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NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE POWER OF WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE KENYAN
AKAMBA

BY

MATTHEWS KALOLA MWALW'A

A Thesis submitted to the Graduate School in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of theology in Missions

June, 2001

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STUDENT'S DECLARATION

THE POWER OF WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE KENYAN AKAMBA

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college or university for academic credit.

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed) 
Matthews Kalola Mwalwa

June, 2001

ABSTRACT

This thesis looks at the power of witchcraft among the Kenyan Akamba. I have taken time to explain the Akamba worldview as the basis upon which the thinking of the Akamba is drawn. Much space is given to this aspect in the paper due to the nature of the subject itself. The literature review undertook to bring together those who have gone before into the Akamba worldview. Such names as Lindblom, Jacobs, and Gehman have prominently featured.

In order to establish a background to the subject, interviews were conducted. These included practicing witchdoctors and those who have observed witchcraft in their environment.

Because the concern in this thesis is to look at the Kenyan setting, and how the Church is affected by witchcraft, the Africa Inland Church served as a case study. Three Churches were key in the research: The Africa Inland Church, Plainsview in Nairobi city, the Africa Inland Church, Kibera near the Kibera slums, and the Africa Inland Church, Misewani in Mwala division of Wamunyu in Machakos District.

Areas mined include consultation with witchcraft, medicine man, herbalist, palm reading, star reading, and other related areas. I discovered that there were still a small, but significant minority of churched people who are sympathetic, and some who consult in these areas, therefore sharing their energy and resources with the world, and not fully committed to the Church.

This raises the need for the leadership of the church to strengthen teaching and discipleship.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Mrs. Hellen Munany'e Kalola and Mrs. Phyllis Mukonyo Kioko, my mother and mother-in-law respectively. Both of their prayers kept me going. Their translation into glory one after the other during the time of the research for this thesis was a very trying moment but brought unprecedented strength in the spirit. To my wife Janet and the children, Ruth Munany'e, Phyllis Mueni, and Jonathan Mwendwa, who have come along with me in the thick and thin, may the sufficient grace of our loving heavenly Father be lavished on all of you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not have been accomplished without the willing hearts whose contributions have enabled the end product of this thesis to be brought to its logical conclusion.

The following are noteworthy acknowledgements: Dr. Stanley Mutunga, for his initial part in providing advice and encouragement to pursue this paper; Dr. A. Mekonnen for his supervisory role as head of the Missions Department at NEGST; Dr. Stephen Mathai and the Ministry of Healing and Biblical Counseling for input and prayer support and cover; my intercessory prayer team (Charles, Sheila, Jacqueline) whose efforts made the work in the power encounters bearable; Roy Gitonga for hard work in the correlation of the data and layout of the tables; Jayne, whose typing hours are into hundreds as she spent patient hours with me and the thesis; Mrs. Serah Ngonyi who provided professional editing and put in many hours of expertise.

And finally to Daystar University, through the vice-chancellor, for financially and socially enabling me to undertake the study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The mention of the word "witchcraft" arouses different reactions among various people and may drive chills up the spines of many African people.

There is a considerable amount of fear observable in many African groups of people.

Among the Akamba of Kenya there is known fear for witchcraft. While growing up this writer recalls hearing from pastors and others within the confines of the church that witchcraft is not real and that it will only affect you if you believe in it. At best, it was thought, witchcraft was only imaginary. This belief has been engraved in many people's minds such that today there are still those who hold to the same. However, after nearly thirty years of encountering the written word of God, I have come to establish that witchcraft is a power to reckon with.

Historical Background

In December of 1976, this writer was asked to be a speaker at a youth center in the outskirts of the city of Nairobi. While there, a young girl from Kenya's Coast Province, came to the camp. In the middle of the week of camp the young girl started having demonic manifestations. This brought some very tense moments among both the counselors and the campers. After taking time with the counselors in teaching and ministry explanation, the

girl was delivered from the powers of darkness. This was to me an eye-opener. My denominational background had not, at this point in time, entertained the phenomenon of spiritual warfare encounters of this kind. This is the kind of motivation that has gradually pushed this writer to gain interest in this area.

This study will provide an approach to witchcraft that is clear and biblically based. Danger exists among believers who do not understand the far-reaching implications of these satanic practices that are camouflaged in social events or cultural practices.

The Africa Inland Church, A.I.C, is an important case study. The A.I.C. was born out of missionary efforts by the Africa Inland Mission in early 1895. Peter Cameron Scott was directly responsible in establishing the first meaningful contact with the Akamba people with whom he was later to serve and give his life. "On November 28, 1895" Scott "and his caravan, travelling inland from the Indian Ocean Coast, arrived at Mosongalene" (Kaleli 1985, 168), from where he visited an Akamba village and was received with much hospitality which included "eggs and milk" with a goat to a companion of his (Ibid.). This initial contact was later to become a milestone in evangelization of the Akamba. Until very recently, the Africa Inland Church was the predominantly visible church in Ukambani, the land of the Akamba.

A number of significant features put this denomination on the religious intellectual world map. Most significant is the attraction the Africa Inland Mission (A.I.M.) drew to Mbiti. He states that the A.I.M. "was the mission destined to do at least for a long period, most of the work of evangelizing Ukambani" (Mbiti 1971, 12).

The A.I.M. experienced a shaking of its foundations in the field when two major splits, one within the church and the other in the Mission were realized in the mid-1940's. As Mbiti observes,

In 1945 a group of Akamba Christians severed themselves and formed the African Brotherhood Church. About the same time, there was another split in the mission, and some missionaries formed a new society known as the Gospel Furthering Fellowship (Ibid., 18-19).

Statement of the Problem

How does witchcraft challenge the Africa Inland Church and the meaningful maturation of believers and their relationship to Jesus Christ? It calls for an understanding of the dynamics at play.

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is twofold: to enlighten the Christian community on the existence of witchcraft and its adverse consequences and to make recommendations for ministers involved in the ministry of deliverance.

Research Questions

This research perceives three basic questions in view of the expressed purpose and significance of the study.

1. What reasons drive Christians within the Africa Inland Church to indulge in witchcraft?
2. When Christians have been consulting with witchcraft and the occult, can there be deliverance?
3. Do Bible colleges and other institutions of higher learning adequately equip the leaders to handle issues of deliverance and exorcism?

Significance of the Study

It is the contention of this thesis that meaningful treatment leading to an authoritative, biblically based and documented method of combat against witchcraft in the Africa Inland Church is inadequate so far. A biblical understanding and practical guide toward deliverance is a useful tool necessary for anyone who is going to engage in spiritual warfare. This thesis hopes to achieve this end.

Methodology

Data Collection

This thesis has been aided greatly by data that I have gathered in the library among books and journals. Field research that I carried out was also contributory to the data collection process.

Assumptions

It is going to be assumed in this study that,

1. The Scriptures are without error, and are inspired of God as the standard of measurement for moral behavior, religious belief, and guidance in all matters of life.
2. Where individual or groups of people have been involved with the occult/witchcraft, upon confession of faith in Christ Jesus, deliverance is a dimension on its own merit and will be addressed on that basis.
3. The "Christian" will be understood in this study to be synonymous with the "believer", one who has claims on Christ Jesus as Savior of his/her life. This assumption is unbiased toward various Christian denominations.

Delimitations

Although in a documentary analysis there is a great deal of support and information through other documents that address similar issues or retain relevant information, it will be necessary in this study to diversify and address those other relevant data collections. It is noted however, that I will seek to interact with the possible available data.

It is to be noted further that, although deliverance is my primary interest, there are numerous other related subjects within the occult and the New Testament. However, the numerous analyses of the New Testament deal with the broader picture relevant to the subject and are also too diverse for consideration in this study. References to those instances will be for illustrative purposes. They are not to be misconstrued to mean that further exegesis will be done. For the purpose of this study, such deviation will be selectively done and will remain within the limits described above.

Definitions

WITCHCRAFT – Witchcraft is used in this study to denote the occult practice that involves demonic powers. Witchcraft is here associated with harmful practice, which includes black magic and the related evils. I use the term in reference to those who practice witchcraft with the intention of causing harm by use of evil powers (Julio Caro Baroja, "Occultism," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed.).

OCCULT – Occult is the term that lumps together the "various theories, practices, and rituals based on esoteric knowledge, especially alleged

knowledge about the world of spirits and unknown forces" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Occultism").

SORCERY – Sorcery is differentiated from witchcraft in that it is said to be "the work of ordinary persons using deliberate techniques and external means familiar to other adult members of the community" (Ibid.). Sorcerers however use sorcery to do harm, just like witchcraft. The term is to be understood as in Acts 8:9-24, where Simon "had amazed them for a long time with his magic" (vs. 11).

DELIVERANCE / EXORCISM – The term will be used in reference to the entire process of investigation, identification of causes, counseling, and leading individuals to freedom from the occult/witchcraft powers (Koch 1972, 23).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

To address witchcraft among a selected group in Africa like the Akamba of Kenya is to enter into a subjective sphere of life. To an outsider or to one who by limitation is unexposed to the African systems of life, the subject of witchcraft may falsely appear abstract. However, on a day-to-day basis, it is a subject featuring prominently in conversations of young and old alike. One will hear the Akamba lightly saying to one another, "*Ko wi muoe?*" (have you been bewitched?). This may come as a result of one's behavior having taken a turn out of the norm. Witchcraft comes as part of a worldview package. It is, in all respects, a behind-the-scenes item. But the effects and influences it produces in the society cannot be ignored. Because of the significance of the patterns of thought, the process of organizing life, it has become progressively important to look at worldview for support in the way that the Akamba express these patterns.

Selectivity in treating the literature available has been done carefully. A lot of available material on the subject of deliverance has been written outside the African context. The following represents a selected bibliography addressing related issues to the study.

As Hill stated, "Missionaries to Africa . . . ignored the problem of witchcraft . . ." (Hill 1996, 323-344). Among the African Christians there are those, whose persuasion concludes that Scripture ignores witchcraft. Meyer,

speaking of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana, pointed out, that "the belief in the existence of witches is denied by the Church order of the E.P. Church. Theologians and church leaders see it as superstition and 'belief in unimportant things.' For the majority of church members, however, witches and other evil spirits are very real" (Meyer 1992, 99-132).

This dimension and perhaps the central problem of witchcraft, is the view of African writers on African Traditional Religion. While describing their components or contributory elements, witchcraft features as a major component. Witchcraft is recognized for its centrality in African Traditional Religion. Because of this factor, it has remained a power to reckon with.

This is illustrated by Bediako who quotes Mbiti in a fiction scenario that shows the need to formulate an African theology towards felt needs in the local situation. In the fiction story, a theologian returned home with six foreign languages, not to mention the accompanying theological studies earning him a Doctorate in Theology. Upon arrival at home, he was received with jubilation, dancing and plenty of local food. In the midst of the dance, his older sister fell down under some form of spiritual influence,

"Let's take her to hospital," he recalls urgently. They are stunned. He becomes quiet. Someone else says, "She is possessed. Hospitals will not cure her"! The chief says to him, "You have been studying theology overseas for 10 years. Now help your sister. She is troubled by the spirit of her great aunt!" He looks around. Slowly he goes to get Bultmann. A look at the index, finds what he wants, reads again about spirit possession in the New Testament. Of course he gets the answer. Bultmann has demythologized it. He insists that his sister is not possessed. The people shout, "Help your sister she is possessed. He shouts back, "But Bultmann has demythologized demon possession." (Bediako 1995, 155-6).

The laying of a foundation that is biblically based for the purpose of preparing the African Church leader is of first importance. However, if this

information is not translated to meet the needs of the people he serves, he has failed. Bediako has moved well in this direction.

Dickason gives 28 pages to the subject of deliverance (Dickason 1987, 269-297). In these pages, the biblical foundation of deliverance is laid out showing "who" should carry out deliverance and what results are usually achieved. He points out that:

The first and most basic result of deliverance of the demonized is the removal of the wicked spirits that were inhabiting the person. They were once inside the person, now they are absent". This is the effect the commandment of the Lord Jesus and His servants in the New Testament. Jesus said, "begone" and "they came out" {Matt. 8:32} (Dickason, 273).

Unger lists 10 steps towards deliverance (Unger 1979, 173). There must be actual liberation followed by a destruction of occultic objects, watching out and staying away from false demonized religion, then steering clear of magic. Total separation from the above is significant in view of the extent to which occult powers seek to operate. According to Unger,

Occult powers and mediumistic tendencies can be passed down from generation to generation. They run through the family tree of practicing sorcerers and magicians the third and fourth generation of people implicated in idolatry and its inseparable of people implicated [Ex. 20:1-7, cf. I Cor. 10:20] (Ibid., 158).

On deliverance, Koch has a systematic approach to the issue. He first describes incidences of an occultic nature and lays down biblically based procedures that lead to deliverance (Koch 1972, 9). In this respect, he points out that Christian ministers and counselors are "justified in being distressed when they meet devastating effects of materialism and magic in their counseling sessions" (Koch, 9). Consequently, Koch has 'submitted two reasons why he chose the undertaking to enter into this ministry,

To proclaim that there is a Victor, Jesus Christ. He contends that people must be shown "the way to the great Deliverer". To warn the people of the imminent dangers if and when they cross the borders and "trespass into these areas, and God Himself has forbidden us to touch these things" (Ibid., 6).

There are others who hold the same conviction. Gehman affirms Koch's usage and definition on magic of any form as Satanic (Gehman 1989, 109).

Koch suggests a counseling procedure towards deliverance from the powers of darkness involving seven steps, some of which are a commitment to Christ which is "no half-hearted decision" (Koch, 125), a confession of sin in the manner of James 5:16 as necessary for healing, "a prayer of renunciation" in order to break any "unconscious contract with powers of darkness", and, using the gift of discernment, the counselor is "to command the powers present in the person to leave in the name of Christ" (Koch, 126).

Philpott, refers to Koch in his "steps to relief and freedom" (Philpott 1973, 122) and lists four steps all of which are compatible to the steps shown above. Unger takes on a different emphasis, but remains in harmony with most writers already reviewed. Unger sees the peril that has befallen humans as primarily the work of demons.

Whatever may be the ultimate reason for Satan's implacable hostility toward the human family, it is certain that man, through his fall, lost his sovereignty over the earth to the usurper, and was thus alienated from his creator. To repair the damage instigated and wrought by Satan, the Logos, the image of the invisible God, left the bosom of the Father (John 1:1,14), took upon Himself humanity (Phil. 2:5-7) and wrought redemption, not only for man's salvation (Col. 1:14; II Cor. 5:21), but for earth's deliverance as well (Matt. 13:44; Eph. 1:14; Rev. 5:1-10). (Unger 1952, 217).

Satan and his demons engaged Christ in fierce battles through temptation and their attempt to kill Him in order to thwart the purpose of God

to shed blood for the redemption of mankind. Similar opposition has been extended to "all believers united in Him, and who are one in Him" (Eph. 6:12) (Ibid., 218). Brown elaborately explains four steps in deliverance. Step one is to "define the doorways or temple-defiling sins" which are inheritance, any involvement with the occult, and sexual sins (Brown 1990, 188-191).

Brown elaborates and goes into minute details of its specific nature. Her thoroughness is of much help in assisting those who have been involved in witchcraft and the occult. Brown suggests that in the process of deliverance and while confessing the sins of the past "everything must be written down on a piece of paper. If you do not write it down, the demons will confuse your mind and make you forget" (Brown, 190). This is to be followed by repentance and confession of the sins in the above list asking God for forgiveness and cleansing to give room for the one to "command the demons that came through 'temple-defiling sins' to get out of you forever" (Brown, 193).

Richards advocates for what he terms as the "Diagnosis" (Richards 1974, 124). He also adds another dimension to the aspect of commanding the demons in deliverance. He points out that demons are to be commanded "to harm no one", "to come out", and "to go somewhere else". He however sounds a warning that regarding the command to come out, it should never be said without a clear idea of what will be going in, since a vacuum is abhorred here as elsewhere. A 'blessing' and infilling of the Spirit of Jesus began and maintained is the other side of the coin (Richard 1974, 166).

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Worldview

Why Worldview?

The worldview concept has in the recent past gained wide popularity among missionary circles and theological quarters, and has had significant impact and influence in missions.

Significant contributions have been made towards studies on worldview to warrant a search for the answer to the question, "Why worldview?".

Definition

Van der Walt describes worldview as follows,

A worldview is an integrated, interpretive set of confessional perspectives on reality which underlines, shapes, motivates and gives direction and meaning to human activity (van der Walt 1994, 39).

This is a well thought out and cognitive definition embracing nearly all that makes up life, how it is perceived, translated into the realm of reality, and the basis upon which human activity rotates. Kraft presents the following dimension,

The worldview is the central systematization of conceptions of reality to which the members of the culture assent (largely unconsciously) and from which stems their value system. The worldview lies at the very heart of culture, touching, interacting with, and strongly influencing every other aspect of the culture (Kraft 1987, 53).

In both Kraft's and Walt's definitions the properties of worldview can be formulated to mean that which is the instrument through which reality is perceived and all that which attributes meaning and values in a given culture. These properties, then, define the culture in its totality. The minutest detail of what makes or constitutes a culture is embodied in its worldview.

Functions of Worldview

I am chiefly indebted to those who have trodden this path before in correlating the functions of worldview. Van der Walt has extensively shown the functions of a worldview. For its proponents, a worldview which is adhered to with commitment, means the following,

It provides interpretive keys to an understanding of reality and of man himself. It integrates (makes a unity of) and structures human experience. It gives meaning to human existence. It enables man to work choices based on principles and to act according to a specific pattern (van der Walt, 54).

Van der Walt further elaborates that worldview is a motivator of man in calling for man's vocation towards making this world a better place.

Van der Walt's points show us that individuals and societies, by and large, are shaped through the medium of worldview. A fair understanding of a people's worldview cannot be ignored, especially as inroads into their culture.

Some major functions are also described by Kraft (Kraft, 54-57). The explanatory function is the function that explains how things got to be as they are, their continuity and any apparent change. "Basic assumptions concerning ultimate things" (Kraft, 54) are embodied in their worldview. It is on this foundation that people base their lives, affecting "both their understanding and their response to 'reality'" (Kraft, 54). This marks the departure point for differences observed in the presentation of the gospel by missionaries in the past centuries.

The evaluation function is the function that validates and judges the social elements. It is noted that "the basic institutions, values, and goals of a society are ethnocentrically evaluated as best and, therefore, sanctioned by the worldview of their culture or subculture. And for most, the ultimate ground

for these sanctions is supernatural" (Kraft, 55). Most people understand worldview through the medium of their "God or gods". In this function, "beliefs, values, meanings, and sanctions" are the standard of judgment in all matters of valued behavior (Kraft, 55).

This is significant also in evaluating and perceiving other cultures at the interaction level. Without this function, meaning and values becomes blurred, and may result in varied conflicts, instability, and confusion. The employment of these functions achieves symmetry.

Worldview is also that which helps the formulation of psychological reinforcement. Because of anxiety experienced across all cultures, different cultures have developed means by which to meaningfully address the imbalances so caused.

Crisis times such as death, birth, and illness; transition times such as puberty, marriage, planting and harvest; times of uncertainty, times of elation all tend to heighten anxiety or in some other way require adjustment between behavior and belief. And each tends to be dealt with in a reinforcing way by the worldview of a society (Kraft, 55).

This reinforcement takes various forms as rituals or ceremony. People are participants in these rituals and ceremonies. This participation forms the basis upon which "security and support for the behavior of the group" is built.

When all the elements of culture and subculture are laid down, they must be systematized in order to form "reality into an overall design" (Kraft, 56). This is the integrating force function of worldview, which helps man to relate to the entire scenario of his existence in the world. Worldview "establishes and validates" the premise upon which man reacts and responds to his scenario giving meaningful interpretation of the same (Ibid., 56).

Kraft's last function of worldview has been termed adaptational. It serves to help in the "disintegrative aspects of culture change" (Kraft, 56).

The point of difference in humans is at the starting points and not so much during the processing of information leading to conclusions. The basic assumptions are key to how received information will be interpreted and thus translated into meaning within the recipient's context (Kraft, 57). Each peoples' worldview aids the entire community to co-exist making worldview key to a meaningful entry to any given culture.

The Akamba Worldview

This thesis is concerned about the way the Kenyan Akamba view witchcraft. To look at their worldview, therefore, will lay basic premises upon which I shall peg some of the conclusions intended in this paper. The Akamba of Kenya fall under the ethnic grouping of the Bantu.

Origin

It is not clearly established as to the origin of the Akamba. The nearly 2.4 million population live in four administrative districts falling under the Eastern Province of Kenya (Mutua 1995, 66). Many believe that the Akamba may have migrated north from Tanzania near Mt. Kilimanjaro. They are said to have first settled in the Mbooni hills from where they systematically spread all over the land that has come to be commonly known as Ukambani (Ibid.).

Features

Generally speaking the Akamba are not sophisticated in their social system set up. They are known for woodcarving, (especially the Akamba of Wamunyu in the Machakos District), whose giftedness origin remains somewhat of a mystery. This particular talent of woodcarving has put the Akamba on the world map. Their artifacts can be found in nearly all major cities of the world as observed by this writer in Johannesburg, London, New York, and Stuttgart. In the major market places of the cities of Kenya, such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Malindi, Nakuru, Kisumu, Nyeri, Nanyuki, one will find the Akamba curios on sale and having great tourist attraction. The Akamba make their living through small-scale farming accompanied by thinly spread animal keeping. Other features involve bee-keeping and hunting. Just five hours of driving outside of the city of Nairobi one comes into an interior of the Kamba people that is more representative of how the original set up looked like. By this I refer to grass thatched huts and cattle *bomas* (corrals).

The Akamba government is organized around their belief system. An understanding of the undergirding driving forces becomes helpful in supporting the reasons for the religious approach to nearly every aspect of life.

The Hierarchy

The Homestead

The authority in a homestead is vested in the headship of the father of the home. He is the one who puts his home in place and has the sole

responsibility of instilling discipline in his sons. Sons are key to the stability, continuation and future of the Akamba. Lindblom extensively researched the Akamba in the colonial days and has provided us with vital information of the governance. He says that the patriarchal form of government was known among the Akamba from very early times.

Every Mutumia exacts obedience from the members of his family and he has absolute authority over his sons, even long after they are grown up and have families of their own (Lindblom 1920, 149).

Jacobs reinforces the fact that there is a sense in which authority begins to be measured by the society at large according to the measure of discipline and control that an elder (*mutumia*) maintains from the grassroots level, that is, his own household (Jacobs 1963, 52).

The Village

Several homesteads make a village. The governance of the village is in the hands of several elders who are chosen for their demonstration of character, authority, and control over their own homesteads. These men constitute the village council, *Nzama*, (which literally may connote to consult, in which case these men were consultants in the modern terminology) and advised for all aspects of the village life from physical, to social, to religious. Lindblom explains that this council, *Nzama*, does not extend to the other villages, it is limited to the area of representatives constituting the *Nzama*. The extent of its authority within the village stretched as far as capital punishment.

The most important function of the *Nzama* is to act as a court, in which all cases are tried and decided. It also decided on wars of aggression (plundering raids), *King'ola*, lynching, which is practiced by the Akamba may also only be ordered by the *Nzama*. Next to its duties as judging authority, its most important function, however, is the care and

maintenance of the religion, the offering of sacrifices. To the religious duties of the Nzama pertains also that of carrying out the ceremony of purification, on the event of all public misfortunes, such as the outbreak of epidemics, cattle plagues, etc (Lindblom, 150).

This *Nzama* was responsible for life including that of religion. The place of worship, the *ithembo* (Lindblom, 150) was under the custodian of the *Nzama*, the customs and traditions of the tribe as well. They held the "authority to prevent the rise of customs which they consider harmful, and can even abolish customs which are already in existence" (Lindblom, 150).

The "Chief" Concept

The Akamba had no master over their government system. The term chief coincides with the entrance of the British colonial rule. The closest that the Akamba came to this concept in matters of seniority is the usage of the term *munene*, literally referring to the one elevated (by the villagers themselves). The term *mwaii*, which has recently replaced the Swahili *bwana* (translated in Kikamba *vwana*), has the connotation of the chief elder whose responsibility was to arbitrate after hearing the verdict of the other elders in the *Nzama*.

The Akamba "chief" was for all practical purposes a man within the system who had proven himself an authority through various socially accepted functional norms.

The first such chief was Kivui of Kitui,

Kivui lived in the time of Kraft and was personally known to him. He was practically a kind of a chief, a position that he had gained through his higher intelligence and his great physical strength. At the same time he was a great medicine man, and possibly provides an illustration of Frazer's theory that kings and chiefs have their origin from medicine-men, whose social influence sometimes advances them to the position of chiefs. He made his people victorious against their enemies, and

many Akamba are said to have paid him taxes, and so even the Masai living at Donyo Sabuk (Lindblom, 149).

This observation is significant when contrasted with the chief concept that the colonial system introduced. The British colonial system can be said to have introduced a "corruption" of the Akamba system when it identified the most influential of the elders to be chief. From then on, the shift was realized. The concept was lost of the medicine man being the elder, the friend of the community, the arbitrator, who depended on the consensus of the village elders. In its place was introduced a symbol of betrayal and solo authority on the chair. The British government divided the country into small districts, each having a chief (and under him headmen, heading a cluster of homesteads) who is responsible for the payment of the hut-tax within the district (Lindblom, 151). The old "divide and rule" saying was realized in practice among the Akamba of the British colonial times. Lindblom admits that this system was difficult and

threw many of the appointed chiefs off-balance. . . . Most of those chiefs find it difficult to assert their authority over the other *atumia*, who have never been accustomed to acknowledge any other authority than the Nzama of which, indeed, they were usually members themselves. (Ibid.)

