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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN THE AGE OF TECHNOLOGY:
AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Ohio State University

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN
THE AGE OF TECHNOLOGY:
AFRICA AND THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of
The Ohio State University

By
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The Ohio State University
1983

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for researching and writing while keeping my spiritual poise.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Boundaries in Human Affairs

Boundaries are and have always been part of the human condition. They have defined individual territories, group efforts, insiders and outsiders, etc. Since Babel, one of the major features of human boundaries has been linguistic. Whereas it is true that many boundaries are "artificial" structures that resulted from "historical accidents--wars, compensations, population transfers, suppression of regional and ethnic groups,"1 etc., they remain barriers that must be contented with in any human efforts aimed at contributing to the evolution of a more viable future. As Strassoldo points out, man will remain the "boundary-maker".2

In fact, as Wallerstein points out, our present world is a "social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence".3 In his view, many of the social units some scholars conceptualize as systems are in actuality subsystems. Such human settlements as "'tribes', communities, nation states," etc., do not in his view constitute systems.4 Instead, they are subsystems dependent on one another.

Cultures as Boundaries

The crossing of any boundary against the wishes of the insiders or contrary to the rules that legitimize
such crossings has been the source of much turmoil, wars, and latent conflict between the peoples of the world for centuries. Peoples of all ages have fought to protect their boundaries. In part, this has been in order to retain the structures that bind them together. For this project, the focus is on cultural phenomena that for each pocket of mankind define cultural boundaries.

According to anthropologist Kraft, culture is

the milieu in which all encounters with or between human beings take place and in terms of which all human understanding and maturation occur.

Kraft goes further to add that "The human psyche is structured by culture, as is every expression of group-ness, including family, community, and church".5 Daniel states that

all the customs and attitudes, as well as artifacts, endued by any human group...The arts, education, science and research, religious practice, economics, finance, commerce, politics, amusements, are all of them aspects of a culture.6

Technology and Cultural Boundaries: Positive Structures

Advances in Western technology, especially in transportation and information have had a mixed impact on global cultural boundaries. On the one hand, many of the natural barriers that divided mankind have been greatly minimized. Transportation systems and information networks have turned the world into a "global village" as McLuhan termed it. Today one can eat breakfast in Europe and lunch in North America. The Japanese can watch American baseball live while Canadians decorate
their homes with Oriental art forms. Teenagers in Nigeria are clad in costly American blue jeans; American doctors are seriously studying acupuncture; Malayan doctors are vaccinating villagers against outbreaks of typhus. The author has dialed Nairobi, Kenya from Columbus, Ohio, in the same amount of time it takes him to call Carbondale, Illinois. As Alger has observed — and others have concluded the same for other cities — Columbus is indeed in the world and the world is in Columbus. A visit to any local shopping center easily bears out this point as one looks at what is sold or bought, or simply what is on display.

There has been great optimism regarding the role of technological advances with regard to reducing cultural boundaries. Doxiadis envisions, in the not-too-distant future, a global "city" that will comprise human settlements to form the "Ecumenopolis or the city of the inhabited globe". As he sees it,

Because humanity has entered a new era of science and industry, Ecumenopolis is as inevitable as the village after the agricultural revolution. The changing systems and dimensions of human settlements lead to a completely new global system.

Margaret Mead is even more optimistic. She envisions a "world-wide culture" to be characterized by a citizenry that is thoroughly conversant with the affairs of all peoples of the world. Both Doxiadis and Mead belong to the "Center" and so can perhaps be forgiven for their blind optimism. The present world is in two camps: the North and the South.

There is a sense in which interdependence is operative or to put it differently, the subsystems are interacting.
For instance, what happens in Kampala, Uganda or Lagos, Nigeria becomes immediately a global concern, whether it is the expulsion of Asians or Ghanaians. Then there are global issues that call for the cooperation of all peoples for their solutions. Such problems as disease, terrorism, pollution, etc. But, the relationship between the United States and Japan is qualitatively different from that between the former and any one African country outside of the regime in Southern Africa. In the former case (within the Northern camp) there is equality, and exchange. In the latter situation, (between North and South) there is inequality and one-way flow of messages.

Technology and Cultural Boundaries: Negative Structures

The current debate on the New World information order illustrates clearly the threat posed to certain cultures by technology. The British sociologist, Tunstall, eloquently argues that international information technologies are largely American.

Thus while the world is constantly shrinking as space, time, and other natural barriers are overcome by Northern technology, there is a sense in which cultural boundaries are being a source of division, perhaps alienation, and in many cases despair. Margaret Mead, in a different context, highlights part of the problem in international cooperation when she points out that:

Not only [are] industries organized to reap profit in one part of the world in order to wield power in another, but every sort of association and organization, each small church and club designed to benefit some group competes with some other, if not in the market place of profits or political power, then for souls, constituents, prestigious names, or, in the United States, tax-exempt dollars.
Apart from the profiteering which leaves much of the South impoverished — Northern industrialization and development has been largely at Southern expense, both in raw materials and manpower — there are other concerns. Najar charges that the messages reaching the South from Hollywood are "dangerously loaded", being agents of "alien cultures". Charges of cultural imperialism by the North over the South are not new. The problem is that in the evolution of an alternative future, there is need for cooperation between the cultural groups of the world. Unless we are to expect the "New Jerusalem" which will arrive ready made.

According to Lewis,

Man's greatest problem is that of reducing international tensions and the promoting among the nations of the world a greater measure of understanding and a stronger desire to cooperate.

This basis for cooperation must be sought for at a time when the world is highly polarized — North-South. Modernization, flanked by Northern technology has adversely affected the South such that "interdependency" fails to promote equality. In Szyliowicz's words:

not all states have been equally affected by these developments [interdependencies]. Different states are more or less interdependent...much of the Third World is extremely vulnerable to discussions made in Washington, London, Moscow, or Tokyo, both in terms of markets for their goods and in terms of the supply of technology and capital.
The Problem, Justification, Purpose and Underlying Assumptions, and Rationale

In an age characterized by rapid advances in technology that have created a power gap between the North and the South, there is a pressing need for better understanding between the peoples of the world. As stated above, technology both unites and divides; it promises us a world community but then erects barriers that prevent us from realizing that community. The international linkages are such that isolationism is not only impossible but disastrous. There are not many choices left.

However, if we can get people to participate in the evolution of an agreeable alternative future, then the people would be masters of their own destiny. This is a particularly poignant issue with regard to the North-South bipolarity. In human affairs, even the millionaires soon find out that they need the poor or the less affluent in order for the former to be designated wealthy. The North needs the South and vice-versa.

Cooperation between North and South (for this project between Americans and Africans) may not come about easily. However, we cannot give up in despair. For cooperation to be effected, participation will have to be feasible. Wallerstein tells us that:

Man's ability to participate intelligently in the evolution of his own systems is dependent on his ability to perceive the whole...it depends on our image of the good society. To the extent that we want a more egalitarian world and a more libertarian one, we must comprehend the conditions under which these states of being are realized.
Thus, there will have to be established a basis for exchange relationships that allow for alternate views regarding global issues. In the America-African encounters, the former has dominated message systems. It is imperative that Africa be heard from. Wallerstein's observation regarding a relationship characterized by conflict is quite applicable to the African-American encounters. In his own words,

In general, in a deep conflict, the eyes of the downtrodden are more acute about the reality of the present. For it is in their interest to perceive correctly in order to expose the hypocrisies of the rulers.20

Justification

Accordingly, this dissertation seeks to inquire into the basis for an exchange relationship between the United States (the leader of the North) and Africa (a prominent region in the South) in which there is a mutual refining of the one cultural group by the other, based on free choice, equality and flexibility. Free choice here means that in any encounter, the parties from both groups may choose to give or take, enter or exit an encounter, accept or reject, the culturally expressive forms from each other. Such choice makes sense only among equals. Without flexibility it is easy to perpetuate the caste system that has insisted on viewing Africans as underdeveloped or developing while Americans are developed.

There are strong indicators to suggest that by the year 2000, Africa and other regions of the South may be the numerical leaders of Christianity.21 The largest Christian church in the world is in a Southern Country.22 Some Northern scholars and informed observers point out the fact that the Christian torch may be swiftly
moving from the West (which apart from Japan and the Soviet Union comprises the North). \(^{23}\)

It is therefore important that new approaches to international understanding be investigated. The day may not be far when Americans may be asking, "Can there be any good thing come out of Africa?" \(^{24}\) Therefore, apart from a desire to foster international understanding, this project tries to anticipate that day, should it come, when some of these "prophecies" may come true. Hopefully some Christians in America may appreciate the prophetic observation that "The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up." \(^{25}\)

Therefore, this dissertation questions certain of basic assumptions of development theory, diffusion theory, interdependency, etc, that imply that Africans must acquire a certain level of Northern cultural imports in order to contribute to Northern cultures, in particular and the world community in general. \(^{26}\)

Two cultural variables will be used to facilitate this inquiry: religion (Christianity) with medicine. The former has a universal appeal grounded in the equality of mankind, especially the gentile world. Both Africans and non-Jewish Americans are Gentiles. Besides, the American missionary enterprise already has a strong foothold in Africa. With regard to medicine, disease and its carriers know of no cultural boundaries. For this project, there is a more pertinent factor at play. Medicines from Europe and later America have contributed greatly to the missionary enterprise in Africa. The medical missionary -- not always the best expert on African ailments -- was indispensable to the "Bible carrying missionary." \(^{27}\) With African independence, the
picture has somewhat changed but there is a striking legacy linking, in this case, American Christianity and her medical technology.

Purpose

The author hopes to investigate three questions: First, on what basis can there be intercultural communication between Americans and Africans with respect to Christianity and with medicine? Thus the first question is concerned, in part, with investigating the basis for correcting the present imbalance.

Secondly, how can intercultural communication contribute to African-American understanding in particular and international relations in general? In the present work, intercultural communication is by definition, only possible between equals.  

Thirdly, what are the prospects for the emergence of Africans and Americans who are cosmopolitans grounded in localism? The author believes in the need to preserve cultural diversity while at the same time facilitating cultural exchange. Historically, cultures have survived through mutual borrowings.  

As pointed out in Chapter Three, the majority of scholars in the field of intercultural communication have applied, perhaps unwittingly, models that were Eurocentric.  Explicitly and implicitly, it has been assumed that people from the South must necessarily develop linearly in the footsteps of the North. The principles of equality, role reciprocity and mutual perceptions so basic to human encounters have on the whole been downplayed, if not ignored, in most of the research on cross-cultural communication.
Assumptions

This author believes that Africa, and all of the countries in the South, are culturally developed. That there is no society without a culture needs no formal defense. Equally true is the fact that each culture serves certain functions for a specific people -- the insiders. It therefore follows that if we are to have an exchange relationship, this will imply the possibility that each of the interacting cultures can "export" and "import" cultural goods. Again, these processes must be based on the cultures' choices. Cultural exchange is necessarily a "reciprocal process." 31

In the past, cultural exchange between North and South (specifically between Americans and Africans) has not been forthcoming. A large part of the difficulty has been the way Northern scholars have reified their models and equated them with actuality. Then there has been the problem of employing "terministic screens" that have obscured the worth of African peoples in particular and Southerners in general. 32

Rationale

Arnold Toynbee is correct when he observes that

When we Westerners call people "natives" we implicitly take the cultural colour out of our perception of them. We see them as wild animals infesting the country in which we happen to come across them, as part of the local flora and fauna and not as men of like passions with ourselves. So long as we think of them as "natives" we may exterminate them or, as is more likely to-day, domesticate them and honestly (perhaps altogether mistakenly) believe that we are improving the breed, but we do not begin to understand them. 33
The use of certain evolutionary phrases is not uncommon in the literature on cross-cultural communication. Such loaded terms cloud the real issues worth studying.

Northern technology has impacted all the cultures of the world to varying degrees. But technology is an aspect of culture, albeit a central one, never to be equated with the sum total of culture. Chapter Two focuses on the factor of Northern Technology in world affairs.

Because of the dominance of American and to a lesser extent European models on the field of intercultural communication, the actors, researchers, message senders were Northerners while the subjects, researched, message consumer were the South. Grunig perceptively points out that such messages were intended, perhaps unwittingly, to bring the South to Northern expectations. He argues that the messages are a major factor in underdevelopment within the South. 34

But if cultures are subsystems as stated earlier, they can and should be linked to each other genuinely and profitably by their shared purposes, such that their internal aspirations and needs can be satisfied spontaneously. 35 That means that if cultures borrow, as stated earlier, such borrowings must be done discriminately and by choice.

Intercultural communication should serve the purpose of enhancing cultures as separate but linked entities while at the same time increasing their global awareness. It should preserve cultures rather than facilitate the cultural homogenization of the world as Mead, cited above, suggests.

One of the problems ignored by researchers is that some Africans have acquired elements of American technology only to be frustrated on discovering that on the
one hand Americans will not accept them as equals, on the other hand they are misfits in their own cultures. They wind up "suspended" between the two cultures. This project aims at promoting the preservation of local cultures. From there intercultural encounters can be engaged in with solid bases. Nor should it be forgotten that no culture, not even African, is static. Every culture that survives must remain dynamic, which is far from saying it must be revolutionized.

Audiences

The author has several audiences in mind for this work. First, certain of the African students who study in the United States question the universalism of American civilization on the one hand while at the same time seeking for their own cultural identity on the other hand. Secondly, the American missionaries who in their zeal to enhance the American "Religious Empire" by establishing branches of the same in Africa are supposedly engaged in "rugged individualism" in the "jungles" or "wildernesses" of Africa. Lastly, are the scholars, especially from the field of intercultural communication whose role it is to generate theories that explain cultural encounters but who owe it to mankind to do so in the context of goodwill.

Hopefully, the African student will be encouraged to enter and exit the American culture from a position of strength. He or she will, perhaps, learn to appreciate African cultural heritage unashamedly. As for the American missionary, the author hopes that he or she will recognize the Scriptural mandate to begin in Jerusalem or at home — before venturing to Africa risking the
charge of not entering into the kingdom himself/herself while at the same time making it hard if not impossible for Africans to do so.

Scholars are often accused of ivory tower seclusionism or arm chair philosophizing. A better understanding between Americans and Africans calls for a reexamining of basic assumptions regarding intercultural encounters. Not only is America's contact with Africa marred by slavery, race is still an issue in America. Technology makes it no longer a private American problem since the American media are operating in Africa too. The challenge remains there of how an encounter characterized by inequality and the humiliation of one party can be elevated to one of coordination.

This dissertation promises no easy solutions. However, it is an inquiry into ways for enhancing intercultural dialogue.

Overview

Chapter II defines Northern Technology: its aims, hope and promises. It also discusses the role of technology in previous and current international relations especially in its "pyramidizing of power". The relevance of technology to intercultural communication is stated and the centrality of technology in North-South encounters underscored. The chapter provides examples pertinent with religious and medical technologies.

Chapter III is a select review of the literature. With each review is a brief critique and several conclusions at the end of the chapter. The monologic approach to intercultural communication research, the tendency towards ethnocentrism, the reification of "Northern"
models as well as the overall lack of comparative studies are pointed out. Also contained in the review are discussions of how scholars have conceptualized the field and how this has influenced both their researches and conclusions.

Chapter IV outlines the methodology which is in three phases, and provides a rationale for it. First is the comparative method; second are the translatable schema; third are the Gebserian typologies. The comparative method is best suited for intercultural communication because it guarantees that there will at least be two cultures being studied. The translatable schema allow for a comparison of "same" things, with regard to meanings between the two cultures. The Gebserian typologies provide a way out of the use of analytic tools with evolutionary, linear assumptions. Besides, the boundaries between each structure are open, allowing for flexibility. Interacting cultures can "enter" and "exit" any structure. In no culture is any one structure permanent.

