the negative view of a spouse about his or her partner and the world at large lead to unpleasant or disturbing emotions and behavior difficulties. Cognitive therapy through the technique of restructuring is close to insight oriented therapy.

Meichenbaum holds that maladaptive behavior trigger an internal dialogue. The content of what the client learns to say to himself will vary with the conceptualization

that emerges when already in therapy. However, if the client's behavior is to change, then what he or she says to himself or herself and/or imagines, must initiate a new behavioral chain, one that is incompatible with his maladaptive behaviors. Behavior therapy highlights the particular needs of some patients in learning behavioral skills required to emit new adaptive acts. Just focusing on such skills training is not sufficient to explain the change process. To the extent that the client changes both his behavior and his internal dialogues, to that extent therapy becomes a success, (Meichenbaum, 1977, p. 225).

Meichenbaum's theory and therapy of behavior change may also be used to help translate into action and implement newly acquired schema of the Munyankole or Mukiga in therapy for Meichenbaum maintains that,

There is a variety of constructs that normally describe the various aspects of a person's activities that may be affecting his behavior at any given moment. These constructs include physiological responses, affective reactions, cognitions, and interpersonal interactions; and many or all of them may occur at once...The goal of a cognitive functional assessment is to describe, in probabilistic terms, the functional significance of engaging in self statements of a particular sort followed by an individual's particular behavior or emotional state (e.g., mood), or his physiological reactions or his attentional processes, etc. How does the internal dialogue influence and, in turn, is influence by other events or behavioral processes? (Meichenbaum, 1977, p. 201-202).

Meichenbaum has demonstrated the efficacy of this kind of therapy with hyperactive, impulsive children and adult schizophrenics. This approach is based on the assumption that a change in a client's internal dialogue leads to a behavior change. In therapy the therapist observes the client's self statements, or self verbalizations, or self instructions in a context of problem solving and assists the client to replace maladaptive with

adaptive self verbalizations to lead to the positive resultant consequences. The therapist achieves this through the work of interpersonal instructions that goes on between him or her and the client. Internal dialogue and its effects has been observed in stress as well. An example is shown by a high speech anxious individual who is likely to be saying to himself or herself as he or she speaks, "I am boring. How much longer do I have to speak? I knew I never could give a speech..." (Meichenbaum, 1977, p. 204). Meichenbaum's internal dialogue is to me equivalent to Beck's automatic thoughts. To influence the client's inner dialogue, the therapist influences and alters the client's cognitive structures. Client's keen and conscientious observation lead the observer to seeing more in the environment and to collecting more data about one's field of problem, interest or concern. The observation results in behavioral outcome (change) consistent with one's belief system which affects one's internal dialogue. In turn, the behavior change is manifested by a person's acceptance or rejection what one has discovered about the environment.

Kohut's Theory of Selfobjects and Efficacy Experiences

Kohut is linked in psychology with the emergence of Self Psychology. He developed a theory of self-psychology that explains the significance of empathy in human development and behavior. He uses the concept of empathy (Kohut, 1950-1978) to emphasize the role of the relationship of a child's caregiver in the child's development and of pathology and disorders of the self in the absence of empathetic

presence of the parent. Kohut's perspective of the object relations theory gives a major role to the **self**. In his formulation of his theory of the self, Kohut takes and focuses on the mother-child, caregiver-child relationship in order to understand the working of the human psyche. Kohut highlights the dynamics underlying the intense interactions between mother and infant/child. According to Kohut, a child is born into a social milieu.

Relatedness with others forms a basis or a prerequisite for psychological survival. Kohut's explanation of how an infant or a child, or even an adult, thrives on relationships echoes the belief of Banyankole and Bakiga that humans beings need a community of a network of kinship and friendship with others. Kohut has departed from the psychodynamic concept of self previously formulated by Freud. Kohut was a trained analyst in the school of Psychoanalysis which he later abandoned when he introduced his new theory of self. He shares with Meichenbaum a theoretical framework of object relations psychology in that both emphasize relationship and have retreated from the Freudian drive model of behavior.

Freud focused on a bodily self that functions at the level of the id, ego, and superego.

For Freud, the ego is an abstraction that denotes the mental functioning of perception, memory differentiation and integration of thought, action and the demands of conscience. The ego then is a set of functions and cannot be experienced. The Freudian ego is a portion of the id... the executive of the personality, mediating and reconciling the demands of the id, superego and the outside world, (Patterson, 1986, p. 215).

Kohut's notion of the self offers a viewpoint on the Freudian ego that was not being explained by the classical drive model of Freud. Kohut was able to reach his theory of the self because of his work with narcissistic clients/patients. He held that these

clients do not necessarily withdraw interest from objects in the external world, but they are unable to rely on their own inner resources. As a consequence they have become excessively attached to others. Traditional psychoanalysis has perceived narcissism as pathological, but Kohut holds that it is caused by its own line of development; narcissism plays a healthy role in psychology. Kohut gives a general definition of narcissism as "the investment of the self where, to a person, a self-object is an object or person undifferentiated from the individual who serves the needs of the self," (St. Clair, 1986, p.147).

Kohut also suggests that,

in the narcissistic personality disorders the cohesive self is insecure, it depends on a relation to selfobjects by breaking up and these events repeat, in reverse, a progressive movement of early childhood: a stage in which the child experiences only a single body parts and single bodily and mental functions is superseded by a stage in which the child experiences himself as a cohesive body-mind self - a development that is aided by the wholesome, i.e. development-enhancing influence of the selfobjects of childhood, (Kohut, 1966, p. 739).

Kohut repeatedly emphasizes the paramount significance of an empathetic presence and a mirroring selfobject in the early life of an infant and thereafter of any human person in these words,

It is instructive ... to examine the disintegration of the two basic psychological functions - healthy self-assertiveness vis-a-vis the mirroring selfobject, healthy admiration for the idealized self-object - whose presence under normal, favorable circumstances indicates that independent self is beginning to rise out of the matrix of mirroring and idealized selfobjects, (Kohut, 1977, p. 171).

In the revision of his early work on narcissism, Kohut restates his earlier concept of the self in relation to self-objects as these notions had emerged in the early 1970s by giving them clarity in his further explanation of these terms,

I will add immediately, in the view of the fact that we now conceive of the self as consisting of three major constituents (the pole of ambitions, the pole of ideals, and the intermediate area of talents and skills), that we subdivide the selfobject transference into three groups: (1) those in which the damaged pole of ambitions attempts to elicit the confirming-approving responses of the selfobject (mirroring transference); (2) those in which the damaged pole of ideals searches for a selfobject that will accept its idealization (idealizing transference); and (3) those in which the damaged intermediate area of talents and skills seek a selfobject that will make itself available for reassuring experience of essential likeness (twinship or alter ego transference)... We must not confuse (1) the archaic self-objects that (a) are the normal requirement of early life and (b) are required later on, either chronically in disorders of the self or, passingly, during periods of special stress in those who are free from pathology, with (1) the mature selfobjects that all of us need for our psychological survival from birth to death, (Kohut, 1984, 192-93).

Kohut's line of thought and concern is the developmental interaction and relationship of a child and the primary caregiver. He considers these to lay the groundwork for coping in adult life of an individual. Kohut does not maintain that drives organize the child's and individual's life as Freud did. What organizes the infant's life from the start is the empathetic response of mother or primary caregivers, or caretakers, in the child's early life and still in the adult life of an individual. Kohut makes an assumption that the human is characterized from birth not merely by maximizing instinctual gratification, but by the tendency to enhance and order functioning through the experiences of the self and self-worth. The childhood experiences of the self lay the foundation for the psychological health or disturbance in the adult life. For Kohut, the ideal or healthy self is autonomous and characteristically self-confident and self-appreciative and is a source of ideals and action.

Kohut has given the self concept a particularized meaning. Kohut maintains that the first task of an infant in its development is to achieve a sense of core or nuclear

self and core other. He believes that the self is not present at birth; it begins to form in early childhood, in infancy. This self requires parental milieu for formation. Kohut introduced the concept of selfobject to describe favorable milieu for the development of the self. Self-objects are persons or objects that the infant or adult experiences as part of himself or herself. A selfobject is a term used by Kohut to denote a person or object used in the service of the self or experienced as part of the self, especially with regard to fostering acceptance, esteem, confirmation and a sense of well-being (St. Clair, 1986). The self-object is neither the self nor object, but a subjective representation or mental image of mother's functional aspect performed through the mutual relationship between her and the infant in the emergence and maintenance of the self. Thus a selfobject relationship is intrapsychic (within) and not the actual interpersonal relationship between the self and other (persons or objects). The early selfobjects in the infant's life provide nurture and comfort.