I observe that due to this disturbance of the system, when the missionaries later found entry into the Akamba region, there were no elders (*atumia ma Nzama*) to explain the religious system, which was intertwined with the Akamba government system. The dichotomy that was seemingly presented did not in the least penetrate to the religious felt needs of the Akamba. I contend in this thesis, that this is one of the greatest hindrances to the progress of the gospel among the Akamba. When the new chief did not seem to provide the coherence among the people in the community, as did

the former Medicine Man / Elder / Chief, then the Akamba retreated to the former system, which was still in operation within the British System.

To date, the Akamba, whether in the cities or in the villages, have tended to maintain their dual, divided loyalty. This phenomenon is observable in the church as well. Where the Church fails to address the felt needs that were formally addressed by the old system, the Akamba will and do indeed resort to the old system which is in existence and in full operation.

The Akamba Government and the Supernatural

One significant aspect that is key to understanding the moderation of the governing system among the Akamba is the whole area of judicial operation. Jacobs says that where a person denies guilt after appearing before the council (*Nzama*), it is taken for granted that the supernatural powers will have to be involved so as to execute judgement (Jacobs, 52). The means through which the verdict is achieved has been synchronized across the Akamba people. There are a number of instruments employed for varied degrees of social needs.

Kithitu. Lindblom commenting on *Kipitu* (more classical, *Kithitu*), says that the native has more respect for it "than for anything else in the world" (Lindblom, 167). *Kithitu* is one instrument that instills unprecedented fear among Akamba. It is used only where there seems to be adamant rebellion or hardness of heart in accepting one's guilt or where sharp disagreements on a matter present such difficulties that judges (*asili*) are unable to reach their verdict with the expected ease. *Kithitu* is also used where evil has been committed in the community, but the culprit escapes unnoticed, or suspects

were apprehended but do not accept liability. If a thief steals herds or other vital property, *Kithitu* is employed to find out who the thief is. *Kithitu* is said to be an object, generally an animal's horn, filled with "medicine", which, if one swears falsely, has the power to kill someone in his family in a prescribed number of days (Jacobs, 53). These means of arriving at crucial arbitration or judgment is a clear exoneration from personalization of responsibility of severity of judgment on an individual. Jacobs alludes to this aspect of the government when he states,

There is indeed reluctance among the Akamba to place power into the hands of any particular individual or office. Or perhaps it is to be concluded that no Akamba wishes to take upon himself the onus which would result from individual decision and actions" (Jacobs, 54).

In the final analysis, then, the guilty party does not blame any particular individual in the community. The collective nature of reaching nearly all community decisions leaves the community cohesive. Lindblom found five ordeals practiced by the Akamba in respect to *Kithitu* (Lindblom, 174): "Kipitu Kia Kabyu (The Kipitu of the Knife)", literally the 'swearing by the knife.' In this practice, when a matter reaches such magnitude as must be decided upon with a certain degree of severity, then the "suspected person has to touch a red-hot iron". It is always for the most part, the medicine man, or the witchdoctor who is called upon to carry out the administration of the ordeal. A knife-like instrument is subjected to a high degree of heat in the presence of witnesses and the parties launching complaints.

When it is red hot, it is taken out, and the suspected persons have in turn to touch the iron with their tongues, saying: epwa ninosete mbui ya ngany'a, kapyu mbibye. (if I have taken N.N's goat, may the knife burn me! (Ibid., 174).

Lindblom sees this as a psychological game and attempts to explain the reality of actual knife licking by saying that,

The natives believe that only the guilty one is burnt. The fact of the matter probably is that the guilty man betrays himself by obvious signs of fear, or prefers to confess at once, when he sees that he cannot escape while the innocent, believing implicitly that they cannot be hurt, go forward calmly to lick the knife. It is thus that the medicine man, in most cases a fairly good psychologist, soon sees clearly who is guilty (Lindblom, 174).

This attempt to play down the *Kithitu* of the knife cannot be acceptable. The undergirding factors are too obvious for the Akamba to be dismissed as psychological in nature for they are not that at all. The Akamba think in the supernatural sense when it comes to such events, and for them the question is not whether it is genuine, but the effectiveness of the method or the apparatus.

A red-hot needle which "may be looked upon as a variant of the proceeding one" (Lindblom, 174) is another *kithitu* which subjects a needle to a high degree of heat, then pierces under the lip of the suspect. Similar results as those of the *Kithitu kya kavyu* are observed. The innocent party experiences no pain, neither does he bleed. The guilty party screams half-way through, leading him to confess immediately.

The ordeal of *kyuma* (bead), says Lindblom, originated from the Kikuyu, another exercise, where the medicine man is the officiator in the function. The suspects sit in a circle (Ibid., 175). He "rubs his hands with magic medicine (*mupea*) [pronounced *muthea*] and white earth, and smears some under the eyes of the suspects" (Ibid.). As he goes round divining and asking the beads to show him who has done the evil in question, he blows the beads towards each person.

In front of the innocent person, the beads lie still in his out-stretched hand; but in front of the culprit, they are said to fly violently towards his eyes, where they stick, and can only be removed by the medicine man (Ibid.).

The accompanying discomfort experienced is such that the guilty party screams for mercy while confessing that he is guilty and begs to be pardoned. The significance of this ordeal is seen in that the guilty party is revealed without ill feelings attached to the method, because the medicine man is viewed among the Akamba to be a neutral person, whose powers are divinely endowed.

Properties of the Akamba World View

For the purpose of this thesis, the following properties within the Akamba worldview will be discussed. These are: the supreme being, mankind, mystical powers, and spirits.

Supreme Being

There exist varying arguments concerning the existence of a Supreme Being. The Akamba have little knowledge of the Supreme Being. This is because the Supreme Being has little contact with man. This however, may be misleading. The day-to-day Akamba life is almost punctuated by "God". There is hardly any event in life that the "God of the heavens" is not referred to. Gehman observes that among the Akamba writers, there is no clear-cut statement on the belief of the Supreme Being.

There is confusion and contradiction among Akamba writers themselves concerning the traditional belief in the Supreme Being. Mbiti states that "the Akamba recognize Mulungu as God, the creator and preserver of all things. He gives them children, rain and food, but nobody knows where and how He lives, or what he looks like" [Mbiti 1971:9] Mbiti implies by that statement that Mulungu is personal,

whereas Ndeti states that Mulungu is impersonal. "The notion of a personal God is extremely naive and does not make any sense in the Akamba belief" he declares [1972:175] (Gehman 1985, 36)

There are two factors that lead us to challenge this observation and comparison. First, both Mbiti and Ndeti are recent writers and their sources have great limitations. Although they both have a wealth of knowledge about the Akamba, there is evidence in their research that they relied heavily on sources (students, for Mbiti) whose depth could not trace some authentic primary sources. What Gehman calls confusion and contradiction must be viewed as variations. Mbiti does not come out clearly in his statement to present a personal God. His statement shows clearly that the Akamba do not question the existence of God. They, however, do not have certain vital information about him. Such information as the Supreme Being's abode and His image, is not available to the Akamba. This may explain why the Akamba do not have, to this day, any graven images of God. Second, not only do Mbiti and Ndeti not share their origins, they do not share many common entities, such as their districts, and the subsequent varied features of the vastness of the Akamba people. The Kitui Akamba have been differentiated from the Machakos Akamba for many decades.

Because there were no written records among the Akamba, most of what was known and passed on was oral tradition. This process is known to present a number of limitations. There is a possibility of forgetting minute details, depending on the oralist telling the story. One's inclination, experience, and perhaps, to some extent, external influence do make a contribution to the seeming differences.

The Akamba are fairly intricate in their clan system. The spread of the tribe across Ukambani represents the wide range of differences existing among the people. In this regard, Gehman correctly observes,

The only solution is to do extensive research among a wide range of peoples. Gradually, a general picture forms as to the broad outlines of what people believe and practice. Conclusions must be checked and double-checked to avoid distortion and unfair slanting of the evidence. At the same time I must recognize that within the broad parameters of general belief, there will be a wide range of differences among the individuals and localities in Ukambani. To present Akamba traditional belief in simple, straightforward doctrinaire perspective is to misrepresent reality (Ibid., 36-37).

It is to be noted that Gehman has had the advantage of living and working among the Akamba for an extended period of time. His field research has also brought him into close contact with the people in their own settings. Albeit, the people he has interacted with are to some extent removed from the original traditional setting. This is, of course, a limitation that cannot be confined to Gehman alone. Most of the current writers on the Akamba rely on the data collected by those who had the opportunity to interview and interact with men of old, the sages of the Akamba.

Lindblom observes that there is a sense of cross-ethnic and tribal common grounds and sharing of concepts all across the Bantu regions of Africa.

Among the Akamba, Mulungu is a conception which, both as regards meaning and name, corresponds to what is known from so many other Bantu peoples, viz. a divinity that seems almost impersonal, since there are no conceptions or very vague ones of its being and characteristics (Lindblom, 243).

According to Lindblom, the Akamba do not possess an enormous abstract conception of the Supreme Being. And although this being is not as personal, yet he is attributed with the origin of man.

They look upon him as the Creator of all things, and therefore call him also Mumbi the one who fashions, the creator (from umba, 'to fashion', most usually employed in the meaning of "to fashion" earthenware vessels). More seldom is found Mwatuangi, 'the cleaver' (from atwanga 'to cleave in pieces') since he originally formed all living beings "as one who hews out a stool or some other object with an axe." He is above both aimu and all the powers of nature (Lindblom, 244).

This concept and description of the Supreme Being is much encompassing to the extent that it raises real questions on the origin of the concept. It is obviously a tradition that has its origin in the antiquities of the Akamba and who's span of time may not be within reach. Albeit, it is of great interest that the Akamba have had a concept of "someone up there" who is responsible for their being, and all creation.

The Akamba do not worship the Supreme Being because he is a good "god". This is of course an interesting observation. It connotes that worship for the Akamba is conceivable to be for those beings that demand it, and it is for the purposes of appeasing them, for whatever reasons.

Mulungu is not worshipped at all (or at least extremely seldom) by offering of sacrifices, nor in any other way. He dwells in the skies at an indefinite distance, is held to be well disposed towards human beings, but beyond that has nothing to do with them. "Mulungu does us no evil; so wherefore should I sacrifice to him?" say the Akamba characteristically (Lindblom, 244).

There seems to be a rather cold, distant relationship between this being and the Akamba, although he is seen at the helm of nature. One prayer made to Mulungu-Ngai for thanksgiving completes the picture, "Mumbi, thou who hast created all human beings, thou has conferred a great benefit on us by bringing us this child" (Ibid., 244-245). For the Akamba, prayers are offered for a reason. "For you do not pray without a reason" (Ibid., 245).

Mulungu and Spirits (*Aimu*)

On the question of origin, the Supreme Being concept has vague answers, if any at all. Lindblom consents that it is an interesting question with little information. He further advances the theory that "the conception of Mulungu among the Bantu peoples in general, has developed from the worship of ancestral spirits to a divinity" (Lindblom, 245).

This is an interesting observation on the part of Lindblom owing to the fact that he was writing nearly forty-six years before Mbiti, whose advocacy of the "living dead" has won him a global name. Lindblom discredits this theory of Mulungu having been synonymous with the ancestral spirits. Mulungu and spirits are seen as distinct beings. Lindblom outlines the following as proof advanced in regard to this difference,

1. Generally though not always, a sharp distinction is drawn between Mulungu and aimu.
2. According to tradition, Mulungu created the first man thus also the original ancestor, for which reasons, as I have seen, he can be given such a powerful "nomen agens" as Creator.
3. Mulungu, The Maker, existed before death came into the world.
4. Mulungu is thought to dwell in the sky among the clouds (Matuni), while aimu dwell in the earth or upon it (Lindblom, 246-247).

It can also be observed that since the Supreme Being (Mulungu) is seen basically as perpetuating the principle of good, he cannot be associated with the aimu (spirits), who among the Akamba are principally the source of many ills. The aimu are unequivocally always demanding satisfaction by humans. Theirs is a relationship based on "give and take" the reality of it being that they are given and they take!

Jacobs, on the Supreme Being, provides a much later viewpoint, although he has relied heavily on the data of Lindblom and others. Jacobs has cited the previously noted names of the Supreme Being from Lindblom's

work as pre-dominantly occupying the meaning and spirit nature of his being. Jacobs points out that forty other Bantu tribes share the name *Mulungu*, which is the most common one. He correctly says that it "corresponds very closely to Mungu of Swahili" (Jacobs, 72).

Although *Mulungu* appears in the majority of literature on the Akamba as the common name, there has been a definite shift since the penetration of the gospel in the region. The Akamba biblical name has become *Ngai*. Jacobs is of the opinion, and justifiably so, that "where the Akamba border the Masai they use the Hamitic equivalent of Mulungu, Ngai" (Jacobs, 72).

Nature of Supreme Being

An examination of how the Akamba view Mulungu is revealed through their various ways through which they relate to Him.

During the initiation ceremonies an offering of beer is made to Mulungu with the prayer that the initiates will mature physically. When rain is withheld it is expected that Mulungu is doing it. The most holy animal, the hyrax, is thought of as living in proximity with Mulungu spirit, and a medicine is made from the little animal, which is sprinkled, on the fields to ensure fertility, and upon the newly circumcised penis for the same purpose (Jacobs, 73).

The Akamba approach *Mulungu* in this manner because they believe that he is "the ultimate source of power, especially the power to reproduce" (Ibid.). Whereas Lindblom (Lindblom, 249-50) found that the supreme being was viewed, or rather he (Lindblom) perceived that the findings he documented suggested the supreme being to be impersonal, Jacobs found that more recent studies have strengthened a personal Supreme Being shedding new light and broadening the discussion. He found the more recent Bantuologist Edwin W. Smith, who edited a collection of monographs which

were written by some more recent students of African culture, to be enlightening in this regard. He says of Smith,

He writes in the introduction, "it is pertinent to inquire as to the relation between the African's dynamism and his ideology, in other words, what connection is there between his belief in this essential energy and his belief in God." On the basis of a study made by the contribution to this work, Smith concluded that, "the unequivocal assertion that the 'High God' idea does not exist in Africa, that the Supreme Power is always thought of as "It" and "He", cannot be accepted in view of the evidence set out in this book and elsewhere." I have to do with a High God and not with "an abstract power of natural potency 'Cosmic Mama'" (Jacobs, 75-76).

Smith validly advances a viewpoint that credits the African people, generally speaking, with a belief in a personal God. I contend, that the African people have believed in a personal Supreme Being over the centuries. There is, however, the pivotal debate point, from an evangelical point of view. This has to do with the question of the extent to which this has led to personal interaction and the external redemptive function. This is where the debate must be approached without presumptuousness on the part of the African evangelical Christian scholar. I must not plunge into such debate for the sake of emotional fulfillment and the scholastic stump that it presses on the debater(s).

Names for the Supreme Being

The study examining Kikamba names for God, says Gehman, reveals "that traditional Akamba did believe in God as the Supreme Being, the Creator and highly exalted one" (Gehman 1989, 195). Gehman asserts that *Mulungu* is indeed one of the most traditional names for the Supreme Being (Ibid.). Gehman advances the position that the Akamba perceived the Supreme

Being as the Creator (*Mumbi*). "The verb form from which *Mumbi* is derived, means to "create" or "to bring into existence" . . . "Ngai Mumbi is the powerful God whose power is manifest in Creation" (Ibid., 196).

Elaborately, Gehman shows further, that the lesser usage of the name of God as *Mwatuangi* has its graphic connotations.

The verb form means literally "to split into halves" with an ax. Mwatuangi denotes the act of splitting. Ngai Mwatuangi is the one who splits the fingers, toes, eyes and the mouth of created beings. When God first created man out of clay he was a mere chunk of earth. Ngai Mwatuangi shaped man with his various parts. He forms the baby in the womb today (Gehman, 196).

Gehman's presentation of the names of God, *Mukunoku* and *Mwiyumbi*, which are rarely used, added flavor to his findings:

Mukunoku signifies God's ability and mighty hand in doing things which men cannot do. Mukunoku is associated with earthquakes and thunderstorms. Mwiyumbi means 'self caused' and 'self-existing' (Ibid.).

An extended discussion on the name *Ngai* has made significant contribution to a much clearer understanding of the degrees of the various usages of the name. The usage of *Ngai* as the Supreme Being was borrowed from the Maasai (Ibid.), and has also been used with reference to lesser gods, the *aimu* or spirits. Due to the grammatical limitation in the forms of the Kikamba usage etymology, this doubling in usage of *Ngai* to also mean *aimu*, or even the ancestral spirits, has wrought with it considerable confusion.

Traditional Akamba speak of "gods (ngai) of the family", "traveling gods (ngai)" that is, those spirits not of a particular home, but those who pass by, bringing calamity and passing on, "mountain gods (ngai)", the gods (ngai) of the Akamba Diviners who consult the spirits (Ibid.).

Not only is there confusion in this usage, there is, in our observation, a definite limitation restricting the traditional Akamba from the fullness of meaning and appropriation of their relationship with the Supreme Being. A

careful scrutiny of this weakness serves well as an avenue toward the building of a strong foundation in the arena of the African theological call.

There are further grounds leading us to believe that this limitation has been unmasked and if penetrated can serve as an open door into a much clearer, powerful presentation of the gospel among the Akamba. Gehman explains that,

Though ngai may refer either to the Supreme Being or lesser spirits, there is no confusion between the two categories. When one Mukamba was asked whether he worshipped one God or many, he categorically replied, "I knew only one God". Ngai Mumbi is the Creator God, while the "gods" are the gods of the family, the ancestral spirits who are of a totally different category of being, for they are created beings, finite in their powers. Only Ngai Mumbi is the Creator. Ngai Mumbi has the most power. All Akamba believe this (Gehman, 197).

This dichotomy, which is said to be unambiguous as to its reality, is what I am referring to as a possible door toward a penetration of the gospel accompanied by clarity and powerful articulation. A pursuit of a vindicated explanation of a biblically based nature of these "gods" being *aimu*, and why the *aimu* are the evil spirits over which victory was won by Christ (Col. 2:15), will bring deliverance to a community that has been in bondage for centuries. This will be addressed in our concluding and application chapter (see Chapter V). Gehman attributes the choice of the now commonly used word *Ngai* to the early missionaries (Gehman, 197). The only "probable reason for reflecting the name, Mulungu, was the rather distant and impersonal nature of Mulungu among the Akamba" (Ibid.). It has already been shown that the term *ngai* denotes god(s) nearer to the people, as opposed to the rather remote concept of Mulungu, who, I already have said, lives in the sky (Ibid.).' According to Gehman, the choice of a name previously used to refer to the ancestral spirits may have been poor. "Nevertheless, I find today that the name, Ngai, has

triumphed. Not only is this word used to translate "God" in the Kikamba Bible, Ngai has become adopted by the non-Christian traditionalists" (Ibid. 197).

Gehman's concluding remarks credit the Akamba with a theistic worldview needing no "apologetics to prove the existence of God" (Ibid.). This has served as the soft grounds for the propagation of the gospel among the Akamba. It can be said, that the only need was to clarify what kind of God one was proclaiming, and a breakthrough was realized.

Mankind

One studying and interacting with the Akamba soon discovers that these are a people whose day-to-day life leaves no room for boredom. Man is surrounded by, and occupied with, events for every aspect of life. These events have within them in-built cords that link man with his beginnings.

Beginnings

As discussed above, the Akamba worldview incorporates the idea of the Supreme Being who is said to be the origin of man's creation (Gehman, 196). Man is understood to have been created by "the Sovereign act of the Creator God" (Ibid., 55). Several myths have been mooted. These myths are not to be confused with the idea of the Akamba origin and movement. I am concerned here with the creation myths that shed light on man and his appearance on the earth. The origin of man is a subject that attracts not just mythical presentations. Scientists and anthropologists with historians and sociologists have all had their share. Mazrui livens the story by a rather descriptive and somewhat emotionally charged layout of Africa's part in the subject concerning the antiquity of man; Mazrui places much weight on man's

origin in the African continent. He documents that in 1932, Louis Leakey of Kenya discovered "a creature in ape like form, called proconsul, with a larger brain than any preceding primate and eyes more clearly focused in stereoscopic vision" (Mazrui 1984, 41-42). This took place in Lake Victoria. Mazrui goes on to discuss that,

In 1959 Leakey and his wife Mary found in the Olduvai Gorge the skull of a more advanced creature they called Zinjanthropus, man of Zinj (the early Arab name for East Africa). Further evidence to suggest that Africa is probably man's first home came in 1984, when two Kenyans, Kamoya Kimeu and Richard Leakey, son of Louis, discovered much of the skeleton of a twelve-year-old boy in a swamp on the western shore of Lake Turkana (formerly Rudolf). The boy seems to have been an example of Homo Erectus, one step along in the evolutionary scale between Homo Habilis and Homo Sapiens, the 'thinking man' or modern man (Ibid.).

This is significant to the world of anthropology, sociology, science, and religion. And, without a confrontational approach to the controversial subject of the theory of evolution, one is obviously intrigued by the very fact that such a scientifically based subject as stated by Mazrui on the origin of man, should have a significant base in the very soil of Africa. As far as Mazrui is concerned, "If there was a Garden of Eden where the first man and woman lived, that garden was in Africa" (Ibid., 42).

The people of Africa have equally taken mankind with great respect, albeit they were unaware of the global anthropological phenomena of which they were custodians. If geographical proximity to the biblical garden of Eden is anything to go by, one cannot be too far from some elements of truth to say, that the region in the Middle East and the South Eastern parts of the African continent were privileged to host the first man. This may explain Leakey's findings in this region. The distances are not absolutely prohibitive for man to have walked this far.

Man's Origin

Africans have upheld some form of, or connection to, the divine origin of man all along. Lindblom refers to the Jao tribe around Nyassa whose origin-myth narrates that mankind may have originated at Kapirimtiya, a hill or, as some say, an island in a lake, far to the west of Nyassa. Here it is believed that there is a rock covered with marks like the footprints of men and animals, and that, when men were first created, the island was a piece of soft mud, and *Mulungu* sent them across it so as to leave their footprints there, before they were dispersed over the world (Lindblom, 252). Concerning the Akamba myth on the origin of man, Lindblom records that the Akamba believed there were two sets of people. "One pair, a man and his wife, came out of a termite hole (*Mupumbini*). Another pair, likewise a man and his wife (the ancestors of *Mbaaimu*), were thrown down by *Mulungu* from the clouds (*Matuni*), bringing with them a cow, a goat, and a sheep" (Ibid., 252). These are believed to have fallen down on the big hill Nzaui from where they intermarried, the two families forming new families. "From some of their descendants came the Kamba clans; others gave origin to the Masai, (and) the Agikuyu" (Ibid., 252).

Lindblom's findings inevitably raise questions of a research nature to which there does not seem to be a provision for answers. Such questions might include, "What is the myth nearest to the original?" and "What events of life brought about such conceptualization of man's origin?" or yet another question, "could I be dealing with the remains of fragments of elements of tradition possibly passed down from the Garden of Eden?" Although there seems to be no concrete documented answers to these questions, nevertheless, they are to be asked. The quest for their answers obviously

belongs elsewhere and cannot be embarked on in this thesis. Romans 1, 18ff is such a case in point, providing research materials towards an answer. It is worth noting that as far as the Akamba origin, there seems to be no known scientific documentation. Mutua refers to this dilemma when he says,

Their origin is hard to trace. The only reliable source for the origin of the Akamba lies in the understanding of the Akamba mythology of creation. To most of the Akamba observers, the origin of the society is traced through oral traditions (Mutua, 66).

There may never be concrete facts in the scientific manner, but the wide spread myths all over the Kamba land and those told to researchers invariably throughout Ukambani indicate a central belief concerning the origin of mankind.

Kaleli, one of the most recent researchers with a Christian bias, documents about five traditions that concern themselves with the movement and settlement of the Akamba in their present sphere.

First, there is the Nile-Congo tradition. This tradition centers on the Nile-Congo as the original home for the Bantu than it does on the Akamba. Second, there is the Nyamwezi-Chagga tradition which associates *Wumo wa Akamba* (Akamba origins) with the southeastern part "of Lake Tanganyika (where) there is a district called ukamba". The name "ukamba" also appears as a place name in Unyamwezi (Kaleli 1985, 162).

The third tradition is the Singwya or Shungwaya, in Swahili (Ibid., 163). The fourth tradition, Kaleli says, "Considers the Kilimanjaro area as the original home of the Akamba people" (Ibid.).

The fifth and last tradition paraded by Kaleli observes the origin of the Akamba as having come from the Kenyan Coast.

Some historians think that the Akamba moved inland from the coastal area where they once lived among the Giriama. Traditional Akamba used to refer to the Giriama people as "*aswi*", their language, *kisui*, and their country *usuini*" (Lindblom 1920:21). Even today one may hear some Akamba speakers saying, "I am going to Kisuanii" meaning

Mombasa, Kenya's main coastal town, historically located at the heart of Giriama land. The possibility of Akamba origins being traced back to some northeast coastal Bantu like the Giriama is also supported by the use of certain Kikamba words for example, words like "ukanga (ocean)" "mukunga (whale)," "ngalawa (ship)", "matalu (canoe or boat)" and "ngome (harbor or castle)" all bear witness to a people with a coastal Bantu origin (Kaleli, 164-165).

These traditions have not lessened for us the search for a concrete answer as to the origin of man according to the Akamba people. But there is no doubt that much of a lingering curiosity will find somewhat of a quenching. The significance of these findings to this thesis is that man has been seen as tracing his origin from God and essentially having some link to that God maintained to a degree, as I have seen, in the concept of the Supreme Being.