In Chapter V the meanings of African Christianity with medicine are interpreted using the schema. The various expressive forms are examined with special emphasis placed on the African indigenous Christianity. The major characteristics of African Christianity are summarized at the end and several conclusions drawn.

In Chapter VI a similar process done in Chapter V is executed. American Christianity has complexities derived from the culture such that the chapter takes on a different form than Chapter V. However, the interpretive tools are applied as in Chapter V.

In Chapter VII interpretations of select forms of African and American Christianity with Medicine are compared and contrasted vertically and on a few items, horizontally.
Charts are provided that show similarities and differences. Then there is a discussion utilizing three of Gebser's typologies, some generalizations and conclusions. In this Chapter, two of the questions being investigated are answered.

In Chapter VIII, a model for intercultural communication for Africans and Americans is postulated. Then the prospects for cosmopolitanism grounded in localism are examined utilizing Gebser's integral structure which is the last mode used for this project. The third question of this dissertation is answered followed by concluding remarks.

In Chapter IX, the final chapter, the main conclusions of this work are stated, its limitations pointed out, suggestions for future studies or research made, and the implications of the project for intercultural communication stated. Also included in this chapter are generalizations from the study for international relations, the heuristic value of the methodology and the study, and its contribution to the field of intercultural communication.

This dissertation attempts to develop a symmetrical relationship between Africa and the United States. By its very nature and given imbalances in the message systems between the two "regions", it has a tendency which might, in part, emphasize the disproportionate relationship between the two groups.
FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid., p. 2.


4. Ibid., p. 348.


8. Chadwick Alger, et al, Columbus in the World, the World in Columbus (Mershon Center: The Ohio State University, 1974).


This is receiving considerable attention. See for instance, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Herbert I. Schiller, eds., National Sovereignty and International Communication (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1979); UNESCO Courier, April 1977.


Mead, Culture and Commitment, p. 133.

For instance, exchanging tractors for oil, cheap African labor during the colonial era, the whole principle of mercantilism.


Revelation 21: 1, 2.


Ibid., p. 4.


Jamie Buckingham, "The World's Largest Pastorate," Charisma 7 (June 1982): 20-27; the church has over 200,000 members, and is in South Korea.

Remarks made by Professor Charles Farah of Oral Roberts University at the African Christian Students (U.S.A. and Canada) Conference held in Tulsa, Oklahoma, August 1978; See also Leon Morris "The Religion that stands above Culture", in Christianity Today 24 (June 6, 1980): 55.


See Chapter III, pp. 38, 39.


Daniel, Cultural Barrier, pp. 149-150.
The author was for several years involved in the African Students Christian Fellowship and heard many students express disillusionment at the brand of Christianity they were exposed to in the United States.


The Western Missionary Mandate is generally based on Mark 16: 15, 16. However, the injunction in Acts 1:8 was given before the Church came into existence and before there was any missionary journey made.
CHAPTER II

WESTERN TECHNOLOGY: ITS AIMS, HOPES, PROMISES, AND ROLE IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

This chapter focuses on the meaning of Western technology. Specifically, the author will discuss the various definitions of the phenomenon, its place in relationships between the West and non-western countries, its aims, hopes, and promises. Finally, there will be an emphasis of western technology as it applies to Christianity and medicine, the two variables being addressed in this dissertation. Underlying the entire chapter will be the relevance of intercultural understanding in the transfer of technology from one cultural region to a different cultural region.

Definitions of Western Technology

The term technology, like other much used concepts, has undergone many definitional changes and/or modifications. At one time, the term referred to the tools or hardware that any culture employed in making ends meet. Later it was expanded to include software. Currently the concept includes the above as well as all the accompanying structures. However, not all who use the term recognize its all encompassing nature, particularly as a cultural phenomenon. There are still those, including communication scholars, who take a narrow view of
technology and therefore fail to articulate its role in international relationships. This narrow view of technology also fails to capture its impact on the cultures that generate it as well as those that receive or import it, hence the present chapter's focus.

Encyclopedia Britannica defines technology as a "rational activity stemming from the tradition of modern times." Further, the term denotes "the means or activity by which man seeks to change or manipulate his environment." Two things are worth noting here, namely that technology is rational -- in a Western sense -- and involves the art of dominating or manipulating nature. Thus one could assume that technology shapes and is shaped in turn by relevant cultures based on the latter's type of rationality and capacity or predisposition towards tampering with nature.

Mazrui observes that technology is not the outcome of specific needs in a universal sense that have to be met but rather that necessities or such needs are themselves culturally defined in the first place.¹ Therefore all cultures can be expected to make specific decisions and choices with regard to the appropriate technology. But such decisions and choices may not necessarily be made consciously; nevertheless they are made, based on the particular culture's predispositions towards nature or the environment.² Such choices could be said to be determined with special reference to the relevant culture's collective psyche, at least in a metaphorical sense. For our purposes, it is worth reiterating that technology cannot be understood or defined exclusive of a culture within which it evolved. Equally important is that differing cultures will have the propensities for differing technologies. As stated earlier, such technologies will be in keeping
with culturally defined needs and purposes or aims. Before proceeding, we will look at other definitions of technology.

Webster's Third International Dictionary states that technology is the "science of the application of knowledge to practical purposes: applied science." It is also "the totality of means employed by a people to provide itself with the objects of material culture." Here again, we can note that the type of technology developed by a culture is a function of the accumulated knowledge within the culture. What is more, once utilized, technology yields or makes possible the creation of and/or the modification of new/existing cultural phenomena. But in so doing technology itself remains an aspect of culture, albeit an overriding one as in western societies. There is the problem of equating technology with cultural phenomena in toto or of judging a culture strictly by its technological structures.

Besides being the "totality of means", Webster adds that technology is a "technical method." This is important since there was a time when technology was easily distinguishable from science. Then, the former was concerned with the "know how", while the latter focused on the "know why." Laboratory and halls of learning were the domain of science while technology belonged to industry. In our day, such distinctions, as Walker reminds us, fail to capture the marriage between science and technology. In his words,

Without the telescope, a technological invention, the science of modern astronomy would have been impossible. Without the microscope, the modern sciences of zoology, biology, and bacteriology would not have developed... One of the latest and most striking debts of science to technology lies in the fields of mathematics and
physics. Progress in both is now dependent in part on the high speed automatic computer. The computer in turn owes its development to informational theory, and the researches of mathematics.4

What we have then is a union which is, according to Szyliowicz, "synergetic" and one that has certain consequences for societies.5

Broadly defined, technology is a milieu that is all encompassing.6 However, there are individual technologies, for instance, medical, advertising, military, transportation, information, printing, etc. Added to these types of technologies is the fact that technology is person-based. That is, it is also viewed as the "ability of persons to advise, manage, or train."7 In this sense we have technical advisers who cross cultural boundaries as part of the structures that are an integral part of technological transfer. This has consequences for intercultural communication between the affected culture — the sending one as well as the receiving one.

However, even within a single nation, technocrats tend to wield enormous power, including political. Thus we have scientists for instance, having an important role in national and international affairs because of the place of technology — science's partner as noted earlier — in human affairs. As Boulding remarks,

Science derives its political importance from the fact that it has become an increasingly significant part of the whole social process by which images of the world — including the images of political decision makers — are created.8

But science here is not confined to the physical sciences. Rather it is the whole methodology of science applied
to the various fields of human knowledge. Therefore those with specialized knowledge find themselves elevated within their societies. Mazrui points out that cultures perform seven functions, namely: 1) providing a society with lenses of perception or ways of viewing the world; 2) serving as standards of evaluation—religiously, aesthetically, and legally; 3) providing a source of motivation, for instance, the profit motive; 4) serving as a medium of communication, both verbally—language—and non-verbally as in dress and artifacts; 5) spelling out the pecking order or serving as a basis for stratification or statuses; 6) influencing the means of production, for instance economic determinism or a differential system based on group spirit or other criteria within a particular culture; and finally, 7) defining for a people who are the "we" and the "they" or who are the "insiders" and the "outsiders".

Specialists such as engineers, doctors, theologians, technicians, lawyers, etc. may therefore find their pecking order enhanced. Indeed it is just such occurrences that prompted concern by certain Americans who feared that technocrats may well interfere with the well-defined political processes and avenues. Such fears are not restricted to nations. In the international community, as will be seen later, the country with the most technocrats exported to others gains in the pecking order of nations. As Ellul aptly puts it, technology becomes the "vehicle for the pyramidizing of power".

Several more definitions of technology are in order here before we focus on western technology. Apart from the above definitions, technology is also "process-and-product-based". What is even more interesting, it is a system that obeys its own rules. This implies that it is self-perpetuating, once set in motion, with one
technology depending on another in a chain action. But once a particular technology that is in demand is mastered — that is its rules are understood — the responsible culture does enjoy the privileges and honors that go with being part of the particular technology's structural system.\textsuperscript{15} It is quite possible that a culture may be blamed for its technology. Thus technology has to do with machines, people, institutions, world views, etc.

Western Technology: Its aims, hopes, and promises

One of the principal aims of western technology was to provide goods and services at low costs for the majority of people. The United States led in mass production technology.\textsuperscript{16} Technology was also looked upon to bring about a "perfect society", provided that people would get rid of their tendencies to irrationality and immorality.\textsuperscript{17} This suggests that another technology would need to be effected capable of promoting rationality and morality in humans, in order for the perfect society to be realized. However, it was expected, in certain circles that technology — and here the prophets were speaking in generalities — would usher in the rational society or at least be the vehicle for the evolution of a rational order.\textsuperscript{18}

But in order for the rational order to be fully realized, society was going to be first of all industrialized.\textsuperscript{19} Western technology was expected to bring about the long awaited dream of perfecting human affairs.\textsuperscript{20} Perhaps this would be the return to Edenic paradise, if not the acceleration of the millenium. In the medical arena, cures were to be perfected that would rid humanity, once and for all, of all the chronic diseases that
plagued the race. As death rates went down, inevitably life expectancies would rise in every human settlement where people had access to medical technology. Lives would be protected and sustained qualitatively. The notion of the "good life" would no longer be in the domain of theoretical speculation but part of the experiential package of first, western man, and then the rest of mankind. Margaret Mead expected western technology to solve all human problems. Hers was an unqualified vision. Such solutions could be delivered not only by the best technological means, but in the most efficient manner. Thus efficiency was to be the watchword of western technology.

Western peoples have had a propensity for taming nature, be it space, time, or other natural barriers, as a means for enhancing their freedoms variously defined. Even here, technology was viewed as the precursor making such feats possible and thereby raising standards of living for all under the technological umbrella.

For Boorstin, Western technology would, once perfected, rid mankind of vices and evils that have defied other solutions for centuries. For one, technology would, in his view, dilute and dissolve ideology. Considering the divisive nature of ideology, once it is dissolved, people would be united under the technological banner. But Boorstin was more optimistic. He envisioned hearing the death knell announcing the demise of other social evils including, tribalism, nationalism, the crusading spirit in religion, bigotry, censorship, racism, persecution, immigration and emigration restrictions, tariffs, and chauvinism.

In a similar vein, Doxiadis saw a future, not too distant, in which an ideal city would be inhabited by
the maximum number of people existing "under the best possible conditions". The Doxiadic city is to be brought about by technology which is already available. But even in his vision, the realization of the city was conditioned on the west's ability to achieve, somehow, an unspecified "balance" for the city.28

The optimism continues and for Americans and other westerners who may have an apocalyptical keenness but who, for any number of reasons, find Christianity inadequate, technology seems to have been the carrier for a millenium. One could say that there has been developing for perhaps two or three centuries now, a mythology of technology in the West. We will return to this later on.

Western Technology and International/Intercultural Relations

Earlier it was pointed out that technology determines the pecking order within a nation as well as in the world community. But each nation or society is a subsystem of the world system as was stated in chapter one. Therefore we can expect, within the community of nations, to find a reordering of peoples with the North (the traditional West plus Japan and the Eastern bloc countries) as the leader. Let us pursue this statement further.

According to McNeil, it was the West's military technology that placed her in the role of world leader.29 From the Second World War, the United States emerged as the leader in the West. Toynbee points out that it was the superiority of western technology that made western political institutions enjoy an "irresistible prestige in nonwestern eyes".30 From McNeil, we learn further that it was western technology that "kept humanity in turmoil"
for well over a century and a half. Nor can any student of colonialism and current international linkages forget the role of or even underrate "gun-boat diplomacy."

In the case of Africa, Mazrui points out that it was her inferior military and communication technologies that made her such an easy prey for western colonizers. In his view, Africans were wanting technology in the areas of "violence" and "mobility." He further credits western technology with the establishment, in much if not all of the South, of "Western hegemony." Ellul argues that the current super-power relationships are more a matter of technology than ideology. While that may be debatable, very few, if any, would deny that the bipolarity — North versus South — is technologically based.

An informed observer says that there are

Existing...patterns of inequality and Northern domination. A new colonial system has been created which, given the growing salience of technological innovation for power and wealth, is leading to ever-greater inequalities between the center countries and the periphery.

Perhaps we can better understand President Nyerere's remarks to the United Nations General Assembly that:

the basis of our actions, internal and external, will be an attempt, an honest attempt, to honor the dignity of man. We believe that all mankind is one, that the physiological differences between us are unimportant in comparison with our common humanity....We believe that differences in our religions or our political ideologies may cause difficulties for our small minds, but do not, to our way of thinking, affect the right of every individual to be treated as a man, with dignity and honor....

We believe, in fact, that the individual man and woman is the purpose of society....

We care very much about the future of humanity; but we do not believe that the present divisions of the world are between the good and the bad. They are not even divisions based on the
The automatic assumption that one or the other of the contending major groups of States is always right, or always wrong, cannot bear examination...

And, as a noted African political scientist points out, Africans may not be the most brutalized of peoples but they certainly are, in his view, the most humiliated.

In an age characterized by what Strassoldo calls the "technotronic" and the "mobiletic" revolutions, we cannot ignore the relevance of technological transfer, which is largely a one-way traffic from North to South, for intercultural communication. Going back to the African situation again we find another problem that becomes a barrier in intercultural encounters.

Maltzke observes that when peoples from cultures with differing levels of technology interact, "those from less industrialized countries become alienated from their own culture." There are those who feel Africa contributed nothing to western technology, a position that is highly arguable. For some scholars, Africa had no technology worth the mention. In the words of Nathaniel Weyl, an American ethnopsychologist, Africa had no jurisprudence, no natural science, no history, no literature, no philosophy...the chief cultural finding was that women were naked and men ate dog meat and carrion.

Needless to point out that "Hollywood's seemingly unlimited love for the exotic and the sensational", has greatly played up the theme of Africa's technological backwardness.

According to Grunig, the messages from North to South that are conveyed through the transfer of technology and implied in the transactions are a major underlying
factor in the problem of underdevelopment within the South. Victor Basiuk sees the North/South polarization to be a "product of differential technological advance and its politicization."

For much of the South, science is still a "foreign import...it has never become an area of critical concern." Therefore in order to advance, the South must acquire technology from the North. Modernization is always defined in terms of Northern technologies.

Technological transfer across cultures

Orr and Wolfe tell us that "technological transfer refers to the purposeful movement of knowledge from developer to user, an explicit system or process...". They further state that,

Technological transfer involves a total process in which available technology is identified and assessed; specific user groups are targeted for transfer; a plan is developed for transferring knowledge to these groups in a useful and efficient manner; with feedback and evaluation providing the basis for future interaction...the process of technological transfer may not be considered successful until the new technology has been incorporated into the operation of the target group.

The above quote ignores several factors. First, if the technology is not appropriate for the target culture, or as more often the case, the culture is not prepared for it, the new technology can be expected to "upset that environment."

However, Orr and Wolfe are not alone in their view of the transfer of technology. Daniel argues that many
items are transferable from one culture to another. But he is viewing technology as simply hardware. Influenced by such conceptualizations of technology, communication researchers, especially those dealing with technological transfer, among others, ignore the cultural factor in the transfer of technology. Galtung presents a very perceptive analysis regarding the transfer of technology. Following his example, the author will provide two examples pertinent to this dissertation.