When a need for these infantile selfobjects is revived in adult life, as Kohut noticed in the narcissistic clients, they become archaic. At birth infants have innate ability to tell what their needs are to their caretakers through cueing. Elaborate facial movements help the infant to signal to their mother what their immediate environment is like as the child eagerly learns about his surroundings and competes to master what is around it. Mothers are primarily the receivers of the infant's basic pre-verbal communication. Mother forms the selfobject of the infant; she is associated, according to Kohut, with the structuring of the infant's self by her participation is the specific

type of relationship that exists between her and the infant.

The experiences available to the infant and that are demanded for the formation of an organized sense of a core self include (a) self agency, or self with volition and having control over self-generated actions and taking responsibility for one's actions; (b) self-cohesion, or coherence, that gives a sense of non-fragmented physical whole marked by boundaries and a locus of integrated action; (c) self-affectivity, experience of patterned inner qualities of feelings or emotions that are part of the self; (d) self-history, a capacity for memory that gives a sense of enduring, continuity with one's own past, the present and the possibility of the future so that one can even change while remaining the same person, (Kohut, 1950-1978). These are the four basic experiences of a healthy self. In major disturbances, e.g. psychosis, all or one or two of these four elements is absent. The history of the evolution of the concept of the **self** is difficult to attribute it to one theorist in the Psychology of Psychoanalysis because of the dimensions and levels of meaning the term has acquired.

As the infant and mother communicate through cueing, if mother is emotionally available, the infant begins to feel good and comforted. Mother gives this sense of feeling good to the child by her responses of mirroring. The nuclear or core self which is thought to emerge probably during the second year of life is enabled to adequately develop by its relationship with mother. Parental cues become selfobjects by internalization. Mirroring consists of selfobjects which respond and confirm the infant's, or child's, innate urge for self-display, or exhibitionism or a sense of grandiosity (greatness), zest or vigor and perfection. When the infant's need to exhibit its

power/greatness, almost omnipotence, is positively responded to by its mother then the infant feels accepted, confirmed in who it is. The empathy, warmth and loving responsiveness to the whole child by the caregiver without a preference of some parts of him or her, enables the child mirrored to experience the self as competent, joyful, valuable and efficacious. If the caregiver is not empathetically responsive, or is totally absent, the child will feel depleted, empty, and worthless. The unempathetic responsiveness of the parent lays ground for real or apparent future experiences of shame, guilt and self-effacing. The experience of acceptance and confirmation gives the self in its grandiosity, goodness, and wholeness good ground to feel great and to claim self-worth, desiring to merge with the idealized parental imago. This what Kohut refers to as a parental imago.

The imago selfobjects sustain the self by allowing it to experience the idealized parent as calmness, competence or power, wisdom, or infallibility, goodness and omnipotence. In idealization it is believed that in the mental state of the child there is a deep wish and desire to merge with the idealized parental imago. Kohut called the process of mental merging of the self with selfobject **transmuting internalization**. Such mental internalization of the self-object is set in motion by a slight frustration in the perfect union between the infant or child and self-objects. By the process of transmuting internalization the adult selfobjects become taken into the infant's mental images in a uniquely personal way.

Transmuting internalization occurs due to the optimal frustration when the child can no longer take for granted the physical presence of the mother to meet his or her

needs because sometimes mother will not be there, or another person will take her place, e.g. a baby sitter. What was formerly performed by the caregiver/mother as selfobject, the child's self begins gradually to perform those functions and begins to feel okay with that. Internalization is not identical to identification. In transmuting internalization the child takes in bits and pieces of the important aspects of the selfobjects and does not take in total self of the selfobject as would be the case in identification.

There are other types of selfobjects that are required for the sustenance of the fragile self of the child, and even of the adult at different phases of life transitions. These are the partnering or alterego or twinship selfobjects. The experience of twinship gives the child, adolescence, or adult a feeling of essential likeness; it offers a perceptible presence of fundamental presence of self in relationship with the individual's self. There are still other forms of selfobjects described by Kohut; these selfobjects make what he called adversarial selfobjects. Adversarial self-objects seem to appear at a time when a nuclear cohesive self takes shape, and they stay on throughout one's life. Once transmuting internalization of the adversarial selfobjects has occurred they fulfill a person's urge for satisfactory competition without aggressively separating the person from his or her adversary or twin-competitor. These selfobjects provide the individual the experience of being the center of initiative by allowing non-destructive self-assertive energy to come into play in relationships.

A repeated interplay between endowment and nurture of the caregivers, the self of the child uniquely emerges and unfolds. Kohut believes that generally most often the

damage to the self results from faulty intrusions of parental selfobject whose own incompetence or fear of fragmentation maintain archaic merger with the child, and he maintains that this damage can happen at any stage of a person's life. The parent with her or his own needs fails to give sufficient mirroring to the child to enable the child to move on confidently toward mature forms of selfobject relationship experiences. Chronic deprivation of the self organizing selfobject experiences leaves the child's self relatively empty of the structured complexity of the four components of the healthy self described above. Significant failure to achieve cohesion, zest or harmony of the self constitute a state of disorder. Kohut maintains that the self is significantly vulnerable to the absence of sufficient and appropriate selfobjects experiences. The infant or child is more susceptible, of course, to damage of this kind.

The self is more susceptible to damage at transitional stages of human development, i.e. infancy, childhood, puberty, early adolescence, entry into marriage, parental stress when children leave the home (empty nest stage), mid years and upon entering old age when one's body becomes very feeble. During these periods of life one needs renewed acceptance and affirmation from selfobjects, i.e. significant others who can continually give strokes of affirmation to the person. We can call these periods crisis stages of life. Depending on the degree of damage in childhood, the adult self exists in varying degrees of cohesion, vigor and harmony. Permanent damage is seen as mental illness, e.g. psychoses and borderline personality, and defective self is manifested by narcissistic behavior disorders.

Therapy through Transference and Countertransference

Kohut offers a mode of analytical treatment that relies on transference in therapy of clients with defective or permanently damaged self. Transference denotes a process of assigning feelings and emotions from a past relationship to a present relationship with a therapist. The therapist works by the model of psychoanalysis to allow the client to carry on introspection and bring forth the feelings from the past to the present, emotions and feelings that were operative in the client's childhood. The therapist moves with the client on the client's timeline to the beginning of life of the client to learn what went wrong regarding the needs of forming self. The therapist must be ready to take on the role of the selfobjects of the client's childhood period for genuine treatment of the damaged self of the client. Kohut used this mode of treatment of transference with narcissistic patients on whom he based his research findings on the self. Narcissism is a condition that refers to the state of the self in which a person with the condition withdraws the energy of the ego (libido) from external objects and invests in the self. In healthy narcissism the narcissistic individual uses the energy for the self in the development of self-esteem through relationships.

Through empathy, the therapist provides healing through understanding of the pain of the present unfulfilled longing for the earlier wish; the therapist becomes the new selfobject that enables the client to confide his or her dreams, and desires in hope of the possibility of their fulfillment. Each transference that the therapist allows focuses on the selfobject need of the client that was not taken care of in earlier life.

Since the self according to Kohut is bipolar, having two aspects: the grandiose self that emerges from a rudimentary beginning to feelings of grandeur through mirroring, and the idealized parental imago that emerges because the infant has a parental idealized selfobject in the milieu. These two poles or aspects of the same self exist in a sort of, tension arc. The grandiose self possesses clusters of ambitions and the idealized pole of the self possesses clusters of parental idealization. The tension and psychological energy burst into a momentum for action in which the individual is driven by his or ambitions and led by his or her ideals, (Kohut, 1977). Pathology, for Kohut is represented by a person's inability to transcend the narcissistic internalization of the damaged self in childhood. In the analytical treatment the client is helped to develop a mirroring or idealized transference or, sometimes, both. In the mirroring transference the therapist is used by the client as mirroring selfobject and in the idealizing transference, the therapist becomes idealized to inflation of competence and power, or exaggeration, to allow the patient return for a while in his or her infantile mode of childhood. As therapy progresses, the narcissistic individual is assisted to outgrow the narcissistic, infantile aspects of the transference to move on and develop more mature ways of relating.