Man's Life Cycle

This section would remain incomplete without the components that constitute man's occupation in this life from the perspective of the Akamba. I shall rely heavily on researchers whose work has been cited before such as Jacobs and Lindblom, among others. The life cycle of a Mukamba will include birth, circumcision, initiation, marriage, death and burial (Jacobs, 55).

Birth

At birth there is more than the physical bearing of a child. The Akamba intertwine the physical and the spiritual (supernatural). For instance, Lindblom gives the following elaborate description,

The spirits of departed ancestors are supposed to create and shape the child in the woman; they also decide whether it shall be a boy or a girl, dispute about the matter, and try to forestall each other. While one spirit sleeps, his wife, perhaps, makes the child a girl, and when the husband wakes he finds himself forestalled. Of course this does not imply that the Akamba are ignorant of the connection between sexual intercourse and conception. They only think that the spirits, as well as the husband, play an indispensable part (Lindblom, 30).

The Akamba have had no women experts (midwives) who help mothers to deliver. Each village was responsible for their own. It would appear that through experience, women of the village become versatile in delivering babies. The husband, and for that matter, any other man, or children, do not come to the delivery hut (Ibid., 31). In case of emergency, however, where an expectant mother has birth-pains in the absence of other village women (a rare occurrence), men are permitted to deliver the mother.

New-born Baby Ceremony

The Akamba are characterized, by and large, by ceremonies. This factor is contributory to the way in which a Mukamba adamantly holds to certain forms, behavior, and rituals. Each ceremony is termed a fulfillment of certain cosmological laws, failure of which invites calamities upon the culprits. The Akamba have a worldview that perceives that the world must be kept in a certain balance. As Jacobs observes:

Perhaps the most salient features of the Akamba's cosmological view is the belief that the world, both natural and supernatural, is a delicately balanced system, and that the highest duty of man and spirits is to maintain this balance. Any interference which threatens this balance is considered a threat to the entire cosmological system and is looked upon as morally wrong. Furthermore if and when disruptions of the status quo do take place, steps must be taken at once to get things in order again. This abhorrence of any threat to unsettle that which is thought of as normal is a distinct character of Akamba culture (Jacobs, 101-102).

To understand the basis upon which such belief is built sheds more light on the reasons for both the elaborate details with each ceremony, and the meticulous religiosity that accompanies it. These ceremonies are some among numerous ceremonies that take place within the Akamba culture.

Some of the others include a rather elaborate cleansing ceremony meant to secure the baby's favor by the ancestral spirits. It begins with the women of the village, who come by invitation and "the number of women invited must not be odd, mwa, for odd numbers are generally considered to be unlucky among the Bantu people" (Lindblom, 33). Porridge made of elusive flour is prepared by the women and the mother of the child "takes her place at the entrance to the hut" (Ibid.).

The ceremonies are concluded with an offering to the spirits of the ancestors of the child; an old woman throws a big piece of ngima over the roof of the hut saying, something to the following effect, "Ye who live out there, take this, and know that a child has been born here". The woman who makes this offering at once becomes barren, so it is always done by an old woman who is past childbearing. The mother can then sleep in her bed again (Ibid.).

The reference to the spirits is significant for our purposes because it further goes to affirm the belief system that intertwines the living and the dead or departed.

Significant here is the indefinite reference to what seems somewhat of unknown beings, "Ye who live out there" (Ibid.). As alluded to earlier, there is a limitation in the relationship between the Akamba and the Supreme Being and the gods (*ngai*). This is evidenced, for example, by the above address to "those" who seem to be rather distant.

The Naming Ceremony

Equally significant is the name of the newborn child. Although there seems to be no taboo or religiosity connected with the naming ceremony, records from known traditions have established that this event usually takes place on the third day (Lindblom, 33; cf. Jacobs, 56).

This ceremony is a rather colorful one. Lindblom calls it a feast (Lindblom, 33). Depending on the status of the family, a goat or an ox is often slaughtered for this occasion that brings together relatives and friends. It is a whole day's affair, and it involves eating of the fat from the slaughtered animals, as suggestions for the name are floated.

The women gather about to name the child, looking for birthmarks or any other indications that the child may be the incarnate spirit of some ancestor. Many times the mother, through dreams, becomes aware of the spirit which is to be in the child and tells her friends about it. The naming ceremony does not, however, as is the case of many Bantu people, bestow humanity on the infant. Among the Akamba, humanity is bestowed on the fourth day when the father hangs a black iron necklace, called ithaa, around the neck of the baby. All metal objects, especially iron, seem to neutralize the spirits, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, chase them away (Jacobs, 56-57).

Both Jacobs and Lindblom provide other minute details of subsequent days and taboos that accompany each specific action that concerns the baby.

As has been stated by Jacobs, it is significant to ascertain what kind of a person one is dealing with among the Akamba. If this person was, from the point of conception and birth, given attention by the ancestral spirits, one is dealing with more than humanity. The Akamba, who are still deeply rooted in their culture and have over time internalized these beliefs through practice, are particularly delicate. To penetrate them, there will of necessity be the need for a complete paradigm shift.

Marriage

Jacobs elaborately describes the whole area of sexuality as it relates to the Akamba and the perpetuation of the "family, clan, and the tribe" (Jacobs, 132). Marriage has always been held in high regard because of its role in uniting the family by providing its continuation.

Procedure of Marriage

Marriage in the Akamba way of life is regarded as a mutual agreement between man and woman. The society at large has certain traditional expectations and, in some cases, laid down laws that govern this process.

Courtship

Courtship is left to the parties, the young man and the young lady. "The Kamba women have on the whole, the right of choosing for themselves their companions through life, and the majority of marriages are formed on mutual attachment" (Lindblom, 72).

There does not seem to be a set period of time within which courtship must expire. The key Akamba writers, including Jacobs, Ndeti, and even much later, Kaleli, do not give extended attention to this aspect of marriage which lays the foundation of the inception of the marriage relationship. Lindblom only shares with us the sentiments quoted above concerning the women's right to choose their suitor (Lindblom, 72).

Parental Agreement

Private events among the Akamba are limited. Mostly all social events involve a large number of the family and by invitation and tradition, the village elders. When a man has made a choice of a young woman to whom he desires marriage and from whom he has received consent for the same, he tells his father.

His father goes to see the father of the girl. Should his father have died, a parental uncle, an elder brother or an appropriate parental relative takes his place. If the father of the girl agrees to the marriage, the mother of the man will visit the mother of the girl to ensure that she also is satisfied (Penwill 1951, 1).

It is believed that the parental visits show seriousness of the relationship and portray responsibility on the part of the suitor. Most writers confirm what has been practiced over the decades that two goats are sent to the girl's father "Mbui sya ntheo" (Ibid.). These goats can be returned should the father of the girl change his mind (Lindblom, 72), which alludes strongly to the fact that even though the couple have the freedom to "fall in love" and propose marriage to each other, the final decision remains with the father of the girl.

A series of presents follow the initial two goats. For the Akamba, relationships are kept by the mutual exchange of gifts. They have a proverb to this effect that says, *kasele katune katunivawa ni kunengeleanilw'a*, meaning, "a brownish calabash dish acquires its color because of being handled from one person to the other" (alluding that it always contains some consumables as it changes hands). When and if these initial goats are not returned, "the suitor then hastens to send a couple of calabashes of beer and from 2 to 4 goats (kuvikila uki wambikila mbui), 'to follow the beer which followed the goats' (Ibid.).

In each of these events the parents of the girl "have ritual coition", which is said to prevent evil, details of which have not clearly been outlined (Ibid., 73).

Then are sent a further 5 or 10 goats and a buck (nthenge ya kwitia mbui nthakame nthi) to pour out blood on the ground for the goats. The latter must be slaughtered; if this is not done and the buck subsequently dies from natural causes, the father-in-law must send these goats back. More beer is now sent (wa uthambya nzele) 'to wash the calabash vessels with'. On this occasion the suitor is always eager to send plenty of beer, because his father now goes to the prospective father-in-law to arrange about price to be paid for the girl in goats and cattle (Ibid.).

From these records there is an obvious belief in cleansing. Whether it is the shedding of blood, the ceremonial beer, or the ritual coition by the parents of the girl, they are all tied to what Jacobs referred to earlier as the attempt to maintain the equilibrium, which he said is the "highest duty of man and spirits" to maintain (Jacobs, 101). It is however, for our purposes, significant to note that these rituals and the shedding of blood yield a bonding and "soul-tie" yoke whose spiritual implications I shall discuss in chapter 5 when I deal with the area of deliverance.

The Wedding

Penwill describes a beer ceremony, which involves the father of the girl with invited elders from his village to the homestead of his daughter's suitor. This ceremony is to provide an official welcome of the father of the girl to the home where, not too long hence, she will be making her home (Penwill, 4-5).

When a man at last gets permission to take his bride home, a certain day is agreed upon. The home-coming always takes place in the evening. When everybody is asleep, the girl slips out and goes with the man to his village, where the mother-in-law smears her neck with fat, as a token of welcome. This ceremony is certainly of religious-magic significance, and is intended as a protection against possible dangers which marriage just entered upon may entail (Lindblom, 76).

Here again there is a definite connection of life events to the whole idea of protection from spiritual negligence. The Akamba seek protection for every aspect of life.

Abduction

Since the Akamba, strictly speaking, did not have a clearly defined actual ceremony, as is the case with the traditional European wedding day, (Lindblom, 76) there are variations observable in the event. One of these is

what some have called "eloping", where the couple arranges, as described earlier, to take off at night to the man's home with full knowledge of the man's mother and father in order to accord the new bride the necessary traditional welcome in keeping with the requirements. The one rare occurrence is when the bride is abducted. Lindblom says that it may occur, if all the necessary terms and conditions of agreements between the two parts have been fulfilled, but the father of the girl delays in delivering the girl to be married.

If too long a time elapses before the father-in-law delivers up the girl, the suitor may lose patience and arrange with some of his friends to help him abduct her. One day when she is working in the fields or going to the river to fetch water, she is surrounded and carried off. Those who came up on hearing her cries are kept at a distance by the suitor's friends by means of long sticks, while others carry her off (Lindblom, 75).

This is a very rare occurrence. It is however acceptable and bears no penal consequences. The parents of the girl and her immediate family members, having been in negotiations over a period of time, will remotely accept that this sort of a thing may take place. This writer is acquainted with several situations within the home village where such occurrence was witnessed. A villager had been in close relations with a young lady. The usual negotiations were carried out over a period of time. Time elapsed and one morning, the young lady was found to have spent the night in the suitor's house. She remained there ever since.

Death and Burial

Death seems to have its origin, mythically from the time of creation by *Mulungu* (God). The hare and the chameleon are said to be responsible for what became of man concerning death. Ndeti recaptures the story when he explains that because the chameleon was slow to deliver the original

message, when the hare arrived it delivered what it had overheard. His version is as follow,

Mo'lungu' at one time decided to send a message to man. He entrusted it to the chameleon. He ordered the chameleon to give a message to man to the effect that ando masiaoa maikakue [created man would not die]. Chameleon started the long journey, which took him a few days. He was very formal and modest in delivering the message. He began with "neeioe, neeioe" [I was ordered, I was ordered]. Just then the hare arrived and delivered what he overheard from Molungu. He said "neeioe ando masiaoa makusae" [after birth all people should grow old and die] (Ndeti 1972, 177).

Ndeti concludes the story by showing this as the evidence why the Akamba abhor the chameleon and the hare. They are both condemned to the same enemy they introduced to man, i.e., death (Ibid., 178).

Whatever the case, death, as said earlier, is not seen as an evil in itself. As Mbiti declares, "It is clear that for the Akamba, death means not annihilation but a departure to the spirit world" (Mbiti 1971, 129).

Mbiti outlines at least twenty-five Akamba terms that refer to death in one way or the other. I shall enumerate some of them because of their descriptiveness of the matter of death,

(i) Atia aa-umau follow the company of one's grandfathers' (ii) Eka Kung'ulya - 'stop saying "no" or snoring. Death is the final 'YES' for everyone. (iii) Ina 'mutingwa! sing "catch me"! The metaphor comes from the cry of a drowning person. Death is like a river with water, and the people, like timber, must float and be taken elsewhere. (iv) Isiwa - 'be summoned, be fetched' by God, His messenger 'death', or one of the spirits if God so instructs him (Mbiti, 127 - 129).

Most of these terms are very relational. They depict a relationship. The concept of death described here reveals a continuum that links this life and the life after death.

Burial

Until recent decades, the conventional grave burying was unknown for the most part. Only the bodies of adults were buried whilst those of younger people were thrown into the woods to be devoured.

The Akamba and Mystical Powers

The Akamba worldview is inexplicable in the absence of mystical powers. They believe in mystical powers, use them, thrive in them, and have come to earn themselves a name among the vast general society in Kenya, especially as the custodians, in particular, of the most dreaded, witchcraft. As Gehman has correctly pointed out;

The effectiveness of this power is recognized by the present government administration and used in settling land disputes. It is accepted by well-educated, highly salaried persons living in Nairobi who travel long distances in their expensive cars over difficult paths into remote corners of Kitui in order to secure this power from known specialists (Gehman, 80).

This writer, accompanied by a close friend, undertook to visit some of the specialists who confirmed that all manner of people have come to seek their power. Within seventeen pages, Gehman has treated the subject with some measure of depth. For the most part, information presented has described the true nature of mystical powers among the Akamba. Gehman narrows his investigation to two major aspects of mystical powers, namely, witchcraft (*uoi*) (Gehman, 80), and divination (*uwe*) (Ibid., 85). I shall look at both.

Witchcraft (*Uoi*)

Witchcraft in Ukambani (the land of the Akamba), is usually blamed for every kind of evil. When people experience "poor harvest, sickness, death,

accident or headache, a quarreling relationship or unusual phenomena" (Gehman, 80), it is all easily blamed on witchcraft by the Akamba. Story after story can be told on how witchcraft and witches are blamed for incidences that are unpleasant and that may result in harm caused among the people. Gehman quotes a story told to him by Ndeto, in which as a young boy, Ndeto and his sister passed a woman on a path carrying some maize. Ndeto cried for the maize. When the woman gave maize to him, he became ill. His mother concluded that the boy had been bewitched (Gehman, 80). This matter was reported to the chief by Ndeto's mother. When the chief and the mother visited the woman's house and accused her of the evil, and with Ndeto's mother threatening her with death unless she reversed the witchcraft, the woman took Ndeto into a closed room, where she was ordered to reverse the spell. "While in the room the people could hear her talking and doing certain things. Thereafter, she brought Ndeto from the room now recovering" (Ibid., 81). The woman is said to have been isolated from that day on, branded as a suspected witch.

This writer recalls, as a young boy within the village in Kitui it was forbidden for children to stare at a certain old woman who frequently passed through the village. She was suspected to be a witch. If anyone let her look at you, it was alleged, then evil would come upon that person and some calamity was expected sooner or later. Fear and terror characterize the people's reaction to witchcraft among the Akamba. As earlier mentioned, the Kitui Akamba are said to have the most powerful witchcraft. Even among the other Akamba of Machakos and Makueni Districts, it is commonly said that the Kitui witchcraft is more sophisticated and more powerful. "But the Akamba in

Kitui believe that the witchcraft at the coast is even more powerful than theirs. And the coastal people believe that those living in Tanzania have even greater mystical powers" (Ibid.). It was pointed out to this writer on a field visit to the central area of one of the most famous witchdoctors, that people from all walks of life came to solicit help from him.

Although he lives a far distance past Mwingi town in Mwingi District, (formerly part of Kitui District), people still cover those distances to pay him a visit. In an exclusive discussion with a high-ranking government official, it was revealed to this writer how that witchdoctor has confided with the said government officer concerning other high government office bearers who frequent the "witchdoctor's clinic" soliciting his expertise.

Definition

Uoi is the name the Akamba have given to this mystical power, that performs evil among people. According to Gehman, "no traditional Mukamba has tried to analyze the nature and source of this power" (Ibid.), but it is commonly recognized as reality and a power to reckon with. The person who handles *uoi* and uses it against society is called *muoi* (a witch). Generally, most witches happen to be women and they are said to be most powerful (Ibid.). From Gehman's findings, he noted that between 1954 and 1955 the British colonial Government in Kenya tried to suppress witchcraft among the Akamba. Some 1,800 women and 150 men of all ages handed in their witchcraft objects. This demonstrates the recognized fact that the vast majority of Akamba witches are women (Ibid.). It must be noted that this has no relation to how the Akamba view their women. On the whole, women find a haven of protection among their own. They are jealously protected.

Bewitching

To be bewitched is the last thing a person would want to happen in his life. Yet it is so commonly understood that abnormalities in life trace their roots from the evil of witchcraft having transmitted its powers through a witch by means of bewitching. During a normal conversation among the Akamba, especially among non-Christians or nominal Christians, repeated references are made on the subject of being bewitched. This occurs especially when one party displays questionable behavior or over exerts himself on an issue that does not require much emotion. It can also occur when there is an obvious manifestation of some form of imbalance. For example, if a person who was deemed to be in good health, all of a sudden displays a staggering walk, or becomes unstable in handling goods. A colleague will immediately put the question before him, "Are you bewitched?" ("*Ko wi mwoe?*")

This writer recalls many times, repeatedly, that the above similarity has occurred in his hearing. It is, to some people, and in certain communities, a normal way of carrying out a conversation. I note, however, that this form of social interaction is undertaken with a light touch. It is indeed a casual disposition. The seriousness of witchcraft in practice does not belong to the common market place life style.

The Witch, (*Muoi*)

The witch should be referred to technically as a sorcerer, because the primary function of a witch is that of evil against the society, which is *kuoa*, to bewitch (Gehman, 80-1). The process of bewitching is an elaborate one that involves very intricate details. Gehman clarifies that the "Mukamba witch is pre-eminently a black magician" (Ibid., 82) because the witch uses items from

the person to be bewitched. The Akamba take care of anything that essentially is associated with their person. The process of disposing of hair, nails, waste matter, and even burial of the dead is of great interest. Any of these items in the hands of the witch can be used against the owner to cause harm, even death. Gehman says,

The vital parts of a human being are also used in witchcraft. The parts of the human body with concentrated power are the extremities of the person and those organs where great power (potency) resides. These parts include hair, fingers, toes, the penis and the clitoris. These are mixed with other ingredients to form potent witchcraft. The penis and the clitoris are used to produce the most potent form of witchcraft in killing people (Gehman, 82)

Because these vital parts are not easily gotten from living people for obvious reasons, the witches hunt for them from dead bodies. They take great interest in death. Where, in the olden days, people were not buried, but thrown far away into the bush, a guard had to be stationed there day and night, lest some witch come and cut off the greatly needed but rare ingredients for witchcraft (Ibid.). Gehman suggests that "Burial of the dead may have arose in part to protect the corpse from the Mundu Muoi" (Gehman 1985, 78).

It becomes progressively clear, why the Akamba demonstrate intense fear over witchcraft. Not only do the Akamba have this genuine fear over the practice of witchcraft against them, they also know that it is one of their strongest secret weapons against their enemies. Such things as taking the faeces of a child to bewitch it, due to either grudges held against the family by another person or, due to a jealous attitude or sheer malice; "taking up the cow dung" and throwing it while the witch moos like a cow in order to kill the cow; and taking footprints of the person who is to be bewitched. These have been narrated as some adverse methods of bewitching (Gehman 1989, 82).

Bewitching is not a public-action-oriented performance. It happens, or is done with absolute secretiveness and almost always at night. Some initial stages begin in the daytime, but the more deadly acts are brewed at night. For example, a witch will spit on a footprint of a person, or take some of the sand in the footprint to mix with a dead hyena and the dung of an ox. This becomes deadly witchcraft to kill men and cattle or spoil their crops. The witch will take the sand home, so that no one will see him treating the footprint, or he will at night take a small bow and tiny arrows to shoot the footprint, intending to harm the one who made the footmark. The person so affected will then suffer pain in the soles of his feet (Ibid.). It was pointed out earlier, that personal effects are vital elements for witches, because they use them to harm their intended victims. Here I see how it has become impossible to completely dispose of the entire possession of these personal effects. Footprints are difficult to get rid off. The only process would be carrying a broom with which to deface the prints as one walks. However, since in many cases the one to be bewitched is not always aware, means of protection are not sought for until the harm has been done.

Among the Akamba, there are those who foresee the possibility of harm from the enemies, from jealous neighbors, or from malicious people who do not desire for others to prosper. There is, as a matter of fact, a saying among the Akamba commonly repeated whenever one of their members has been observed to have succeeded in their midst. He may continually have a flourishing harvest or his cattle may increase to the extent that he is referred to as a *Kitonga* (a rich man). The Akamba will be heard as saying "*Ngania euthua o tuilela*" (So and so has become rich, although I resist the idea).

It is never clear who the "I" refers to, nor how they implement the resistance. But the rich, or the more sensitized members of the community, are aware that there may be those who resist for others to progress and will seek protection by going for treatment.

Charms

Charms are known in Kikamba as *kithangona* (Machakos Kamba) or *kithangwana* (Kitui Kamba). *Kithangona* is prepared by means of a concoction. Once it is ready for use, it is planted secretly into the ground of the property belonging to the person whose goods are to be destroyed. It can also be placed on paths, door posts, or somewhere in the homestead (Ibid., 83) Gehman observes that Christians are not harmed by *kithangona*. He narrates a story told of a Christian Mukamba who found a *kithangona* in his garden. "A horn of a bull with a few eggs" was buried in the soil (Ibid.). As they ploughed the garden, the plough unearthed the same *kithangona*. He says, "The man who was ploughing my garden was afraid to continue ploughing a bewitched garden. I encouraged him to continue ploughing because it was nonsense to me. When time for harvesting came I had the best harvest of all those neighboring mine" (Ibid.).

Gehman uses this kind of illustration showing that Christians do not fear or experience the effects of *kithangona*. He asserts, that "for non-Christians, however, fear devastates the mental outlook of those finding *kithangona*. The witch may place it under the path over which his enemy will pass. When the enemy walks across the *kithangona*, he will allegedly become sick and begin wasting away " (Ibid.). This writer's findings and interaction show, on the contrary, that Gehman's assertion can only be particularly true. Both fear, and

the said devastation, as well as physical and spiritual harm, have been known to affect, and in some cases, destroy Christians. This aspect, as has been said earlier, will be dealt with in the next chapter. It is fitting, however, to mention that when Christians fall back and consult the mystical powers, either as they were accustomed to in their former life, or in an attempt to find alternative solutions to their problems, they inadvertently place themselves directly under the power they consult. There cannot be assurance whatsoever that in that state God can be held responsible for the Christian's mishaps.

How one becomes a Witch

Becoming a witch has a number of avenues. There are those who buy witchcraft from the places it is said to be most powerful, like Kitui or the Kenyan Coast (Ibid., 84). Witchcraft from different places has specific strength and is maintained thus.

For example, *majini* are special spirits that are given to those who purchase witchcraft from the coast (Ibid., 85). Of interest is this Swahili term, *majini*, which can also mean 'by the waters' or 'at the waters'. I have not found any specific reference to this term as "water spirits" but there is a possibility that *majini* (plural) may be a reference to water spirits. Nevertheless, *majini* are said to be maintained by sacrifices, often as they demand, but once a year blood must be offered to them to drink (Ibid.). As one acquires more power, more experience and becomes progressively more proficient, *majini* may demand more sacrifices in return. Sacrifices may even be demanded of humans. Thus at times, it is alleged that witches use witchcraft to kill people in order to satisfy the bloodthirsty spirits of the *majini* type.

After looking at witchcraft, I now turn to the second kind of mystical power that Gehman outlined, that is, divination, called "*uwe*".

Divination (*Uwe*)

Divination stands out uniquely among the Akamba. It can correctly be termed the pivotal medical practice because it is here where diagnosis is done and the prescription given and medicine dispensed. The key character in divination is the medicine man, who is distinguished from the witch by his role.

Medicine Man, (*Mundu Mue*)

The role of *mundu mue*

Mundu mue or *mui* (our emphasis) is literally known as "the wise man" (Ibid., 86). He is indeed a wise man, who divines the problems of society and prescribes solutions. As Gehman has clearly stated,

Basic to the Akamba worldview is the cosmological balance between good and evil. The witch who employs the powers of witchcraft represents the evil within the created universe. Counter balancing this evil is the medicine man who employs the greater powers of divination (*uwe*) to counteract the evil (Ibid.).

In a sense, the sphere of operation for the medicine man is all encompassing. He is involved in the here and now as well as the things of the future. He often doubles as a prophet of the people. And because the Akamba live in the past, present and future, the medicine man serves as a consultant (medium), who contacts those who have passed on for their vital needed contribution to the present aiding the present to be propelled to the future with the required precision.

The medicine man is essentially the medium between the living and the ancestral spirits. All Akamba pass through the medicine man whenever

they desire to communicate with their ancestors. The medicine man does not convey his own opinions to his client, but he communicates the messages of the ancestors to the living. Only the medicine man has the right and authority to know the requests of the ancestors (Ibid.).

This ability, power and role that is played by the medicine man presents him a status of honor among the people. He earns respect for the special services he renders. Among the Akamba, the ancestors are fond of communicating with the living. Often their communication comes in the form of demands that they make. The medicine man plays a significant role in being the only one who hears, understands, and conveys these messages to the concerned parties. It is crucial that he does so accurately. The basis upon which his accuracy is built has to do with the fact that he obtains his operative powers from the ancestors (Ibid., 87). In this way he has intimate relationship with both the living and the living dead. He becomes their mouth piece" (Ibid.).