When a team of American missionaries go into an African community to evangelize, they are an aspect of technological transfer as defined earlier. In time they gain converts who will learn aspects of American Christianity and reject much of their African values. They will sing from American hymn books. Because missionaries generally despise African cultures, the converts will be commanded not to participate in any African ceremonies. These converts may be given second-hand clothes from American churches. Their children may even gain a better education. Over a period, a new village is established: a Christian village with a new pecking order. The missionary replaces the elders as counselor. The converts are alienated from their cultures as they try to follow the new teachings.

As is often the case, medical missionaries follow with drugs. The faithful have access to these, having rejected herbs because the latter are evil. But hospitals cost money to run. There is therefore a fee for medical services. For the poor villagers, used to herbs for fees that include chickens and other domestic animals, they need better economic bases to be able to get the American drugs. Since the doctors are paid from America, they are not answerable to Africans. They can leave the
community any time. If so the Africans have no recourse for their health needs. Besides, missionary converts are restricted from joining indigenous churches where total reliance on God is encouraged. In cases where diseases prove resistant to Western medicines, Christians cannot receive treatment from African herbalists with clear consciences. In the end we have what Achebe calls, *Things Fall Apart*. Not only is there disruption of social statuses, but the new technologies are controlled from a foreign land and are costly. Besides, not all can receive them. Kinship ties are broken.

The above examples are not far removed from some actual examples. They serve to illustrate that the transfer of technology is more than just the items. There is the language factor -- Africans must learn English if they are to take over the skills. It seems, perhaps impossible to Africanise science. Or may be it has never been tried. In time to get good medical care calls for the possession of health insurance. Most Africans lack even that.

**Conclusion**

The West has greatly impacted the rest of the world. As Kraft Points out

> Western schools, western medicine, western philosophies of government, western economic systems, western individualism and western religion have combined to challenge traditional world-views....

And Jamal al-Din al-Afghani observes,
if someone looks deeply into the question, he will see that science rules the world. There was, is, and will be no ruler in the world but science.52

It is not strange that technology is regarded as the god of some Americans.53 For American Christians this can be anything but a divine blessing.54 However, technology has its malcontents as well.55

For intercultural communication, the role of technology cannot be ignored in a discussion involving North/South encounters. Contrary to earlier expectations that technology would unite mankind, we now have to fuse new linkages despite the divisions wrought by Western technology. This dissertation is an effort at inquiring into possible links for intercultural communication in a technological age.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid.


4 Charles Walker, cited in Mazrui, Federation of Cultures, p. 37.

5 Ibid., p. 6.


12 Ellul, Perspectives, p. 37.
Technicians rise in social standing. As technocrats, they are viewed as masters of technological secrets.


Ibid.

View attributed to French Philosophers by Gunnell, Ibid.


Daniel Boorstin, cited in Gunnell, Ibid., p. 397.

Ibid.


33 Ibid., p. 94.

34 Ellul, *Perspectives*, p. 80.

35 Szyliowicz "Technology", p. 29.


40 Ibid.


43 Szyliowicz, "Technology", p. 23.


46 Ibid.

47 Ellul, Perspectives p. 43.


52 Cited in Daniel, The Cultural Barrier, p. 29.


54 Since Americans send out more missionaries than any other country so that increasing "idolatry" at home could hurt their missionary efforts: Source Credibility.

55 For instance the Back-to-Nature Movement, The Various Peace Movements, etc.
CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this select review of literature, the author has been biased toward those authors whose works have significant implications for international understandings or relations between countries. While national boundaries have little or no bearing on cultural boundaries, many scholars still find them useful because they are convenient to use and easier to locate. For lack of better accepted boundaries, we will employ them.

With each review I will provide critiques on what I consider pertinent points for my own project. A brief conclusion follows the review.

Porter and Samovar state that "intercultural communication occurs whenever a message producer is a member of one culture and a message receiver is a member of another." The pair define communication as a "dynamic process whereby human behavior, both verbal and nonverbal, is perceived and responded to." Since intercultural communication is a special type of the communication process, we can assume that the "message" is both verbal and nonverbal in intercultural encounters. The authors point out that successful intercultural communication is dependent upon the willingness and desire of the interactants, in this case from two or more cultures, to have mutual understanding. This, they tell us, is further predicated in an atmosphere characterized by a mutual, voluntary "elimination of superior-inferior relationships based upon memberships in particular cultures."
While Porter and Samovar have some difficulty delineating cultural boundaries [apparently they see "cultures" within the American culture] they do provide useful categories for examining intercultural encounters including the following: attitudes, social organization, patterns of thought, roles and role prescriptions, language, use of as well as organization of space, time conceptualization, and nonverbal expression. Certain of the difficulties that arise when individuals from differing nationalities encounter one another are also discussed by the pair. These include ethnocentrism, divergent world-views, the presence of absolute values in certain cultures, stereotypes and prejudices, etc.\(^3\)

For Rich and Ogawa, intercultural communication is communication between "peoples of different cultures." Their conceptualization of intercultural communication brings into play the historical context of international relationships. They define intercultural communication as restricted to those encounters between cultures that were not characterized by colonialism, where one culture dominated another. In their view, there needs to be prior understanding of equality before intercultural communication can be genuinely engaged in. The authors introduce the concept of "contracultural communication" to define those encounters typical of colonial experiences, whereby "intercultural communication is transformed, by continued contact of cultures and the imposition of one culture upon the other." When this transformation occurs, "what began as a simple egalitarian interaction between two strange but relatively equal cultures becomes a colonial relationship where one culture is forced to submit to the power of another."\(^4\)

Rich and Ogawa do not tell us how "contracultural" communication can be transformed into intercultural.
In view of the fact that for much, if not all, of the Third World, "contracultural" communication is part of their histories, it is necessary to address this problem. Thus, their discussion appears limited to intercultural communication among, say, the West (including, for our purposes, the Soviet Union) or among the Third World. But when we look at encounters between the West and the Third World, we run into the "contracultural communication" barrier. Still, their restricted application of intercultural communication has heuristic value.

LaRay Barna, who has studied encounters between American and foreign students, decries the fact that not enough has been done to improve intercultural communication. She states that having some knowledge of the customs and language of another people are insufficient to provide a sound basis for intercultural understanding. Instead, she recommends a study of "the history, political structure, art, literature, and language of the country if time permits. But more important, one should develop an investigative, nonjudgmental attitude and a high tolerance for ambiguity -- which means lowered defenses."5

Barna's remarks are well taken, but as she herself points out, time would be one obstacle for those who seek to gain any kind of depth into the workings of other cultures. Besides, such expertise would not enable the possessors to deal with cultures not so studied, since the variables she lists may differ significantly from culture to culture.

According to Maletzke, understanding across cultures is dependent upon the level of likenesses or differences in the cultural identities of the interactants. He points to personal images and attitudes of interactants as significantly affecting international messages
and perceptions. The author discusses "Third cultures" as defining peoples from various cultures who share common interests, for example, a common profession. He then points out that in those intercultural encounters characterized by inequality, the members from less industrialized nations are generally worse off, being "alienated from their own culture." He does list a set of concepts for descriptively structuring and evaluating human experience. The following are included: World View or Cognitive Structure, Cognitive Style or Private World, Subjective Experience World, Frame of Reference, Subjective Value System, Value Constellation, Thinking Style, etc.\(^6\)

One of the most useful insights from Maletzke is, in my view, his perception of the role played by and the place accorded to western technology in the community of nations and its implications for intercultural communication. But, this was the topic of Chapter Two.

William Howell sees the need for holistic theoretical formulations which are applicable to cross-cultural communication. Because intercultural communication as a field is young, Howell points out the limitations of relying solely, as some researchers have done, on analytical approaches. Instead, he advocates modifying aspects of communication theories and then applying these to intercultural communication research. The lack of adequate data has led, in his view, to a lack of theoretical constructions making the employment of analytical methodologies unfruitful. He posits a multicultural model built around the dyad as a basic measuring unit in which each unit is an interactant.\(^7\)

However, a closer examination of Howell's examples leads one to question the applicability of his model (and eventually its generalizability) in capturing the
dynamics of cross-cultural contacts of, say, people from two Western cultures (e.g., if one is analyzing a dyadic experience between a Swede and a French person). His model seems most helpful in outlining interactions between Westerners and non-Westerners. And while these may be the most sensitive in the global arena, yet intercultural communication need not be limited to encounters between the West and non-Westerners. Besides, his variables are inadequate, in my view, to constitute culturally expressive forms; that is, variables need to be those that address significant cultural phenomena for international relations. He would need to add other variables to his list for holistic categorizing.

Perhaps if Howell had provided his definition of culture, he would have clarified his ideas somewhat. He does, however, make a very interesting point when he notes the limits as well as the inadvisability of using Western modes of thought in trying to understand non-Western cultures whose systems of thinking differ significantly from Western ones.

Asante and his associates concur with Howell regarding the infancy of the field of intercultural communication, but they see little use in trying to formulate theories. Instead, the field should be steered toward new observations of cultural phenomena, followed by descriptions of the same. There is need, they argue, for a foundation for articulating arguments that could then lead to the advancement of scientific inquiry. They see the problem facing the field as stemming, in part, from the fact that much of the previous research has been conducted by scholars not based in the field of communication. They trace the analytical approach Howell was talking about to rhetorical theory based in classical and neoclassical traditions.8
The authors make a revealing statement in pointing out that most cultural critics in the past were primarily concerned with explaining the experiences of Americans overseas. Therefore there is a large amount of monologic as opposed to dyadic descriptions in the literature purporting to address intercultural or cross-cultural communication. This is very important since such works are of limited use in unveiling intercultural understanding and in facilitating generalizability. Besides, the prototype of all human communication is face-to-face or dyadic.

Burk and Lukens are interested in the relevance of cognitive anthropology and ethnomethodology for cross-cultural communication. They see the former as lending objectivity to research and the latter as providing safeguards against generalizing for real life situations from findings obtained from controlled laboratory settings. Ethnomethodologists want to discover the "real world" of their subjects. In other words, the subjects' "cultural identity", as Adler (discussed below) would put it, by applying a phenomenological framework. Their cultural variables include the following: race, language, style, abstraction, non-verbal behavior, personality and measurement.9

The pair point out the difficulties that face researchers in the field and warn against a possible danger of studying "culture and communication" instead of intercultural communication. This, they point out, is because of the tendency to rely mostly on "anecdotal rather than substantive cross-cultural comparisons." They also cite the heavily monologic nature of research in which there is very little done that is comparative. Their criticism even includes the methodology that they recommend. One is left in suspense as to the explanatory power and contribution to intercultural understanding
of the use of the combined approaches. We also find little in the literature that does not make use of anecdotal material.

Stanley Jones comes to the rescue for Burk and Lukens. He not only posits applying the methodologies suggested by the latter team of researchers, but he has personally done research utilizing the approaches. Employing the terms "etic" and "emic", which are equivalents or approximations of cognitive anthropology and ethnomethodology in their major descriptive elements respectively, Jones discusses the strengths of the approach. For instance, the researcher using the "etic" or laboratory approach contributes "interobserver reliability and replication" as his/her criteria for validity. The researcher utilizing the "emic" approach or any of the participant observer techniques provides "intersubjective reliability" as his/her test for validity.10

Jones argues rather convincingly for the advantages of this two-pronged approach in intercultural communication research. He sees the promise of the approach in its ability to overcome the limitations of using only the laboratory techniques or field studies exclusively. By combining the two, researchers have the advantage of real life situations subjected to the rigor of laboratory observations to yield scientific as well as realistic data.

In his own research, Jones has tested variables including the following: proxemics, head orientation, and body axis. But Jones' optimism needs to be viewed realistically. How does one compare two distant cultures? This is a problem of both cost and time. Another problem has to do with expertise on the part of researchers. Not many are trained to utilize both approaches, in which case teams of researchers would be necessary. Besides, reward systems in academic circles tend to favor specialists
rather than generalists. In any case, Jones admits that models for his type of approach are yet unavailable.

Unlike Asante and associates, who see the lack of theory in intercultural communication as no cause for alarm, Burk is disturbed by the state of the art in the field.

For Burk, not only are culture and communication inseparable, but what is more, culture cannot be construed as an attribute of communication; rather it is a variable. But Burk fails to follow through with his concern for the need for theory and favors descriptive approaches for the moment convinced that once the foundation is laid, theories will be forthcoming. He applies Kuhn's terminology to intercultural communication and concludes that the field is at a pre-normal science stage, lacking a salient paradigm. He predicts that as soon as there is a system of "symbols and references", a speedup in theory development will ensue.11

Burk urges researchers to first know or understand the cultures they are studying, a position similar to Barna's. But as we will see below, there is also a need for researchers to know their own cultures as well as those they study. He recommends the use of an "order" and "conflict" model for studying cross-cultural communication. Such a model, in his view, is fundamental to an understanding of human interaction: people are experiencing, at any given time, conflicts that call for solutions; or harmony needs to be maintained or enhanced.

The point Burk raises is crucial for our purposes in this review. What researchers do helps shape, for most decision makers as well as other interested parties, international images. It is therefore imperative that a sound knowledge of a culture under study, coupled with a healthy attitude toward the culture, be part of a scholar's
training if he/she is to articulate the processes of intercultural communication.

Newark and Asante recommend that researchers first understand the self identities of the people in each of the cultures studied. For them, "the self acts as a screening agent" in relationships with others. Cultures shape individual self identities; and therefore a knowledge of such identities provides access to the possibilities and choices that individuals have in intercultural encounters, including how individuals modify their self identities in order to adjust to those from other cultures. Underlying Newark and Asante's position is the assumption that individuals necessarily modify their frames of reference for effective intercultural encounters. The self-concept of an individual is influenced by a specific world view.¹²

Since a majority of mankind has been dominated at one time or another during their history, the authors would have been better off demonstrating some pertinent modifications. For example, they could have shown how individuals in cultures that have been colonized could modify their world views once decolonization is achieved or as part of the decolonization process to aid them in interacting on an equal basis with former bosses. While an understanding of self perceptions and the perceptions of one person by another is vital, such an approach should not, in my view, ignore past encounters between the peoples. The present for any people embodies the past. We must also recognize that communicating man is historical and that historical memory is very much a part of the personality. The authors do touch on the need to bring the past to bear on the present, but their treatment of past influences on present self-awareness is shallow in light of prevailing international relations.
The call sounded by Newark and Asante for the promotion of cultural diversity is timely, particularly at a time like this when mass media dominated by certain fairly homogenous cultures seek the homogenization of world cultures. Diversity would allow room for individuality which may be under attack in mass mediated cultures.

Several of the authors reviewed above suggested conducting observations of and collecting of data on intercultural phenomena. Tyler, Hall, and Taylor provide research tools for such undertakings. They recommend the utilization of such social science methodologies as the following: survey methods, questionnaires, content analyses experimental method, projective techniques. They then suggest the use of certain strategies in the application of the methodologies listed above. The following are examples of the strategies: emic-etic approaches, inductive and deductive approaches, formal and informal channels, etc. The authors delineate several sources for data such as secondary, tertiary, and computer files. Finally, they point out ways of validating and verifying collected data.

These approaches need to be used restrictively in intercultural communication. In as much as they are products of certain cultural milieu, given that cultural diversity has been the order in human settlements, it is, in my view, inadvisable to impose such methodologies and concepts that may not help articulate other world views. Granted, certain methodologies can be adapted for use in other cultures, but since the authors do not show evidence of such uses, it may be up to the researchers to pick and choose what is adaptable.