Kohut's concepts of idealization and twinship are present among the people of the traditional society of Bantu and, thus, of Banyankole and Bakiga. I must say that these notions prevail all the time. These notions are aligned with the aspirations found in children and adults of a traditional community because they are urged to simulate the examples of the elders and of the ancestors. I would like to include a notion of a

wider scope of relatedness in a society to really take in the theory of the self that has been postulated by Kohut. When traditional ideas, such as hospitality friendliness and harmony in a community larger than the members of the immediate family are incorporated in the view of the self whose formation and nurture take place in a social context, then Kohut's theory becomes a source of a new impetus for traditional counseling in the culture of Bantu, and more specially among the Banyankole and Bakiga. For a pastoral counselor perhaps an introduction of some religious concepts about the caring parent: a caring "God mother or father image" will expand the horizon of counseling and/or treatment. It is possible that marriage becomes hell for spouses because of the damaged self of one or both of them. When a caregiver has a damaged or fragmented self his or her own children become selfobjects to meet personal archaic needs. Kohut offers a good model to the traditional counselors among the Banyankole and Bakiga to which I will return in my last chapter of this study.

The empathetic interchanges are very significant. Similar interchanges will enter into the future relationships of the individual with other human beings. The ongoing empathetic interactions form the basis for a psychic structure of the self that affects how the child relates to others and himself or herself. Self then is a process than a given and finished entity; it ultimately comes to be experienced as the essence of one's essence, or one's being, the center of consciousness and unconsciousness. In the treatment of the disturbed, the therapist often encounters experiences of countertransference, an experience in which the counselor and/or therapist, reaches an experiential

response to the client's pathology or disturbance. Countertransference performs a diagnostic function in determining the degree of the therapist's intervention in the treatment, and the limit of counseling per se.

In marriage counseling, one could use Kohut's theory as a base for a formulation of a helpful strategy in the treatment of spouses in conflict or who are unable to communicate with each other. It often happens that spouses project their own narcissistic desires for each other. Perhaps to adapt Kohut's theory of the self to marital counseling one would as well use it in the context of family systems therapy in which the history of a family is looked into for assessing the nature of maladaptive schema in marriage. In a marital relationship there is a desire and deep need to return to one's childhood so as to bring to date childhood experiences lest they serve the person as "guerrillas". The marital relationship also thrives (Giblin, 1993) on the affirmation of the couple, one to another.

Pastoral Counseling Based on the Western Thought Model

A Western culture non-religious counselor/therapist mainly uses the principles of psychology in his or her pastoral counseling. A religious therapist and/or counselor uses, as practitioner in the ministry of pastoral counseling, both psychology and theological reflection. Counseling is situated in a context of the client's spirituality. Spirituality is an inception and sustenance of meaning out of which a person operates at the various levels of human consciousness. Spirituality of a client may not neces-

sarily be linked with any set of beliefs of religion. Therapy and counseling both deal with a common ground, the human being, but come from different frame of reference and use different approaches. Augsburger defines pastoral counseling as

a liberating and healing ministry of faith community that is based on a relationship between a pastor (or a pastor team) with counseling skills and a family or person who come together to engage in conversation and interaction. The relationship is a dynamic process of caring and exploration, with a definite structure and mutually contracted goals, and occurs within the tradition, beliefs and resources of the faith community that surrounds and supports them, (Augsburger, 1986, p. 15).

Augsburger situates pastoral counseling in the community of faith. In the definition, above he puts the emphasis on what the community believes. In the traditional community of the Banyankole-Bakiga, the emphasis is on relatedness, and how this relatedness becomes a resource when members of the community are in need.

Clinebell (1967) restricts counseling to Church ministry and its ministers who give counseling to individuals with blocked needs. He focuses on counseling in the context of the Church ministry of pastoral care. Clinebell defines pastoral counseling "as one dimension of pastoral care which utilizes a variety of healing methods to help people handle their problems and crises more growthfully and thus experience healing of their brokenness," (Clinebell, 1984, p. 20, 26).

Clinebell fits the meaning and practice of pastoral counseling into the theological context of the institutional church as a dispenser of God's healing. Other thinkers view pastoral counseling in a different light and context, adding another perspective, the dimension of psychology and thus extending pastoral counseling beyond Church ordained ministers, including women.

Pastoral counseling has a more psychological orientation rather than a theological one, although the conservative church ministers have continued to use the theology of the church in their counseling ministry. The notion of church theology and psychology when brought into a pastoral counseling context is a concept that will need explanation to Banyankole and Bakiga counselees since they know more of the church's role in salvation of all peoples than of formal principles of psychology in healing of what is human. Principles of psychology that will help the Banyankole and Bakiga realize that healing is possible through other means and agents must reflect the mirroring, the mirrored self, and the place of personal responsibility in the traditional community.

Pastoral counselors whether a church minister or a lay person are practitioners in the same common ground: the human person in the image of God but struggling to reach God's likeness. The pastoral counselor then incorporates a relationship that exists between God and the person in counseling. Giblin (1993) maintain that,

One starting point of marital spirituality is the knowledge and acceptance of one's own and one's partner's "brokenness", "woundedness," "sore points," "shadow" - inherent elements of the human condition.... Spirituality calls partners to increased self-knowledge and responsibility for sharing and responding to each other's needs... Change comes from increased willingness and ability to encourage one's partner to self-disclosure, to seek clarification when in doubt, and to attend to the positives in the other.... Marital spirituality creates a healthy triangle, with God as the third person of the relationship (Giblin, 1993, p.319-323).

Giblin, points out that "Cognitive dimensions of marital therapy encourages partners to move firmly held perceptions, assumptions, and interpretations into more tentative status, awaiting more extensive data gathering as well as examination of their

cognitive distortions," (Giblin, 1993, p. 319-323).

Giblin goes further to state that marital spirituality is an essential component of marriage,

Where marital conflict is characterized by egocentric, limited perspective, which focuses on the "little picture," and tenacious believing in the certainty or truth of one's perceptions, marital spirituality calls partners into viewing "the bigger picture," seeing self, other, suffering, and conflict through God's eyes. Marital therapy helps partners grasp this broader perspective... Cognitive behaviors that follow from marital spirituality include: 1) forgiveness and accepting self and other... 2) embracing images of self and other as seen by God... 3) interrupting marital conflict to ask not only what each partner really wants at this moment,... but asking further what God wants, expanding the context of inquiry... 4) accepting that "the truth" is less likely a sole possession than a lived reality created between partners in open, honest, hopeful exchange, (Giblin, 1993, p. 320-321).

Learning from the quotes above, Giblin does not encourage the couple to escape from their conflict; but, instead, they must invite God in and be happy that he is there in the midst of their fear and anxiety and defensiveness. This invitation is made possible by the openness, humility and acceptance of vulnerability that each partner has for the self, other and God. The qualities of openness, humility, vulnerability show another side of empathy that proponents of self psychology give.

Empathetic listening is a quality that spouses need to grow into so that each is able to put aside one's expectations and negative cognitions about the other in an attempt to receive the other with openness, respect, and affirmation without pre judgments. In the same article Giblin describes empathy this way,

Empathy is a style of listening but also an overall attitude or stance toward self, other and the world. An empathetic attitude is a way of being in the world that is curious, open, flexible, playful, humble, available for surprise and suspends judgment, (Giblin, 1994, p. 556-557).

An effective counselor will encourage the client to deal with issues in the context of his or her own spirituality. This is done with a caring concern for the counselee who may not want to have anything to do with God. A pastoral counselor with a theological bent or a psychologist with a preference for psychological techniques in counseling each must restrain his or her impulse to move in the direction of their specialty until the moment when the counselee sees the connection himself or herself or at least is receptive to the principles of the field in focus.

Most clients come to therapy because they are looking for a way to alleviate their suffering. In the traditional society of Banyankole and Bakiga, suffering can drive one to extremes of searching for relief. Those suffering seek help from any person who can give help. Pain and suffering offer ground for fertile or viable counseling. For the pastoral counselor, suffering, sin, and guilt are issues that are encountered in most situations of counseling. There is a lot of theologizing in the face of these realities, theologizing being the meaning seeking process by the sufferer. Theologizing also involves an endeavor in coming to terms with one's ultimate concern in life, and whatever provides the content that represents one's ultimate reference is most probably known as one's God. In suffering and sin the seeker ultimately plunges into a dark acceptance of God, trusting that God is faithful and will stand by him or her to alleviate suffering.

For a Christian pastoral counselor, Jesus as a man of suffering will play an important role in the counselor-counselee therapeutic relationship. The Bantu theology of the cosmos is represented by Paul Jones' example (Jones, 1989) of the specific

theological world of suffering and endurance, the theological paradigms of the various people's worlds explained by Jones. In a world of suffering and endurance, there is inevitable and relentless suffering. Through suffering life is reduced to being there just to die. The only victory over suffering and death is moral endurance, a belief of Banyankole and Bakiga people.