How one becomes a Medicine Man

There are three ways through which one becomes a medicine man, 1) one can inherit these powers, 2) an interested party can also purchase the powers from an existing medicine man or, as is the case of many, 3) one can be born with the powers (Ibid.). Where one is born with power to be a medicine man, there is at birth an accompanying evidence of "some abnormal appendages on the body of the new born baby, or he may be born with divination pebbles (*mbuu*) in his hand or in the after birth" (Ibid.). These items become his credentials later, but initially the mother keeps them in a hidden place. A common feature that usually manifests itself in those born to be medicine men is the peculiar behavior of "solitude" (Ibid.). He will also "have

dreams and revelations from the spirit world and thereby confirm his calling (Ibid.). A ceremony of ordination is usually performed by the father of the one born to be a medicine man. It involves a "sacrificial goat" and prayer "to the ancestral spirits to empower him with these confirmatory objects" (Ibid.).

Although this inception ceremony ushers the young medicine man into the practice somewhat automatically, the responsibility of demonstrating the prowess and expertise in the service lies solely on the new medicine man. Like all trades and occupations of life, it is through practice and continued learning that one is established and thus earns for himself a name that is worth his claim. Inheritance serves as another avenue through which a man can become a medicine man. The father or mother who is a medicine man leaves the practice to his son or daughter. The identification of which child will inherit the practice takes place early in life when the ancestral spirits give the directions (Ibid.). Much later at "the age of 20 or 25, the active partnership commences" (Ibid.). The appointment to the office cannot be absconded. If the child who has been selected to take over from a parent refuses to take it up, he or she exposes himself to the anger of the ancestors who consequently may give instructions for their elimination through poisoning. A person learns from their early days in life that their profession has this divine aspect. It becomes necessary to practice hearing the spirit world. The would-be medicine man begins to receive messages from the spirit world of the ancestors.

These come sometimes through dreams revealing certain trees and roots possessing medicinal contents, which he then uses as the occasion arises. Day after day, as he practices and observes his parental

apprenticeship, he becomes just as good, if not better. Ndeti reacts sharply to Lindblom's suggestions that the child inheriting this practice received it through a (nervous) sensational transmission that has developed in the medicine man over years of practice (Ndeti, 117). Ndeti says that there is a need to understand the things at play interacting with each other. Ndeti elaborates his point as follows;

It is not much nervous (sic) stimulation which causes a child to inherit his father's art of healing and divination, but rather the practical knowledge to which the child is exposed. He sees his father heal patients by giving them local herbs, and acquires the same knowledge because it brings honor, wealth, personal satisfaction and social prestige (Ibid.).

Ndeti in this evaluation lays much weight on the social position associated with the status observable through acquisition of honor and wealth. This however, as I have pointed out earlier, is not the basis upon which the medicine man establishes his practice.

All the witchdoctors interviewed indicated strongly that this calling does not depend on material gain, nor is it influenced thus. Though Ndeti's reaction is well understood as an attempt to dismiss Lindblom's suggestion of the inheritance of the medicine man's practice having come through "the stimulation of the nervous system to which a medicine man is continually exposed" (Lindblom, 257), Ndeti falls short in his description. Most writers have shown from research on the ground that there is a close relationship with how a person becomes a medicine man and the actual practice. I also illustrated, rather briefly for our purposes, that Mutava Mwinza, who is a medicine man, that his social appearance showed very little gain from his practice. There are very few exceptional medicine men especially present-day herbalists, who have accumulated a lot of wealth out of the practice. On the

other hand, the late Muia wa Kalii of Makueni District had built for himself elaborate homes and business centers from the proceeds of his practice. People of all walks of life visited his clinics for both divination and treatment of their ills.

Thirdly, on becoming a medicine man, one may choose to purchase the "mystical powers from a powerful diviner" (Gehman, 88). This, of course, presents the new medicine man with the social stigma of not having had the exceptional origin of the power from birth or through inheritance. It also presents a number of limitations. For example, those who purchase these mystical powers are usually adults. Whereas the inheritors grow with the practice and have the privilege of having the inside story, the newcomer through the market system does not have the innate perspective demonstrated by those others. Nevertheless, all divination is aided by the spirits, and there is no exception to the one who purchases mystical powers. He also receives a portion of his share of guidance aided by the spirits. At the point of transaction he is given spirits to aid him in divination and consultation.

A particular jini or two majini are given to the client to be his servants. An agreement is made between the medicine man, the client and the spirits. A bull or two is killed. The load is given to the ancestral spirits together with the liver, heart and the pancreas (Ibid.).

Nearly in all ancestral dealings among the Akamba, or elsewhere, blood has been seen as a central feature. Both ancestral spirits and general spirits are peculiarly bloodthirsty. To this writer was told a repeated incidence by a neighbor. A particular ancestral spirit (that of a grandfather) used to frequent the home. The visit was evidenced by a possession of one of the members of the family.

In this case it was the mother of the home who was also elderly, another characteristic of spirits' visits. While in the possession of the new abode, the spirit of the ancestor made demands for certain animals to be slaughtered for him. The common demand was for a chicken of one color, but in some occasions a goat was demanded, it also had to be of one color. On very rare occasions did the ancestral spirit ask for a bull. As it can be imagined, this experience does not leave a sense of peace and order. No warnings are given. These visits are very abrupt and their frequency are not determined (Kanzau n.d.)

Offices of a *Mundu mue*

There are basically three specialized offices embodied in the *Mundu mue*. They encompass the prophets (*athani*), the diviners (*awe ma kuausya*) and the herbalist who performs cleansing (*awe ma ng'ondu*) (Ibid.).

The office of a prophet

This is the practice of predicting future events. There are several of those who over the expanse of Ukambani have practiced this prophetic office. Syokimau, Syondonga, Syokaiku and Syenze have been said to be most known and famous for their works. They were all women. Incidentally prophesy is useful for assisting the community by disclosing any future events that require immediate remedial or preventative action. Such prediction may warn of "impending danger such as drought, heavy rains, locust plagues and ensuing epidemics" (Ibid.).

The prophet, like all the other specialists, does not work independently of the world of ancestral spirits and the other related mystical powers.

This ought to be expected as part of the Akamba worldview. The prophets must be attentive so as to hear what the ancestors are saying about the status of the universe so as to communicate the same to the living so that they are protected from any calamities and not to be caught unawares or unprepared. It is important to remember that for the Akamba the world of the living and that of the living-dead are intertwined. These two function together, in a sense, to maintain the balance referred to earlier by Jacobs that the world, both natural and supernatural, is a delicately balanced system, and that the highest duty of man and spirits is to maintain this balance (Jacobs, 101). The Akamba make no attempt to separate these two worlds. In essence, the dichotomy does not exist. What seems to be clearly the case is a harmonious continuity from one life to the next, the transitional point marked by the mystery of death. The prophet enters the next world as a privilege through his office. The extent and dimension of the prophet's function are limitless. They extend from day-to-day events to those of the spirit's relationship with the living. Among the Akamba, Syokimau is said to have been the most famous. She had more insights than most of her counterparts. It was Syokimau who,

Foretold the coming of the white men a long time before they arrived in East Africa. Syokimau prophesied about the building of the Kenya Uganda Railway which was constructed at the turn of the century from Mombasa to Lake Victoria. Syokimau also predicted that the white man would carry fire in their pockets which has been interpreted to be match boxes (Gehman, 89).

Most of the Akamba have held Syokimau in great honor for her prophetic role. It is said of her that she predicted a generation coming, which will speak like birds. This has been understood to be the present generation that speaks both English and other foreign languages to the great amazement of their grandparents who have learned only their mother tongues for the most

part. The prophets received messages by means of dreams and visions. These messages came anytime. They would come at night or during the day.

If a revelation is given during the day, the prophet falls into a deep sleep during which time he dreams. When he awakes, he announces to the people all that he saw and heard. The Akamba are reportedly saved when they follow the solution recommended by the ancestral spirits. *Otherwise they suffer the consequences (Ibid., 88).*

It is commonly believed by the Akamba that the ancestors, *aimu*, have great interests in this life where their family members still continue to live. They therefore partake in the process of bringing the necessary welfare. It is by means of being possessed by the *aimu* that the prophets receive the needed solutions to any would-be danger. The solutions for the problem would almost invariably include blood.

For instance, he might order the slaughter of a goat. The blood was mixed with a purifying medicine (*ng'ondu*) and sprinkled on all the people, or he would prescribe a goat to be led away into the bush in order to carry the epidemic or disease away from the people. The rest of the blood was sprinkled on the shrine (*ithembo*) and on the people. (*Ibid., 89*).

These matters were taken with all seriousness for a number of very obvious reasons. The dangers predicted were real because they most likely had been experienced either by the people to whom the prophetic message was given or other people elsewhere. These dangers bordered between life and death, and loss of property in the case of tribal raids for cattle (*Ibid.*).

For this reason, the prophets are very important assets of the people. As pointed out all along, the roles of these specialists have been interchangeably intertwined. It follows that in many cases the prophet plays the role of medicine man in providing the solutions to the prophetic findings and assertions he makes. The prophet, and the diviner whom I shall discuss

next, are also closely linked by the offices they hold, and especially in the manner in which they perform their functions.

Diviners

The diviner is equally a specialist respected by the Akamba as possessing special ability to diagnose both physical as well as spiritual ills of the community and consequently prescribing the cure or the solution as the case may be. The diviner is in essence the *mundu mue* or the medicine man.

The Akamba Belief in Spirits

Mbiti has penetrated the worldview of the Akamba with insights unmatched. He was the first one, as far as it has been determined, to document the different categories of spirit-world and the progression pattern that they form. Mbiti defines spirits in relation to divinities. They are "of a relatively high status," he says (Mbiti 1969, 78). Among many African people, spirits are of interest because of their involvement with human life. They are said to be more powerful than humans and in Mbiti's words, "spirits are the destiny of man, and beyond them is God" (*Ibid.,79*).

In defining the spirits, Mbiti says that this concept has received more development in the Akamba religious ideas and practices than, for example, the idea of God and the Universe (Mbiti 1971, 10). There are two categories of spirits in the concept of the *aimu*, the spirits of the departed ones.

First, there are the "spirits" of people who have died recently, up to three or four generations back. These I shall call the 'living-dead, to distinguish them from the other *aimu*. Secondly, there are "spirits" of those who died many generations back, or whom people do not recognize or

remember by name, and for these alone I shall retain the term *aimu*. The Akamba believe firmly that both the living-dead and the *aimu* are real 'people' living in a land very much like their own (Ibid.). The belief in the spirit world in these two distinct categories, permeates the Akamba, affecting their entire system of life. The sensitivity with which the spirit world is approached is evidence to this permeation. It is believed that,

The spirit world is a complete copy of the physical. It is a land of rivers, hills animals and the activities of its inhabitants resemble those of people in this life, such as working in the fields, keeping cattle, establishing families, and the like. Children who die young continue to grow and become adults, get married and raise families (Ibid., 133).

The Akamba tell stories of their peculiar encounters with this spirit world as though it was an encounter in the neighboring village. This writer has had occasions where such stories have been told by those who came to encounter the spirit-world. One example of the kind of story referred to was told by a villager. He said that on one of his cattle herding days, he came across an interesting phenomena. In the middle of a river was a village setting. Life in this village continued on normally, as would any typical village. Children were playing in the background while the women were engaged in the food preparation processes. The elders could be seen sitting at the *thome*, the elders' hut, usually situated at the entrance to the village. The most peculiar behavior of the scene was that, at any attempt by the living to approach the village, it moved systematically keeping equal distance between itself and this villager. The departed spirits also are actively involved in the life of the homestead that they originally were members of. This participation lasts as long as he can be remembered by name and this varies from "three to five

generations" (Ibid., 133). After this period expires, the living-dead move on into the category of the *IT*. As Mbiti states,

By that time also, additional living-dead have come into the picture and deserve or require more attention from the living. Those who have 'moved on' to the stage of full spirits, merge into the company of spirits and people lose both contact with and interest in them (Mbiti 1969, 84-85).

It is of interest, for our purposes, to draw attention, at this point, to the concept of time among the Akamba, in order to incorporate the wider concept of the spirit-world. Once again, Mbiti has ushered us into a dimension of the Akamba concept of time that is of a unique standing. I therefore shall depend heavily on his explanation. Mbiti states, "For the Akamba, time is not an academic concern; it is simply a composition of events that have occurred, those which are taking place now and those which will immediately occur" (Mbiti 1971, 24). The key word is events. Events as they have occurred in the past and events that are in the process of occurring. These are within the framework of conceivable time. Based upon what has already taken place and the events in process of happening, the Akamba anticipate or predict certain events to have the possibility of occurring within the framework of the immediate future. Such arrangements of events that present this pattern of thinking may include the rain, planting, and harvesting. It follows that after the rains and the initial cultivation and planting, the anticipated event of harvesting will occur in the immediate future. In this respect, it is important to understand that what has been experienced as an actual event is what constitutes time. Time is pictured as a phenomenon composed of two dimensions. Time has "a long 'past', and a dynamic 'present'" (Ibid.). The Akamba do not possess the concept of linear future calculable within the conventionally accepted 12

months of the year or 365/366 days of the year as in the Gregorian calendar. Events are seen as revolving around time. Events happen and then they move from the scene. They leave behind an impression, an imprint that can be referred to. This becomes the basis upon which the concept of time is built. Mbiti elaborates;

Time as a separate reality does not 'move'; only events come and go, often in a rhythmic succession. It is, therefore, what has taken place or will shortly occur that matters much more than what is yet to be. What has taken place is an elongation of the 'present'; it simply adds to the events that constitute time (Ibid.).

This concept permeates the Akamba worldview to the extent that it has strong bearing on the day-to-day basis of operation within the society. As I think through the concept of the spirit-world, it is here that one's comprehension is of paramount importance. Because the spirit-world belongs to the past, its effectual contribution to the well-being of the living, who are in the present, takes a pivotal position. What the ancestral spirits say, through the spokesmen, gains its significance on this understanding. Further, Mbiti explains that, "Time as a succession of events 'moves' not forward but backwards" (Ibid.). So then, the society looks back to the past in order to establish a foundational platform upon which actions leading to the future are based. "The 'present' must conform to the 'past' in the sense that it is the 'past', rather than any distant future, by means of which people orientate their living and thinking" (Ibid., 25).

This, in our understanding, is where the penetration into the Akamba concept of time, as formulated by Mbiti, becomes the guide into further perception of the Akamba and why they attach much weight and spiritual significance to their ancestors. It is basically a natural way of life. The

'present' is being compelled to conform to the 'past'! Mbiti has elaborately expounded the concept of time giving it a deeper meaning and unearthing a philosophy of the Akamba hitherto unexplored academically. That elaborated study belongs elsewhere. It suffices to point out here that this concept is an integral part of a worldview of the Akamba and that it plays a central role in this respect.

Spirits and Human Activities

The Akamba have an elaborate relationship with spirits in the context of the spirit-world. Activities related to this relationship include the act of receiving messages from the spirits, spirit possession, spirit visitation, and a host of unspecified spirit manifestations.

The Akamba understand spirits as intertwined with the ancestral spirits. In other words, reference to spirits equals reference to ancestral spirits. The difference lies in the explanation. Hobley (1967) researched among the Kitui Akamba and found that their belief is that when a person dies, the body is buried or disposed of, but the "life breath ngo (should be spelt ngoo) becomes the Imu (spelt limu)" (Ibid., 30). The activities of that spirit are varied from time to time. It will manifest itself in various ways and through varied forms. Hobley reported that,

The Kitui people say that sometimes when a snake, crawling outside a hut, is attacked, it will suddenly vanish. A few days afterwards, a woman will become possessed and fall into a state of semi-trance, and the imu will speak through her mouth and say, "I came into the village the other day, and so-and-so wanted to strike me" Whereupon the people think it just as well to sacrifice a goat to sooth the feelings of the inferred spirit (Ibid., 82-83).

Hobley points to an interesting aspect of the activities of the ancestral spirits in their manifestations as quoted above. According to the story, it does

appear that the spirit of the deceased person chose one mode of manifestation at first, that of a snake, and then when attacked, it went away but returned to possess a woman through whose mouth organs it now communicated. These are common stories told many times over among the Akamba.

I have pointed out that these various dimensions serve to reveal much detail of the African worldview and the undergirding behavioral patterns.

Spirit Possession among the Akamba

One cannot come to an absolute definition of such an intricate manifestation as spirit possession among the Akamba. The Akamba have not taken time to define this phenomenon. They have taken time, however, to explain its effect among her people. To have a better grasp of the position held by the Akamba on the matter of the spirit world, there must also be some measures of understanding about the wider positions including the existence of God. Mbiti (1971) divides the Akamba ontology into five modes of existence. These are:

- God, the Originator and sustainer of all things,
- *Aimu* and the living-dead,
- Man,
- Animals and plants and objects without capacity to have life.

Abstract things like ethics, rituals, customs, values, etc., have no separate existence of their own. These modes describe man as he is, his origin, his destiny after death, and his present environment.

This is an intensely anthropocentric ontology. It is a unity centered upon man, in such a way that death cannot destroy him. To destroy man

would, in effect, mean destroying the whole of being, including the destruction of the creator (Mbiti, 132).

For the Akamba, life is like a web, a networking that is interdependent. Movement between different points is felt significantly across the web strings and ripple-like effect travels within the life system. When Mbiti elaborates on this ontology, that is, the existence of life, he is laying the foundation upon which to build an appreciation of the Akamba spirit world. Mbiti's modes of existence put the spirit world second in the list. Although he did not state the order in which the priority was arranged, the practice of regarding the living-dead and the *aimu* with high respect shows that their position is vital. For the Akamba, it is basically the *aimu* and the living-dead that have the capacity to inhabit and possess the living. A person assumes the disposition of the living-dead at the point, and immediately after his or her death. Departure from this life is not a journey to the unknown. One simply "joins other members of his household who have preceded him in the spirit world" (Ibid., 133). This position is held until such a time that none of the living can remember the particular living-dead by name (Ibid.).

The process of possession by spirits -- both the *aimu* and the living-dead -- is a rather complicated one. The nature of some of the spirits no lead for further exploration and the Akamba note that some of these are foreign spirits whose origin and practice is strange to them.

Lindblom explains that the Akamba worship the ancestral spirits, and not the foreign spirits, such as those from the neighboring tribes of the "Akikuyu, Masai, Galla, Wanjika", and others (Lindblom, 229). However, these

foreign spirits "often plague their women and children, and must then be driven off with great trouble" (Ibid.).

For a clearer understanding of the process of spirit possession, it is expedient to look at two ways through which it occurs. There seem to be times when the spirits, both the ancestral spirits and the living-dead, choose whom, and when to invade. Other times, humans prepare themselves to be "taken over" by spirits.

This is a phenomenon that can become an entry point for teaching the Akamba about the fullness of the Holy Spirit. The biblical teaching on the subject has not been explored to its fullest potential among the people. If properly handled, the subject of possession is one that can give the church a strong basis for teaching the truth among the older generations, as well as the present day generation, with the emphasis on the Holy Spirit movements.

Summary of Literature Review

I bring this section to a close with some observations that are aimed at providing guidelines into the Akamba worldview understanding. It has been seen, that the Akamba hold dear to themselves the fact that the world, as is seen, is run by both the living and the departed, and that all these are dependent on the mystical powers. Mystical powers are the entry into the spirit-world. It has been shown that mystical powers, which I understood to encompass magic, sorcery, witchcraft, divination, and so forth, are deemed to come from ancestral spirits and/or passed on from current office-bearers to those whom the ancestral spirits appoint. Those who are given the

responsibilities of handling the offices as specialists are also charged with the responsibilities of passing to the community useful information through which the community benefits. Consultation of their services has been made affordable by the ancestral control. One who charges exorbitantly or who asks for irrelevant payment may incur a curse, a form of discipline, on himself, or even on his family. The scope of operation of the Akamba specialists stretches from personal welfare and protection to that of his immediate family and clan, and finally involves the entire community. The Akamba exist as a connection of units. Individuals exist for the community and the community determines the place of the individual.

This concept permeates the Akamba philosophy of existence and has seemingly been carried over into modern society and in the Church. I shall address the impending repercussions in our study on the church and witchcraft, the implications, in Chapter IV of this thesis. Witchcraft has been described in this section under the sentiments explained above. Its social cum spiritual role has been observed as having been central in the life of Akamba. Much more could have been said. Suffice it here to point out, that the Akamba void of witchcraft are very vulnerable, and can almost be described as displaced. To wipe out witchcraft, there must be a fitting substitute. I aim at providing useful guidelines and suggestions in this direction in this thesis. I move on to examine the last selection in the Akamba worldview, the area of spirits.

Some of the other materials are considered vital in the end result because of its rich provision of the procedure to be followed by the minister of deliverance. The various writers have outlined, further, how to help the

counselor not just from the predicament he or she may be in, but to continue from strength. The writers are objective in their approaches. They are biblically based and have treated their respective areas with a sense of professionalism and finality. The books are written by men and women of great learning and experience, whose integrity has remained unquestioned for a long time. Some of the writers are considered to be key theologians in the west in this century.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In Chapter Three a description of the procedure of research encompassing the geographical locations of the population, the instruments, as well as the two designs employed for the research are stated.

The Geographical Locations of Sample Selection for the Study

Six locations were selected. Location one, the Africa Inland Church Plainsview, was selected as a middle class residential congregation with a rich combination of respondents' backgrounds in the socio-economic set up. Location two, the Africa Inland Church Kibera, represents a lower middle class congregation situated near one of the largest slum areas in the city of Nairobi. Location three, the Africa Inland Church Misewani, represents a typical congregation in a rural setting in an area with a reputation of rampant witchcraft. Location four, Tsekuru Location of Mwingi District was the venue of interviews for three practicing witchdoctors. The fifth location was the writer's home at Hazina Estate of South "B" in Nairobi where individual interviews took place. Location six was the home of the late Rev. Dr. Uzele Meza who was interviewed by this writer.

The Sample Population of the Study

The sample population was drawn from among the six locations above. Three A.I.C. congregations were studied and interviews were held with three practicing witchdoctors namely, Kakenyi, Mbuthye, and Mutava. Interviews were held at Hazina Estate with Mutangili, R. Maingi, R. Nzuki, M. Mutua, and Muteti. Lastly, an interview was conducted with the late Rev. Dr. Uzele Meza in his house at the compound of the Africa Inland Church Ziwani, Nairobi.

The Instruments

The nature of my research called for a questionnaire as the best instrument of gathering the necessary data guiding this research for useful information. The questionnaire was so designed as to not intimidate the respondents. It did not require the name of the respondent to appear anywhere on it. The questionnaire had questions as an instrument to help gather the needed data.

The second instrument designed for personal interaction and data collection was the personal interview carried out with individuals, and some with discussions within groups selected for their involvement and experience in the related areas of witchcraft and the occult. These provided a balance between library findings and hard facts experienced.

The Design of the Instruments

The questionnaires were designed to give us the general background of the respondent, his/her age, education, and some religious background information. I intended to seek the perception of the respondents concerning witchcraft and its related functions. I also wanted to extract as much as the

respondents were willing to give concerning their own participation in witchcraft.

Using one city congregation as a model, the questionnaire was passed on to volunteers after a discussion with the pastor of the church who then gave a brief explanation and solicited the volunteers. The questionnaires passed were returned and the writer embarked on adjustments and corrections. The respondents understood the questions and their responses were fairly informative. The questionnaire was then perfected for the actual data collection.

Verbal Interviews

Taped interviews were carried out on the following individuals:

1. Three practicing witchdoctors covering the specific area of practitioners.
2. Three A.I.C. ministers of the gospel whose involvement in the ministry of deliverance has given them exposure and experience in the area and a close interaction with the subject of witchcraft in practice. These were representing varying degrees of involvement as well as experience.
3. One A.I.C. individual, a former worshipper in the African Traditional Religion, now converted and in the ministry.

Other interviews, involving handwritten reports, were carried out among several individuals whose experiences proved to be useful to me in the process of data collection.

Research Design

Information was gathered in three ways. An extensive library research establishing the Akamba worldview was carried out in order to establish the

socialization process, thought patterns and the cultural base governing the Akamba. Questionnaires were used to gather data from three A.I.C. Churches. The research was so designed as to give the respondent the freedom to give a true response but within the structured questionnaire. It was designed to eliminate possible frustration for the respondents in having to create answers and therefore provide room for inconsistency or weak response. The three congregations provided three variables within the same denomination with varied geographical, social and economic settings. The third group was a selected set of individuals chosen to give personal and practical experience in the related area of witchcraft.

Method of Data Collection

Case study method was employed to gather the data at hand within the A.I.C. congregations chosen. "A case study is similar to a survey, but instead of gathering data concerning a few factors from a large number of social units, investigators make an intensive study for a limited number of representative cases" (van Daten 1979, 295). This is a more qualitative and exhaustive method than a survey and is narrower in scope (Ibid.). It is believed that case study process may lead to insights that become useful in the formulation of hypothesis that will be useful to the investigator because "concrete examples drawn from individual cases may help readers understand statistical generalizations more readily" (Ibid., 296). In this method I sought to understand the frequency of certain behaviors (namely the general activity related to witchcraft) among the church members of the A.I.C. fraternity, or the age group whose concern or activity varied from another age group. If the

respondents' level of education varied from another age group but the respondent was concerned about the same items as the age group above or lower than his/hers, this was significant to me in providing a base upon which to formulate the hypothesis.