Alfred Smith proposes the use of taxonomies, actually, vectors and matrices adapted from mathematics. His scheme includes the following variables: total amount of foreign
contact, specific foreign contact, degree of isomorphism, degree of cohesion, self-sufficiency, and outlook for change. His approach has the added advantage of having magnitude, the vectors, while previous matrices, as he points out, lacked this quality. But as pointed out below there is both hope and disappointment as one notices his choice of cultures for the application of the model.

Smith's approach has a lot of promise for intercultural communication research. One of its strengths is that it avoids classifying cultures on the basis of evolution, geography, psychology, or ubiquitousness. However, it is limited to encounters between certain groups, thereby affecting its generalizability. There is no real reciprocity as the cultures do not mutually influence each other; nor is there equality. Perhaps his choice of examples was unfortunate. For example, he has matrices for the Caroline Islands and Micronesia accompanied by contacts the islands had with the West. But there is no mention as to the nature of the impact the islands had on the West. Apparently the dominant Western cultures remained intact; in which case monologic or truncated dyads typify the encounters. His discussion of self-sufficiency would need to reckon with the histories of the encounters since in cases of cultural diffusion, the weaker peoples have no choices. Such encounters are characterized by inequality. But perhaps Smith was misled by certain of his informants. For example, he says African political systems are based on tribal systems, a claim which is quite erroneous.

Like Smith, Sarbaugh proposes the use of a taxonomy. However, his is based on what he calls "interculturalness." He has named the following as cultural variables: code system, the normative patterns of belief and overt
behavior, world view, and perceived relationship and intent. He breaks down each variable into its component parts and develops the scheme to show how the approach would facilitate intercultural understanding. Sarbaugh's model takes into consideration several variables crucial to the definition of culture discussed in this project in Chapter One. Unlike most of the researchers discussed above, he tries to get away from the tendency to equate national boundaries with cultural boundaries. This is quite useful, especially when one looks at former colonies in, say, Africa where national boundaries were drawn arbitrarily with no respect for existing cultural ties. His insight has interesting implications when we consider man's common ancestry and a possible future world peopled to a greater or lesser degree by multiculturals or cosmopolitans as is argued in Chapter Eight of this project.

But Sarbaugh seems to get carried away in assuming that just because he has better cross-cultural understanding with fellow intellectuals from other cultures than with those less educated who belong to his own cultural group, distinct cultural boundaries do not exist; even between him and those intellectuals from other lands. Perhaps both he and the other intellectuals may not be representative of the mainstream of the cultural groups they belong to. What is more, one wonders whether the less educated in, say, the United States and similar groups in, say, Kenya, would enjoy better understanding. In my view, outside of intellectual as well as intellectually related pursuits, Sarbaugh has more in common with less educated Americans than with less educated Africans. Both he and they share a common political, economic, and social system or frame of reference. Unfortunately, national boundaries still play a bigger role in inter-
national relations than would be best for the world community.

Thus, the concept of interculturalness seems limited in adequately capturing relationships between the peoples of the world. It would need to be modified to be more generalizable. There are plenty of international organizations, but one could hardly describe their memberships as constituting a cultural group. The workers of America are quite different from the workers of Uganda with respect to a significant number of culturally expressive forms. Such forms would include, for instance, language, lifestyles, intensity of religious beliefs, amount and type of technological exposures, kinship ties, etc. Yet, under the auspices of an international worker's union, they might enjoy better understanding between themselves than they do with their respective civil servant groups.

Edward Stewart traces the history of intercultural communication scholarship to the period after the Second World War. Prior to the War, he says, anthropologists concentrated on differences between cultures while almost totally ignoring similarities. Stewart points out that although communication comes into play in the areas where differences exist between interactants, its starting point is with their similarities. In general communication, interactants typically seek to increase mutual understanding by extending the boundaries of similarities. This seems to be the case whether the need is just for talking to other humans or for resolving a conflict. 16

The principle of complementarity in intercultural communication is central to his model. For instance, he states, "To perceive a likeness is bound up with a difference; to note a similarity must imply recognition of a difference, a divergence from sameness." This is important since in our desire to understand others we
must guard against trying to make them like us, but rather be sensitized to their particular group's peculiarities. Such sensitivity will minimize conflict during encounters. But in noting the peculiarities, we must at the same time look for commonalities between the culture and our own. As Stewart reminds us, if differences never existed, the need to communicate would be greatly diminished.

Thus, as in other aspects of human communication, a major goal in intercultural communication should be the enlarging of the area of the comparison fields of communicators. A similar focus would be to reduce the gap in frames of reference to manageable proportions to allow for shared meanings.

Stewart touches on another important factor in much of intercultural communication scholarship, namely, motives. Much of the work in this area was done to help those (primarily Westerners, apparently) going to other cultures for an extended stay -- soldiers, missionaries, colonists, etc. This is important for our understanding of how encounters as well as representatives from the host cultures were conceptualized, partly as justification for the ventures. Many of the labels or terms used continue, to the present, to cloud many of the issues in intercultural communication research.

Needless to say, such "terministic screens", to borrow Kenneth Burke's phraseology, have increased misunderstandings across cultures. Examples of this are terms such as "traditional", "heathen", "pagan", "backward", "simple", "primitive", and "superstitious"...and of course their antonyms are used with reference to the sending or venturing cultures. Such labels form part of the international image matrix which greatly affects how certain nations perceive each other communicatively. For instance, those described as traditional need to be modernized while
the heathens need to be christianized -- usually in a Western fashion. International understanding cannot be facilitated by eliminating the other culture's expressive forms and substituting our own.

For Fred Casmir, researchers need to study how people in varying cultures construct their reality in communicative situations. He points out the danger of imposing models that are developed independently of the cultures they seek to help explain. In his view, using methodologies alien to cultures studied necessarily means avoiding capturing those constructs that belong to the studied cultures and instead articulating the researcher's world view. In other words, we have what I consider to be cases of researchers gaining self-validation with their peers instead of helping to articulate the phenomenon, intercultural communication.17

Casmir suggests using a sub-cultural group from each of the cultures under study whose interactional experiences should be monitored as they adapt to each other. His use of sub-culture is specialized, although somewhat confusing. A sub-culture does not usually strike the reader as a representative of a general culture but rather as a more homogenized group, with respect to specific expressive forms, within a cultural group. Also, the notion of individual constructs as used here and individuality as used by some of the scholars reviewed above is not helpful in intercultural communication. We are basically concerned with cultural groups rather than specific individuals, unless the individuals in some specified ways are representative of the group.

In any case, as Edward Stewart (reviewed above) points out, "the culture-bearing unit...transcends the individual." It is the group worldviews, constructs, endeavors, etc. that we are primarily concerned with in
intercultural communication. That is not to say the concept of individuality, if applying it to specific groups, would not be helpful. On the contrary, it does help in avoiding simplistic and often misleading generalizations by certain scholars who have met or interviewed only a handful of people who are barely representative of the larger culture. Such limitations result in, for example, generalizing on "Africans after meeting a few people from a section of Kenya's coastal region."

While a number of the above authors have cited world view as a cultural variable in detail with reference to a specific intercultural encounter, Kraft has the advantages of having lived in at least two cultures, being a trained anthropologist, a theologian, and having worked as a missionary -- a rare blending, to say the least. He discusses the centrality of a world view within any one culture and how this, in turn, affects that particular culture's encounters with other cultures. Among the functions of a world view for a culture he lists the following: explanatory, validating and evaluational, reinforcement, integrating, and adaptational.¹⁸

Kraft uses his scheme to point out the importance of religion (or divinities) in any culture -- evaluational and validating function (actually, the religious orientation goes beyond this function in Kraft's discussion). Two of the issues he raises (which are discussed further in chapters two, four, five and six) are of particular concern to this author. The first is that world views can and do change. Such flexibility in world views makes it possible for any group of people to reduce contradictions whenever new cultural norms are accepted that seem to be at variance with previously held norms. (Kraft has an inventory of factors that influence the acceptance or rejection of ideas by any culture.)
example that he gives is the replacing of the Judeo-Christian God by a "belief in the actual or potential all-sufficiency of technological man." This has implications for cultural change.

A second issue raised by Kraft which is closely related to the above is the fact that Western culture, considered by anthropologists as irreligious, has greatly influenced other cultures, ironically, even with respect to religion. Part of the explanation of this seeming paradox is offered in the chapters just stated above. What is interesting here is that Westerners who worship, as it were, at the shrines of their own technology have challenged, in many cases with irreversible impact, societies that were deeply religious -- albeit not in the Judeo-Christian sense. In such challenges, however, they have failed to provide replacements for lost religions that served a validating and evaluational function. The result is captured in a theme of one of Africa's leading novelists, echoed by Kraft, in the statement "things fall apart." This is at the heart of much of the misunderstanding regarding missionizing by Westerners in much of the Third World. But, we will return to this elsewhere.

Kraft provides interesting insights into intercultural encounters as well as a treatment of world view that could be a basis for theoretical probes. The dominance of Western institutions he points at is crucial to an understanding of international conflict. He fails to show how, in view of this dominance, other non-Western cultures could retain their world views (or have any choices as to what world views they adapt to) and survive the Western cultural onslaught.

Gudykunst and Nishida argue that all communication is intercultural. The authors are no doubt influenced by Sarbaugh, whom they cite. In their view, rather than
regretting the lack of theory in intercultural communication research, they suggest adapting, with modifications, existing theories of communication for the former. One major difficulty with their position (and they are not alone) has to do with the failure to realize that there are significant cultural differences in the world and that there are grave limitations in using Western models to explain non-Western cultures. Taking religion as an example, if one were to try to understand the Judaic culture (Jewish) and an Islamic (Arab) culture, it would take great rhetorical skills to bridge the cultural gap based on a theory of interculturalness. Yet, both cultures inhabit the Middle East, in quite close proximity. Or take the case of recent immigrants to the United States. Some are accorded warm welcome, for instance, the Eastern Europeans; while others, for instance, the Cubans, are kept at a distance. Both, however, come from regimes considered repressive and communistic. A theory of interculturalness would be mute in explaining the disparity in treatment. Perhaps the authors, like Sarbaugh above, assume that what adequately explains the American culture is equally valid for describing other global phenomena.

Yousef and Briggs contrast between the "North American Orientation" and "Traditional Societies." They suggest approaching the British and the Swiss cultures differently from the way researchers approach the Libyan and the Saudi Arabian cultures. Their rationale is that the latter pair of cultures are "underdeveloped" and are products of countries inhabited by "nomadic tribes united under an authoritarian system." As for the peoples — Libyans and Saudis — they, Yousef and Briggs tell us, "still live in extreme poverty." Such prejudice ignores the number of Americans who prefer life in
Libya to life in the United States, as was evident in 1981 when President Reagan ordered Americans in Libya to return home. With all the petro-dollars in Saudi Arabia, it should not be too difficult to survive over there.

The authors betray a streak of ethnocentrism when they point out how American "supervisors" deal "brilliantly, succinctly, logically, and honestly," with their "native employees." While no one questions the power of American institutions as a world phenomenon, the superiority of American morality cannot be assumed. Besides, the authors ignore the loud cries of brain drain from the Third World which is a major concern in the community of nations. That aside, such approaches to intercultural communication confuse the reader, promote truncated dyads, and mistake technology for culture.

For his part, James Grunig is concerned with the relationship between international communication and underdevelopment. What he is dealing with has major implications for intercultural relationships between the West and the Third World. Theorists, he points out, have aimed at transforming "traditional individuals to make them more modern." He then adds that researchers "assumed further that modern individuals can change the political, social, or economic system to make it more modern also." Needless to say, such researchers have done an injustice to culturally expressive forms in so-called traditional societies.21

Of greater importance is the fact that messages manufactured or packaged by the scholars contributed to underdevelopment. What is more, modernization in certain cultural groups was achieved at the cost of underdevelopment in much of the Third World, as students of colonialism know too well. This is the colonial heritage.
Grunig proposes the use of a General Systems Theory for the study of intercultural relations in order to get at the root of a major issue in international dialogue: the relationship between communication, poverty and underdevelopment.

Harry Triandis and associates, in their highly perceptive work, raise useful questions regarding cross-cultural research. One problem has to do with finding variables that are equivalent in the cultures being studied to insure that researchers are, in fact, measuring similar phenomena. They also point out the limits of using the "Emic-Etic" approach advocated earlier by Burk and Lukens and by Jones. In their view, the "emic" approach is limited to one culture while "etic" misses out on phenomena being studied. The "emic" approach, they point out, is from Western Culture and has instruments based on theories developed in the United States. As such, the instruments reflect American conditions. They see a need for "equivalent theories of social behavior, across cultures, theories that will have more or less similar structures."

Triandis and associates, coming from the discipline of psychology, point to the role of cognitive structures in mediating between stimuli and responses within each of the cultures studied. Using the concept of "subjective culture" they suggest the development of constructs that best help researchers locate the phenomena they seek to understand cross-culturally. The group defines subjective culture as "a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving the man-made part of its environment."

A list of variables is supplied by the authors including the following: historical events, self-concept, kinship, authority figures, age, religion, death, relation with others, love, and respect.
Interestingly enough, the authors are disturbed because the Greeks misuse imported electric stoves while Indians find refrigerators to be good money safes. Perhaps they would recommend exporting American technical advisers to Greece and India to help these two peoples employ these pieces of technological hardware in a manner in keeping with the practice in "developed" countries. The problem is that the Greeks (I would expect) consider themselves advanced.

That aside, the admonition the authors give to those involved in "work outside their own cultures" is that the latter "acquire special skills in analyzing those aspects of the subjective culture of the people with whom they will work...." But, in my view, the most significant statement the authors make, apart from considerations for research stated above, is that:

there is strong evidence that the nature of the physical environment determined the kind of economic basis that is most likely to lead to survival, which in turn determines the kind of personality that can function most effectively in that environment.

Many researchers who employ evolutionary terms, including some reviewed above, forget that the environment is a vital part of the ecology of the self. When some who are viewed as hailing from "backward" cultural groups moved to "climates" more conducive to certain pursuits, they have excelled.

Hence the brain drain issue which will be dealt with further in Chapter Seven. Each culture is adequate for those shaped by it and contributing to its sustenance.

Samuel Becker remarks that scholars in the United States view intercultural communication as monologic; that is, in terms of those messages Americans send to
other peoples. In his view, it is because the emphasis on sender plagued interpersonal communication for so long. The same thinking is just being overcome in mass media, he points out. Because intercultural communication is so recent, the field suffers from the same tendencies other sub-areas of the communication field experienced in their early years. Becker wonders why there is no study of messages from other peoples to Americans. He is disturbed that feedback or interaction are not part of the conceptual framework of intercultural communication.

Becker points out the need to research how Americans' perceptions of other nations affect the types of messages these nations receive from the United States. He urges that the "behaviors and drives of the receiver," -- those who consume American messages -- be researched. His call is timely since communication scholars no longer use linear models.

Christoffel Van Nieuwenhuijze reminds us that the times have changed from the era of "international relations" which was characterized by the "Club of Western Nations" on the one hand and the "rest of the world" dominated by the Western Club on the other. In his view, this is the era of "cultural pluralism." If so, then it is "the moment", he states, "to adapt our scholarly approach to this new situation." He continues, "Indeed, conditions have changed, but our approach to them has not yet changed accordingly....We do indeed need a theory of inter-cultural relations (rather than...merely a theory of inter-cultural exchange)."

As far as Van Nieuwenhuijze is concerned (and he is not alone in this as will be pointed out in Chapter Nine), even cultural anthropologists are ill equipped to deal with cross cultural communication defined as "the
element of communication between various patterns of culture, various systems of norms." Those engaged in studying cross-cultural communication must, in his view, meet at least three conditions, namely:

1) be able to experience their own culture from a distance and be able to "see it as one pattern of life from amongst many"

2) be able to "distinguish characteristics of at least one culture other than their own...acquire tools to find their way through an alien culture."