The process of discernment begins in counseling when a counselee seeks to take life's material and discern for a viable part that can give hope and joy for one's existence. Banyankole and Bakiga traditional counseling rests on the belief that God is at work in everything to such an extent that he can be blamed for the evil in the world. A Western therapist and/or counselor will have to deal with this sort of mentality of the people. By mentality here is meant the overall consistency that gives a group of people's culture its oneness and uniqueness, its philosophy of life, or its inner logic, or its psychology, (Luzbetak, 1991, p. 249).

I can say that healing is a process or movement toward wholeness in unity. This process takes a person on a journey of hope. In the traditional society, counseling is for the facilitation of healing of any sufferer, either suffering from loss through death, divorce, separation, or child disowning, a disheartening situation such as infertility of a couple, illness, or from some kind of bewitchment. Traditional counseling also has a spiritual tone to it. The Banyankole and Bakiga, or Bantu in general, have faith in the spirits-world and in the community. It is this faith which gives them a definite direction. This sort of faith is like trust, and the trust encourages members of the community to approach in faith the spirits-world and other members of the

community of the living for help when in trouble, or when marital conflicts are looming high in a family. It is not so much what the community believes in, but what the community does to alleviate suffering of those members seeking assistance.

For the Banyankole and Bakiga every part of the cosmos contains a touch of life because of its connection with the divine, of the seen and unseen spirit beings. The vision of the world of these people is holy and awe-filled. There is a force in the cosmos from which everything originates and which links everything together through the principle of life. The Banyankole have a notion of family spirits called **emizimu**, (Nkurunziza, 1989), The **emizimu** have the role of punishing bad actions and are responsible for misfortunes of evil persons in the clan. Here one sees an apparent projection of evil on the external causes in the community. In some cases the **emizimu** wander about and are found in isolated places, like the top of a mountain, a lake, a thick forest. Some believe that **emizimu** are the spirits of witches who have died and who are seeking revenge. This shows how witches are dreaded while living and dead; they remain a source of fear for people in a traditional society. The cosmos, too, consists of natural forces of rain, and is a home of the divine and of the ancestral spirits.

CHAPTER V

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN BANTU TRADITIONAL COUNSELING AND SOME ELEMENTS OF THE WESTERN THEORIES AND THERAPY OR COUNSELING

Introduction

The description of Bantu, and more especially of Banyankole- Bakiga, traditional counseling that I have given in this paper can easily be referred to as "Banyankole- Bakiga traditional counseling in transition." Our traditions have gone through tremendous changes within the last hundred years of modern Uganda. The gradual shift from an entirely rural culture to a mixed one: rural and urban, has been introduced and maintained by the extraneous formal education and economic practices that have introduced Western thought and values into our indigenous religious, political and social organization. The prominent agents of this shift have been the Christian missionaries and British colonial government since the mid 1870's until mid 1960's.

In this part of my study I want to examine similarities and nuances of perspective that exists between Bantu, Banyankole-Bakiga, traditional values of (a) therapy

and/or counseling and healing, (b) the spirits-world and spirituality, (c) relationships and community, and (d) of nature (cosmos), or environment (Masamba ma Mpolo & Wilhelmina Kalu, 1984, p. 92-124). I am of the opinion that a new theoretical framework which is more balanced and more suitable for therapy and pastoral counseling for the Banyankole and Bakiga lies ahead. A remedial therapy and counseling can be established for a fast changing Uganda and Africa at large by the people of Africa themselves. A person who is trained under the influence of Western empirical thought will find it unbelievable when with a Munyankole or Mukiga client describes his illness as being caused by a haunting known and unknown spirits. Sometimes the spirit may declare its name to the ill person, and at other times it may choose to remain anonymous, (Masamba ma Mpolo & Wilhelmina Kalu, 1985. p. 5-13). This is a common phenomenon based on the belief system of many peoples of Africa that pastoral counselors and psychotherapists have to contend with. Treatment will involve elements of formation and education of the Banyankole and Bakiga, about their beliefs regarding the evil spirits of the cosmos, emotional disturbance and other difficulties that arise because of barrenness, demands of one's responsibilities toward others in the community, and negative perception of one's ancestral spirits. The therapist and/or pastoral counselor may adopt Meichenbaum's approach of cognitive behavior modification to monitor the client's internal dialogue about his or her traditional beliefs so as to formulate a strategy for therapy or counseling of the client.

The Banyankole-Bakiga cultural focus on a well grounded and good family, warm neighborliness, disciplined child up bringing has gradually become diverted to

Western values of personally individualized success (Chukwundum, 1987, p. 81) in the name of education, political, social and job promotions. This has a bearing on some of the Bantu concepts of the self and personhood, community and society. These notions, in turn, impinge on communal interactions, pastoral counseling, and other ramifications in the community.

I also want to explore the significance and application of Christian pastoral counseling, linking it with the general goals of therapy and/or counseling in general. In conclusion of this work I will make attempts to point out limitations, obstacles to a fruitful dialogue, and negotiated interaction between the Banyankole-Bakiga traditional counseling modes and Western cultural elements of therapy and/or counseling. I foresee areas of mutuality on both poles, between a naturally flowing approach of the Banyankole and Bakiga and that of a scientific and research oriented Western one. Honoring people's traditions of beliefs and values is the challenge in a counselor/therapist counselee relationship. I will take time to critique some of the traditional concepts in view of their influences on therapy and/or counseling of a person from the traditional society of Bantu, i.e. Banyankole and Bakiga. Cognitive therapy is ideal for the treatment of a person who is strictly rural or traditional in the Banyankole and Bakiga society since such therapy focuses on the scrutiny of one's perceptions and beliefs. People from rural areas in most parts of Uganda have certain beliefs about the cosmos, marriage, roles of woman and man in marriage that need a good exposure and test against reality. Cognitive therapy can help spouses to see together where their beliefs converge or are dissimilar, a situation that often causes conflict between

partners when each has a different tradition about certain important aspects of the cosmos and issues in marriage.

In a new framework for therapy and/or counseling of Banyankole or Bakiga, and Bantu in general, the element of observation is required to give perspective to all elements in the network of relationships in the cosmos and among human beings. People fear most what they do not know, but are very anxious about what is ambivalent in their environment. Observation and examination of facts presented by reality against one's inner speech will be a channel of knowledge or insight for the client. A lot of people in the traditional society of Banyankole and Bakiga live with ambivalence about the world of spirits, and their role in the life of the living members. They also relate in a circumscribed and prescribed manner in their network of relationships with God, ancestral spirits and fellow human beings. To find the self in all this, one has to search and trust. The harmonious interactions between the earth and spirits belong to the traditional belief and becomes embellished now and again through an oral transmission. In counseling the Banyankole and Bakiga, an informed counselor has a role of clarifying the ambivalent notions that the clients/consultees may have regarding issues of cultural beliefs and practices and how these issues affect the client in his or her interactions with a spouse or other people in everyday life. With an informed mind, the client/consultee may accept or reject them through his or her own personal choice. In therapy, the counselor may find, too, that he or she is called upon to invite the spouses to give another look at traditional beliefs because of the nature of the problems and difficulties they experience as a couple. At another time,

the counselor may find it necessary to instruct spouses about traditional beliefs and the effect they have on their marital relationship regarding how they share their lives and raise children in such a well knit relationship with their community where each member's role is prescribed. A therapist may adopt Western thought, rules of logic, then, to collect data and to make a broader scope of observation. By this approach, the counselor and/or therapist helps the client in the questioning of the basis of his or her beliefs and their validity. This process of questioning is life enhancing. This aspect of Western thought may highlight the important beliefs and values that are found in the culture of Bantu while it gives an opening to discard what does not hold true and helpful any longer, but is a cause of fear and emotional disturbance. It is rare that a client considers that his thinking process and/or the interpersonal meaning of his or her behavior is a source of disturbance. A translation process follows recognition of one's maladaptive behavior when a client is helped by the therapist to reflect. The translation is from the internal dialogue the client engages in prior to therapy into a new language of self-verbalization that emerges over the course of treatment. The translation process takes place both in and outside therapy. Meichenbaum places thinking prior to action because he believes that inner speech, what he calls "internal dialogue", (Meichenbaum, 1977, p. 211), plays an important role in influencing a person's behavior.

Cognitive-Behavior Modification: An Integrative Approach

The inner speech also influences a person's cognitive structures. These are a system (structure) of concepts and judgments that give rise to a particular set of self-statements and images. The cognitive structures make a stable cognitive patterns that make the habitual way of a person's interpretations of events and other people's actions. They serve like an insect's antennae to pick up the vibrations of happenings in the environment.