Library Research

I have stated the purpose of this thesis to be the attempt "to enlighten the Christian community on the existence of witchcraft and its adverse consequences" with a hope that this will develop into a working manual for men and women in the ministry of deliverance. Since our focus is on the power of witchcraft among the Akamba as the main field of study, I have given much attention to the Akamba worldview to help us understand some basics about their way of thinking and the belief system within which witchcraft is operative. To arrive at some meaningful data on the subject, this writer relied on several authorities on the Akamba. Featured names include Lindblom whose work on the Akamba is classic both for its antiquity and thoroughness. Gehman has undertaken to look deeply into the Akamba belief systems and provides useful information in the area of study. With so much available material on the Akamba, selectivity became a matter of concern to me. A balance to capture those whose influence was free from elements of modernization and those who depended on the ones with first hand research was my aim in selecting the writers.

Mbiti's writings were particularly useful in articulating some of the intricate elements pertinent to the Akamba. Ndeti provided one of the recent statements about the Akamba, although he relied also on Lindblom and others

as well as oral literature. Some recent students of the Akamba include Kaleli and Mutua (1995) whose works served as good support and sources. I particularly found Kaleli's evaluation of Jacob's (1963) Kamba themes both enlightening and stimulating. Kaleli was interested in finding out whether "these themes have changed amidst the changes of our day. Are the themes exhaustive of the Kamba cultural situation?" (Kaleli 1985, 23). I have interacted with several other authorities whose contribution I found useful. Jacobs (1963) and Penwill (1951), among others, were of significance in my library undertaking.

Apart from articles from the library at the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology whose rich collections were very handy, I also made use of other journals and missiological materials from the Nairobi International School of Theology. Privately collected journals and articles made available through friends and well-wishers came timely.

Field Research

The nature of the subject of our inquiry begged for a field research. This writer therefore undertook to speak to a number of resourceful individuals in their respective areas. It was in the interest of this thesis to discover from those that practiced witchcraft or closely interacted with it or observed its activities within close range, its components, origin, operation, and dimensions. Several individuals were of great assistance in this regard as they availed their time and the information needed. Practicing witchdoctors were of special contribution. One former practitioner, a recent convert from

witchcraft to Christianity, and one in whose life the writer had the privilege of making some spiritual contribution was also very helpful.

Related to this aspect was the Church and her involvement. I sought to interview two categories of ministers, those involved in counseling and ministry in deliverance of those who were affected by the occult / witchcraft, and ministers not thus involved. The first group of ministers provided a sensitization base upon which future development in the area can be built. The second group of ministers provided challenges for which the church, the Africa Inland Church in particular, needs to take note of. A statement to that effect has been made in Chapter IV.

medicine man after his grandfather. Recounts how that the process of spirit possession was carried out with much pomp and ceremony. In our interview with Nzuki, he reported the following:

The drumists would play a climax while the young ladies, who as far as Reuben is concerned looked very confused and they would start talking in a funny language (unknown) for about ten minutes and after that they would collapse into silence. The priestess seemed to be in control and she would lay her hands on these ladies and they would come back to normal (Nzuki 1999).

In my research it was discovered that there are still "believers" within the A.I.C. who consult with witchdoctors and medicine men for various reasons. The variation between ages and geographical locations is also notable.

Church "A"

Church "A" is a middle class type congregation of about 700, a residential church with a dominant membership of the Akamba who have an A.I.C. background from their rural village churches. From among 80 respondents in church "A", I noted that 8% of members aged between 25-34 have consulted with a witchdoctor once (Table 1; cf. Appendix II – Plainsview, Table 13b).

Table 1. Plainsview – I have consulted a witchdoctor

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once a Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	0%	63%	37%	100%
25-34	8%	0%	0%	0%	62%	31%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	75%	25%	100%
45-54	0%	9%	0%	0%	82%	9%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	0%	0%	0%	68%	29%	100%

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

There is evidence that customary reasons characterized conflict and lapse of spiritual growth in the early days of the Africa Inland Church in Ukambani. Mbiti has observed that,

Many members of the Church in Ukambani frequently lapse into tribal ways and life, which are denounced as being non-Christian. These are mainly disciplinary matters connected with marriage customs, beliefs in and practices of magic, sorcery and witchcraft, quarrels and tribal methods of dealing with troubles and problems like sickness, barrenness and misfortunes (Mbiti 1971, 12).

These sentiments are shared by many Akamba from the Africa Inland Church. It is to be noted though, that because of the disciplinary measures, there is a lingering fear and a sense of intimidation on the part of many Christians. There are a number of Christians who fall under the categories referred to by Mbiti above but who dare not come out in the open to seek help or even disclose their predicament.

Another phenomenon that has caused tension among the Akamba is the whole area of spirit possession. The Akamba are among many African tribes who believe in spirit possession. The phenomenon of spirit possession has many dimensions. These various manifestations are significant for the purposes of comprehending a worldview that is acclaimed in the concepts of the spirit world. Students of African Traditional Religion (A.T.R.) have documented this belief among the people of Africa as bearing a pivotal position in A.T.R. worship. Nzuki, who grew up being groomed to become a

The highest percentage of "not afraid" category was observed within the age bracket of 35-44 years, scoring 85% in Table 2 (cf. Appendix II – Plainsview, Table 2b).

Table 2. Plainsview – I am afraid of witchcraft

Age	Not Afraid	Just A Little	Generally Afraid	Sometimes Afraid	Always Afraid	Very Afraid	No Response	Total
18-24	53%	5%	5	21%	5%	5%	5%	100%
25-34	50%	0%	23%	12%	4%	12%	0%	100%
35-44	85%	0%	0%	5%	0%	5%	5%	100%
45-54	73%	0%	0%	18%	0%	9%	0%	100%
55-64	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	50%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	61%	1%	9%	13%	3%	9%	5%	100%

The age bracket of 45-54 in church "A" recorded 73% of "not afraid" category and 18% of "sometimes afraid" category. The age bracket between 18-24 recorded 0% in the category of "I have consulted in witchcraft."

There is an age group bracket (18-24) whose concerns for life issues and need for an answer from the spirit world is higher (See Table 15b Plainsview) but on the question "my need for visiting the former was", this age bracket registered the following: family sickness (16%) and to bewitch someone (5%) (Table 3; cf. Appendix II – Plainsview, Table 15b).

I note that the following age brackets did not indicate that they wanted to find out who bewitched them or to bewitch someone: 25-34; 35-44; 55-64; 65 and above.

Table 3. Plainsview – My need for visiting the former was

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	16%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	79%	100%
25-34	12%	4%	4%	0%	0%	0%	81%	100%
35-44	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	85%	100%
45-54	7%	7%	7%	0%	7%	0%	71%	100%
55-64	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	14%	2%	2%	0%	1%	1%	78%	100%

Apparently, witches know when a person has been treated and consequently no harm can befall such a one. One method that the witches employ to kill people and which also aids them to discover the status of the person before treating the person is the use of a mirror.

The witch takes this mirror, draws seven lines vertically on the mirror, using blue and red. He then calls the person by name while looking into the mirror. If the person comes sideways, he has been treated and cannot be harmed. If he comes straight forward, the witch takes a knife, dips it in blood and draws a line across the mirror, the person will then die immediately (Ibid., 83).

This method is similar to the use of water in a bowl or an old broken pot as was told to this writer by the late Rev. Dr. Uzele Meza (Meza 1999). I have mentioned earlier how some disagreements arose in a neighboring country over church leadership. When the one party finally resorted to visiting the witch with the intention of harming their opponents, they were surprised. The witch poured water into an open container. He performed some rituals and called for the names of the people to be harmed. If they appeared swimming on water, he would then spear them and drown them. In this case, a somewhat strange scene appeared.

The witch is reported to have remarked, "I see these men on a strange rock in the middle of the ocean. I am unable to harm them" (Uzele 1999). Uzele believed this rock to be Christ. Another strange behavior of witches has to do with the practice of turning oneself into animals or birds.

It is alleged that some people are able to change themselves into an animal in order to devour someone's cattle. One man allegedly changed himself into a half-man and half-hyena. He then devoured goats and sheep. He was able to do this magical trick by jumping over a certain stick obtained from a witchdoctor. The story is told of one man in Kangundo who performed this trick, but unluckily his stick was misplaced. As a result, the man disappeared forever. He could be found nowhere (Gehman 1989, 83).

Stories of this kind are numerous and are told from village to village in Ukambani as well as in other parts of the country. A careful examination of such stories will reveal certain limitations, and or, deficiencies in the final analysis. For example, in the story quoted above, the power for the trick this witch performed lay in a stick that was especially treated by a witchdoctor. It would appear that the stick did not have power to affect another person should that other person steal it.

Also, the fact that this particular man was not given any alternative should the stick be lost or be stolen is a picture of the inability or short-sightedness of the source of power to have failed to foresee the possibility of this calamity. Concerning this area of witches changing themselves, a woman from the Makueni District narrated to this writer how that when she was a young girl she witnessed a similar phenomena. One day, just about lunchtime, they were sitting outside their small hut having lunch. They had served sweet potatoes and the sweet potatoes were not many. Just then, a visitor came. This man was known to change himself into animals. He sat down on a stool adjacent to them. Because their meal was not much, they

decided that they would not share it with him. As they were carrying on the normal meal consumption, the man, suddenly turned into a lion-like figure, roared like a lion, and scared all of them into the house. Everyone ran for their dear lives and locked themselves in for an extended period of time. When they came out, the plates were empty! Another lady from the same vicinity said she only used to hear about this man but she never encountered him.

Two other women from the same district but at a distant location in the Mbooni area recounted that in their area, there was a man who was of similar manifestation. This man, these women said, would turn into a hyena and then lavish himself with goats and sheep in the village (Mary Mutua and Rachel Muteti, discussion with the writer, 21 February 1999).

Family sickness and protection scored the highest among these categories of age bracket: 25-34 had 12% (sickness) and 4% (protection); 35-44 had 15% (sickness) and 0% (protection) respectively; 45-54 had 7% and 7% respectively. 56-65 had 50% on family sickness and no score on protection (See Table 3 – page 81).

Herbalist

The number of people in Church "A", who indicated having consulted with a herbalist as opposed to those who have consulted a witchdoctor, is much higher (Table 4; cf. Appendix II – Plainsview, Table 14b). In order of respondent ages: Age 18-24, 5% once; age 25-34, 4% once and 0% frequently; age 35-44, 15% once and 0% twice; age 45-54, 9% once.

Table 4. Plainsview – I have consulted a herbalist

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once a Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	0%	5%	0%	58%	32%	100%
25-34	4%	0%	0%	0%	50%	46%	100%
35-44	15%	0%	5%	0%	40%	40%	100%
45-54	9%	0%	0%	0%	73%	18%	100%
55-64	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	9%	0%	3%	0%	50%	39%	100%

Medicine Man

By comparison, the number of respondents who consulted with the medicine man dropped variably. The respondents' perception of the two practitioners seems to be distinctively varied where most have preferred to consult with the herbalist more than with the medicine man. But as I have pointed out, among the Akamba, these offices have operated interchangeably. Such that both offices will sometimes be vested in one person whereas there are those times that the functions are separate.

Those who consulted the medicine man recorded as 5% a one time only in the age bracket 18-24 years and 4% twice in the subsequent age group of 25-34 and 4% frequent consultation in the same age group in church A. No other age group recorded any consultation with medicine man (Table 5 – Page 85; cf. Appendix II – Plainsview, Table 12a).

Need

When responding to the question of why they visited the medicine man, respondents indicated that they had such needs that led them to visit the practitioner.

Table 5. Plainsview – I have consulted a medicine man

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once a Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	0%	0%	0%	58%	37%	100%
25-34	0%	4%	4%	0%	50%	42%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	45%	55%	100%
45-54	9%	0%	0%	0%	73%	18%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	1%	3%	0%	51%	43%	100%

The following respondents indicated that there was family sickness which drove them to visit the medicine man (cf. Table 3 – page 81): Age 18-24, 16%; age 25-34, 12%; age 35-44, 15%; age 45-54, 7%; 55-64, 50%;

The need for protection was shown as registering between the age 25-54 and was rated as follows; Age 25-34, 4%; age 35-44, 0%; age 45-54, 7%; (cf. Table 3 – page 81).

The range of age brackets above is indicative of a vulnerability zone when issues of security come into focus. I state here that this is an indication of the need to provide a menu within the Church, which includes the believers, parameters of security; its source and its dimensions. Sickness and protection have scored the highest percentage fluctuating in the various age groups among the respondents who gave answers. Although it is not within the scope of this paper, I note with keen interest that poor policies in matters of health for citizens may sometimes result in people reverting to traditional

healers. This is worse when the church neglects her role in matters of the health of her people.

Other Practices

I sought to find out whether there are other vices and ills plaguing believers other than the area of witchcraft. In Table 6 (cf. Appendix II – Plainsview, Table 21 a/b), I noted:

Table 6. Plainsview – I have practiced sexual immorality (raw)

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	1	1	1	5	11	19
25-34	2	1	1	1	4	17	26
35-44	0	0	2	0	3	15	20
45-54	0	2	0	0	3	6	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	4	4	2	16	52	80

Table 7. Plainsview – I have practiced sexual immorality (percentage)

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	5%	5%	5%	26%	58%	100%
25-34	8%	4%	4%	4%	15%	65%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	10%	0%	15%	75%	100%
45-54	0%	18%	0%	0%	27%	55%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	5%	5%	3%	20%	65%	100%

This reveals that sexually related vices are practiced by a relatively smaller number within two age brackets. For instance age bracket 18-24 showed 15% practicing sexual immorality. The percentage is higher in the next age group, 25-34, where 20% registered. In a congregation of 700 people 20% represents 140 congregants. This is a higher number of people involved in behavior unconventional to Christian morals. 5% would represent

91 members of the congregation. This percentage as seen above indicated as having participated in the wider category of adultery / fornication / homosexuality. I also noted that greater percentages did not respond in this category of the question.

Star Reading

Star reading (the horoscope) has attracted some percentage of interest as well. It scored as follows (Table 8; cf. Appendix II – Plainsview, Table 17b): Age 18-24, 5% regularly, 5% once, 16% rarely; age 25-34, 12% regularly, 12% often, 23% rarely; age 35-44, 10% regularly, 15% often, and 5% rarely.

Table 8. Plainsview – I have practiced star reading

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	0%	5%	16%	21%	53%	100%
25-34	12%	12%	0%	23%	8%	46%	100%
35-44	10%	15%	0%	5%	15%	55%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	9%	27%	64%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	8%	8%	1%	14%	16%	54%	100%

When I asked our respondents to respond to the question, "I need to be set free from the powers of darkness," the highest percentage registered between the ages 18-44 (Tables 9/10; cf. Appendix II – Plainsview, Tables 22a/b). Twenty percent aged 35-44 indicated needing general help whereas the same category registered 20% needing spiritual deliverance. Of those aged 25-34, 15% needed general help and 42% spiritual deliverance.

Table 9. Plainsview – I need to be set free from the powers of darkness (raw)

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need Help	Spiritual Deliverance	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	1	3	4	2	1	8	19
25-34	4	5	11	2	0	4	26
35-44	4	2	4	1	1	8	20
45-54	0	1	1	0	0	9	11
55-64	0	3	0	0	0	1	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	9	14	20	5	2	30	80

Table 10. Plainsview – I need to be set free from the powers of darkness (percentage)

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need Help	Spiritual Deliverance	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	16%	21%	11%	5%	42%	100%
25-34	15%	19%	42%	8%	0%	15%	100%
35-44	20%	10%	20%	5%	5%	40%	100%
45-54	0%	9%	9%	0%	0%	82%	100%
55-64	0%	75%	0%	0%	0%	25%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	11%	18%	25%	6%	3%	38%	100%

This observation raises concerns. The age groups cited above are comprised of the prime life span. This is the category of people who are in colleges and universities, and those working and holding important social positions. These are the kinds of people whose participation in the Church is greatly needed. Sunday school teachers, youth leaders, deacons and deaconesses, elders counselors, committees and sub-committees of supportive nature, all draw their resources from this age group with large

percentage bound in various evils and vices of darkness, the labor force in the kingdom of God is adversely affected in the negative.

Although a relatively large percentage of our respondents in Church "A" agree that witchcraft is evil, I noted that there is an equally strong sympathy among some of the congregants for witchcraft (Table 11; cf. Appendix II – Plainsview, Table 6b), 53% and 32% of age group 18-24 "agree" and "strongly agree" respectively that witchcraft is evil. 5% in the same age group "disagree" and "strongly disagree". This is a strong pointer to a need within the Church to address herself to this area and the related aspects.

Table 11. Plainsview – 'Witchcraft is an evil' response

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	53%	32%	0%	5%	5%	5%	100%
25-34	31%	47%	4%	3%	0%	16%	100%
35-44	35%	40%	5%	0%	0%	20%	100%
45-54	10%	67%	0%	19%	0%	5%	100%
55-64	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	33%	18%	3%	5%	1%	12%	100%

Some participants selected more than one option hence the total for number of participants is more than 20.

When left unattended, this age group will turn into a generally unproductive lot in their time. They no doubt will affect the generations to come by association. I note that,

1. Their spiritual resources are not readily available for maximum application within the kingdom of God,
2. Their temporal resources are scarcely made available to the church because of the following areas observed a) a dwindling and swaying faith, b) shared responsibilities to two kingdoms at the same time.

3. Their lives do not model Christ-likeness and may even confuse the world as to their real identity.
4. They consequently affect the process of evangelization negatively.

Another way to acquire witchcraft is by inheritance. On many occasions this is the most common manner of acquisition of witchcraft. The spirits are said to be responsible for appointing who is who for the purpose of passing on this service. When interviewed by this writer, Mutava Mwinza (1999) said that his late grandfather gave him the instruments of witchcraft and charged him never to deviate. His grandfather took him along on healing missions. Along the way he would show him some of the plants to use for *Ng'ondu* (Charms). Mutava's grandfather urged him not only to practice witchcraft but to pass it on to his children. Before his death, the grandfather "blessed" the *ng'ondu*, charging Mutava to hold on to it carefully. Today when Mutava practices he hears voices of spirits giving him directions. He often recognizes the voice of his grandfather (Mulonzi) as a key voice.

According to Mutava, spirits of witchdoctors are not compatible. They do not operate in submission to each other, nor do they co-operate. There is a definite spirit of competition and an attempt to outdo each other. Where there is a possible collision with another witchdoctor's presence, the spirit will let Mutava know ahead of time and forbid him to go into the area.

This writer attempted to probe Mutava's inclination to the gospel. No one has ever approached him with this confrontation. He however explained it away;

My mind cannot comprehend anything else that is taught to me. I attempted attending school in the Kinangop area in the olden days but to no avail. Whenever I held a book in my hands, I would fall into extremely deep sleep such that my classmates had to wake me up after

class. All my classmates passed well. I of course did not make it. My uncle withdrew me from Kinangop and took me to Mombasa (the coast of Kenya). It was here that I experienced my calling. In the classroom the same thing happened over and over again, falling asleep as though having mental black out. Then I heard a voice one night while asleep; 'Arise and go back home and pick up the instruments your grandfather left for you' (Mwinza 1999).

There was definite fear that was exhibited by Mutava. It was clear that he is bound to this practice by the rituals and covenant through his grandfather. For our purposes, I observed that Mutava was a rather ruggedly dressed person. He appeared somewhat like a pauper. With all due respect to his belief about his grandfather's orders, there seemed to be no visible evidence of good that was accompanying his services to the community. It does appear that witches practice out of fear and compulsion because refusal to receive this inheritance may result in "danger of misfortune, such as failure to marry, failure to bear a child or becoming mad or epileptic" (Gehman, 84). Mothers pass witchcraft to daughters just as fathers pass it on to their sons. The process of mother to daughter transfer of witchcraft is rather intricate, although the finer details are not available or clearly known. Part of the reason for the unavailability of such details has to do with the fact that they have been kept in secret only among the witches. Disclosure may lead one into experiencing the said misfortunes (Ibid.). When the daughter is ready to receive witchcraft, she and her mother choose a secluded place where they exchange the practice. This exercise is carried on when both of them are naked. The mother then shows the daughter the 'how-tos' of witchcraft. Mixtures of gruel and blood previously prepared in the shrine are drunk by both. They sing and dance, bumping their naked buttocks together various

times. . . . The mother places a horn between her legs. After saying some words, the daughter stretches forward to take the horn (Ibid.).

This is followed by what appears to be a blood covenant between mother and daughter. Both mother and daughter make five cuts in specified areas of the body. These are: "pubic area, tongue, fingers and buttocks (Ibid.). "Blood is transferred to each other. Certain powders are rubbed into the wounds made by the incisions (cuts). Those areas become the source of remitting witchcraft. Any time a witch scratches her incisions, she can bewitch people.

Thereafter, the spoken word or the pointing finger sends forth destructive power (Ibid.). The use of blood is significant, because both in biblical times and in the ancient times blood has been used for sacrifices and for covenants. It can be seen here that the process of acquiring witchcraft from one's mother is totally binding through the blood of the two parties involved. A witch wields both power and pride. After observing these details, it is also not overstretching the matter to say that it is this kind of crude and uncouth behavior that makes witches such malicious people that they are. There are others who are said to have been born with witchcraft. When they grow up, they must go for ordination or Kukunulwa, (literally, to open up the witchcraft). Mbuthye Mutua said that she was born with witchcraft. It took other witches around to help her go for ordination after she experienced barrenness for nearly seven years after her wedding. She said that after accepting to go through the process, which to her was rather mysterious, she conceived right away and has enjoyed good favor ever since. Mbuthye had been a Roman Catholic before receiving ordination into the practice of

witchcraft. She practiced in Nairobi for five years before moving to Mivukoni location of Mwingi District. She has treated all manner of people including Christians (Mutua 1999).

Kakenyi Kamuti said she had never entered the church. She has always worshipped traditionally all her life. After she got married she and her husband had no children for three years. Her husband was then warned that his wife must be ordained (*Kukunulwa uwe*) because she was born with witchcraft (Kamuti 1999). Apparently, according to both ladies interviewed, this ordination both initiates the witch into witchcraft and also opens her womb so that she can conceive. In the case of Kakenyi, she and her husband were advised to find a male and female witchdoctor who then performed the ceremony over her. From then on she began to practice witchcraft. She also has treated people from divers walks of life. Kakenyi once treated a local church leader who was falling out of favor with his administration. He came to Kakenyi and was given medication, the *muthea*, to apply on himself and at the place of meeting. Kakenyi alleged that soon after that the church leader was restored to his position within the church administration.

Church "B"

This is a large, lower middle class congregation adjacent to a heavily populated city slum area. The estimated membership is 700. This is also an Africa Inland Church congregation. This church draws members from a cross-section of the city. The larger bracket of education is concentrated at secondary school level (Table 12; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 3a/b).

Table 12. Kibera – Education Response (raw)

Age	Primary	Secondary	University	Professional	No Response	Total
18-24	4	13	2	1	2	22
25-34	2	11	2	11	26	52
35-44	5	17	2	3	27	54
45-54	2	1	0	1	3	7
55-64						0
Above 65 years						0
Total	13	42	6	16	58	135

Table 13. Kibera – Education Response (percentage)

Age	Primary	Secondary	University	Professional	No Response	Total
18-24	18%	59%	9%	5%	9%	100%
25-34	4%	21%	4%	21%	50%	100%
35-44	9%	31%	4%	6%	50%	100%
45-54	29%	14%	0%	14%	43%	100%
55-64						100%
Above 65 years						
Total	10%	31%	4%	12%	43%	100%

* note: one person may have responded more than once

This category shows a total of 31% secondary level of education as compared to primary level registering a total of 10% and professional level which registered a total of 12%. Ages 18-24 registered 18% of primary level, 59% of secondary level, 9% at university level and, 5% at the professional level. Age bracket 45-54 registered 29% of primary education as compared to age bracket 35-44, which registered 9%. But at secondary level, ages 35-44 were higher by 17% registering 31% over and above ages 45-54 whose percentage showed 14%. At university level ages 35-44 registered 4% and 6% at professional level. Congregation "B" has a fair balance of education

distribution. This is significant to us in the way they responded to the questions I presented.

Although there are people from other religious backgrounds, the majority indicated that A.I.C. was their background. 53 respondents of the 70 distributed indicated thus: 8 were Roman Catholic, 4 were Independent and 5 had Pentecostal backgrounds respectively (Table 14; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 4a).

Table 14. Kibera – Religion Response

Age	Roman Catholic	AIC	Independent	Pentecostal	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	1	13	1	0	0	3	18
25-34	2	19	1	2	24	0	48
35-44	5	17	2	3	27	0	54
45-54	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
55-64	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8	53	4	5	52	3	125

Witchcraft

Besides the 23% who did not respond to the question of witchcraft being evil, the rest varied especially in "strongly agree" category and "disagree" category (Table 15; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 6b).

Table 15. Kibera – 'Witchcraft is an evil' response

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	22%	61%	6%	6%	0%	6%	100%
25-34	46%	17%	0%	4%	0%	33%	100%
35-44	33%	21%	4%	0%	4%	38%	100%
45-54	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	37%	29%	3%	4%	1%	26%	100%

Twenty-two percent in the age group 18-24 agree strongly that witchcraft is evil. Forty-six percent in the next age group, 25-34, strongly agree and 33% in ages 35-44 the same.

Considerably large numbers have known people who consult with witchdoctors. Of the five categories I provided, i.e., local villagers, non-Christians, Christians, politicians, and business people, non-Christians were rated high in consulting with this practitioner (Table 16; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 10b). These received a total of 19%, 29%, 18%, 10% and 13% respectively.