3) be able to "focus their efforts on the acquisition of insight in relationships, or communication, between cultures, particularly between their own culture and alien cultures." 29

He points out that colonialism dichotomized encounters in colonial society between rulers and natives. 30 He then states that it was based on the assumption that it was natural for Westerners to dominate or advise others. Thus, decolonization, in his view, "interferes with international strategy." 31 This explains, he continues, the appeal Marxism has for the native since it raises his status to that of any other man, including former masters. Says the author, "The relationship of settlers to the natives is not in human terms." 32 He then adds that, "On both sides, there is the primordial refusal to consider the other party as being on the same human level as oneself." 33

The importance of researchers' own presuppositions is underscored by Van Nieuwenhuijze when he points out that how we conceptualize intercultural communication is necessarily "a function of our methodological presuppositions, in other words of the approach we use." 34
In which case it will be crucial for intercultural communication that varying presuppositions across cultural boundaries be tapped on.

Tulsi Saral posits his theory of intercultural communication: the "conscious theory" which is non-Western. He states that "The problem of intercultural communication, therefore, is essentially a problem of communication among varying states of consciousness." Using his framework, the time coordinate of culture would "linguistically and existentially" be the same; that is, the "past, present and future" are rolled into the here and now.

For communication to occur, communicators must share in some "common dimensions, albeit with varying locations." But as he points out, this is only possible when one of the parties is prepared to "suspend his or her mode of sensing, perceiving, and attending to reality."

Saral's model of intercultural communication is a great contrast to the Western tradition characterized by "individual rational thinking and linear reasoning." And while some may not grasp the thrust of his approach, it seems to illustrate the need for open-mindedness as well as the lack of other perspectives in intercultural communication research -- points which past scholarship has solely missed.

In his monograph on the state of the art regarding research in intercultural communication, Asante is more perceptive of the basic problem underlying international relations. He points out two schools that have been active in intercultural communication: The "cultural critics" and the "cultural dialogists." The former group, he says, is influenced by anthropologists and is heavily Eurocentric. The latter school emphasizes the human need...
to communicate. But it, too, sees intercultural communication in terms of European thought. Both schools ignore, in Asante's view, "the importance of power relations in communication, a subject that stands prominently in the arena of human interactions." He echoes some of the concerns of Van Nieuwenhuijze when he points to the way scholars call for international dialogue without at the same time working to restructure international relationships. In other words, those who have dominated international dialogue by playing the dominating roles still continue in the same; hence his reference to Eurocentrism. 39

Asante aptly points out the need for addressing ideological questions since these impinge on intercultural encounters. For so long Americans dominated intercultural communication to such a degree that it was an "American undertaking for the benefit of American private and public agencies." The field was thus American-oriented. Drawing from D. Richards, he shows the viewpoint of Western social science as grounded on three points: 1) The Great Chain of Being 2) Unilinear universal evolution and 3) the progress idea. In this scheme, Europeans are the highest in the chain and the rest of mankind need to be brought up the ladder but can never be on the same rank as Europeans or, less still, pass them. Progress is defined in terms of a journey from a "primitive" to a "civilized" culture with Europeans as the epitome of civilization. European culture is advanced while others need to travel the progress road from backward cultures to advanced ones.

This is very crucial in view of much that has been stated above. Asante pinpoints a major problem in intercultural communication models and assumptions. In
western social science logic, "Europe was teacher and others were, by virtue of their lower places in this modern version of The Great Chain of Being, students, underdeveloped, culturally deprived, disadvantaged and 'culture poor'." Any student of development and modernization theories knows too well what Asante is speaking of. It is not modern, nor can it be developed, if it lacks the Western stamp of approval. The West has arrived. It is up to the rest to follow — unilinear — but as stated above, they may never arrive.

Asante has three world views of cultural reality: Afrocentric, Eurocentric, and Asiocentric. The Afrocentric view is characterized by, among other things, a lack of separation between "material and spiritual, profane and sacred, form and substance." There is a continuity from material to spiritual.

The Asiocentric view holds that reality is of a spiritual nature. The material is an illusion. Hence "spirit-over-matter" notions. In the Eurocentric view, the "material, the experiential is real" while the spiritual or what is not categorized as sense data is illusion. Scholars, Asante tells us, have written of Asians as spiritualistic, Europeans as materialistic, and Africans as personalistic. Asante recommends that scholars apply these views in intercultural communication research. Researchers will need to look at the histories, mythologies, creative motifs, and collective ethos, says Asante, between the cultures they study. He then goes on and defines each of these variables.

Intercultural communication will be greatly fostered if there are, in Asante's view, empathetic attitudes toward the "other" culture and an appreciation of diversities of meanings and functions played by each of the four variables within a particular culture. He points
out how the language of the intercultural encounter gives
advantage to the party for whom it is the mother tongue.
For Asante, cultural pluralism should be the wave of the
future.

There is much Asante brings out in his monograph
that will be followed up in other chapters.

Apart from general works, some researchers have
compared two or more cultural groups with reference
to specific variables. Some have studied single cultures
which are not very useful for our purposes here in terms
of the definition of intercultural communication in
Chapters One and Four.

John Useem reminds us that there is no human settle­
ment in which the "social heritage" has remained the
same. Hence my contention that it is erroneous and
misleading to refer to "traditional cultures" as if they
were static. Useem points out that interdependency
necessarily leads to cultural change. Discussing the
colonial era, he points out how race was the basis for
explaining cultural differences -- cultures were
ranked on an evolutionary scale, with implication for
both the governed and the governors. His position on
this is strikingly similar to Asante's.

Useem develops the notion of Third Cultures which
he defines as:

"creative cultures", "mediating cultures",
"man-in-the-middle", and as "cultures carried
by very limited segments from the total
populations...". 40

For him, there are colonial Third Cultures char­
acterized by the "superordination -- subordination" of
the societies, and modern Third Cultures which are based
on coordinate relations between societies. He offers
an example of the latter category to be Americans and certain Indians living in India.

A closer look at the descriptions of the people who qualify for entrance into Third Cultures makes the group less helpful for our purposes. Useem is dealing with basically elite Indians. In my view, such a group is not representative of Indian culture. Still, his insights on intercultural phenomena will be discussed further elsewhere in this project.

Edward Hall discusses the meaning of proxemics for Germans, English, and the French and points out how differences in perceptions of use of space create barriers in intercultural encounters. Dean Barnlund has done a comparative study of the Japanese and the Americans on the variable "verbal self-disclosure" and discusses how, in Japanese culture, different rules apply concerning what is appropriate for disclosing than those that apply in American society. He points out how problematic it is for an American in Japan who lacks this understanding of the Japanese way of verbally speaking of oneself. The former may easily jump to many conclusions about the latter based on American manners.

Szalay and Fisher compare a Korean group and an American group using several variables: family, Father, filial Piety, and ancestors. In each group, the frame of reference plays a significant role in the meaning of each variable. As the authors point out, what the variables mean is a function of the group's frame of reference.

Condon and Yousef compare the concepts of house and home, etc. in Tanzania, Japan, the Middle East, and Germany.

I can see the above select comparative works (there are many more than these) as useful for those who travel
to other countries. They serve a useful purpose in terms of "how to" and can be sources of much comfort and fun to tourists and businessmen. But in my view these are not, with few exceptions -- as to when a guest touches on a taboo, what is at the heart of international conflict. While an awareness of these no doubt facilitates intercultural encounters with people from studied groups, we still do not know the nature of the encounters in terms of role reciprocity, equality, etc. I even suspect that such works are of the type pointed out earlier -- aimed at promoting American businesses and other American interests overseas. It is striking to note the emphasis on the differences between cultures. There must be some commonalities to provide a starting point.

Conclusion

From this review of literature, several conclusions can be drawn. First, the field of intercultural communication needs perspectives other than those -- Western -- that have dominated it thus far. It is one thing to speak of the desirability of cultural diversity and pluralism but another to continually perceive diversity with fairly fixed frames of reference. Secondly, as far as international understanding is concerned, there is a need to place research questions in the context of current problems confronting the world community. Intercultural communication cannot be isolated from other human problems. Communicating man is also economic, political, religious, historical, etc. Much of the research assumes a world community that is largely imaginary. For instance, the world is still largely
divided economically, militarily, and ideologically. Democracy and justice, to name just two categories, are, as international realities, still elusive to many. Scholars need to consider these difficulties seriously.

But perhaps a bigger problem has to do with what several scholars pointed out; the problem of evolutionary approaches to intercultural communication which do more to divide human settlements than foster understanding. There is a need to re-examine our basic assumptions about the peoples of the world. There is a need for a large vision of mankind that encompasses more than any one world view or school. Scholars in intercultural communication could pave the way toward cosmopolitan thinking and conceptualizing. In other words, there is a need for scholarship in this field to reflect a capacity to transcend local cultures as a gesture of goodwill to humanity. We have the technology. Possibly we will have the will and the strength to see a "here" in each "there" or a "we" in every "they."
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., p. 5.

3 Ibid., pp. 9-13


14 Alfred G. Smith, "Taxonomies for Planning Intercultural Communication", in *International and Intercultural Communication Annual 5* (December, 1979), pp. 1-10.


23 Ibid., p. 45.

24 Ibid., p. 344.

25 Ibid., p. 345.

26 Ibid., p. 30.


29 Ibid., p. 83.

30 Ibid., p. 88.

31 Ibid., pp. 105-106.

32 Ibid., p. 88.

33 Ibid., p. 89, footnote.

34 Ibid., p. 199.


36 Ibid., p. 82.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., p. 78.


43 Lorand B. Szalay and Glen H. Fisher, "Communication Overseas", in Ibid. pp. 57-82.

In Chapter I, several questions were raised. In the present chapter, the author outlines the procedure to be followed in order to answer the questions.

In order to find a basis for intercultural exchange, a comparative analysis of American and African cultures with respect to two values—Religion and Medicine—will be done. The two questions to be answered can be restated this way: What can Africans and Americans exchange or learn from each other with regard to Religion with/and Medicine? Secondly, what are the conditions under which such intercultural communication can take place between the two cultural groups, in an age greatly impacted on by western technology? Thus the relevance of intercultural communication for technological transfer is highlighted. Finally, this study aims at contributing to ongoing research in the field of intercultural communication.

Methodological Assumptions

In this work there are at least four assumptions being made regarding the comparative method which is employed for the project. These are:

1. The comparative method assumes that cultures can be understood in terms of their commonalities while making sure that their differences are preserved.
2. The comparative method relies on a historical-critical inquiry.
3. The comparative method assumes that all forms of human and cultural expressions have the ability to be compared for their commonalities and differences.

4. The comparative method does not assume that any one form of data is more privileged than another.

**Strategies**

From the two cultures, linguistic terms, theories/ideologies, testimonies and anecdotes, ritualistic practices, and other cultural expressive forms will be analysed to ascertain their meanings for each culture and then compared with the other culture. Expressions from each of these five categories or classes will be compared via schema that allow for intercultural "translatability." Once that is done, Gebserian typologies will be utilized to aid in making generalizations regarding the cultural expressions in cultural encounters.

**Translatability**

The nature of intercultural communication which is basic to relationships or encounters between cultures is such that the relationship is definable in terms of two or more cultures that have a basis for commonality, which can be shared. The relationship is further predicated on the understanding that where commonalities are nonexistent, they can be generated by the interacting cultures. This is consistent with the notion in human communication that, either there are shared meanings or shared meanings can be produced or generated. The commonalities or shared meanings then become the starting point while the differences provide a basis for cultural exchange.
Comparative Method

Since the assumption in intercultural communication is that there are at least two cultures being compared as they engage in mutual refinement of each other's sensibilities, the unit of analysis becomes the dyad which cannot be reduced to either of the individual cultures. Thus intercultural communication is viewed as dyadic encounters, the face-to-face prototype of human communication. Dyadic encounters are a product of encounters which are qualitatively different from any of their components viewed singly. Therefore, to analyse a single culture is to end up with a truncated dyad or a monologue so characteristic of much that has been done in the field of intercultural communication. In comparisons both the similarities and the differences are considered. Munroe and Munroe point out that:

The comparative approach assumes that human variability is limited, an assumption borne out by the great number of observed similarities among individuals and among cultures.

However, as Triandis and associates remind us, such likenesses between cultures presuppose differences. They point out that:

There is strong evidence that the nature of the physical environment determines the kind of economic basis that is most likely to lead to survival, which in turn determines the kind of personality that can function most effectively in that environment.

According to Nieuwenhuijze, those who engage in articulating cross-cultural communication encounters need, among other qualifications, to be able to at least articulate
one culture other than their own while at the same time regard their culture as one among many. They need be able to view their own culture from a distance. That is the imperative of the comparative method. Beane and Doty point out that the comparison of cultures enables an observer to understand his or her own culture because it provides a "dialogue with one's own tradition."

Cultural phenomena can effectively and fruitfully be analysed in terms of the basic coordinates of culture: time and space. Each culture has more than one history and at any time in its evolution, one of its histories may be emphasized more than others. At times this is achieved through a reinterpretation of the culture's history. For instance, at certain times a people may wish to recapture certain past events in order to achieve a sense of continuity with the past, as is common in former colonies where cultures were to a lesser or greater degree disrupted. In such cases the people may be searching for a "dignified self-identity." But equally true is the fact that a people may wish to forget certain aspects of their past, for instance, America and the war in Vietnam, in order to retain certain current feelings of great accomplishments. Thus no people's past is complete or fixed. The past keeps changing to reflect the now.

But apart from time, cultures have a "here" and a "there" such that the two points are linked and cross the time coordinate. The here and there of cultures correspond to the "we" and "they" of cultures. In other words, the "here" is generalized to include the culture's insiders while the "there" includes all the outsiders. The ability of one culture to see the point of view of another depends on the former's willingness to see the
connection between a "here" and a "there." Such an understanding permits one culture to "see" another's point of view. Reciprocity in intercultural communication has to do with each of the interacting cultures realizing that it is the other's "there."

In intercultural communication, two or more cultures engage in mutual sharpening of each other's sensibilities. Earlier on it was pointed out that cultures are subsystems and as such are necessarily dependent on one another. Thus cultures communicate for survival as well as perpetuation. But in order for cultures to communicate there has to be a starting point or some similarities. The differences become then the basis for exchange as one culture sees the possibility of its needs being met by another. Therefore it is imperative to have a comparison of cultures as a basis for exchange relationship.

In selecting Religion and Medicine as variables for intercultural comparison between Americans and Africans, it was understood that both values are present in any culture. In the case of religion, most scholars concerned with cultures confirm its primacy. Gordon Allport goes so far as to say that most people are religious, if not instinctively but as a means of obtaining "poise and completeness." There is a consensus that in both cultures studied here, there is a strong religious tradition. As for medicine, this has been a feature of human existence since man was threatened with the reality of the brevity of life while possessing within him/her the desire or drive for self-preservation.

The analysis done in this study, unlike a scientific experiment where specific elements with universal characteristics are isolated for study, involves interpreting of cultural meanings. This involves, to quote Clifford
Geertz, "guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses." The analysis is an "interpretive one in search of meaning." The data being examined here describe experiences of Americans and Africans as they "interpret the world" around them. In the case of religion, and African medicine to some extent, the data are "mythological"—are "ideas and symbols and as such are subject to an extremely wide range of possible interpretations." However, the data themselves, as Littleton points out, provide certain limits to the interpreter. With that in mind, the analytical/interpretive tools will be listed.

Translatable Schema

The classes below facilitate comparisons between the United States and Africa. But such comparisons cannot be done horizontally, even though there is a strong temptation to do so. Rather they are to be done vertically. The problem of horizontal comparisons can best be illustrated by pointing out that in looking for "same" meanings in both cultures the efforts would be futile since what is, for instance, considered to be the operation of a "demon" in one culture may have no similar meaning in another. Or the same phenomenon may be regarded "technical" in another culture.