If a client from a traditional society of Banyankole and Bakiga, for example, believes that barrenness is caused by a ritual offense on the part of the infertile woman, then the therapist will introduce the client to a perspective of objectivity when looking at barrenness in the cultural context. The introduction of some new thought structures brought into therapy or counseling by the therapist and/or counselor is hoped to influence the cognitive structures (beliefs) of the client and enable the individual to change behavior even prior to therapy, and begin to see barrenness in a new perspective. The process in behavior change includes one speaking to oneself and listening to oneself. This inner dialogue influences one's behavior.

The inner speech is examined in therapy to see if it fits or does not fit within the individual's cognitive structures. Prior to therapy the client's inner speech (internal dialogue) about barrenness, in the example above, is likely to raise doubts about the validity of his or her marriage as for Banyankole and Bakiga marriage is for fecundi-

ty. This shows a cognitive structure that is repetitively and unproductively delimiting and thus leads to a sense of helplessness and despair. Cognitive therapy then deals with new conceptualization process. An infertile woman approaches therapy and/or counseling with some conceptualization of her problem that marginalizes her as a married woman, with some expectations concerning therapy and the therapist's ability to rectify her condition. A Munyankole and/or Mukiga woman imagines that therapy will give her what she is seeking. The conceptualization of the barren woman about her infertility must undergo change. The therapist will help her re define her problem from various angles to get a sense of understanding and with it the feelings of control and hope about her problem of barrenness. The fruit of this conceptualization is that the client will gain self awareness, translate her hopelessness and despair into a sense of control by acquiring coping skills of controlling her emotional state, thoughts and behavior (crying, bitterness, blaming). Through the change of the internal dialogue, the client then alters what she is saying to herself about her maladaptive behaviors even prior to therapy session. In therapy, the therapist's role is to prepare the client to accept, though implicitly, a particular cognitive structure or therapy rationale. The client is dependent on the technique that the therapist will use.

Cognitive therapists in general are directive and didactic, using their personalities or position to win the trust of the client. Meichenbaum maintains that the therapist does not need to be didactic and very directive (Meichenbaum, 1977, p. 222). The therapist must invite the client to actively participate in the evolving process of a common conceptualization, allowing the client to get the feeling of being a contributor

in the procedure of therapy. This procedure that requires the client to be a participant in the process can challenge a Munyankole or Mukiga client as this is new. The therapist's manner of posing questions about the client's presenting problems, the type of assessment of the problem, the kind of homework assignments given, and therapy rationale that he or she gives will influence the conceptualization process of both the therapist and the participating client. However, this can frighten a client from the traditional society of Banyankole and Bakiga. Culturally, the Banyankole and Bakiga are less responsive to direct questions connected with personal, or family matters; instead they prefer and are more responsive to non-direct language and random questioning so that they have space to build up trust. As they work together, the therapist and client will make attempts to re-define the problem in terms that are meaningful to both of them. Therefore, in the treatment of a Munyankole and/or Mukiga client, the therapist must view the significance of infertility from a traditional perspective and in the context of community in helping the client come to look at infertility from a standpoint other than that she is used to. This new perspective is reached through formulation of new meaning or explanation. All along self-observation by a focus on maladaptive behavior on part of the client points to the direction of producing adaptive thoughts and behaviors.

Borrowing from Cognitive Restructuring Techniques

Meichenbaum talks about a similar phenomenon that Beck refers to as automatic

thoughts in his cognitive therapy of restructuring techniques in the treatment of the depressed, and of couples in conflict. Re structuring is a therapeutic response to defeatist beliefs about change, and run like this,

My partner is incapable of change.
 Nothing can improve our relationship.
 Things will only get worse.
 People are set in their ways and can't change.
 My partner won't cooperate and nothing can be
 done without his [her] cooperation.
 I have suffered enough.
 I don't have the energy to try more.
 If we need to work at it,
 there is something seriously wrong
 with the relationship.
 Working at the relationship
 will make it worse.
 It only postpones the inevitable.
 Too much damage has been done.
 My marriage is dead.
 I don't feel I'm able to change.
 If we haven't gotten along up till now
 how can I expect that we can get along
 any better in the future?
 It doesn't matter if my partner starts
 to act more positively, it's my partner's
 attitude that is the problem,
 Beck, 1989, p. 197-199).

When a spouse with an internal dialogue of an unexpressed or expressed emotion, such as is shown in the above quote is attending a session of counseling, or therapy, the counselor or therapist must offer the client an empathetic listening and engage the client in a restructuring procedure to change the troublesome beliefs in the statements of the client. Cognitive restructuring involves a variety of therapeutic techniques which aim at modifying the client's thinking and the premises, assumptions and

attitudes underlying cognitions by examining with the client his or her defeatist and other blaming notions, self-justifying beliefs and reciprocity demands carried in these statements: "It is normal to behave in the way I do;" "I won't make an effort unless my partner does; and another one, "My partner does not care about improving our relationship." These are concepts heavily loaded with emotion. Cognitive therapy focuses on the ideational content, i.e. the irrational inferences and premises in such statements.

The therapist using restructuring mode of therapy makes attempts to familiarize himself or herself with the client's thought content, style of thinking, feelings and behaviors in order to get at their inter-relationships and the influence this interconnection has on the person's cognitions and behaviors in the relationship. The assumption underlying cognitive therapy in general is that the client's view of self and of her or his partner and of the world at large leads to unpleasant inner dialogue or to emotional turbulence. The therapist and/or counselor, then, must help the client identify specific misconceptions, distortions, and their maladaptive aspects, test their validity and reasonableness. Cognitive restructuring is close to insight oriented therapy. Beck's cognitive therapeutic approach is based on the analysis of the client's cognitions, while that of Meichenbaum on the internal dialogue. The therapist helps the client to evaluate both his or her mental framework of reference for his or her characteristic behavior and invites the client for more positive and realistic performance by focusing on his negative and self-defeating judgments. Collaborating with the counselor, the client discovers his or her cognitive distortions by collecting more data, answering the

questions: when, how, what and who? The why question should be asked with caution since it evokes many diversions from the real issue or problem. The collection of the data and reflecting on the questions given, take place outside therapy session. More reflection on these and therapist's observation take place during the therapy session when the data is brought to session for more examination and restructuring. When a client is able and ready for recording the collected data, then he or she does it and the counselor encourages it so that relationship of the client's beliefs and how he or she is affected can be demonstrated. The client is invited to examine how this correlation interferes with the client's, or couple's, normal functioning and causes stress and discontentment. The counselor then helps the client restructure his or her distorted cognitions based on the collected data submitted during the session. Some clients are given a strict schedule to follow in the collection of data and recording in the cognitive therapy framework, such as engaging in a set of graded tasks, homework assignments, and lists of activity.

This list of activities provides the therapist with behavioral data around which to examine the client's thinking style. The activity record allows the client to review his or her behavior and to examine it in context and in perspective. The client's cognitive distortions can be seen and an alternative interpretation offered to the client. This process entails self awareness. The client gains insight into his or her own mental processes and consequent behaviors. Depending on how experienced the therapist and/or counselor is, this cognitive technique is likely to prove useful in the treatment

of many fears and conflicts that may be prevalent in an individual and marital relationship of a couple in a traditional society of Banyankole and Bakiga people.

The Spiritual Dimension of Traditional Counseling

To live is to participate in a network of relationship to everything that is divine, spiritual, human and material which exists in the cosmos. Moreover, the extended and significant family relationship with the living and dead is the undergird of all sectors of a traditional society. The cosmos, then, for Banyankole and Bakiga is a source of blessings and fear. Modern perspective regarding theology of counseling contains elements of liberal thought which believes in the inherent potential within the individual to improve himself or herself and his or her society. This is a very new concept among the Banyankole and Bakiga. Banyankole and Bakiga people have more or less a legalistic view of Church and faith. Their stance toward their own healing is to wait until it comes to them from outside. Just as theology gives structure to religion by giving it systems of concepts to explain God's relationship to human beings and other created reality, it can be a valuable tool in pastoral counseling by its introduction of the concept of human "relationship to God."

The cosmos is perceived by Banyankole and Bakiga as a locus of a healthy and peaceful life with everything and everybody, unless there is a curse from a parent, a senior person of the clan or community who has been displeased by the behavior of the one cursed. Therefore, in therapy and/ or counseling, the therapist's role is to

enable the client to process his thoughts, and beliefs regarding areas of fears about the cosmos. Fear will come up more often in a person reared in and deeply connected with the extended family. There are bound to be major incidents, or some catastrophe, which are likely to shake the traditional decorum and disturb the tranquility of the cosmos in relation to the lives of human beings. Therapy, then, must be linked with how an individual fits in the whole picture of the cosmos, not just how his individualized existence seemingly is adaptive or maladaptive as the Westerners are quick to posit in a one to one therapy.