Table 16. Kibera – I know people who have consulted with witchdoctors

Age	Local Villagers	Non Christians	Christians	Politicians	Business People	No Response	None	Total
18-24	22%	38%	16%	9%	9%	0%	6%	100%
25-34	15%	26%	21%	5%	13%	10%	10%	100%
35-44	20%	24%	20%	14%	14%	2%	4%	100%
45-54	20%	40%	0%	20%	20%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	19%	29%	18%	10%	13%	5%	6%	100%

It is noteworthy however, that the respondents reported knowing some Christians who consult with witchdoctors. What I did not ask them is whether these Christians they knew as practicing witchcraft were from the same church or whether they were from other churches. It is significant that 16% of ages 18-24 know Christians consulting with witchcraft, 21% of ages 25-34 reported same knowledge, and so did those of 35-44 who reported 20% with such knowledge.

What this seems to say is that among the people, the Akamba especially, witchcraft ranks high as a means to receiving help. Among the

respondents in congregation "B" there were some also who consulted with the witchdoctor. 5% consulted twice among age group 18-24, 8% consulted twice in the 35-44 category, and 33% consulted twice in the 45-54 category (Table 17; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 12b).

Table 17. Kibera – I have consulted a medicine man

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once a Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	5%	0%	0%	40%	55%	100%
25-34	4%	0%	8%	0%	46%	42%	100%
35-44	4%	8%	0%	4%	29%	54%	100%
45-54	0%	33%	0%	0%	33%	33%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	6%	3%	1%	39%	49%	100%

Some of these categories are small to draw significant generalization but nevertheless present some measure of a scenario that poses a measure of challenge. This variation is significant. The older generations are seemingly apt to seek the services of the witchdoctor, so it seems from this group. This same group registered that their grandparents consulted with the practitioner also and scored 33%, being the highest in that response. Others were ages 18-24, 22%; ages 25-34, 28%, and 34-45, 26% of grandparents who consulted (Table 18; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 11b).

Table 18. Kibera – I know family members who have consulted witchdoctors

Age	Parents	Uncles / Aunts	Cousins	Grand-parents	Brothers / Sisters	Step Parents	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	22%	0%	17%	61%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	28%	0%	33%	39%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	26%	0%	26%	48%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	0%	0%	0%	27%	0%	24%	49%	100%

Asked why they visited the herbalist or medicine man, the reason of sickness in the family ranked highest. I did not ask whose sickness in this regard. Again it was the age bracket 45-54 who scored highest. These were the ratios, according to ages: 18-24, 11%; 25-34, 33%; 35-44, 26%; 45-54, 67% (Table 19; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 15b).

Table 19. Kibera – Reasons for visiting medicine man

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	11%	6%	0%	6%	6%	0%	72%	100%
25-34	33%	0%	4%	0%	4%	0%	58%	100%
35-44	26%	9%	0%	0%	4%	0%	61%	100%
45-54	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	26%	4%	1%	1%	4%	0%	62%	100%

There were other reasons for visiting the practitioner, but these were not as significant for our purposes. However, there seems to be a larger percentage of our respondents in this congregation who sought good fortune through other means such as palm reading and star reading. Ages 18-24 were reading palms regularly at 11%, 25-34 at 4%, and 35-44 at 13% (Table 20; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 16b).

Table 20. Kibera – I have practiced palm reading

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	11%	0%	0%	11%	22%	56%	100%
25-34	4%	0%	4%	0%	42%	50%	100%
35-44	13%	0%	0%	9%	39%	39%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years		0%					
Total	9%	0%	1%	6%	35%	49%	100%

Star reading scored somewhat higher. Ages 18-24 at 28%; 25-34 at 4%; 35-44 at 13%, and 45-54 at 33% (Table 21; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 17b).

Table 21. Kibera – I have practiced star reading

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	28%	0%	6%	50%	6%	11%	100%
25-34	4%	4%	4%	29%	25%	33%	100%
35-44	13%	4%	0%	17%	22%	43%	100%
45-54	33%	0%	0%	0%	33%	33%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years		0%					
Total	14%	3%	3%	30%	19%	30%	100%

The findings above have far reaching implications in our observation. Either the church is not teaching the believers the dangers that lie within these practices, or the believers take lightly these practices. I reiterate that the spiritual life of a church is adversely affected by these practices which I have seen border on demonic activities (1 Cor. 10:18-22). Some of the percentages of people within the church consulting with various powers whose wisdom is drawn from the spirit world is cause for alarm within the church. There is strong evidence that a proportion of churches people still consider witchcraft the source of their answers to the problems they face on a day-to-day basis. The words of Jesus are not being heeded. Jesus warned that I cannot serve two masters. I will hate the one and serve the other with loyalty (Mat. 6:24). This obviously slows down the entire process of life in the kingdom of God. It affects every aspect of the church. This situation cannot be left as it is with the church not addressing it.

Church "C"

This is a rural congregation, relatively small in comparison to the two large city churches already observed. The concerns of the rural populace is somewhat varied from those of the city dwellers although when looked at from the results of the respondents' response, the difference margin is not very high when it comes to spiritual needs.

Only a total of 12% in Misewani agreed that witchcraft is both evil and good. The respondents were in the age categories of 25-35 at 33% and 35-44 at 50% (Table 22; cf. Appendix IV – Misewani, Table 6b).

Table 22. Misewani – Witchcraft is both evil and good

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	75%	13%	13%	0%	100%
25-34	33%	0%	0%	67%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	50%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	12%	0%	35%	35%	6%	12%	100%

Although the larger percentage of respondents disagree at a total of 35% and strongly disagree at a total of 35%, there seem to be many people in their surroundings who consult with witchcraft. For instance, local villagers were known to consult at 29% rate of our respondents, non-Christians (who very well may include the first category) at 29%, some 7% of Christians, 12% of politicians, and 13% of business people (Table 23; cf. Appendix IV – Misewani, Table 10b).

Table 23. Misewani – I know people who have consulted with witchdoctors

Age	Local Villagers	Non Christians	Christians	Politicians	Business People	No Response	None	Total
18-24	43%	29%	7%	7%	9%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	0%	60%	0%	20%	13%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	33%	0%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	29%	29%	14%	14%	20%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	20%	20%	20%	20%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years						0%	0%	
Total	29%	29%	12%	12%	13%	0%	0%	100%

When you look at how these were distributed among different age groups, it is telling that the existence of witchcraft in this area is probably closer to home than the response "not afraid" shows. The following groups know people who have practiced or consulted with witchcraft: ages 18-24, 43% on villagers, 29% on non-Christians, 7% on Christians, 7% on politicians, and 14% on business people; ages 25-34, 60% on non-Christians, 20% on politicians and 13% on business people; ages 35-44, 33% on local villagers and 14% on businessmen. This being a small congregation and situated in the village, there is a possibility that all these respondents have in mind nearly the same people. This however I did not find out.

In this congregation, no one indicated having visited a witchdoctor but there are some who have visited the herbalist and the medicine man. Thirteen percent visited the herbalist once, in the age group of 18-24 for protection. The only other group was between 55-64, 50% but did not indicate the reason for visiting the practitioner (Table 24; cf. Appendix IV – Misewani, Table 14b).

Table 24. Misewani – I have consulted a herbalist

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once a Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	13%	0%	0%	0%	13%	75%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	12%	0%	0%	0%	6%	82%	100%

Although on the other questions the percentages are fairly negligible, it is worth noting that perhaps this is the only church rated highest in the question of need for help among the respondents. Total of 15% indicated needing help. For spiritual deliverance, 60% indicated need (Table 25; cf. Appendix IV – Misewani, Table 4b).

Table 25. Misewani – I need to be set free from the powers of darkness

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need Help	Spiritual Deliverance	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	25%	0%	75%	0%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	35%	0%	33%	33%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	18%	6%	71%	6%	0%	0%	100%

In church "B" only a sum total of 18% indicated need for deliverance (Table 26; cf. Appendix III – Kibera, Table 22b), while in church "A" it was 20% (cf. Table 10 – page 88, and Appendix II – Plainsview, Table 22b).

Table 26. Kibera – I need to be set free from the powers of darkness

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need Help	Spiritual Deliverance	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	22%	39%	22%	0%	0%	17%	100%
25-34	25%	21%	25%	0%	0%	29%	100%
35-44	29%	17%	4%	29%	0%	21%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	67%	100%
55-64							100%
Above 65 years							
Total	25%	23%	17%	10%	0%	25%	100%

This variation may serve as an indicator for a number of things. The villager may be softer to asking for help than the city dweller who may have been hardened by the vices of the city. I do not have any statistics on this however.

Summary of Findings

From the three congregations of the Africa Inland Church surveyed, three things are clear. One, witchcraft is still held strongly by a vast minority of the churches' people. The varying response as to the evilness or the usefulness of witchcraft is an indicator that some people are holding witchcraft dear to their lives.

Two, it is evident that people within the church are still consulting with witchcraft, especially for family illnesses. This is like playing with fire. There is every indication from this study that no witchdoctor will treat one without linking the client in some way or the other with the powers of darkness. An interview with Reuben Nzuki revealed helpful insights in this respect.

Nzuki grew up worshipping ancestral spirits because his grandfather was a medicine man and his grandmother a priestess (which he calls a

witchdoctor, adding that terminologies have been confused). Nzuki's grandmother combined the two offices. She was a diviner as well as a priestess and performed duties of a prophetess. Those roles would be more manifest during the worship services that were held every Saturday night beginning at around 9:00 p.m. and went all through out the night. He narrated;

On a typical worship night, I would start by playing drums and jingles. Some people would start singing, praising a certain spirit. After a while that spirit would come, possibly fill (possess) that person . . . or another person in the dance. That person would then start speaking-answering questions I had not asked. At one time one of our relatives got lost and the spirits spoke to us and guided us to his whereabouts. Sometimes the possession would be intense that some people collapsed. It took the key priest/priestess to lay hands on them and they would get reinstated (Nzuki 1999).

Nzuki's grandmother received her powers through the spirits by means of divination using fetishes (*ititi*) collected from all over. He recalls that in one collection,

I also had some fetishes (*ititi*) which my grandmother claimed had come from India and Pakistan (places she had never been to) . . . she claimed they were brought by the spirits and the spirits would guide her where to find them and collect them and put them in the right place (Ibid.).

The degree of divination extended to events of normal life and these did not depend on the fetishes or the *ititi* as mentioned above. Nzuki's grandmother seemed to have had a spirit of divination and projection. Nzuki explained;

When my wife and I had our first child, my grandmother, without being told by anyone, had already known and told everyone at home. . . . Although she had never been to my in-laws, she described the homestead with minute details. (Ibid.).

Nzuki is positive, now that he is a Christian and a minister of the gospel, that his grandmother was inhabited by a very powerful demon who

enabled her to operate in the manner described. There were times when his grandmother would travel physically by projection to visit Nzuki and his family in their place of ministry in Garissa, a distance of nearly 300 kilometers from Machakos, the home place of Nzuki. The diviner, when divining for the common needs of people uses the divination balls, called *mbuu*. These are "placed in the small divining gourd" (Gehman, 89). "The Diviner would talk to the gourd as if he were talking to a spirit inside it. As he talked, he shook the divining balls in the gourd and poured them out at intervals. Different interpretations are based on different patterns (Ibid.).

I have heard it said that often it is because people have faith in the diviner that what he divined comes to be true. However, invariably, those interviewed assert that at the point of contact with the spirit world, the diviner is given messages for his clients. The world of spirit is very real to the Akamba. They operate with absolute care not to disturb the balance and incur curses from these mystical powers. Lindblom states, "The main part of each medicine man's practice consists of Kuausya-ing i.e., with the help of the aimu to predict things to state also whether a prophet will succeed or not, find out the cause of a thing etc.," (Lindblom 1920, 258). *Kuausya* (divining) for the diviner has always been understood to be aided by spirits. "The medicine man spreads a leopard or a goatskin on the ground. He then takes the musical instrument, by means of which he gets into communication with the spirits" (Ibid.). The diviner is therefore an important practitioner among the people. His role is significant for its contributions to the general as well as specific well being of the community.

Thirdly, from the three churches, there seems to be little attention given to the subject of deliverance. Respondents in all the three churches indicated need for deliverance. The writer is gratified by the fact that there has been an opportunity to have deliverance ministry in one of these churches. It is hoped that this kind of ministry will be spread throughout the other A.I.C. churches.

This calls for a careful examination of the ministry of the teaching pastor/teacher. The felt needs of the Church are in the day-to-day family concerns such as illness, misfortunes, concern for curses or being bewitched. The pastor/teacher has a great responsibility for a balanced ministry of teaching and preaching, so that both doctrine and practice meet the needs of the congregants. This is what will bring meaningful and lasting maturity within the church.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study undertook to discover the power of witchcraft among the Kenyan Akamba, and chose to look at a case study of the Africa Inland Church due to the concentration of Akamba in her membership. I have seen a trend within the three A.I.C. congregations that points to various members of church people consulting with witchcraft. If this is indicative of what the story is like in all the other congregations of the Africa Inland Church, it becomes obvious that there are several steps that must be taken by various groups within the leadership of the Church to ensure that spiritual maturation is effected and maintained. Significant to this study were some of the questions I set out to answer. Three specific questions occupied my research:

1. What reasons lie behind the African Christian indulgence in witchcraft?
2. When faced with the question of witchcraft, what should the church leaders do?
3. How can the theological Institutions, Bible Colleges and other institutions of higher learning adequately equip the leaders to handle the issue of deliverance and exorcism?

As it was pointed out in the methodology, three approaches to the gathering of data were employed. A questionnaire was designed to gently extract information from the respondents to the effect that they were aware of the power of witchcraft in their own lives or those of their own relatives. A set

of interviews with ministers of the gospel, pastors especially, who were in active ministry was the instrument used to determine the extent to which they felt that they were or were not prepared to respond to this area and also how well they felt that their Bible School training prepared them for this kind of ministry. For the most part, pastors interviewed were not adequately prepared from their initial Bible school training.

Concerning the respondents involvement with the practitioners within the African Traditional Religion, it was discovered that there are still a good number of sick people within the Church (A.I.C.) who consider that during times of sickness in the family, whether it is sickness involving themselves or other members of the family for whom they are responsible, one of the practitioners was of more help. Either the medicine man, or the herbalist, or the witchdoctor, were visited by our respondents in search of solutions for sickness within the family. Although a small number believed that someone could have bewitched them, this was significant in this study because a cross-section of our respondents visited one of the above practitioners to find out who be-witched them and others with the intention of be-witching someone. Yet another small number indicated their need to visit the practitioner as to receive love portion of medicine showing that they hold this power to be more helpful for them in these desperate situations in their lives. The prime ages of the respondents showed that the church is losing many of her potential people to the powers of darkness as they consult with witchcraft and herbal medicine and the medicine man.

The respondents were asked to react to some of the other evils that tend to plunge men into trouble spiritually. There was a good number who

were reading stars regularly, others who were indulged in smoking, beer drinking, and immorality. This was a smaller number but significant in that they are churched. It was noted in this study that there were those who felt a strong need for help. Some of these indicated the need to talk to someone immediately. This writer has since made arrangement for some ministry to be effected in a limited manner to some of the churches with the hope that those who needed help were among the ones attending the seminars offered. The ministry did include deliverance from the powers of darkness. I only hope that the ones receiving help included some of the ones who indicated need for deliverance. By the kind of response in times of ministry of deliverance, it became clear that the need for this kind of ministry is vast.

Of the pastors interviewed it became evident that they felt inadequately prepared from the Bible schools they attended, all of which were A.I.C. schools. It was discovered that some teachers in Bible schools found it difficult to discuss the subject of witchcraft with their students towards offering them meaningful solutions to the questions they were asking concerning witchcraft. This study was concerned that this is an area that is not receiving the attention that it should in view of the interviews carried out among some of the witchdoctors who claimed to have entertained the consultation of pastors in their practices.

Observations and Recommendations from the Findings

Observations

A number of observations arise from the findings in this study. I outline just a few of them.

1. Because loyalty is a significant human asset in performance, total loyalty is more desirable than shared loyalty. Believers who are engaged in consulting the powers of darkness are of a double mind and their loyalty cannot be depended on. Their minds run back and forth between the resources of the church and the provisions of the medicine man or the herbalist or the witchdoctor. This condition disables those who are so engaged and their productivity within the church is either minimal or not there at all.
2. Secondly, I observe that the nature of the practitioners discussed in this study is that they require payment, both of kind as well as monetary. Jesus clearly stated that one couldn't serve two masters. He will serve one with loyalty and the other with no devotion or commitment. With resources so meager, and with a life that is lived only once on this planet, one cannot afford to squander the same by sharing with unproductive investments. Yet this study established that there are some who are participants in this very vice.
3. My third observation has to do with the nature of Satan's operations. The devil will not give humans anything for free. Indulging in or with any of his messengers of darkness exposes one to multiple other vices perpetuated by the devil for the destruction of mankind. Witchcraft is virtually a destructive instrument. Christians engaged in the practice would yield no fruit for the Lord or his church. Instead they will reap destruction of themselves and their families and friends.
4. The days to come in respect to the future of the church are going to be affected by the practices of today. Although I have seen that a relatively

large percentage of the respondents agree that witchcraft is evil, there are indications that sympathy for witchcraft is an attitude to deal with within the A.I.C. congregations considered in this study. I have seen that this sympathy is not for the best interests of the Church of Jesus Christ because Christ is not modeled, as should be the case.

Recommendations

The findings of this study show that the need to take witchcraft seriously in order to combat it within the church is long overdue.

This study recommends the following,

1. The church must take up the issue of rigorous training of her congregates in the area of the occult and its related subjects. This training should include a large portion of what spiritual warfare is all about and that it is possible to be victorious over the powers of darkness.
2. The training institutions must also include in their curriculum materials to help students be exposed to spiritual warfare. Where possible, such classes should include practical ministry through some of the established ministries in the area. Following the findings in this study, that members within the church are consulting with the powers of darkness while at the same time attending church, the pastor must of necessity be fully aware of the existence of the practice and also be furnished well in doctrine and in practice for his effective and adequate ministry to his people. Failure to so attend to the needs of the congregants will lead some to the shortcomings I have outlined above, where resources are shared and commitment/loyalty is divided. This stance produces weakness in the church. The very people, who are the source of manpower in the needy

congregations of the church of Jesus Christ, will be seen to serve two masters, which the Master of the Church does not entertain.

An example of a deliverance tool kit is provided here below.

In order for one to experience victory over witchcraft and the occult, there is a necessity of deliverance. Deliverance, as defined in this thesis involves identifying the causes of spiritual strongholds and taking an individual through the process of gaining victory over the powers of darkness previously at work in the person. Koch suggests at least 20 steps towards a meaningful ministry of deliverance. This methodology is compared and supported by several others who have of recent years been themselves involved in the ministry or have taken keen interest in this area. I have chosen to look at seven of these steps.

1. Jesus' Name, the only source of help.

Jesus promised that if we ask anything in His name, he will do it for the glory of the Father. A young lady came seeking help from Koch, but did not want to hear about Jesus. He could not help her. He reiterates, that Jesus is the sole power over the occult and spirit oppression. "In the case of occult subjection neither psychology, depth-psychology, nor psychiatry can be of any help. Autosuggestion, meditation and yoga are likewise impotent. And nothing can be gained by turning to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Moslem faith (Koch 1970, 89-90).

Although medical science has had its profitability in society, there is a limitation beyond which it cannot be of help without combining with faith in Christ. This is paramount to the foundation needed to build on in order to

establish ministry in the occult realm. Faith in Christ Jesus must be expressed and experienced.

Well-meaning Christian workers, jealous for the glory of their Master, sometimes feel that they should follow the practice of commanding demons in the name of Jesus to depart. But if there is no experience of salvation through the preached Word, what has been accomplished? In attempting mere exorcism, some searching questions need to be asked: What is the *source* of such a 'deliverance'? What has been done that the sorcerers could not do? Was the name of Jesus ever meant to be used for merely medical and therapeutic purposes? The whole weight of Biblical evidence is solidly against such a practice, for it can only be regarded as fraught with the gravest peril for all concerned (Koch 1975, 165-166).

These are sound questions fronted by Koch in the use of the name of Jesus. His main concern, and I am of the same concern, is that exorcism minus the work of grace that leads to salvation is really not the work of God and can only be assigned to some other source. I concur with his words that "nothing less than the 'new birth' will meet the need of the demoniac or any other sinner" (Ibid., 171). In another angle Koch observes that "the pastor is not called to prove the existence of the demons — nor, of course, to deny it — but he is entrusted with the ministry of the word of God" (Koch 1972, 29).

2. A destruction of all objects of witchcraft and sorcery.

There is a direct connection in the practice of idolatry through witchcraft and the activities of spirits. Those who have practiced, or contacted practitioners of the occult which includes witchcraft and its related areas such as magic, both black and white, are placed under the powers of the spirits

they have consulted. Where families have practiced charming, to some degree, "suicide, murder, serious and incurable diseases, and many other troubles abound in such families" (Koch 1970, 135). Because of keeping, handling and using items that are of occultic nature or which have idolatry value, one can come under a curse. This curse can be removed through the act of deliverance by the Lord. Moses spoke to Israel and warned them against keeping any artifacts or other objects, which had such values as were worshipped by the Gentiles. Deuteronomy 7:25-26 lists such things as carved images and silver and gold from the foreign lands. As Prince warns, "If you bring an accursed thing into your house, that brings the curse on you. You cannot expect deliverance from the curse if you keep any kind of accursed thing in your house. Any idol, image, charm, anything that is superstition [like a horseshoe upside down], all these things can cause a curse" (Prince 1978, 48). The implications of a curse caused by contact objects, as enumerated by Prince above, are beyond the scope of our purposes in this paper. The topic of idolatry deals with some of the implications, such as the reality undergirding the observable idols. Prince elaborates on the matter and says that when a people commit themselves by covenanting with others who worship other gods (false gods), they are in effect committing themselves to the same. "If you make a covenant with people who are in false religions and worshipping false gods, not only do you make a covenant with the people but you make a covenant with their gods (Ibid., 37). This leads to bondage. The reference is not limited to the heathens who do not know Christ. Koch "discovered elders of the Church, a Protestant clergyman, and several Catholic priests" who

practiced charms in Germany (Koch, 135). Such people place themselves directly under the powers of darkness.

The act of separation must be symbolized by destroying all items from the occult. Koch lists such objects as "amulets, talismans, fetishes, mascots, letters from heaven, lucky charms, threatening letters, figures of gods and cultic objects belonging to non-Christian religions" (Ibid., 288).

The manipulative characteristics of witchcraft often uses objects obtained from the occult to spiritually affect people or places. Most items that have connections with witchcraft are treated by witchdoctors. Keeping such items in one's possession serves as contact between Satan and the people or places concerned. This can be seen in I Corinthians 10:18-22 on idols and the table of the Lord. Paul's insight revealed that the idols in question, in and of themselves, are nothing, but that the powers behind them are demonic. As Murphy says, "demonic idols, fetishes, amulets, charms" (Murphy 1992, 174), must be destroyed if one is to experience a complete breakthrough of deliverance. The places of work or at home where a counselee has constant or frequent contact must be cleared of such things for, "having such an idol in one's home grants automatic authority for the demon to enter when the item enters" (Ibid.). Murphy wisely points out that "people with tribal backgrounds should be especially watchful for tribally related objects that may have many demons" (Ibid.). These objects act like magnets, only that their magnetic powers are demonically charged. In some cases, these items are given as presents or gifts, or as protective measures. Koch describes an incidence where a pastor's wife was given a salve by a woman in the Church. The salve had been produced by a magic charmer, and he had cast spells over it. The

salve brought rapid relief. It acted as a fetish rather than a medicine. After this treatment however, the wife of the minister broke her arm. Her daughter also, whose Christian life had until then been continually growing, now found faith and prayer impossible (Koch 1972, 87).

There is a seeming connection of power between the objects and the users. "These magically charged objects are supposed to convey the power of the magic" (Ibid., 87) and this strengthens their use. The minister's wife above experienced more disaster than help because the salve she was given was charged with power, but not divine power. These objects cause harm to unsuspecting people, including believers, as illustrated in the case of the minister's wife! Her daughter became victim also even though she was not the one to whom the salve was given.

Rock music has also been known to be demonically inspired and having caused harm to those who listen to it perpetually. Keeping albums, CDs, cassette tapes and other representative forms of Rock music serves as contact points for demonic powers. Satan is in the forefront of rock music industry. Some of the themes and titles of songs in this field are appalling. They include the following,

'making a pact with the devil', 'people with smiling faces that hide the evil that dwells within'. . . Constant harping on the power of witchcraft, selling one's soul, that Jesus will torture 'us when the time comes', that spells and incantations work (Ibid., 183).

These titles reveal a deep commitment to Satan. The passion with which rock music displays its devotion to Satan is an indication that those who produce such music are agents of the devil. Larson says that there is a more obvious "tie binding Satanism and rock music" than is observed in such things as games of the occult and horror movies (Larson 1989, 75). Some of the

rock musicians have confessed having visited "seances and practicing astral projection" (Ibid., 76). Brown brands rock music Satanic. "Rock music was carefully planned and carried out by Satan and his servants from its very beginning" (Brown 1987, 141). Murphy (1992) has no doubt that rock music evidences demonization. He explains,

This music proclaims messages of immorality, lust, sex, rebellion, anti-Christian, anti-Christ and even murder and suicide. Children who were formerly kind, outgoing, obedient, and gentle became secretive, sullen, angry, rebellious, and rude after even a brief season of listening to such music (Murphy 1992, 118).

The third step follows the second step closely.