The schema are in five classes: linguistic, testimonies and anecdotes, ritualistic practices, theories or ideologies, and a general or "others" class of cultural expressions that fall out of the other four. In the linguistic class, terms are selected and their meanings for each culture pointed out. From each culture personal or group experiences are listed and their impact
on individual as well as group communicative behavior pointed out. In both Africa and the United States, the role of ritual, the various rituals that are performed, and their meanings for those exercised therein and those the latter encounter are discussed. In the fourth class, the way Americans and Africans explain and/or perceive select expressive forms is pointed out. Lastly, there is the general class with select cultural expressions not dealt with in the other classes.

For purposes of analysis, the schema are treated as if separate. Actually they are in many ways inclusive and classes overlap. This will be evident in their application.

Since there is overlapping within classes as well as between classes, once a form or expression has been treated in one class, it will be unnecessary to deal with it in another. The lists are rather detailed to permit breadth but not each form or expression will be treated. Each class is open-ended — other items could be added.

Each of the classes provides tools for interpreting the two cultures individually so that they can then be compared. Within each class there is an effort to discover what is culturally significant with respect to religion and, in turn, medicine. Thus the way people in the two cultures view themselves, the world around them, their relation to God, their assumptions about select religious and medical forms, etc. will be data for comparisons.

**Linguistic**

Fundamental articulation of the world:

sacred - profane          divine - human
elderly - youth
divorce - polygamy
natural - supernatural
ethics - evil
demons - viruses
prophecy - astrology
cathedral - "tent"
separation - denomination
sin - custom
taboo - halloween
easter - pagan
christmas - superstition
clergy - laity
necessary - unimportant
faith - reason
foreign language - glossolalia
God - Satan
insurance - act of God
miracle - assurance
bible - committees
blood - technical structure
practical - christians
doctors - medicine men
presumption - confidence
hospitals - death
complimentarity - contradiction
complimentarity - contradiction
heart - mind
seminary - initiation rite
children - values
contentment

Testimonies and Anecdotes

Self discovery/self expression
salvation physical healing
protection wealth or prosperity
raising the dead speaking in other tongues
called into the Christian ministry
endued with power from heaven
baptised in the Holy Spirit
inspired to speak the word of God
called to martyrdom
experiencing revelations, dreams
seeing angels
expelling demons or exorcising evil spirits
prophet/teacher/evangelist/pastor/apostle
impact - personal/group
contentment
fear of death

Theories/Ideologies

Explanatory of world:

politics church war
man community peace
drugs women sex
heaven herbs conversion
animals health God
progress kinship Christianity
science hell ministry

Ritualistic Practices

Expressive forms:

prayer fasting eutharist
ordination worship music
meditation preaching audience participation
seclusion discipline child naming
christening discipline baptism
exorcising spirits credentials
singing-in-the-spirit dancing-in-the-spirit
lab coats scientific method
oath taking cassocks
barefeet dress codes

Others

General cultural expressions;

oral tradition print memory
library imagination
Gebserian Typologies

In this study, only four structures from Gebser's types will be utilized: the magical, the mythological, the mental rational, and the integral. Aspects or elements or examples selected from each "world" or structure will be those with bearing on religious and medical phenomena in a cultural perspective.

In selecting the typologies by Jean Gebser, the Swiss culturalist, there are several advantages consistent with the aims of this project. First, the types in each structure are not linear. Thus, no evolutionary assumptions are made. In her critique of Gebser's structure, Elizabeth Behnke states that,

The dimensional contextures introduced here should not be equated with historical progression across linear time; nor should they be considered a "vertical" progression out of "lower" levels into "higher" ones. Structures that may seem "earlier" are not obsolete, but remain viable modes of experience in our time.

To the contrary, the structures or worlds are constantly "influencing and accommodating one another." Thus they are not, as Gebser points out, static but undergo "mutations."

Secondly, and because of the first quality, the typologies provide a way out of creating or perpetuating a caste system with respect to cultures within the world community. It is customary for many scholars to write of advanced/backward, developed/developing, civilized/primitive, etc. when discussing cultural differences. Not only do such terms obscure the fact that cultures are adequate for the societies they serve, but what is even worse, the very purpose of promoting intercultural
understanding is defeated since the civilized are least likely to interact in the context of coordination with primitives. The advanced will, to their advantage, insist on defining the criteria for admission to their "club", something we all know to mean no equality between the groups, since the privileged do not stand still to let the underprivileged "make-up" for any lost opportunities. Otherwise, there will be cries of "reversed discrimination".

The last quality that commends the structures for purposes of comparison and generalizability has to do with their flexibility. They permit "entry" and "exit" based on individual choices from one structure into another. Culturally, although a people may know one structure as dominant, the others are usually, if not always present in varying degrees of dominance.

The Magical World

Magical man is fascinated with power. In order to exercise this power he/she performs rituals that enable him/her to tap on the resources of divinity. Such power could be exercised over natural objects, supernatural beings, as well as over other human beings.

The magical world is symbolized by the point — unity. The community dominates the individual. As to time, the past and the present are all in the now. Therefore men and women are able to identify themselves with the forces of history or are able to "manifest destiny." A major characteristic of ritualism is the principle of blood. For magical man, the performance of a ritual is synonymous with or equivalent to achieving a desired end. Because individuality is absent, it is so
easy for magical people to exchange one person with another. The unity stated above means that everything is linked to everything else through time and space.

A quality that is indispensable to this world is faith. Faith in divinities, faith in the efficacy of ritual and faith in the nature of the magical world. Such faith is manifested in the nature of involvement exhibited by magical peoples.

The Mythological World

This world is two-dimensional. The psyche and the sky emerge. The individual begins to figure but is still subject to the community. Mythological man experiences "inner feelings" that are centered in the heart.

The mythological world has a feminine orientation — an emphasis on the softer virtues or "feminine" characteristics. There is not only the capacity to empathize but also a memory that links mythological peoples to the past. However, for mythological man, the future is not yet. The past does speak to the present via voices that are heard and then passed on by the custodians of wisdom, who are skilled in receiving and transmitting inspired speech. Thus there is "good breath" in this world.

For mythological peoples there are no contradictions and paradoxes. Instead there are complementarities, so that, for instance male is not the opposite of female but rather one is contained in and needs the other. The voices that speak from the past are mostly from divinities often via agents other than man. But such messages are, even if of a personal nature, generally aimed at the community. The human agent may act as a conduit pipe but such a carrier of messages has to be qualified for
his/her office. However, the choice is made by divinities or by a community such that the agent "speaks for the people" or is a "voice of the people."

The lack of contradictions or the presence of complementarities enables mythological peoples to see, for instance, that sickness needs health, or that the fundamental preacher needs a sinful society or that doctors need patients, and vice versa.

Another feature of this world is that one can speak "in the name of", thereby representing someone else not necessarily present. A "name" is mythological since it is as a "representative of." Thus a person's name represents him/her or stands in for the person. Finally, for this study, the concept "irrational" has no meaning in this world.

The Mental Rational World

This world is three-dimensional and is symbolized by the triangle with the human mind at the highest point of the figure. Mind has control over matter and the psyche. The orientation is masculine with the manifestations of the "macho" virtues. Unlike the mythological world where polarities are present, here there are opposites, contradictions and dichotomies.

Mental rational man replaces divinities and therefore becomes the measure of all things. Divinities are accepted as dead -- there has been a maturation and man cannot be total heir unless divinities die. The individual dominates the group and the community is less visible. There is specializing characterized by a detachment from the objects studied or mastered. Objectivity is highly valued so much so that any subjective experiences are suspect. The aloofness in this world allows
a dichotomy between subjects and objects which in turn permits the tampering with nature at times to satisfy the ego.

Reason is the key to this world. But with this comes the notion of irrationality. Paradoxes are known here too. Method -- especially the scientific method -- is reified. Therefore mental rational man is technologically inclined, in the western sense. As man seeks to solve his/her problems, there is the notion of efficiency coupled by the idea of progress. In this kind of thinking, if one item solves a problem, more items will accomplish more; hence mass society or mass production.

In the magical world there is nothing behind the word. However, in mental rational world, people look behind the word expecting to find something there.

Bureaucracies are mental rational as man seeks to be efficient. In this world, to know does not entail a personal experience with the known. Mental man thinks and therefore is.

The search for efficiency often means tackling or actually attacking problems directly. There are efforts to be precise in the use of language since mental rational man has a difficult time living with ambiguities, which unfortunately he or she cannot eliminate.

The Integral World

The fourth world and the last one for this project is one characterized by openness -- a transparency. It is four-dimensional and encompasses the other worlds. Unlike the mental rational world, here divinities are recognized as important to man. There is a global view and a toleration that enables integral man to accept at any given time and in a specific situation the validity
of any of the other worlds but without at the same time discounting the others.

The future and the past are encapsuled in the now, and form part of the "depth of the present." Instead of the either/or of mental rationalists, there is a "both/and," as well as a "co-presence of mutually diaphonous contexts." Owing to the transparency mentioned above, integral man can "see things in other things." In other words he/she can see possibilities where there are impossibilities. In any case, because of its openness and its four-dimensionality, this world is boundless. Thus there is a sense of wholeness and a holistic approach to dealing with problems. As Gebser puts it, there is a "process of integration of parts into the whole," in which man becomes the "wholeness of his mutations" — of his other worlds.27

In this mode, people are ego-free, space-free, and time-free. There are tendencies of the people of this world to search their cultures rather introspectively. Old enemies, for instance, science and religion begin to seek for areas of commonality. Society is more fluid as opposed to concrete in the mental rational world. Boundaries are more fuzzy as man seeks and admits to the existence of other viable modes of confronting or knowing reality. This world has both the feminine and the masculine orientations coexisting in such a manner as to preclude the domination of the one by the other. So much for the Gebserian typologies.

The above tools will be applied to "library typologies,"28 plus several interviews.29 Once the analysis utilizing the culturally translatable forms or expressions, the Gebserian typology will be applied to facilitate generalizations from the analysis. Because this
study utilizes "library typologies" as the principal source materials, most of the sources will be secondary.

Thus, data will be obtained through library comparisons supplemented by several interviews. The research design utilizes typological comparisons between two groups of "people" in search of 1) what they have in common and 2) the dissimilarities. Also examined is the nature of past contacts with respect to the two variables; religion with medicine. The aims of the comparison are:

1) to aid in intercultural understanding
2) to point out the relevance of intercultural communication to technological transfer
3) to contribute to ongoing research in Intercultural Communication.

The above discussion on the method of obtaining data, the location of the entities compared, the content of comparison, and the nature of the comparison are outlined and recommended by Lewis for comparisons in Cultural Anthropology. Here they are adapted for intercultural communication.
FOOTNOTES

1 The author is indebted to Joseph Pilotta for the notion of translatability.

2 This is discussed in Chapter One and is an integral part of the definition of intercultural communication as used in this project.

3 This point is made in the literature review chapter.


This is at the heart of Revisionism in History, where the past is re-interpreted regularly in terms of current understandings. At times this is done to provide or serve as a means of legitimizing the present or criticizing current thinking on a subject of historical importance.


Ibid.


Chapter Five deals with the African aspect while Chapter Six addresses the American religious tradition.


Ibid., p. 5.


Ibid.

Joseph Pilotta, Unpublished Manuscript, Ohio State University.

Certain of the terms in the linguistic class were taken from Pilotta, Ibid.; for the rest of the terms as well as the other classes, the author relied on his reading and personal experiences.

The typologies are used, with adaptations, from Gebser's schema. The archaic structure is excluded. See Algis Mickunas and Joseph Pilotta, "A Phenomenology of Culture: An Introduction to Jean Gebser", in Reflections: Essays in Phenomenology Ontario Institute for

23 Behnke, p. 99.


25 In Mickunas and Pilotta, p. 85.

26 The term should not be confused with the usual usage of the term magic. In its usual usage, it would be inappropriate for religious phenomena since, as Lewis Snyder points out, the Bible condemns magic. See his thesis, The Rhetoric of Agreeable Deception, M.A. Thesis, Southwest Missouri State University, 1980; especially pp. 1, 4, 5.

27 In Mickunas and Pilotta, p. 100.


29 Interviewing will be both in person and by telephone. Since this is not field work, these will be minimal in number.

30 Africa is too large to be called a culture and too diversified. Some would argue that the United States has only one cultural group. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, it is not necessary to isolate cultural groups in each of Africa and the United States. Africans are treated as one people as well as Americans. This may make certain people uncomfortable but it facilitates the inquiry aimed at in this project.

31 The term medicine is used rather than health since the latter concept is too broad. In this research, medicine is analysed as an aspect of or as it relates to religious beliefs and practice. It is therefore given a less prominent emphasis in its own right throughout the project.

32 Oscar Lewis, pp. 55, 60-61.
CHAPTER V

CHRISTIANITY AND MEDICINE IN AFRICA

Although earlier in the Christian era, Africa had its share of Christianity and even contributed to the furtherance of the same, in modern times, except for Ethiopia and to a lesser extent Egypt, the continent has been largely a "mission field." While both Islam and Christianity have a hold on the continent, the focus here is on the latter. African Christianity finds expression in two major avenues: missionary and indigenous or mission churches and independent ones. Some scholars refer to the former as "historic" while the latter as "prophet-healing." For this project, the author will use "mission churches" to refer to those that were founded by missionaries -- that have headquarters in Europe or America -- even though they may be presently in "African" hands. Indigenous churches will be those that have no external origins, even though their founders may have been influenced by missionaries. In other words the point of drawing the line has to do with whether or not the church was started as a branch or subsidiary of a church in Europe or North America. Or whether or not a church is or has been under direct control of any other church on the two continents.

According to some observers, nearly every church or denomination or sect has, during the past two centuries, carved out for itself a territory in Africa. However, in recent decades, partly due to dissatisfaction
with Western Christianity, partly as a gesture announcing spiritual maturity and capability, with underpinnings by African nationalistic movements, many Africans have taken on the task of rediscovering for themselves the relevance of Christianity for the African setting. In some of these groups, there is marked originality while in others there is borrowing from mission churches.

There are conflicting statements regarding traditional African religions. Some contend that Africans are by nature religious while others see this as unfounded. Certain scholars see much in African religious thought that is worth incorporating into Christianity while others consider such a move to be a dilution of biblical Christianity. A good number of the writers are or were once missionaries on the continent. Others have their intellectual roots in History, Anthropology, Sociology and Religion. In this dissertation, the analysis is cultural rather than theological. Specifically, this is an analysis for facilitating intercultural communication.

With regard to medicine, the missionaries who took the Gospel to Africa were for a long time, and continue to a lesser extent to do so today, builders of hospitals and health clinics. In many cases it was the drugs that made otherwise resistant Africans receptive to missionary teachings, as the Africans found relief from certain common ailments. Many missionaries ascribe their success to the medicines they carried. In African thought, the spiritual and the physical cures were inseparable. The priest and the doctor were often one and the same person. Advisors to African leaders had to be able to fulfil a double role of curing the soul as well as the body.

With that in mind, African Christianity will be
interpreted in terms of five classes: Linguistic meanings, testimonies and anecdotes, ritualized practices, ideologies or theories, and a general category. The classes will be aspects of African Christian beliefs and practices. With regard to medicine, the same will be done but only as the variable impinges on Christianity within the African setting. It should be pointed out at the outset that these classes, while facilitating the analysis of the two cultural variables, are not mutually exclusive but overlap as will be evident below.