The traditional healer (witch doctor and/or diviner) uses, to a greater extent, cognitive therapy of restructuring or insight orientation through an interview which he or she gives the consultor. The healer listens carefully to what the client shares, and later tactfully reflects back the content of the sharing to locate the actual problem of the client. If the problem is in the community, the client is guided to return to the community and get reconciled, if with the ancestral spirits then the client is instructed to make a sacrifice of libation. The making of libation was a source of condemnation from Christian missionaries because they understood it against the background of their theology of a one God. It is still questioned even now. This doubt then brings problems to therapy and/or counseling of a client from a traditional community of Banyankole and Bakiga.

A Western therapist and/or counselor may approach treating a Munyankole and/or Mukiga with a set of mind of using the psychological tools that are available to him or her in the Western culture without first knowing about the traditional beliefs and

values of Bantu, or Banyankole and Bakiga. This approach formed the context of the preaching of early missionaries, and political colonial powers and, thanks to renewed effort in the study of cultures of different peoples, this is changing. I can see this way of treating the indigenous people ending disastrously. A missionary needs to be equipped with anthropological facts about a given group of people just as a therapist or counselor must take care to learn the what, why, and when his or her client acts out. Cognitive therapy, using problem solving techniques, may be helpful in the treatment of a client suffering from the attack of the malevolent spirits, (**emizimu**).

A couple may also be involved in the cult of the malevolent spirits, **emizimu**, or suffering from their apparent, or real attack, (Masamba ma Mpolo, 1985). The belief of one of the spouses in the cult can become an issue for the couple. Individual counseling strategies will vary with the severity of the spouse's problem, his or her ability and readiness to conceptualize his or her problem in the counseling session. The counselor's therapeutic procedure may extend from (a) teaching the client to monitor his or her cognitions, or (b) showing the client how to test the validity of the relationship between cognition and affect, e.g. fear, guilt, to (c) framing questions that will challenge his or her cognitions regarding role of attack of the malevolent spirits.

Pastoral Counseling as another Alternative

Pastoral counseling in general is another effective alternative in the dealing with and handling of human problems, pre-marital and/or marital difficulties, and conflicts

in relationships. Counseling of this kind must not only be based on religious beliefs and faith, but it must also consider the traditional beliefs in the spirits-world of the bantu ethnic groups, especially the Banyankole and Bakiga. The counselor must offer an empathetic ear to perceive the kind of spirits-world that Banyankole and Bakiga view as very important and the base of harmony. The divine (Chima, 1984, p.52) in the traditional community plays a big role in the ordering of life within the community. Without undermining the traditional beliefs of the client or counselee, the pastoral counselor helps the counselee reflect on issues of faith and traditional beliefs to come to a realization of where these two converge or diverge, and how faith and other beliefs influence the counselee's life. Unfortunately, many Church ministers have tended to underplay the importance of traditional beliefs of the Banyankole and Bakiga and made attempts to replace the role of the traditional spirits-world in the community by the ministry of sacraments without giving the people a context for the new Christian practices.

For Banyankole and Bakiga healing is not private; it takes place in the context of community, (Nxumalo, 1984, p. 29-42). For Western thinkers, be they therapists or pastors, a community is not essential so long as an individual makes a choice to embark on that journey and meets an empathetic listener in a one-to-one defined and agreed on therapeutic relationship whose terms are specified in a sort of contract between the therapist or counselor and the client. The Banyankole and Bakiga take community to be an essential element of human life, and therefore a part of human development and wholeness. The pastoral counselor to the Banyankole and/or Bakiga

will soon realize the challenge, when he or she creates space and a context for the counselee to allow the counselee's cultural beliefs, (Hickey, 1985, p.21), and practices to dialogue with the Christian beliefs and practices in the encounter of the Western culture and the Bantu traditions.

Self Theory, an Alternative Response to Marital Conflicts

Another response to the cries of a need for a close relationship as a means for wholeness and healing comes from self psychology as we saw in chapter four. Self psychology principles as formulated by Kohut are a welcome point of reference in the culture of Bantu, and more of Banyankole and Bakiga. Besides cognitive-behavioral modification and pastoral counseling services that may also be utilized to bring about reconciliation and healing in individual and marital conflicts and discontentment, the elements of self psychology of mirroring and idealization can be helpful in the therapy and/or counseling of Banyankole and Bakiga.

As Kohut extends his exploration of psychoanalysis and object relations theories to incorporate elements of ungra-tified childhood ambitions because of inadequate or absence of mirroring and idealization rather than of sexual instinctual needs (libido) gratification of childhood, he opens doors for further exploration of traditional beliefs in **emizimu** among the Banyankole and Bakiga. Object relations and self psychology theories emphasize the importance of a slow building up of a therapeutic relationship during the initial or engagement phase of therapy. This is a help in the therapy of

Bantu groups. The same theories use therapeutic techniques that connect the present to the past of the client to help the client to awaken to his or her unconscious material which may be a bed of unresolved conflicts that are transferred to individual or marital relationships. Kohut's definition of relationship is psychological since it focuses on the self and self's interactions of thoughts and affective responses with mother in the process of assimilation and individuation of a child, while a matrix of relations forms the backbone for the continuity of these interactions. Here the self implies conscious and unconscious mental representations that pertain to one's own person, one's being. The ability to see objects and other persons as different from one another must precede the ability to appreciate self as a separate and unique unit. This ability is acquired by the child through his or her interaction with the caretaker, mother or mother substitute through mirroring and idealization avenues. Kohut maintains that severe psychopathology is rooted in very early disturbance of the mother infant relationship. For Kohut, then, relationships are crucial for nurturing in human development and spousal life. In object relations therapy, healing or change from emotional disturbance involves a two way relating by transference and counter-transference of the client and therapist.

Object relations therapy, including therapy of self psychology by Kohut and others, maintains that therapist client bonded relationship is foundational in the treatment of projective identifications that we learn in early childhood in order to cope with life in the absence of affirmation. These projective identifications, of course are unknown by people in traditional counseling situations among the Banyankole and

Bakiga. The projective identifications that clients exhibit in therapy include identifications of dependency, power and control, sexuality, and ingratiation (equivalent to narcissism). By projective identification is meant that a person with that kind of condition imaginatively splits off part of his or herself and attributes it to another, and in therapy it is the therapist that gets or is visualized to have that part which is rejected by the client as part of the self. Identification in the case of projection presupposes an actual object relation that the client experiences as the subject of desire for assimilation with which he or she interacts like another person. In the interaction there is effective internalization of the relationship by imaginative coloring of the subject that links the client with the other part of the subject (therapist).

Projective identifications are subtle. In object relations therapy, projective patterns emerge for treatment. Object relations therapy uses techniques, mainly empathy and countertransference, to counter the specific projective identifications of a client and changes these internal split of good bad image of self or other that haunt the client. These patterns formed early in one's life are emotionally and characteristically loaded because of the environmental emotional factors that gave rise to them in early life. In therapy, after establishing rapport by the first stage of engagement, the therapist investigates or can intuit to make a hunch about the client's kind of projective identification he or she has acquired early in life. The therapist is helped by his or her own feelings of countertransference. In projective identification there are also boundary issues.

When the therapist has a good working hunch, he or she then confronts the client's identification as pathological and a hindering pattern in the maintenance of their therapeutic relationship. Confrontation aims at dismantling or bringing to light, or naming the subtle projective identifications that reside within the client. Following confrontation, therapy is reconstituted or structured in a such a way that will stop the client from acting out the transference by way of projective identifications. Applying the concept of projective identifications, the counselor can help the Munyankole or Mukiga client to incorporate in a healthier manner the early childhood projective identifications. Here Western modern ideas of psychology of human nature prove useable.

Therapists and/or Counselors of Both Perspectives Meet

The questions involved in this encounter are several because one has to ask both about who gives counseling, when and how is it given, where does it take place, and what content of the client's story is focused on in the session of counseling? These are not easy questions, and yet they are the stuff that carries similarities and differences between the traditional counseling and Western thought based counseling and/or therapy.

The traditional counselor and Western therapist and/or counselor can permit themselves to converse for human healing and wholeness. The client's human content of his or her story is the same for all human beings: pain. Human beings choose to

talk about this content using differing means of communication according to one's culture. Cultures are complex systems of forms of symbols that have relationships within another, and meanings are attached to any and all such relationships. The relationships may be causal, purposeful, logical or purely ideational. The meanings and values of cultural symbols (Sybertz & Healey, 1987, p. 70) must be brought out to the forefront, and not covertly assumed, especially by one who is an outsider to the culture. The immediate whys of the relationships must be treated with respect as the members of the group understand them in their culture. The structural integration of the client's culture of with its underlying premises, attitudes and goals must be grasped as well. It is difficult for a counselor or therapist to give any worthwhile therapy or advice to a client except in full cultural deals with human nature and its needs. There is such a thing as natural psychology which is embedded in every culture.