3. Break off all mediumistic contacts and friendships.

Paul calls the Corinthians to have no links with unbelievers (2 Cor. 6:14-18). Double-dealings within the Christian practice can only cause harm. Consultation with the powers of darkness leaves the consulting people under the powers of the particular spirits so consulted. This area belongs especially to those whose ancestors were practitioners in the spirit world. Koch tells of a young man whose "great-grandmother had been a magic charmer" (Koch, 158). He further observes, "The magic practices of the great-grandmother had been passed down to her son and daughter, who in turn had charmed both animals and people, using the 6th and 7th Book of Moses as aid"¹ (Ibid.). The dual died terrible deaths, and because of these mediumistic contacts, even the grandchildren suffered "terrible psychic disorders" (Ibid.). Koch is convinced, and I agree with him, that this is evidence of "punishment for sin mentioned in the second commandment, ' . . . visiting the iniquity of the fathers

¹ The 6th and the 7th book of Moses is an ancient, notorious magic book (Koch 1972, 115)

upon the children to the third and the fourth generation of those who hate me" (Ibid., 159). Koch, who had worked among the Zulu of South Africa, further says that,

the heathens of the Zulus have been involved in witchcraft for generations. What their forefathers called worship is nothing but spiritism, sacrifice to ancestors being expressly included in their ritual. They make contacts with these ancestors, ask them for advice and also pray to them. The expectant mother will consecrate the unborn child to the ancestors and pray for their help and protection. Even when such a person is converted, he needs to be delivered from these occult bonds (Koch 1981, 135).

There must be a clean break with the works of Satan for one to experience deliverance. There are no two ways in the matter.

4. A renunciation of Satan, declaration of freedom from sorcery and the sins of the ancestors.

Gibson makes the observation that a person's ancestral background may affect the well-being or the way in which a person will turn out. He illustrates this with the story of Ishmael (Gen. 16:11). Because of the utterances by the angel of the Lord concerning the boy Ishmael, Gibson says,

the Arab peoples of the world have remained ethnically unchanged since Ishmael had his twelve sons who became tribal leaders. Arab aggressiveness against Israel, the unilateral Arab oil policy shaped by the members of OPEC who are continually at variance with one another, and the sporadic warfare between Middle East oil nations, are well known (Gibson 1993, 150).

Gibson has listed some characteristics of Arabs who become Christians and come to seek deliverance. Because of their common ancestry in Ishmael, they manifest areas of strongholds such as are described,

Rejection by others and of others; aggressiveness; a fighting spirit; a nomadic spirit; hostility and an argumentative spirit towards others; isolation and withdrawal; pride and arrogance. Because of more recent Islamic influences including polygamy and witchcraft, many other cultural spirits also need exorcising (Ibid.).

A prayer of renunciation must be made by a person who has knowledge of having had links with ancestors who practiced witchcraft. A sample prayer is given but Koch quickly adds that it must not be used magically! He gives this as a sample that one can add to his own words, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I renounce the devil and all of his works, I renounce the sins of sorcery of my ancestors and in my own life, and I subscribe myself to Jesus my Lord for time and for eternity, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen" (Koch 1970, 294).

This verbalized conscious statement is meant to give one courage as he addresses the devil directly. The word of mouth is spoken of as a powerful confession (cf. Rom. 10:8-13). Naming of the specific areas of involvement helps to own the wrong and therefore assist in the process of deliverance. David set the pace in his confession before the Lord. In one of the penitential Psalms he declares, "Then I acknowledged my sin to you and did not cover up my iniquity. I said 'I will confess my transgressions to the Lord'" (Ps. 32:5c).

5. Placing oneself under the protective blood of Jesus Christ. Koch refers to a story he had heard in Ivory Coast while holding a conference there. A leader of the Protestant Churches in Man, was a target for fatal poisoning. "The local pagan . . . used the gall of a crocodile and of a leopard. The evangelist should have died within ten minutes" (Koch, 305). He did experience some mild stomachache but nothing beyond it. The culprit was later to tell the story when he admitted to having attempted the murder, "I would have poisoned you. But your God is stronger than my god" (Ibid.). The Church leader in question had claimed the blood of Jesus as his protection while in the field. Situations have been recorded from live evidences, where

due to lack of the protection by the blood of Jesus, catastrophe hit hard on those involved. Concerning sorcery and witchcraft Koch cites a situation in Switzerland where a pastor and his wife were deeply involved in praying against sorcery in a particular village. They however failed to cover themselves with the blood of Jesus Christ. "Then the pastor's wife became possessed and was never free again the rest of her life" (Ibid., 306). Warfare prayer must not be made "generally about the sorcery of a whole village", but rather for specific victims of sorcery (Ibid.). That limitation however should not be taken wholesale. When well covered, and with the proper warfare strategy, wider grounds can be covered and the enemy paralyzed.

In Revelation 12:11 the victory of the saints over Satan is recorded. "They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb". The availability of this blood and its power can be seen all throughout the pages of Scripture. To the Israelites Moses gave the following instructions, as they prepared to leave the land of captivity, Egypt, "When the Lord goes through the land to strike down the Egyptians, he will see the blood on the top and sides of the doorframe and will pass over that doorway, and he will not permit the destroyer to enter your houses and strike you down" (Ex. 12:23).

The use of blood in the Scriptures for the purpose of saving or protection is thematic all through. John the disciple was to proclaim concerning Jesus Christ, "Look, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!" (Jn. 1:29). This action on Jesus' part involved the shedding of his own blood. It is this Lamb, whose blood cleanses sin, who writes the names of the saints in the book of life, and who provides protection from the enemy. This writer, before undertaking the interviews with some witchdoctors for this

work, had to cover himself with the blood of Jesus and continually claim the same. A team of intercessors were engaged for a period for the same purpose.

Missionaries working in dangerous zones must "place themselves under the protection of Jesus' blood, that the enemy may have no power over them" (Koch, 305).

6. Command the enemy in Jesus' name to leave. While helping those under bondage in the occult, there must of necessity be warfare. By warfare we are in reference to confrontation of the powers of darkness. This is key to deliverance. We note however, that confrontation is not the initial stage. Paul confronted the spirit of divination (Acts 16:16-18), and it obeyed the name of Jesus and left the slave girl. This area must be addressed elsewhere, but it is noted that, "Commanding in the name of Jesus is a stronger form of prayer and believing. Every Christian ought to practice it in order to win the struggle with the powers of darkness. Hell trembles before the name of the Lord" (Ibid., 306). This should not be thought of as something of the past, nor should we quickly assign it to some special group of people whose giftedness confines them away from the rest of Christendom. This is what our Lord himself gave to the disciples. They were to "heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse those who have leprosy," and to "drive out demons" (Mat. 10:8). Jesus ministry embraced this area of operation. He was later to warn the disciples against pride of thinking that casting out demons was an indication of their position in heaven. He gave them power and authority over snakes, scorpions and to "overcome all the power of the enemy". But, they

were not to rejoice in that "spirits submit to you, but rejoice that your names are written in heaven" (Lk. 10:19-20).

Dunn observes that Jesus believed in this ministry and that he also knew that his authority came from God. Jesus was conscious "of spiritual power, the visible evidence of the power of God flowing through him to overcome other superhuman power, evil power, to restore and make whole" (Dunn 1975, 47). Dunn treats the subject with much depth. He argues strongly for the power of casting out demonic powers. Jesus distinguished himself from the rest of the exorcists.

Jesus saw his exorcism not merely as the healing of demented people, not merely as the casting out of demons, not merely as a victory over Satan, but as that binding of the powers of evil which was looked for at the end of the age. The final battle was already joined and Satan was already being routed [cf. Luke 10:18] (Ibid., 48).

When believers act the authority of Jesus, they are simply following on the intentions of their Master. Jesus called his disciples so that "they might be with him and that he might send them out to preach and to have authority to drive out demons" (Mk. 3:14-15).

7. The Spiritual Armor

Koch refers here to Ephesians 6:10-18, where Paul lists the emblems of the whole armor of God as "the breastplate of righteousness, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit", among others (Koch, 311). These items are crucial for both the ministry of deliverance as well as spiritual warfare. A full description of each part of the armor is far beyond the perimeters of this undertaking. However, it is recommended that an understanding should be gained for proper combat in spiritual warfare. These items are inevitable for any one involved in battle against Satan. They

describe the protection of the vital parts of the person in combat, the head, the chest, the abdomen, and the feet. The "belt of truth" girds our loins. A belt is seen as holding things together. In the midst of a deceptive world and the father of lies, we need to be well girded. Allison describes deception and lies as "Satan's weapons" (Allison 1995, 48). She goes on to say, "We can put on the belt of truth by getting rid of everything that is false -- every hint of deception. We put on the Lord Jesus Christ who is our belt of truth" (Ibid). The breastplate of righteousness is a powerful weapon. Its position is on the chest protecting life supporting organs, the heart and the lungs with significant blood veins leaving the heart and lungs to supply the rest of the body. A wonderful transaction takes place when we put our trust in Christ (Ibid., 50-51). In 2 Corinthians 5:21, God made his son "who had no sin to be sin for us, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God". The shield of faith thrusts the believer into higher grounds of the resources of God. A shield must be held up.

While other pieces of armor are attached to the body, the shield of faith has to be taken up and actively held in position. A shield is useless unless it is held in position. . . . 'faith by itself, if it is not accompanied by action, is dead' [James 2:17] (Ibid., 57).

To take up faith for warfare one must be prepared to take risks, a willingness to venture into the enemy territory, believing God and his word for victory. This is the faith that will believe what Paul said to the Corinthians that "The weapons we fight with are not the weapons of the world. On the contrary, they have divine power to demolish strongholds" (2 Cor. 10:4).

It is paramount that the Church identify the strongholds and consequently embark on demolishing them for the ". . . struggle is not against flesh and blood" (Eph. 6:12). Wagner (1996), defines three levels of warfare

including the "Ground-level spiritual warfare", which he explains as the level where casting out of demons and battling with day-to-day harassment by spirits (Wagner 1996, 21), and the "Occult-level spiritual warfare", where demonic forces are at work as directed "through activities related to Satanism, witchcraft, Freemasonry, Eastern religions, New Age, Shamanism, astrology and many other forms of structured occultism" (Ibid., 22).

In order for the Church to have the capacity to identify the strongholds, she must set up an army of prayer warriors, commonly called intercessors. These are men and women, who will be given to living a life of self-denial, sacrificing most of their time in prayer, so that they can hear God on behalf of the rest of the body of Christ. Daniel was such a man, and so was Nehemiah. The Church must mobilize her armies and offensively enter into warfare with the kingdom of darkness if her flock is to be set free from the surging floods. "Heavenly battles precede earthly victories" (Wagner 1991, 79). "Angels", he says, "may be God's airforce, but the Church is His army, and our fervent prayers open the windows of heaven. . . . All wars are won or lost by the heavenly army. The battles are fought in the heavenlies, between Satan's angels and God's angels, not down here. "

The Church must learn how to engage heaven in order to experience her glories for earth. The ministry of prayer and its components is indeed not our undertaking at this point. I recommend that it be given priority by the Church.

While interviewing with some of the pastors within the Africa Inland Church, the opinion was expressed, that the Church needs a program that adequately meets the training needs of the saints. My own survey showed

that a large percentage of people do not tell the difference between the practices of the practitioners in the African Traditional Religion. A good number of believers consult with the herbalists or medicine men for various needs within their lives. I have established however, that many, if not all the herbalists, receive their knowledge from the spirits. Pastor Mutangili (1999), in an interview with this writer, narrated how he had been told by one such practitioner; "At night you are shown the herbs you are to use, the person to use on will be revealed, and the kind of disease they are suffering from. You must follow the process" (Mutangili 1999). This is in agreement with my findings while interviewing with Mutava Mwinza (1999), that he occasionally heard the voice of his grandfather telling him the kind of herbs he was to use and how he was to advise the clients on the best method. (Mwinza 1999). Believers have continued to visit some of these practitioners who have camouflaged themselves in the name and practice of herbal medicine but whose power is demonic. While writing to the Corinthians, Paul's fear for the Corinthians was that they were partaking of the table of demons and the table of the Lord (1 Cor. 10:18-22).

There is a danger when the members of the church come to church for their ticket to heaven, but for their practical needs they return to the traditional practitioner, who readily invites them and diagnoses their ills and quickly finds solutions. Tite Tienou (1976) observed that some of the African people, when in serious illness or imminent death of some event of significant nature in their lives, become frantic. He comments,

It is as if they wanted to have all possible protection, they ask prayer and blessing from Christians, sacrifice from animists and charms from Moslems. When Christians do the same they rarely openly do it. They generally do everything to keep up appearances but, secretly, go on

living according to their customs as if they were not Christians. It is no great surprise when nominal Christians act like that. Some leaders, local, national and continental, give no clear teaching in this area for they live the same way (Cassidy 1978, 40).

Tienou hit the nail right on its top when he referred to some of the leadership as suffering from the same sickness. He continued to wonder, "Must the message of the Gospel remain. "

The pastors' knowledge of the existence and functions of witchcraft and the occult in our day will go a long way in aiding the ministry to discover some of the avenues through which the enemy finds entry to the flock and consequently devouring them. Inadequacy of ministry will cause members to stray. Fulfillment is key in establishing a meaningful ministry in an African setting where the former ways are still very rampant. Witchcraft should not be taken as a thing of the past, whose influence and power belong to the ancestors and not to the modern man, because that is not so. It is probable, from this study, that one of the strongest vices that the church will have to fight is witchcraft. This study has shown that many African people look for solutions in this area, which involves the mystical powers of darkness. To neglect the subject and consequently not teaching the members of the church the dangers involved, is to leave the church in the hands of the devil who will not doubt devour her and bring her down to destruction in our day, fruitless and beaten.

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APPENDIX I -- QUESTIONNAIRE

AFRICA INLAND CHURCH QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ANYWHERE IN THIS PAPER

1. Age:

18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 & above

2. Marital status:

Married	
Single	
Engaged	
Separated	
Divorced	
Single Parent	

3. Education:

Primary	
Secondary	
University	
Professional	

4. Religious background:

	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Independent Church	Pentecostal
Denomination				
Local Church				
Baptised in				

5. Please answer the following questions as truthfully as possible

a) Witchcraft is:

	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not sure
The African medical science					
Protection from evil/curses, etc					
Evil					
Both evil and good					

b) I am afraid of witchcraft:

Not afraid	
Just a little afraid	
Generally afraid	
Sometimes afraid	
Always afraid	
Very afraid	
Other	

c) I know the following people who have consulted with witchcraft/witchdoctors:

Local villagers	
Non-Christian	
Christians	
Politicians	
Business people	
None	

d) People in my family have consulted witchdoctors:

My parents	
My Uncles/Aunties	
My cousins	
My Grandfather/Grandmother	
Other (Specify)	

e) I have consulted the following:

	Witchdoctors	Medicine men	Herbalists	Others (Specify)
Once				
Twice				
Frequently				
Once a year				
Never				

f) My need for visiting the above:

Sickness in the family	
For protection	
For good luck (at work, or other places)	
For love medicine	
To find out who had bewitched me (my family)	
To bewitch someone	

g) I have practiced the following:

	Palm reading	Star reading (from newspapers)	Wearing of charms	Beer drinking	Smoking	Adultery/ fornication/ homosexuality/ lesbianism/ masturbation
Regularly						
Often						
Once						
Rarely						
Never						

h) I would like to receive help to stop and to be set free from these powers of sin:

I need help	
Do not need help	
Need private help	
Need spiritual deliverance	
I need to talk to someone urgently	

i) Is there any other information you would want to give or any prayer request! You can use the back of this paper for additional comments and prayer requests.

APPENDIX II -- PLAINSVIEW

Table 1a: Plainsview -- Marital status -

Age	Married	Single	Engaged	Separated	Divorced	Single Parent	No Response	Total
18-24	1	18	0	0	0	0	0	19
25-34	10	13	2	0	0	1	0	26
35-44	19	1	0	0	0	0	0	20
45-54	9	1	0	0	0	1	0	11
55-64	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	43	33	2	0	0	2	0	100

Table 1b

Age	Married	Single	Engaged	Separated	Divorced	Single Parent	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	95%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	38%	50%	8%	0%	0%	4%	0%	100%
35-44	95%	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	82%	9%	0%	0%	0%	9%	0%	100%
55-64	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	43%	33%	2%	0%	0%	2%	0%	100%

Table 2a: Plainsview. Education level of participants

Age	Primary	Secondary	University	Professional	No Response	Total
18-24	1	5	9	3	1	19
25-34	0	7	6	14	0	27
35-44	1	9	7	8	0	25
45-54	0	6	4	3	0	13
55-64	0	0	2	2	0	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	27	28	30	1	88

Table 2b

Age	Primary	Secondary	University	Professional	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	26%	47%	16%	5%	100%
25-34	0%	26%	22%	52%	0%	100%
35-44	4%	36%	28%	32%	0%	100%
45-54	0%	46%	31%	23%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	50%	50%	0%	100%
Above 65 years						
Total	2%	31%	32%	34%	1%	100%

Table 3a: Plainsview. Religion of participants

Age	Roman	Protestant	Independent	Pentecostal	No Response	Total
18-24	1	14	0	2	2	19
25-34	3	23	0	0	0	26
35-44	0	20	0	0	0	20
45-54	1	10	0	0	0	11
55-64	0	3	0	0	1	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	70	0	2	3	80

Table 3b

Age	Roman	Protestant	Independent	Pentecostal	No Response	Total
18-24	1	14	0	2	2	19
25-34	3	23	0	0	0	26
35-44	0	20	0	0	0	20
45-54	1	10	0	0	0	11
55-64	0	3	0	0	1	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	70	0	2	3	80

Table 4a: Plainsview. Witchcraft is the study of African medical Science.

Age	Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	1	0	3	1	4	10	19
25-34	3	0	5	4	3	11	26
35-44	0	1	5	7	0	7	20
45-54	1	1	1	4	0	4	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	5	2	14	16	7	36	80

Table 4b

Age	Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	0%	16%	5%	21%	53%	100%
25-34	12%	0%	19%	15%	12%	42%	100%
35-44	0%	5%	25%	35%	0%	35%	100%
45-54	9%	9%	9%	36%	0%	36%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Total	6%	3%	18%	20%	9%	45%	100%

Table 5a: Plainsview. Witchcraft is protection from evil curses.

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	1	0	3	1	4	10	19
25-34	0	1	3	8	1	13	26
35-44	1	0	4	7	0	8	20
45-54	0	1	2	4	0	4	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	2	12	20	5	39	80

Table 5b

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	0%	16%	5%	21%	53%	100%
25-34	0%	4%	12%	31%	4%	50%	100%
35-44	5%	0%	20%	35%	0%	40%	100%
45-54	0%	9%	18%	36%	0%	36%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	3%	15%	25%	6%	49%	100%

Table 6a: Plainsview. Witchcraft is evil.

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	10	6	0	1	1	1	19
25-34	8	12	1	1	0	4	26
35-44	7	8	1	0	0	4	20
45-54	1	7	0	2	0	1	11
55-64	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	26	37	2	4	1	10	80

Table 6b

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	53%	32%	0%	5%	5%	5%	100%
25-34	31%	46%	4%	4%	0%	15%	100%
35-44	35%	40%	5%	0%	0%	20%	100%
45-54	9%	64%	0%	18%	0%	9%	100%
55-64	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	33%	46%	3%	5%	1%	13%	100%

Table 8a: Plainsview. Witchcraft is both evil and good.

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	4	3	1	11	19
25-34	2	0	2	5	1	14	24
35-44	0	1	7	3	0	9	20
45-54	0	1	1	4	0	5	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	2	14	15	2	43	78

Table 8b

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	21%	16%	5%	58%	100%
25-34	8%	0%	8%	21%	4%	58%	100%
35-44	0%	5%	35%	15%	0%	45%	100%
45-54	0%	9%	9%	36%	0%	45%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	3%	18%	19%	3%	55%	100%

Table 9a: Plainsview. I am afraid of witchcraft.

Age	Not Afraid	Just A Little	Generally Afraid	Sometimes Afraid	Always Afraid	Very Afraid	No Response	Total
18-24	10	1	1	4	1	1	1	19
25-34	13	0	6	3	1	3	0	26
35-44	17	0	0	1	0	1	1	20
45-54	8	0	0	2	0	1	0	11
55-64	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	49	1	7	10	2	7	4	80

Table 9b

Age	Not Afraid	Just A Little	Generally Afraid	Sometimes Afraid	Always Afraid	Very Afraid	No Response	Total
18-24	53%	5%	5%	21%	5%	5%	5%	100%
25-34	50%	0%	23%	12%	4%	12%	0%	100%
35-44	85%	0%	0%	5%	0%	5%	5%	100%
45-54	73%	0%	0%	18%	0%	9%	0%	100%
55-64	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	50%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	61%	1%	9%	13%	3%	9%	5%	100%

Table 10a: Plainsview. I know people who have consulted witchdoctors

Age	Local Villagers	Non Christians	Christians	Politicians	Business People	No Response	None	Total
18-24	5	8	3	0	2	1	7	26
25-34	11	7	11	8	11	0	6	54
35-44	10	11	10	2	4	1	2	40
45-54	5	4	5	2	3	0	2	21
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	31	30	29	12	20	3	20	145

Table

Age	Local Villagers	Non Christians	Christians	Politicians	Business People	No Response	None	Total
18-24	19%	31%	12%	0%	8%	4%	27%	100%
25-34	20%	13%	20%	15%	20%	0%	11%	100%
35-44	25%	28%	25%	5%	10%	3%	5%	100%
45-54	24%	19%	24%	10%	14%	0%	10%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	21%	21%	20%	8%	14%	2%	14%	100%

Table 11a: Plainsview. I know family members who have consulted witchdoctors

Age	Parents	Uncles / Aunts	Cousins	Grand-parents	Brothers / Sisters	Step Parents	No Response	Total
18-24	2	3	2	1	0	0	11	19
25-34	5	8	7	6	3	0	7	36
35-44	6	7	4	11	2	0	5	35
45-54	3	3	3	3	1	0	6	19
55-64	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	21	18	21	6	0	29	111

Table 11b

Age	Parents	Uncles / Aunts	Cousins	Grand-parents	Brothers / Sisters	Step Parents	No Response	Total
18-24	11%	16%	11%	5%	0%	0%	58%	100%
25-34	14%	22%	19%	17%	8%	0%	19%	100%
35-44	17%	20%	11%	31%	6%	0%	14%	100%
45-54	16%	16%	16%	16%	5%	0%	32%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	14%	19%	16%	19%	5%	0%	26%	100%

Table12a: Plainsview. I have consulted medicine men

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	1	0	0	0	11	7	19
25-34	0	1	1	0	13	11	26
35-44	0	0	0	0	9	11	20
45-54	1	0	0	0	8	2	11
55-64	0	0	1	0	0	3	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	1	2	0	41	34	80

Table 12b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	0%	0%	0%	58%	37%	100%
25-34	0%	4%	4%	0%	50%	42%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	45%	55%	100%
45-54	9%	0%	0%	0%	73%	18%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	1%	3%	0%	51%	43%	100%

Table13a: Plainsview. I have consulted a witch doctor

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	0	12	7	19
25-34	2	0	0	0	16	8	26
35-44	0	0	0	0	15	5	20
45-54	0	1	0	0	9	1	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	2	2	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	1	0	0	54	23	80

Table 13b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	0%	63%	37%	100%
25-34	8%	0%	0%	0%	62%	31%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	75%	25%	100%
45-54	0%	9%	0%	0%	82%	9%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	1%	0%	0%	68%	29%	100%

Table 14a: Plainsview. I have consulted a herbalist.

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	1	0	1	0	11	6	19
25-34	1	0	0	0	13	12	26
35-44	3	0	1	0	8	8	20
45-54	1	0	0	0	8	2	11
55-64	1	0	0	0	0	3	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	7	0	2	0	40	31	80

Table 14b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	0%	5%	0%	58%	32%	100%
25-34	4%	0%	0%	0%	50%	46%	100%
35-44	15%	0%	5%	0%	40%	40%	100%
45-54	9%	0%	0%	0%	73%	18%	100%
55-64	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	9%	0%	3%	0%	50%	39%	100%

Table 15a: My need for visiting the above was:

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	3	0	0	0	0	1	15	19
25-34	3	1	1	0	0	0	21	26
35-44	3	0	0	0	0	0	17	20
45-54	1	1	1	0	1	0	10	14
55-64	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	12	2	2	0	1	1	65	83

Table 15b

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	16%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	79%	100%
25-34	12%	4%	4%	0%	0%	0%	81%	100%
35-44	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	85%	100%
45-54	7%	7%	0%	0%	7%	0%	71%	100%
55-64	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	14%	2%	2%	0%	1%	1%	78%	100%

Table 16a: Plainview. I have practiced palm reading

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	1	0	0	1	5	12	19
25-34	0	0	0	0	6	20	26
35-44	0	1	1	1	8	9	20
45-54	0	0	0	0	4	7	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	2	2	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	1	1	2	25	50	80

Table 16b

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	0%	0%	5%	26%	63%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	23%	77%	100%
35-44	0%	5%	5%	5%	40%	45%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	36%	64%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	1%	1%	1%	3%	31%	63%	100%

Table 17a: I have practiced star reading.

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	1	0	1	3	4	10	19
25-34	3	3	0	6	2	12	26
35-44	2	3	0	1	3	11	20
45-54	0	0	0	1	3	7	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	6	6	1	11	13	43	80

Table 17b

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	0%	5%	16%	21%	53%	100%
25-34	12%	12%	0%	23%	8%	46%	100%
35-44	10%	15%	0%	5%	15%	55%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	9%	27%	64%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	8%	8%	1%	14%	16%	54%	100%

Table 18a: I have practiced wearing charms and ornaments.