Linguistic Meanings

For differing groups of African Christians, the sacred takes on varying forms and elicits a variety of communicative responses. The notion of "holy places" or shrines is one that runs through much of African history. For many of the indigenous churches there is continuity of sacred places. In the African Israel Church Nineveh, for instance, the meeting place or church is sacred. Those who enter into the building are therefore required to remove their shoes because they stand on holy ground. The parallel with the Mosaic encounter at the burning bush is interesting. For some Africans, human sexuality is itself sacred and therefore surrounded by mystery. Those who misuse their sexuality or abuse the gift may expect evil to befall them. This may be a factor in some parents recommending their children, especially daughters, to join certain groups where sexual purity is highly respected. For instance, in the African Israel Church mentioned above. There is a partiality regarding the sacredness of sexuality this writer fails to understand.
For instance, while virginity is highly esteemed among girls, and in certain parts of Africa it is actually rewarded, no mention is made of male sexual purity. The payments made to the mother of a virgin have a parallel in the Old Testament. For the Aladura of Nigeria, the use of oil for anointing the sick is unacceptable, partly because such oils are the product of human skills. The church prefers natural water, which is for them sacred. Even here, their spokesman refers to the fact that in the garden of Eden, water was never cursed and therefore is sacred. However, the water used in this ceremonial exercise is first consecrated by church ministers. Once this has been done, the water is no longer ordinary but becomes a special "vehicle for the power of God to those who have faith in him alone." This writer cannot help but see the economic advantage of using consecrated water considering the meager resources of certain of the indigenous churches.

The African world is one in which everything is linked up with everything else in a chain of causation, so that politics, religion, and other pursuits of life are inseparable. Traditionally, African kings were regarded as sacred. While many kingdoms are extinct, heads of state, particularly the ones that usher in independence are often accorded excessive honor. It is interesting to note that the majority of these were Christians. The concept of Zion, meaning Jerusalem, or the holy city, is one that runs through the Bible. For some Africans, Ethiopia is their Zion. For the adherents of Kimbanguist of Zaire, N'Kamba village, the birth place of the founding prophet's home is the sacred "city." But Africa is so vast and her communication systems far from perfected. Besides, many of the
leaders of the various churches have never met. Therefore, for Simeo Ondeto and his Legio Maria followers, the mountain of Got Kwer is the sacred spot. From here he has established a centralized, hierarchical church. In the case of the Church of the Light, of South Africa, led by Timothy Cekwane, the Drakensburgs at Ebukhan-yeni are the sacred location where the faithful congregate each August for a week of holy festivals.

In contrast to the sacred, to which the spiritually qualified long to come, there is the profane that the deeply religious may well avoid. With few exceptions, many of the indigenous churches consider medicine, doctors, hospitals, and other forms of medical technology to be profane. Mugema, a Ugandan divine and leader of the Bamalaki movement, observes:

> The cult of health for its own sake is pagan, whether its practitioners are witch doctors or members of the Royal College of Physicians.

His rejection of medicine for self and church was based on the belief that faith alone was enough. In his view the God who delivered the Hebrew boys from the fire was more than adequate for any disease. In fact Mugema would rather have lost his chiefdom and his cattle than see the latter inoculated.

For the Maria Legio, "schools and medicines" are profane and not worth the trouble. For this same church, its primary calling was to pray and not to do works. In the 1950s, Bildad Kaggia founded "Friends of the Holy Spirit Church" after his return from England. Kaggia returned from England with "doubts about the type of Christianity practised in Kenya." When he entered politics, Kefa Usenge led the group which, among other things, "rejected all forms of medical treatment,
relying almost entirely on spiritual healing". For The Voice of Salvation and Healing Church, faith healing alone is divine. The medical profession is profane. For certain of these leaders, the taking of medicine is "contrary to the Bible and that doctors were [are] emissaries of Satan." In this line of thinking, it is an abomination to pray for doctors. Thus medicine is rejected on the basis of "divine law."

According to Hastings, the rejection of "scientific medicine" administered by missionaries was partial. True enough, not all indigenous churches reject medicines. But as Harold Turner points out, there is an underlying explanation for the rejection of medical technology, whether African or Western.

Many of them [indigenous churches] have rejected all traditional and much Western medicine because they have realized that it is only too easy first to replace the traditional world of magic, and its medicines, with the medicines and doctors of the West, and then to treat these as no more than a new and more powerful form of magic. When these prove inadequate, and there has been no real discovery of faith in the Christian God, return is made to the earlier magic, and many in the older [mission] churches once more consult a traditional practitioner.

The indigenous churches seek to avoid such a situation by taking a strong stand against Western as well as African medical technology.

Once again Turner points out that

This is therefore the point at which the stand must be made, and to do so many of the prophet-healing churches [indigenous] have rejected all medicine, both African and Western. For them
the vital point of no compromise does not lie in the realm of marriage, but in the transference to faith in the one God and in His power, rather than in any man or his "medicine."³⁴

Related to the subject of disease/illness/sickness is the notion that these are caused by Satan through the agency of evil spirits or demons. However, for Mugema's group, the thinking is this:

If God wishes to bring sickness or ill-health to human beings or animals, no one can stop it; there are two facts in the Old Testament -- obedience and disobedience -- and two in the New -- belief and disbelief.³⁵

The primary concern of certain African Christians seems to be with regard to, not so much seeking instant remedies for ailments but rather determining the cause of the same. Once the origin of any circumstance is understood, a remedy can then be engaged. Thus if sickness is brought about by God, the believer is wise in submitting to divine will. If on the other hand it is the work of Satan, faith should take care of it. It should be pointed out that the movement led by Mugema and his associates attracted thousands of "Baganda, Banyoro, Banyankole, Nubis, and Swahilis and sects, Mohammedans, Catholics and Protestants and Pagans."³⁶ Mugema himself lived to be 92.

Wilkinson, a Western medical doctor who has worked in Kenya, makes an interesting observation when he points out that in pre-scientific days the church's form of healing was faith healing. That was, in his view, the method used by Jesus and the Apostles.³⁷ As noted below many of these churches tend to take the Bible literally
and seriously. What is perplexing is the basis on which to determine which of the two systems of medical technology has biblical approval, since Wilkinson, among others, finds the idea of God not using Western medicine unacceptable. For Africans who resent having all their traditional curative systems summarily dismissed as pagan, it may not seem Christian to promote the one and therefore give it sacred status while the other be relegated to a profane status. That will be left to the theologians to settle.

For many of the indigenous churches there seems a purposeful effort to train members to depend totally on God and His power. Depending on God means relying on His word through faith and on that alone. But that is not easy. Just as the mission churches consider Western medicine sacred, they also regard monogamy to be sacred. In fact this is made a major factor affecting the admission of any church to membership in many international Christian organizations. From the point of view of mission churches, with varying degrees of strictness in enforcement, marriage is the area of no compromise. However, most Africans do not identify monogamy with Christianity but with the West. While for mission churches monogamy is essential for Christianity, for indigenous churches it is unimportant. However, many of the indigenous churches forbid polygamists from holding church offices. But when it comes to becoming Christians, these churches argue that polygamy is not any more sinful than murder, racism, theft, and other sins that people can be forgiven through repentance.

Polygamy is an aspect of African culture that goes far back. To this day, it is legal in most, if not all African countries. It becomes an issue when Africans
convert to Christianity. Thus in dealing with the subject it should be pointed out that the focus is on those polygamists who want to be Christians. For a majority of the indigenous churches -- there is one case that is an obvious exception\(^4\) -- polygamy after conversion is unacceptable. In fact some groups include the practice of polygamy with taboos such as "sorcery, beer drinking...pagan practices."\(^5\) But to make it a central issue regarding the faith is, for many of the indigenous churches, unbiblical. It should be noted in passing that those who are so adamant on rejecting polygamists are much less so when it comes to divorced persons. In a later Chapter this will be followed up.

As we turn to the subject of taboos or sanctions, we can see that there are many areas of life where the term is applied in the indigenous churches. In the African Israel Church Nineveh, sexual intercourse between married couples is considered taboo on Friday nights as well as their eves.\(^6\) This church reserves Friday as its day of worship, the day when its leaders believe that Christ was crucified. Sexual abstinence is therefore considered appropriate on the part of all married members. The church has also a list of foods that are taboo, only that here it is on a permanent basis. Other items on the list of taboos include: alcohol, cigarettes, pork, fish without scales, etc.\(^7\) Earlier it was pointed out how the group forbids wearing shoes inside the church building.

For many of the churches dancing is taboo, but only the European-type dance.\(^8\) Otherwise there are types of dances, for instance, dancing-in-the-spirit that are a common phenomenon in indigenous churches.\(^9\)

Regarding holidays, certain of the indigenous churches reject Christmas because to them, the holiday
is linked with the "pagan practices of Europe." Obviously someone did research on the subject since one would be hard-pressed to deny the validity of their charge. However, the author did not find anything in the sources consulted regarding the attitude toward Easter, even though it too has pagan roots.

For African believers, to speak of any event as an act of God is to imply that it is directly attributable to God and therefore there is nothing man can do to escape it. God's acts are usually good or beneficial. But if they are intended as correctional acts or as chastisements, then the confession of sin removes the cause and the victim can be relieved. Public confessions and appropriation of the blood of Christ that cleanses stays away God's wrath. Hence a strong emphasis on blood for some groups. Since insurance is not within the reach of most members within indigenous churches, assurance becomes their source of protection, or coverage. God and God only, as stated earlier, becomes their "insurance agent."

Africa is a continent with hundreds of local languages. Besides, there are the Western languages that require monetary as well as opportunity investment in order to be mastered. Many of the faithful do not enjoy facility in the prestigious Western languages. One of the joys experienced by many in indigenous churches is the ability to speak in tongues or glossolalia, which accompanies or is evidence of "spirit possession." This ability was responsible or instrumental in the conversion of the Reverend Silas Owiti, leader of The Voice of Salvation and Healing Church, which has churches in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The phenomenon of an illiterate neighbor speaking in grammatical English convinced Owiti that Christianity was
worth his personal commitment. Prior to that time he was opposed to anything to do with conversion to Christianity. In fact he could not allow his wife to become a Christian. But after witnessing glossolalia, he not only encouraged her to accept Christ but later on he believed and has preached the Gospel to hundreds of thousands in Western Europe, North America and Eastern Africa. Thus tongues are an Act of God and a mark of spirituality for many in indigenous churches. In the mission churches the Pentecostals espouse a similar stance toward the phenomenon. For many of the other churches in the mission camp, the phenomenon is considered devilish, if not "pagan incantations."

While cathedrals are symbolic of many of the mission churches, for the indigenous groups church buildings are by comparison less impressive. In keeping with traditional African religious thought, cathedrals or temples are not necessary since they "could not contain the omnipotent." With few exceptions, therefore, many of the indigenous churches have no temples or cathedrals to boast of. Their worship places would fit the "tent" tabernacles of the Old Testament. However, for what they lack in cathedrals, they more than make up in the quality of their services -- quality defined in terms of the moving of the Holy Spirit in each of the services.

Although in some cases, the founders of the indigenous churches did not want to be identified by any organizational structures similar to those of the mission churches, most have names they chose or were inspired through prophecy, dreams or other supernatural media of revelation. What is interesting about these church names is that they do not bear the names of the founders, except when applied to them by critics. Otherwise
most of the names are descriptive of the beliefs and/or practices of particular groups based on the Bible as well as on the observing of certain African customs and traditions. Denominations as such do not mark the boundaries. Rather it is emphasis placed on such items as blood, whether or not wedding rings should be worn, whether or not church committees are in accordance with Scriptural teaching, the days of worship. On balance, the dichotomy of clergy versus laity is down-played or missing. Every Christian is full time in the master's vineyard. Many of those who preach at services are in other employ outside of the meeting places. Every believer is therefore an exhorter or a priest. There are certain limits that will be pointed out under ritualistic practices.

Testimonies and Anecdotes

In the last class, the meanings of select linguistic articulations were discussed or, better still, interpreted. In this class the focus is on the nature and meanings of African encounters with the God of Jesus Christ and the impact of such encounters on the recipients' communicative behaviors. Thus the analysis looks at how Africans understand their Christian experiences, the nature of these experiences and the meanings of both for individuals and churches as media for self-discovery and self-expression.

To begin with, let us look at testimonies and anecdotes relative to the divine calling to perform specific tasks. With reference to the media of communication, Alice Mulenga Lenshina, prophetess and founder of Lumpa Church in Zambia, died in 1953 but presumably
was asked by God to return to earth in order to carry out a special mission for her maker. Prior to that she was a member in good standing in the Presbyterian Church. Also called for special ministry was another woman, Mai Chaza, previously a Methodist. Following the encounters, both women made a lasting impact on Zambia's national life, especially the former.

The notion or belief in the divine right of kings, known in certain European histories, has its African version exemplified in the late Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. But in his case, there is an air of arrogance perhaps rare in the European version. Selassie viewed himself as singled out to be "King of Kings, Conquering Lion of Judah, Elect of God, etc." Because of this sense of divine selection, he attempted to set up in Ethiopia a government based on "Christian ethics."

When Johana Owalo "received a revelation and left the Church Missionary Society [Anglican]", God had instructed him to found the Nomiya Luo Mission (God has given me a revelation). In the case of Alfayo Odongo, the vision he encountered confided in him to found the Roho (Holy Ghost) movement. For Zakayo Kivuli, the vision instructed him to found the African Israel Nineveh Church. Kivuli was also to take on the name of "Paul." The new name marked his starting a new life in Christ or the dying, in the Pauline sense, to the old man. In these cases and in others listed below, the names of the movements can be noted to be collective rather than individual as alluded to in the preceding class. There is also the descriptive element and/or the parallelism with Bible places or characters.

In 1963, Gaudencia Aoko, a Roman Catholic Luo prophetess, responded to her divine calling by founding
the Legio Maria Church (The Legion of Mary Church). The borrowing from Catholicism is obvious. A Luo woman who had openly criticised and despised the African Israel Church Nineveh had a dream in which she was instructed to confess her sins and join herself to the faithful in the very church she previously defamed. The decision to make Nineveh the sacred place for celebrating Christmas for members of the African Israel Nineveh Church was a result of a message communicated to a woman member via a dream-vision. Not even Kivuli could defy or question the leading. Kivuli himself was instructed through a dream to demand of his followers that they take a Nazarite-type vow by refraining from the cutting of their hair. In fact Kivuli attributes his ability to attract multitudes of followers to the dreams and visions, as well as to the miracles he performs. The miracles that follow Kivuli's preaching are, for him, confirmations of his divine leadings. However, he insists that the leadings must have biblical parallels for them to be valid.

Simeo Ondeto of Legio Maria received a commission from God to expel evil spirits and perform miracles. The mandate was communicated to him via prophecy, visions from heaven and by direct revelation. In the last class it was hinted at that devils and/or demons are for many Africans the cause, rather than viruses, of afflictions and divers malfunctions within human bodies. It was also pointed out in the preceding section that Owiti received his call to repentance through speaking in tongues; in this case perfect grammatical English by an illiterate neighbor who had never been taught English. Owiti says his call to the ministry was very "definite and beyond a reasonable shadow of a doubt."
He resigned his position as a store-keeper with the Ministry of Works in order to preach during a time when not many Africans had similar or better positions.\textsuperscript{78}

Apart from prophecy, visions, revelations, and dreams, many encounter God's miraculous power that opens them up for other revelatory media aimed at guiding their Christian endeavors. For instance, Benson Idahosa, pastor of the famed Miracle Center in Benin, Nigeria, a healing experience in answer to the prayer of a Pentecostal pastor was the key into the kingdom of God.\textsuperscript{79} Later he received a call from God in an audible voice stating:

\begin{quote}
I have called you that you might take the gospel around the world in my name. Preach the gospel, and I will confirm my Word with signs following.\textsuperscript{80}
\end{quote}

In yet another incident, Idahosa was awakened from sleep, led outside into an open field and made to stand under a tree. Then the Lord "stood" by him; actually he says he felt as if the Lord was by his side, and instructed him audibly: "Stand under the tree. Someone will come and ask you for help."\textsuperscript{81} The foregoing episode was immediately followed by the appearance of a woman asking for help, then a man asking for help. Before long and for days to come, many have been asking for help from Reverend Idahosa, not just in Nigeria but in other African countries, including Kenya and Zaire, as well as in the United States.\textsuperscript{82}

Often revelations given to the faithful are composed into songs that inspire certain communicative behaviors in saint and sinner alike. One such song is titled: Nene awinjo ka Yesu luonga (I heard the Voice of Jesus
say to me). It has been instrumental in bringing many to join ranks with the company of the committed. As Ogot puts it, "They got up and resolved to work for Jesus while the sun was still shining." 83

Kivuli tells of how, after his supernatural call to the ministry described above, he "began praying for the sick; and they were healed. I [He] also prayed for barren women and they got children." 84 In another episode, he relates that:

While we were singing and praying, water came from the stone. Many people were surprised; and so was I. But as I looked at the stone and prayed, I realized what God wanted me to do.... I gave the water to my people and they drank. This happened four times; and many people began to follow me. 85

As in other earlier accounts, the similarity with the biblical account is quite revealing. 86 It is said of the Zambian primate Archbishop Emmanuel Milinga that he has or exhibits "power to heal, especially in cases which had been resistant to medical treatment." The Archbishop also exorcises evil spirits and speaks in tongues. Among those cured in answer to his prayers is a Kenyatta University College lecturer who is Catholic, American and known to the present author. 87

Many of these Christians appear to embrace Christianity unreservedly. Their depth of commitment to Christianity is perhaps best described by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in a personal testimony. Says Kaunda:

In moments of crisis, I revert instinctively to the passionate simplicity of the old religion. When the crunch comes, it is often the trustful
prayers of my childhood I find upon my lips.
And even now, I have only to hear some of those
old hymns of my Lubwa days and tears spring
to my eyes.