Human nature is shared by all human beings. Various cultures meet human needs differently without ever having heard of psychology as a discipline of knowledge. Therefore the Westerners and the Bantu groups share a lot of concern for the satisfaction of human needs and a quest for meaning in life. The only incompatible notions that Westerners have that may be very strange to Banyankole and Bakiga concern the exclusion of community in counseling to settle personal conflicts that have an external locus in the community. I guess that Westerners tend to see as invalid knowledge that which cannot be tested experimentally, or logically and philosophically proven, or put in theological frame of reference. I believe that Banyankole and

Bakiga people's notions of traditional counseling may come across as strange because they have not been proven through the rigorous scientific research. Formal or logical thought is valued by the Westerners, whereas the Bantu ethnic groups talk less through technical and formal thought patterns, but more through proverbs, tales and myths even in ordinary conversation.

The culture of Banyankole and Bakiga has its own expression of values, including that of polygamy. Counseling a married man in a traditional society of Banyankole and/or Bakiga regarding polygamy takes attentive consideration of all possible interconnections between polygamy and the rest of the way of life in his or her culture. Some Christian churches, as a general rule, recognize as valid native monogamous marriage. However, for other Christian churches to determine whether a traditional (non-Christian) marriage is valid in the first place, the inquirer would have to study the network of the relationships that marriage has with the rest of the culture, for example the question of property, adultery, ancestor veneration, child up bringing, in laws position in the family and return of the dowry in the case of separation and/or divorce. What makes marriage valid in the culture of Bantu, i.e. Banyankole and Bakiga, is not what makes it valid and in accord with the Christian beliefs. The counselor, then, must give serious attention to this discrepancy brought about by differing standpoints of the Banyankole-Bakiga culture and that of the Western culture based Christian Church.

I recall with sadness how, recently, a mother I know had to return the dowry to the dead man's family because her daughter decided to marry in another family after

her husband's death. The daughter not only gave up the house and the property of her husband but she had to leave behind her children because the dead husband's family refused to allow her take her children. The children were from three to nine years of age. This shows the importance of children for a family, and the traditional disregard of a woman's place in the bearing of children. If such a desperate woman approaches a counselor, what will be the role of the counselor in therapy? I am sure a traditional counselor from the culture of that woman will side with the family that retained the children because that is the way things have always been done. What will the Western thought oriented counselor do? Most likely the latter counselor will draw on the perspective of Kohut's theory of the self to empower the despondent woman who has lost every thing: her husband, children and property.

Spouses do not approach counseling with the idea of seeking help for the improvement of their strained relationship, or for radical changes in their personality. They come to counseling for the alleviation of pain and suffering. The Western thought oriented therapist and/or counselor is challenged by the way Banyankole and Bakiga approach therapy and/or counseling. A Munyankole or Mukiga client is bound to approach therapy as he or she does when he or she attends general medical procedure; the client anticipates some form of quick fix. Traditional herbal or magic doctors follow that type of treatment. Spouses anticipate their conflict will evaporate. Another approach, besides cognitive behavior modification, that may prove useful in the counseling of Bantu in general is that of object relations because it emphasizes the importance of a slow building up of a therapeutic relationship during the engagement

phase of therapy, and it searches the origin of a client's problem without running away from the present.

When a traditional counselor, or a council of elders, in the culture of Bantu, or of Banyankole and Bakiga, give counsel or make attempts to settle conflicts between the partners of couples, or any two persons, they do not use intuition to connect the present problem with the person's past deficits in relationships. Applying formal principles of psychology is almost impossible since they are not part of their cultural education. They focus on the here and now, as do behavioral therapists. Therapy in the light of object relations theory also heavily champions for empathy as a means of conveying an emotional link from the therapist to the client. Someone who understands more than verbal signals of communication is needed to respond to the emotional and nonverbal messages embedded in the client's remarks and comments, which at times may sound like polite remarks especially if from a woman in the case of conflict in a traditional context of judging the issue. Factual report on the part of those trying to settle a conflict may not be sufficient. A person or an elder who can highlight the emotional message of the speaker may prove a friend. What a traditional counselor, or a council of elders, or even parents can assimilate from the self psychology and object relations approach in general is to take time and listen empathetically in the establishment of caregiving or therapeutic bonding. They can use empathy to move from a situation of factual reporting to one that is emotional in character. Through mirroring and empathetic listening the child or the client is assured of understanding, support, and is not left in isolation as the single offender. I

am thinking of a couple who often report their biased stories about each other before the council of elders to prove the other partner wrong or at fault. Each considers him or herself to be the injured party. This kind of humiliation is too often and costly. The traditional counselor perhaps needs to learn new ways of handling such partners, because each marriage is unique and not all marriages contain similar truths. Marriages contain different truths each with its own legitimacy. Husband and wife should be asked each to give an account of what he or she gives to their marriage and to tell each other what wrong one sees that has messed up their marriage as the counselor listens. In the atmosphere of empathetic listening then the counselor can offer suggestions and advice without fearing to offend one member of the party. Perhaps Banyankole traditional counselors do it in their own way. However, consideration and incorporation of the emotional element in the conflict settling and in giving the youth advice need to be taken seriously. Since object relations therapy at the stage of engagement aims at establishing an emotional link between the therapist and clients and between each partner with the other it may seem for a long time that no counseling is done, but techniques of engagement are themselves therapeutic. Ambivalence about marital issues is also addressed. Each partner is asked to tell the other what he or she sees as the source of conflict in their marriage (Cognitive-Behavior Modification aspect). Kohut's theory for the treatment of narcissism could be elaborately applied in the counseling of Banyankole and Bakiga in marital conflict.

In a traditional community of Banyankole and Bakiga, childhood is a difficult phase since it is the time when adults with different roles in the community come

forth in overt or covert ways to give counseling to the child to elicit good behavior. The elders and other adults place their expectations on the child and parents, especially young parents. The child's role in growing up is one of continual learning from adults. Thereafter, the child must wrestle with the impact of pressure from the traditional ways of being parented. Adults precipitate into the child's growing mind and heart what they want and desire in and for the child of the community, and what they expect when the child becomes an adult member later.

As in other cultures, childhood is the time for the Banyankole and Bakiga children to imitate behavior of adults, especially of parents. As childhood is also a phase of undifferentiated emotions, the child become the recipient of unresolved conflicts of its parents or of other members of the community; and thus childhood can become the ground for repressed emotions of healthy aggrandizement and self-importance. These narcissistic needs will need an outlet for expression at a later time in the person's adult life. The inhibition of these needs may result in fear and curtailment of the expression of other emotions such as anger, hostility and aggression. In the traditional culture, adults allow the expression of only positive emotions, such as receptivity, friendliness and hospitality, community spiritedness, obedience and docility. Having been inhibited in self-expression and spontaneous activity, the child behaves in the manner expected by parents and other adults in the community never showing signs of anger, resentment, gratifying self-indulgence, or jealousy. The child grows with a very low self-image built on self-effacement. The repressed emotions will one day become manifested in one form or the other; they will play a big role in the person's

conflicting relationships with friends, spouses, parents, or in the counselee-counselor relationship dynamic through transference. In an narcissistic condition, the psychic energy for successful relationships, including marriage, is diverted to things, activities, or persons that are especially important to the narcissistic person for his or her archaic gratification. Unfortunately, this sort of use of energy will not build a relationship, but will destroy it, and thus the existence of conflicts and pain. People of the traditional society have a good sense of friendship and intimacy, although most of the time they generally linked intimacy with a sexual or genital relationship.

Friendship is characterized by gift giving on equal basis in a traditional society, and without frequent visits and the exchange of friendship tokens, the friendship dwindles and eventually dies. The notion of the exchange of friendship tokens will be carried over to today's setting of Western mode of counseling, and thus create some sort of conflict between the Munyankole or Mukiga client and the counselor or therapist of the Western thought mould. Regarding a place of intimacy in a relationship, there is this proverb,

Nkumanya akurabya omu kikaari, no 2432 (Seite).

The saying signifies this,

The one who intimately knows (loves) you, will lead you into his home (house) by the backdoor. Because you are known, loved, and trusted you will be treated like one of the members of the household.

There is an interesting proverb that combines humor and truth in this manner,

Ak'omukago okarya ira, kaizira ira, no. 2702 (Cisternino).

Little tokens of friendship delay and you benefit from them late. Although these tokens take long in coming, they are returned as they are

received. Friendship tokens are quickly taken for granted and not so quickly returned.