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	1	4	14	19
25-34	0	0	0	0	5	21	26
35-44	0	0	0	0	4	16	20
45-54	0	0	0	0	4	7	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	1	18	61	80

Table 18b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	5%	21%	74%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	19%	81%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	80%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	36%	64%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	0%	0%	0%	1%	23%	76%	100%

Table 17a: I have practiced drinking beer.

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	0	4	15	19
25-34	1	1	1	0	5	18	26
35-44	0	1	2	2	3	12	20
45-54	0	3	0	1	4	3	11
55-64	0	0	0	1	1	2	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	5	3	4	17	50	80

Table 17b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	0%	21%	79%	100%
25-34	4%	4%	4%	0%	19%	69%	100%
35-44	0%	5%	10%	10%	15%	60%	100%
45-54	0%	27%	0%	9%	36%	27%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	25%	25%	50%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	1%	6%	4%	5%	21%	63%	100%

Table 20a: Plainsview. I have practiced smoking.

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	1	0	0	4	14	19
25-34	0	0	0	1	6	19	26
35-44	1	0	0	0	4	15	20
45-54	0	2	0	1	3	5	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	3	0	2	18	56	80

Table 20b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	5%	0%	0%	21%	74%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	4%	23%	73%	100%
35-44	5%	0%	0%	0%	20%	75%	100%
45-54	0%	18%	0%	9%	27%	45%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	1%	4%	0%	3%	23%	70%	100%

Table 21a: I have practiced adultery/fornication/homosexuality.

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	1	1	1	5	11	19
25-34	2	1	1	1	4	17	26
35-44	0	0	2	0	3	15	20
45-54	0	2	0	0	3	6	11
55-64	0	0	0	0	1	3	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	4	4	2	16	52	80

Table 21b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	5%	5%	5%	26%	58%	100%
25-34	8%	4%	4%	4%	15%	65%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	10%	0%	15%	75%	100%
45-54	0%	18%	0%	0%	27%	55%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	25%	75%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	5%	5%	3%	20%	65%	100%

Table 22a: I need to be set free from the powers of darkness.

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need Help	Spiritual Deliverance	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	1	3	4	2	1	8	19
25-34	4	5	11	2	0	4	26
35-44	4	2	4	1	1	8	20
45-54	0	1	1	0	0	9	11
55-64	0	3	0	0	0	1	4
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	9	14	20	5	2	30	80

Table 22b

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need Help	Spiritual Deliverance	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	5%	16%	21%	11%	5%	42%	100%
25-34	15%	19%	42%	8%	0%	15%	100%
35-44	20%	10%	20%	5%	5%	40%	100%
45-54	0%	9%	9%	0%	0%	82%	100%
55-64	0%	75%	0%	0%	0%	25%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	11%	18%	25%	6%	3%	38%	100%

APPENDIX III -- KIBERA

Table 1a: Kibera - Marital Status

Age	Married	Single	Engaged	Separated	Divorced	Single Parent	No Response	Total
18-24	6	8	2	0	0	1	1	18
25-34	16	7	1	0	0	0	0	24
35-44	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
45-54	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
55-64	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	49	15	3	0	0	1	1	69

Table 1b

Age	Married	Single	Engaged	Separated	Divorced	Single Parent	No Response	Total
18-24	33%	44%	11%	0%	0%	6%	6%	100%
25-34	67%	29%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	71%	22%	4%	0%	0%	1%	1%	100%

Table 2a: Kibera - Witchcraft is the study of African medical science – response

Age	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	0	2	3	1	1	11	18
25-34	4	0	3	4	1	12	24
35-44	1	1	1	0	2	19	24
45-54	0	0	0	1	0	2	3
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	3	7	6	4	45	70

Table 2b

Age	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	11%	17%	6%	6%	61%	100%
25-34	17%	0%	13%	17%	4%	50%	100%
35-44	4%	4%	4%	0%	8%	79%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	7%	4%	10%	9%	6%	64%	100%

Table 3a: Kibera - Education Response

Age	Primary	Secondary	University	Professional	No Response	Total
18-24	4	13	2	1	2	22
25-34	2	11	2	11	26	52
35-44	5	17	2	3	27	54
45-54	2	1	0	1	3	7
55-64						0
Above 65 years						0
Total	13	42	6	16	58	135

Table 3b

Age	Primary	Secondary	University	Professional	No Response	Total
18-24	18%	59%	9%	5%	9%	100%
25-34	4%	21%	4%	21%	50%	100%
35-44	9%	31%	4%	6%	50%	100%
45-54	29%	14%	0%	14%	43%	100%
55-64						
Above 65 years						
Total	10%	31%	4%	12%	43%	100%

* Some participants responded to this question more than once

Table 4a: Kibera – Religion response

Age	Roman Catholic	AIC	Independent	Pentecostal	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	1	13	1	0	0	3	18
25-34	2	19	1	2	24	0	48
35-44	5	17	2	3	27	0	54
45-54	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
55-64		1	0	0	1	0	2
Above 65 years							0
Total	8	53	4	5	52	3	125

Table 4b

Age	Roman Catholic	AIC	Independent	Pentecostal	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	6%	72%	6%	0%	0%	17%	100%
25-34	4%	40%	2%	4%	50%	0%	100%
35-44	9%	31%	4%	6%	50%	0%	100%
45-54	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	50%	0%	0%	50%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	6%	42%	3%	4%	42%	2%	100%

* note: some people may have responded more than once

Table 5a: Kibera - Protection from evil curse response

Age	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	0	1	2	3	0	12	18
25-34	3	0	3	4	0	14	24
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	21	21
45-54	0	0	0	1	0	2	3
55-64	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	1	5	9	0	49	67

Table 5b

Age	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	6%	11%	17%	0%	67%	100%
25-34	13%	0%	13%	17%	0%	58%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	4%	1%	7%	13%	0%	73%	100%

Table 6a: Kibera - witchcraft is evil response

Age	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No response	Total
18-24	4	11	1	1	0	1	18
25-34	11	4	0	1	0	8	24
35-44	8	5	1	0	1	9	24
45-54	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
55-64	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	26	20	2	3	1	18	70

Table 6b

Age	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No response	Total
18-24	22%	61%	6%	6%	0%	6%	100%
25-34	46%	17%	0%	4%	0%	33%	100%
35-44	33%	21%	4%	0%	4%	38%	100%
45-54	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	37%	29%	3%	4%	1%	26%	100%

Table 7a: Kibera – Reasons for visiting medicine man

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	2	1	0	1	1	0	13	18
25-34	8	0	1	0	1	0	14	24
35-44	6	2	0	0	1	0	14	23
45-54	2				0	0	1	3
55-64							1	1
Above 65 years								0
Total	18	3	1	1	3	0	43	69

Table 7b

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	11%	6%	0%	6%	6%	0%	72%	100%
25-34	33%	0%	4%	0%	4%	0%	58%	100%
35-44	26%	9%	0%	0%	4%	0%	61%	100%
45-54	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	28%	4%	1%	1%	4%	0%	62%	100%

Table 8a: Kibera - witchcraft is both evil and good response

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	1	0	1	2	1	13	18
25-34	0	0	2	5	1	16	24
35-44	1	0	1	0	1	21	24
45-54	0	0	1	0	0	2	3
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	0	5	7	3	52	69

Table 8b

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	6%	0%	6%	11%	6%	72%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	8%	21%	4%	67%	100%
35-44	4%	0%	4%	0%	4%	88%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	67%	100%
55-64							
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	0%	7%	10%	4%	75%	100%

Table 9a: Kibera - I am afraid of witchcraft

Age	Not Afraid	Just A Little	Generally Afraid	Sometimes Afraid	Always Afraid	Very Afraid	No Response	Total
18-24	10	0	0	2	0	2	4	18
25-34	14	1	0	1	2	4	3	25
35-44	14	1	2	1	3	1	2	24
45-54	2	0	0	0	1		0	3
55-64	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	41	2	2	4	6	7	9	71

Table 9b

Age	Not Afraid	Just A Little	Generally Afraid	Sometimes Afraid	Always Afraid	Very Afraid	No Response	Total
18-24	56%	0%	0%	11%	0%	11%	22%	100%
25-34	56%	4%	0%	4%	8%	16%	12%	100%
35-44	58%	4%	8%	4%	13%	4%	8%	100%
45-54	67%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	58%	3%	3%	6%	8%	10%	13%	100%

Table 10a: Kibera - I know people who have consulted with witchdoctors

Age	Local Villagers	Non Christians	Christians	Politicians	Business People	No Response	None	Total
18-24	7	12	5	3	3	0	2	32
25-34	6	10	8	2	5	4	4	39
35-44	10	12	10	7	7	1	2	49
45-54	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	5
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	1		1
Above 65 years								0
Total	24	36	23	13	16	6	8	126

Table 10b

Age	Local Villagers	Non Christians	Christians	Politicians	Business People	No Response	None	Total
18-24	22%	38%	16%	9%	9%	0%	6%	100%
25-34	15%	26%	21%	5%	13%	10%	10%	100%
35-44	20%	24%	20%	14%	14%	2%	4%	100%
45-54	20%	40%	0%	20%	20%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	19%	29%	18%	10%	13%	5%	6%	100%

* Some individuals respondent by selecting more than one option

Table 11a: Kibera - I know family members who have consulted witchdoctors

Age	Parents	Uncles/Aunts	Cousins	Grand-parents	Brothers/Sisters	Step Parents	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	4	0	3	11	18
25-34	0	0	0	5	0	6	7	18
35-44	0	0	0	6	0	6	11	23
45-54	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3
55-64	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Above 65 years								0
Total	0	0	0	17	0	15	31	63

Table 11b

Age	Parents	Uncles/Aunts	Cousins	Grand-parents	Brothers/Sisters	Step Parents	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	22%	0%	17%	61%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	28%	0%	33%	39%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	26%	0%	26%	48%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	0%	0%	0%	27%	0%	24%	49%	100%

Some individuals responded by selecting more than one option

Table 12a: Kibera - I have consulted a medicine man

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	1	0	0	8	11	20
25-34	1	0	2	0	11	10	24
35-44	1	2	0	1	7	13	24
45-54	0	1	0	0	1	1	3
55-64	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	4	2	1	28	35	72

Table 12b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	5%	0%	0%	40%	55%	100%
25-34	4%	0%	8%	0%	46%	42%	100%
35-44	4%	8%	0%	4%	29%	54%	100%
45-54	0%	33%	0%	0%	33%	33%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	6%	3%	1%	39%	49%	100%

Table 13a: Kibera - I have consulted a witchdoctor

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	1	0	12	5	18
25-34	1	0	1	0	14	8	24
35-44	1	0	0	0	12	10	23
45-54	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
55-64	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	0	2	0	40	25	69

Table 13b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	6%	0%	67%	28%	100%
25-34	4%	0%	4%	0%	58%	33%	100%
35-44	4%	0%	0%	0%	52%	43%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	3%	0%	3%	0%	58%	36%	100%

Table 14a: Kibera - I have consulted a herbalist

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	1	0	0	7	10	18
25-34	3	0	3	0	9	9	24
35-44	4	1	1	0	3	15	24
45-54	1				1	1	3
55-64							0
Above 65 years							0
Total	8	2	4	0	20	35	69

Table 14b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	6%	0%	0%	39%	56%	100%
25-34	13%	0%	13%	0%	38%	38%	100%
35-44	17%	4%	4%	0%	13%	63%	100%
45-54	33%	0%	0%	0%	33%	33%	100%
55-64							
Above 65 years							
Total	12%	3%	6%	0%	29%	51%	100%

Table 15a: Kibera - my need for visiting the former was

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	2	1	0	1	1	0	13	18
25-34	8	0	1	0	1	0	14	24
35-44	6	2	0	0	1	0	14	23
45-54	2				0	0	1	3
55-64							1	1
Above 65 years								0
Total	18	3	1	1	3	0	43	69

Table 15b

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	11%	6%	0%	6%	6%	0%	72%	100%
25-34	33%	0%	4%	0%	4%	0%	58%	100%
35-44	26%	9%	0%	0%	4%	0%	61%	100%
45-54	67%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	26%	4%	1%	1%	4%	0%	62%	100%

Table 16 a: Kibera - I have practiced palm reading

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	2	0	0	2	4	10	18
25-34	1	0	1	0	10	12	24
35-44	3	0	0	2	9	9	23
45-54	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0		0
Total	6	0	1	4	24	34	69

Table 16b

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	11%	0%	0%	11%	22%	56%	100%
25-34	4%	0%	4%	0%	42%	50%	100%
35-44	13%	0%	0%	9%	39%	39%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	9%	0%	1%	6%	35%	49%	100%

Table 17 a: Kibera - I have practiced star reading

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	5	0	1	9	1	2	18
25-34	1	1	1	7	6	8	24
35-44	3	1	0	4	5	10	23
45-54	1	0	0	0	1	1	3
55-64	0			1			1
Above 65 years	0						0
Total	10	2	2	21	13	21	69

Table 17b

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	28%	0%	6%	50%	6%	11%	100%
25-34	4%	4%	4%	29%	25%	33%	100%
35-44	13%	4%	0%	17%	22%	43%	100%
45-54	33%	0%	0%	0%	33%	33%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	14%	3%	3%	30%	19%	30%	100%

Table 18 a: Kibera - I have practiced wearing charms and ornaments

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	1	0	0	1	6	10	18
25-34	0	0	0	0	11	13	24
35-44	0	0	0	0	8	15	23
45-54	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	0	0	1	26	41	69

Table 18b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	6%	0%	0%	6%	33%	56%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	46%	54%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	35%	65%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	1%	0%	0%	1%	38%	59%	100%

Table 19 a: Kibera - I have practiced drinking beer.

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	2	2	1	3	10	18
25-34	0	1	0	2	10	11	24
35-44	0	1	2	1	6	13	23
45-54	1	1	0	0	1	0	3
55-64	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Above 65 years	0						0
Total	1	5	4	5	20	34	69

Table 19b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	11%	11%	6%	17%	56%	100%
25-34	0%	4%	0%	8%	42%	46%	100%
35-44	0%	4%	9%	4%	26%	57%	100%
45-54	33%	33%	0%	0%	33%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	1%	7%	6%	7%	29%	49%	100%

Table 20 a: Kibera - I have practiced smoking

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	2	5	11	18
25-34	0	1	0	0	11	12	24
35-44	0				8	15	23
45-54	1	0				2	3
55-64				1			1
Above 65 years							0
Total	1	1	0	3	24	40	69

Table 20b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	11%	28%	61%	100%
25-34	0%	4%	0%	0%	46%	50%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	35%	65%	100%
45-54	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	1%	1%	0%	4%	35%	58%	100%

Table 21 a: Kibera - I have practiced adultery/fornication/homosexuality

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	1	5	12	18
25-34	0	1	0	2	9	12	24
35-44	0	0	0	2	5	16	23
45-54	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
55-64	0	0	0	0	1		1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	1	0	5	21	42	69

Table 21b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	6%	28%	67%	100%
25-34	0%	4%	0%	8%	38%	50%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	9%	22%	70%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	0%	1%	0%	7%	30%	61%	100%

Table 22 a: Kibera - I need to be set free from the powers of darkness

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need Help	Spiritual Deliverance	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	4	7	4	0	0	3	18
25-34	6	5	6	0	0	7	24
35-44	7	4	1	7	0	5	24
45-54	0	0	1	0	0	2	3
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Above 65 years							0
Total	17	16	12	7	0	17	69

Table 22b

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need Help	Spiritual Deliverance	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	22%	39%	22%	0%	0%	17%	100%
25-34	25%	21%	25%	0%	0%	29%	100%
35-44	29%	17%	4%	29%	0%	21%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	67%	100%
55-64							
Above 65 years							
Total	25%	23%	17%	10%	0%	25%	100%

APPENDIX IV -- MISEWANI

Table 1a: Misewani – Marital Status - response in numbers

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
25-34	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
45-54	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	17	17

Table 12b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%

Table 2 a: Misewani - Witchcraft is the study of African medical science – response

Age	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	2	0	5	1	0		8
25-34	2	0	0	1	0		3
35-44	0	1	0	1	0		2
45-54	1	0	1	0		1	3
55-64	0	0	0	1		1	2
Above 65 years							0
Total	5	1	6	4	0	2	18

Table 2b

Age	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	25%	0%	63%	13%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	67%	0%	0%	33%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	0%	50%	0%	50%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	33%	0%	33%	0%	0%	33%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	50%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	28%	6%	33%	22%	0%	11%	100%

Table 3a: Misewani - Educational level Response

Age	Primary	Secondary	University	Professional	No Response	Total
18-24	3	5	2	1	2	13
25-34	1	2	2	11		16
35-44	0	2	2	3		7
45-54	0	1	0	0		1
55-64	0	1	0	1		2
Above 65 years	0					0
Total	4	11	6	16	2	39

Table 3b

Age	Primary	Secondary	University	Professional	No Response	Total
18-24	23%	38%	15%	8%	15%	100%
25-34	6%	13%	13%	69%	0%	100%
35-44	0%	29%	29%	43%	0%	100%
45-54	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	50%	0%	50%	0%	100%
Above 65 years						
Total	10%	28%	15%	41%	5%	100%

Some participants selected more than one option hence the total for number of participants is more than 20

Table 4a: Misewani - Religion response

Age	Roman	Protestant	Independent	Pentecostal	No Response	Total
18-24	0	8	0	0	0	8
25-34	0	2	0	0	0	2
35-44	0	2	0	0	0	2
45-54	0	2	0	0	0	2
55-64	0	2	0	0	0	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	16	0	0	0	16

Table 4b

Age	Roman	Protestant	Independent	Pentecostal	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years						
Total	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%

Table 5 a: Misewani - Protection from evil curses -- response

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	3	1	0	3	0	1	8
25-34	1	0	0	2	0	0	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
45-54	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
55-64	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	4	1	0	8	0	3	16

Table 5b

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	38%	13%	0%	38%	0%	13%	100%
25-34	33%	0%	0%	67%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	50%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	25%	6%	0%	50%	0%	19%	100%

Table 6a: Misewani - Witchcraft is Evil response

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	4	3	1	1	0	0	9
25-34	2	0	1	1	0	0	4
35-44	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
45-54	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
55-64	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	9	3	4	2	0	1	19

Table 6b

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	44%	33%	11%	11%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	50%	0%	25%	25%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
45-54	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	47%	16%	21%	11%	0%	5%	100%

Some participants selected more than one option hence the total for number of participants is more than 20

Table 8 a: Misewani - Witchcraft is both Evil and Good response

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	6	1	1	0	8
25-34	1	0	0	2	0	0	3
35-44	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
45-54	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
55-64	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	0	6	6	1	2	17

Table 8b

Age	Agree	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	75%	13%	13%	0%	100%
25-34	33%	0%	0%	67%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	50%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	12%	0%	35%	35%	6%	12%	100%

Table 9 a: Misewani - I am afraid of witchcraft

Age	Not Afraid	Just A Little	Generally Afraid	Sometimes Afraid	Always Afraid	Very Afraid	No Response	Total
18-24	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	8
25-34	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
35-44	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
45-54	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	13	1	1	0	0	1	1	17

Table 9b

Age	Not Afraid	Just A Little	Generally Afraid	Sometimes Afraid	Always Afraid	Very Afraid	No Response	Total
18-24	75%	13%	13%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	76%	6%	6%	0%	0%	6%	6%	100%

Table 10 a: Misewani - I know people who have consulted with witchdoctors

Age	Local Villagers	Non Christians	Christians	Politicians	Business People	No Response	None	Total
18-24	6	4	1	1	2	0	0	14
25-34	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	5
35-44	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	3
45-54	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	7
55-64	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	5
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	10	3	4	7	0	0	34

Table 10b

Age	Local Villagers	Non Christians	Christians	Politicians	Business People	No Response	None	Total
18-24	43%	29%	7%	7%	14%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	0%	60%	0%	20%	20%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	33%	0%	0%	0%	67%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	29%	29%	14%	14%	14%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	29%	29%	9%	12%	21%	0%	0%	100%

Some participants selected more than one option hence the total for number of participants is more than 20

Table 11a: Misewani - I know family members who have consulted witchdoctors

Age	Parents	Uncles / Aunts	Cousins	Grand-parents	Brothers/ Sisters	Step parents	No Response	Total
18-24	0	5	3	1	0	0	0	9
25-34	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	6
35-44	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
45-54	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
55-64	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	9	6	6	0	0	0	21

Table 11b

Age	Parents	Uncles / Aunts	Cousins	Grand-parents	Brothers/ Sisters	Step parents	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	56%	33%	11%	0%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	0%	17%	33%	50%	0%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	0%	50%	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	33%	33%	33%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	0%	43%	29%	29%	0%	0%	0%	100%

Some participants selected more than one option hence the total for number of participants is more than 20

Table 12 a: Misewani - I have consulted medicine men

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
25-34	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
45-54	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	17	17

Table 12b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%

Table 13 a: Misewani - I have consulted a witchdoctor

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
25-34	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
45-54	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
55-64	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	12	0	12

Table 13b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%

Table 14 a: Misewani - I have consulted a herbalist

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	1	0	0	0	1	6	8
25-34	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
45-54	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
55-64	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	0	0	0	1	14	17

Table 14b

Age	Once	Twice	Frequently	Once A Year	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	13%	0%	0%	0%	13%	75%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	12%	0%	0%	0%	6%	82%	100%

Table 15 a: Misewani - My need for visiting the above was

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	0	2	0	0	0	0	8	10
25-34	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
45-54	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
55-64	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	2	0	0	0	0	16	19

Table 15b

Age	Family Sickness	Protection	Good Luck	Love Medicine	Find Out Who Bewitched Me	To Bewitch Someone	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	80%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
Above 65 years								
Total	5%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%	84%	100%

Some participants selected more than one option hence the total for number of participants is more than 20

Table 16 a: Misewani - I have practiced palm reading

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	0	7	1	8
25-34	0	0	0	1	2	0	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
45-54	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
55-64	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	1	11	3	15

Table 16b

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	0%	88%	13%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	0%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	0%	0%	0%	7%	73%	20%	100%

Table 17 a: Misewani - I have practiced star reading

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	2	3	1	0	0	2	8
25-34	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
45-54	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	3	1	0	0	11	17

Table 17b

Age	Regularly	Often	Once	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	25%	38%	13%	0%	0%	25%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	12%	18%	6%	0%	0%	65%	100%

Table 18 a: Misewani - I have practiced Wearing Charms, Ornaments

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	1	0	0	4	3	8
25-34	0	0	0	0		2	2
35-44	0	0	0	0		2	2
45-54	0	0	0	0		2	2
55-64	0	0	0	0		2	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0		0	0
Total	0	1	0	0	4	11	16

Table 18b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	13%	0%	0%	50%	38%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	0%	6%	0%	0%	25%	69%	100%

Table 19 a: Misewani – I have practiced drinking beer -- response

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	1	0	1	1	6	9
25-34	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
45-54	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
55-64	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	1	0	2	2	12	18

Table 19b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	11%	0%	11%	11%	67%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	50%	100%
55-64	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	6%	6%	0%	11%	11%	67%	100%

Table 20 a: Misewani - I have practiced smoking

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	0	4	3	7
25-34	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
45-54	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	5	9	14

Table 20b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	0%	57%	43%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	36%	64%	100%

Table 21 a: Misewani – I have practiced adultery/Fornication/ Homosexuality, and etc.

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0	0	0	0	3	4	7
25-34	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
35-44	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
45-54	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
55-64	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	4	11	15

Table 21b

Age	Regularly	Once	Often	Rarely	Never	No Response	Total
18-24	0%	0%	0%	0%	43%	57%	100%
25-34	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
45-54	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	0%	0%	0%	0%	27%	73%	100%

Table 22 a: Misewani - I need to be set free from the powers of darkness

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need	Spiritual Deliverence	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	2	0	6	0	0	0	8
25-34	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
35-44	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
45-54	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
55-64	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Above 65 years	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	1	12	1	0	0	17

Table 22b

Age	I Need Help	I Don't Need	Spiritual Deliverence	Talk Privately	Talk Urgently	No Response	Total
18-24	25%	0%	75%	0%	0%	0%	100%
25-34	33%	0%	33%	33%	0%	0%	100%
35-44	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
45-54	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	100%
55-64	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Above 65 years							
Total	18%	6%	71%	6%	0%	0%	100%

VITA

Matthews Kalola Mwalw'a, Rev.

Age: 43 years

Marital status: Married to Janet Kanini Mwalw'a.

Children: Three: Ruth Munany'e Kalola, Phyllis Mueni Kalola, and Jonathan Mwendwa Kalola.

Occupation: Chaplain, Daystar University, Nairobi.

Education: M.Th. 2001 (Missions), Candidate, Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology.

M.Div. 1988, International School of Theology (Nairobi)

B.SC. 1980 (Sacred Music), Grace College of the Bible, Omaha, Nebraska.

Dip. Th. 1976 (Pastoral Theology), Scott Theological College, Machakos, Kenya

Ministry experience:

Pastor: Africa Inland Church Ziwani, Nairobi 1977

Africa Inland Church, Ziwani, Nairobi 1980-1985

Africa Inland Church, Githurai, Nairobi 1987-1988

Africa Inland Church, Dandora, Nairobi 1988-1989

Africa Inland Church, Plainsview, Nairobi. 1990-1995

Youth Camp Speaker:

Africa Inland Church, Kenya.

Word of Life Youth Centres, Kabete (Nairobi),
(Diani Ukunda)

Starnberg, (Munich, Germany)

Boards: Kenya Youth for Christ, Board Chairman

Word of Life, Board of Directors Member

A.I.C Diguna, Associate Board Member

Television Presenter:

Joy Bringers Family Programme (Kenya Broadcasting Co-operation)