The saying reiterates the importance of mutual exchange of tokens of friendship, no matter how long they take to come to you. You can keep still and trust that the tokens will come, though late. Tokens of friendship are freely given.

The proverb warns against taking friendship tokens, one's spouse, friend, acts of kindness, or community for granted, or as one's right. All acts and gestures of friendship must be accepted with appreciation even if these acts are from a person close to you, like your own parents, children, or spouse.

Taking it from another perspective of critical reflection, friendship, or a relationship, is also seen as an opportune moment for taking friends, or donors, for granted. The emphasis in the proverbs above is on the exchange of symbols of friendship on equal basis, or equal responsibility. Perhaps, this type of dispositions regarding relationship among the Banyankole and Bakiga does not create a correct context for the Western therapy. The Banyankole and Bakiga are likely to fall back to their cultural meaning of "friendship" and turn therapy into a friendship where exchange of friendship actual tokens is expected. A therapist and/or counselor from the Western culture will not quite understand this.

It is culturally, especially according to Banyankole and Bakiga, agreeable that rapport be established on the understanding that the therapist and/or counselor is a friend of some kind but different; one who can be trusted for his or her wise words; a friend who has answers to and a remedy for the malaise of the counselee. It is hoped that the components of friendship (Luzbetak, 1991, p.325) will be available

during a counseling and/or therapy session to the counselee. These components are: mutual attentive listening and understanding, common taste for values, common interests, mutual support and encouragement, mutual admiration and acceptance and accessibility, and qualities that lead to mutual trust, affection and identification. The above proverbs of Banyankole Bakiga language encapsulate the meanings of friendship that Luzbetak above talks about. Formalized relationship of Western professional therapy can become a block to a rapport at the stage of engagement in the beginning of therapy and/or counseling if the Western therapist and/or counselor does not take into consideration the nuances of friendship according to the culture of the clients or counselees.

Applications and Limitations

Western psychology has a lot to offer to the traditional counselor in the Bantu culture, just as the West can learn from the Banyankole and/or Bakiga some human values, in particular of community and the befriending of the cosmos. Some theories of psychology can be made to work and others will fit smoothly in the culture of Bantu. Two of these theories include the cognitive and behavioral modification or change, and object relations, especially the self psychology theory.

Western psychology theories become limited in application to our situation of Bantu, and in particular of Banyankole and Bakiga, culture because of their emphasis on the formal, the structured, ordered, objective, logical, observable and verifiable,

and the serious. For me most of the Western psychologies and their therapies fit in this descriptive frame of reference and tend to build in too much structure in a counselee-counselor and/or therapist relationship. I believe that by emphasizing structure and technique, these theories and therapies might undermine the human subject in the counseling and/or therapy setting. As a discipline built on the scientific principles of research and objectivity, Western psychology tends to take away something that is spontaneous and natural to the Bantu group of people in their expression of values, particularly relatedness in community. Somehow, a counselee or client may be blocked and not feel relaxed during a counseling session because of an unwise use of psychological and therapeutic techniques. The Banyankole Bakiga will be overwhelmed by the formal counselee-counselor relationship. Techniques seem to take over the human aspect of the relationship. Not only techniques, but also the exclusion of the community aspect from the relationship makes Western thought oriented therapy inappropriate for the Banyankole and Bakiga. On the other hand too much emphasis on the community makes the uniqueness of the person lost in a traditional society of Bantu. Losing the person goes with a forfeiture of a sense of immediate personal responsibility in almost every area of involvement because of the societal demands to stand by the side of the community, or to lose oneself so that one is protected by the community. The Banyankole are likely to feel more at home with elements of Western psychology in the counseling session that incorporates a less formal but planned encounter and a community reference to bring out the social context of the counselee.

Convergence and Incompatibility

Bantu have a different point of view about life, marriage, God the spiritual and the material world, and the cosmos in general. Therefore, the Bantu group's expression of these values takes a form close to their cultural means of communication of story-telling, proverb proclamation, and other ways which make their inner story significantly vivid and down to earth. Some of the incompatible Western notions with the Bantu's mentality regarding counseling and/or therapy surround the role of a formalized and structured counselee-counselor relationship, as I have already mentioned above, and the presence or absence of the community involvement in the life of the counselee. With its emphasis on the objective and formal, the Western modes of therapy and/counseling tend to overlook the role of a community in the life of individuals; they seem to underestimate and undervalue the place of the longstanding beliefs of Bantu ethnic groups in the relatedness and unity of human beings, the cosmic spirits, rituals that pertain to healing, marriage, funeral, purification after a woman has given birth to twins, and other cultural practices.

The Banyankole and Bakiga, and more so the Banyankole, tend to express themselves in roundabout ways, especially through poetry, proverbs, tales and myths even in ordinary conversation. The Western counselor and/or therapist tends to demand and prefers direct communication and clear-cut language; there remains little space for images and poetry in every day conversation and in a counseling session. The Banyankole and Bakiga, and other Bantu groups in general, use language that

does not carry the structured, logical and direct thought patterns. Of course the Bantu individuals who have been exposed to the Western thought think and communicate themselves in the Western mode of thought patterns.

What is important is the integration of the counselee's life by helping him or her heal and journey toward wholeness. There is reason why a traditional counselor can draw from the scientific mode of counseling. When the Munyankole and/or Mukiga is exposed to thought patterns that allow for the emergence of a keen and scientific observation of the environment, and of what is good and wholesome in the person, then he or she can benefit from the cognitive-behavioral modification therapy. Kohut's theory of transmuting internalization can lead to reclaiming one's individuality or search for a personal identity, (an identity of the self), reframing one's latent inner authority in solving one's problems and marital conflicts, regaining one's freedom to make right choices of spouse.

Transmuting internalization also facilitates growing more steadily in loving and reconciliation, granting women equal rights in the community and empowering them to reclaim their innate power over their body. The treatment of the people from the traditional society using this theory can prove helpful. The theory of selfobject matrix and counseling by transference and countertransference are likely to help a client from a traditional society appropriately retrieve the life enhancing cultural values. What is required here is giving counseling to the Banyankole and Bakiga in a context respect.

In the traditional society, those who give counseling are marked out either by their

family lineage, or chosen by the community for their seniority and wisdom. In the Western society, the person has to be professionally trained in order to be accredited to give counseling and/or therapy. The place of counseling is clearly marked in the Western society, the designated office, but in the traditional society any place can serve so long as the counselee and the counselor agree on it.

When the "how" question of giving counseling is raised, it brings out a lot of differences that exist between the Western and the traditional societies. In the use of modern theories of psychology and therapy in the Western society, there is so much emphasis on **technique**. If the therapist and/or counselor is not cautious, as an informed and empathetic practitioner, the therapeutic relationship may be undermined. What can be called **technique** of counseling in the traditional society is found in the use of common sense and an empathetic listening, the building of trust in the good spirits and in one's good judgement. The traditional counselor or council of elders gain expertise through practice and the trust that people in the community invest in her or him as a wise person in healing.

Incompatibility arises between traditional counseling and the therapeutic or counseling modes of the Western psychology when the counselors of the two perspectives fail to listen to the client from a place where he or she is. When counselors stubbornly regard their own style as better, then conflict sets in. Incompatibility is fueled by differing views concerning the frame of reference for therapy and/or counseling on both sides. The therapist and/or counselor of the Western society and a traditional counselor become unwilling to listen to each other on the ground that one's

own style is the best in the giving of the counseling service to those who seek it regardless of the client's culture. However, their belief in convergence invites them to dialogue to offset incompatibility in the ministering of therapy and/or counseling to clients, regardless of their culture.

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VITA

The author Cecilia Y. Nibyobyonka was born in Bushenyi district of Uganda and she is a member of the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Good Counsel of Mbarara. She holds a B.A. and M.A. in Biology from St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Connecticut, and a Postgraduate Diploma in Education from Makerere University.

Cecilia taught in secondary schools for nine years and has held positions of leadership in her community and in the Association of Women and Men Major Superiors in Uganda. She will resume her ministry at the Spiritual Formation and Retreat Training Centre when she returns to Uganda.

Thesis Approval Sheet

The thesis submitted by Cecilia Y. Nibyobyonka has been read and approved by the following committee:

Ann E. Graff, Ph.D.
Professor, Institute of Pastoral Studies
Loyola University

Jerome Wagner, Ph.D.
Professor, Institute of Pastoral Studies
Loyola University

Cheryl Johnson-Odim
Associate Professor, History
Loyola University

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verify the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Pastoral Counseling.

10/11/95
Date

Ann E. Graff Ph.D.
Director's signature