Aware that some may dismiss him as sentimental -- after
all he is one of Africa's leading statesmen -- Kaunda
continues to add:

Let sophisticates sneer at such sentimentality.
It is something deeper -- a turning in on my
roots; the desire to share the certainty and
assurance of those village Christians -- the
hope against hope that the God they never
doubted will not let me down in my hour of
need.88

Kaunda's testimony unveils a faith that would appear
to defy human reason.

When one who has been preaching faith and seeing
signs follow the messages is suddenly confronted with
death, there is at once the opportunity to release the
same faith in exchange for divine protection. For
Silas Owiti, God has not only been saving, healing,
raising the dead, etc., but his God protected him from
the hands of angry Kipsigis men who wanted to kill him
because certain Luo people -- Owiti is a Luo -- had
killed a Kipsigis man. In return these men wanted to
kill any Luo man. Owiti came across them while cycling
from one of his preaching trips in a town in Kipsigis
territory. He tells of praying to God, telling his cap­
tors that as a Christian he was ready to die but
asking them to repent after killing him so they too
would go to heaven when they died some day. Needless
to say it was a hard moment for a man with a wife and
two young children. But such is the faith of certain
of these indigenous Christians. In Owiti's case, God
delivered him. His captors started debating among themselves as to what to do. Finally they freed him with a warning that he should never again be seen in that part of Kenya. The author doubts that Owiti has ridden his bicycle again on that road.

But, not all believers are as blessed as Owiti in being delivered from imminent death. And any one who knows tribal feeling in much of Africa, especially prior to independence which ushered in a greater measure of oneness between the various tribal units, is aware of the miraculous nature of his release. Many Christians in Uganda and Kenya received martyrs' crowns. In the case of Kenya, the believers had objected to taking the oath. In refusing to drink the blood of the oath, and in the face of "torture and death," individual Christian Kikuyu martyrs stated in effect that, "I have drunk the Blood of Christ, how then can I take your blood of goats?". The resolution in the question is quite revealing of the extent of their commitment.

African Christians have many obstacles to overcome almost daily. Describing certain of the indigenous churches, Jassy says,

Miracles form part of the everyday life of the prophets and their disciples, and the repeated victories of African churches over different forms of evil by exorcism, prayer for the sick, and collective resistance to the persecutions of the missionaries and the administration prefigure the final triumph of the elect...inevitable conclusion, the victory God over Satan.

In most if not all the testimonies and anecdotes cited above, there has been a touch of divine encounters. In none of them have ancestors featured. However, in the
case of Okelo, a member of Legio Maria Church, the power of expelling evil spirits was given him by his ancestors. It was in an encounter with this Okelo that Simeo Ondeto, cited earlier, received his own power to expel evil spirits. In which case, as Jassy points out, Ondeto had synthesized Luo ancestral traditional beliefs with Christian Inspiration. It was pointed out earlier that he had visions from heaven which must have been blended together with the Okelo encounter.

Perceiving the Christian life as a warfare is a reality not uncommon to Africans. It is said of Ishmael Noo that he led a group of revived Christians, which broke off from the Anglicans, and was organized into small "armies" that moved from one market place to the next proclaiming to all who came their way to "straighten the crooked paths." Without cathedrals, the "armies" composed many original songs, including the one cited above -- Nene awinjo ka Yesu luonga. In response to the powerful witness of these gospel "armies" Ogut tells of how

The second and third wives of polygamous marriages started to desert their non-Christian husbands; and the wives of monogamous marriages left their "unsaved" husbands to obey the call. Most of the "saved" women who deserted their husbands went to live in Noo's house.

Earlier in this Chapter it was stated that indigenous churches were founded for various reasons, including a desire for a truly African church. Perhaps one of the good examples of this is the Church of Christ in Africa founded by The Reverend Abernego Matthew Ajuoga. Ajuoga was an employee with the East African Railways when he got "saved" and felt a definite
call to preach the gospel. Resigning his job, he was an Anglican priest in good standing until he broke away because of the reluctance on the part of the European leadership to Africanise the church. He was leader of the Johera (people that love) group.\textsuperscript{97}

A significant part of the indigenous movement that led to the founding of several churches can be traced to the Friends African Mission in Kaimosi, Kenya. It was here in 1927 that following the "outpouring of the Spirit," boys at school and later, adult men and women began in their hundreds to "receive the Spirit," [which] it was judged by the majority of missionaries to be an evil spirit. As a result, many [Africans] left the mission...to join the Pentecostal Mission; others to form independent groups such as Dini ya Roho (Church of the Holy Spirit) the African Holy Spirit Church and Lisanga (Communion/Fellowship Church)\textsuperscript{98}

Thus not all who separated from mission churches joined or founded indigenous ones. Some joined mission Pentecostal churches that allowed for the manifestations of the Holy Spirit so vital to these African believers. Having discussed select testimonies and anecdotes on African Christians, we will now turn to an analysis of ritualistic practices.

**Ritualistic Practices**

Ritual is an integral part of African traditional life. In this class the role played by ritual and the accompanying meanings will be analysed. The analysis will also interpret the impact of the rituals on, first, individual, and then the church's communicative behaviors.
In the preceding classes praying was touched on. This is a major ritual in the church. For many of the indigenous churches it is vital, especially for those who rely on God and His Word for healing, assurance, protection, etc.

In some churches, prayer for the sick is done by all the healthy members, who surround the afflicted and pray, with the laying-on-of-hands. Many times the hands are placed at the afflicted part of the body. During child naming ceremonies among the Boran of Kenya, "prayers are directed to God....It is God who is prayed to and praised." The ritual, known as Jiila, is characterized by much jubilation for kin and neighbors, especially if the child is a first born. As Baxter points out, "The explicit purposes of the festival are to name the child, to thank God for it, and to ask God's blessing for it." Prayers are made for God's medicine:

Po! God, may the day dawn well;  
May you spit upon us the medicine  
So that we may walk well.

God's medicine includes good health, fertility, increase in possessions and length of life. In any of his meetings, whenever things are not going in his favor, Kivuli "habitually proposes prayer, after which the meeting supports him." Within his church, grace is said before each meal by the one who cooked the same while holding the last dish in her hands.

According to Hastings,

Prayer for healing became the central activity of the spiritual churches....Rituals of healing were among the most important of those in traditional society, and the most characteristic motivation of the new Christian movements in Africa was not an explicitly political
rejection of colonialism or of colonial churches, nor any once and for all commitment to the millennium — though both were present at times — but the establishment of accessible rites of healing with Christian reference and within a caring community by gifted and spiritual individuals claiming an initiative effectively denied them in the older [mission] churches. (emphasis mine)105

Considering that traditional Africa had a "healer" as well as a "diviner" as stated at the opening of this chapter, it is not hard to see the point made here by Hastings regarding the "separatist" churches that seek better and more effective application of ritualistic healing in the Christian framework. The approach to ritual in certain of the mission churches must have been what J. B. Schuyler describes as:

quite superficial, and so has no real answers to life's personal difficulties, nor any real influence on the people's social problems.106

Regarding baptism, many African churches regard the ritual as a way to get new names, including European surnames.107 Such names have, under certain circumstances, translated into better social statuses because of being regarded as "Christian." While the acquisition of new names may appear to be a practice from the Bible, many of the Africans need not be Christians to get the names. The baptism itself is Christian but the recipient of the ritual need not be.108 This is at the heart of Mabel Ensor's complaint about mission churches which baptise and confirm Africans "without insistence on true conversion or attempt to check wickedness among professing Christians."109 Some mission churches demanded a six-month baptismal class prior to the ritual but
even this lacked a biblical basis and was questioned by some African converts. In contrast, the Church of Christ in Africa, an indigenous group, only baptized believers, including polygamists. The only condition for the ritual being faith.

For the African Israel Church Nineveh, baptism is regarded as unnecessary. However, the church baptizes children eight days old through the laying-on-of-hands. Jassy found out that for certain African groups baptism brings status because one becomes higher than or above being called a "pagan."

In the Ethiopian church, there is a baptismal feast held annually when all the believers are "rebaptized." The ritual is accompanied by the "sacred crosses" being "solemnly dipped in the waters of the river." For them, baptism may not quite symbolize dying with Christ since that could not be an annual event.

The Bamalaki of Uganda undergo an initiation ritual during which each person vows:

I will not drink the European's medicine or go to them for any; when ill I will drink water only.

A common ritual among ministers in indigenous churches is the periodic seclusion for purposes of prayer, meditation and fasting. It is during such rituals that many of them receive unusual revelations. Such seclusions are to hidden locations but places that the leaders cherish. The practice seems to parallel Biblical accounts.

While the mission churches ordain their clergy in elaborate ceremonies, many indigenous churches do not seem to go to the same lengths. They seem to have other more
crucial rituals considered to be more significant, including being "spirit-possessed." In church services, the singing can be as formal as possible or as lively depending on the type of song being sung. Locally composed songs have a way of stimulating the faithful into ecstatic worship while many of the hymns from mission churches call for solemn responses. In certain churches either sex may lead or conduct the singing. Since many groups utilize singers without training in music theory -- western style -- the song leading is by intuition via "rythmic rather than tonal harmony..." Dancing before the Lord accompanies such music. Instruments such as megaphones, drums, old pieces of metal are played or beaten harmoniously. The dance is orderly while a soloist leads, without song sheets or hymn books. In Welbourn's words,

There is an impression of freedom within order which contrasts both with the rigidity of western liturgical worship and with the unrestrained spontaneity of evangelical prayer meetings.

Except for Pentecostal mission churches, the contrast Welbourn refers to is quite applicable to mission churches which, as stated earlier, tend to copy their headquarter churches' worship styles.

It was pointed out that elaborate ordination rituals are largely practiced by mission churches. However, certain of the indigenous churches do ordain ministers except with less highly structured ceremonies. Among the African Israel Churches, only the high priest lays hands on candidates for ordination. Certificates are awarded to those ordained but there are no training
requirements or examinations taken. With that, we now examine select theories and ideologies in Christian Africa.

Theories/Ideologies

In this class an interpretation is made of the way African Christians explain phenomena — both natural and supernatural, spiritual and non-spiritual. For many of them, God is the giver of "life, health, and wealth" but that those who would receive the blessings need obey certain customs or rules that enable them to have power over any spirits that may hinder the possession and realization of the same. What is more, God promotes only good, never evil. From the other classes above, the conditions for receiving God's goodness include praying, confessing of sins — often publicly — obeying to the letter the teaching of the Bible, etc.

On the subject of God, Kaunda's testimony seems to capture African regard or conceptualization for divinity. Says he:

For me, God is more a presence than a philosophical concept. I am aware, even in solitude, that I am not alone; that my cries for help or comfort or strength are heard.

For most African Christians, Christianity is not just one aspect of life among others; it permeates all of life. As Jassy points out, in regard to the Luo people

Religion, especially among the Luo, is not one compartment of life unrelated to others... it is part of everyday life... The Luo do
not have needs that are religious without being at the same time social, political, economic, and cultural, and any answer to one of them must take into consideration all of the others.126

There are many examples of this tendency in African ideology of relatedness between seemingly unrelated phenomena. For instance, Sithole sees African nationalism, a political movement, as "strongly undergirded by Christian principles."127 The fact that many of the leading African politicians were/are Christians has been commented on by many writers.128 Thus African ideology lacks the dichotomy secular versus spiritual.

But African ideology has its way of creating dichotomies that seem contradictory. For instance, Africans accepted western Christianity which was introduced by western missionaries but at the same time rejected the missionaries. Perhaps what is accepted is an Africanized version of western Christianity. There is Mutezo for instance, who contends that the missionaries and not the mission churches are wrong. His position, despite the fact that he is a product of the missionary enterprise in Africa could be a case of the inherent problem of clothing the gospel in exclusively missionary culture. Mutezo perhaps loves the Christian Gospel but wants it short of Western trappings. His testimony is even more revealing when he says, "I just love the Church. It built me. You can't take me out of the Church."129

The Church in the Mutezo conceptualization is more the organism than the structure from which it would be easy to remove him. But the organism is linked to other living entities in a way that Africans seem able to grasp without difficulty. In part this may be because
of the nature of their encounters with God. But it may, for some, be owing to their type of upbringing. In either case, the attitude toward the Bible, the emphasis on the power of the Holy Spirit actively involved in Church services, and total reliance on the God of the Bible help account for such singleness in ideologies. Kaunda's description illustrates this point aptly when he tells of how his parents - - his father was a Methodist preacher - - and the members of the church of his childhood:

believed that every last word of the Bible was divinely inspired....There was nothing sophisticated about their faith, but it was a gospel with power which changed men. There was power in my mother's prayers and in my father's preaching and in our lusty hymn-singing. It was this power of the Gospel which enabled humble, and often unlettered village men to stand in the pulpit of the old brick church at Lubwa and speak with passion, a quality noticeably lacking in much modern [mission] preaching...which is more likely to consist of a bout of moralizing about world affairs or some agile juggling with intellectual propositions which chase each other's tails until the congregation is dizzy.130

In this rather lengthy quote, there is a description of mission church preaching, indigenous sermonizing, and part of African theorizing on the inerrancy of Scripture, salvation, faith and praying, etc.

However, in stating that Africans take the Bible literally, one cannot lose the other side of the coin where Africans use the Bible for all types of goals and purposes. Africans use the Bible for, not only "religious purposes, but also as a form of intellectual exercise, a political instrument and a philosophical
vehicle." If the Bible lacks precise or definitive answers to certain problems, it is not unusual for Africans to juxtapose the Bible with another source without seeing the incompatibility of the two sources. For instance, an African Christian with very fundamental beliefs says: "If I owe my faith to Jesus Christ, Mahatma Gandhi supplied the hope." For the politically minded, the sermon on the mount is a bitter pill to swallow. But Gandhi advocates non-violence. Hence one can be Christian and a Gandhian -- not fight but protest against political and other wrongs. That the rhetoric of non-violence more often than not results in violence needs no debating here.

Sithole finds the Bible to contain "the most powerful ideas for the heart and the mind." Thus it is not unusual based on such ideologies to find African revolutionaries who may never have read revolutionary manifestos from other cultures. Certain Africans know Christianity to be at the heart of human progress. Sithole adds that African nationalism derives its "proper direction and that self-sustaining creativity which makes for human progress" from its Christian "consciousness." Later on it will become evident why such ideologies are important in understanding, for instance, the problem of liberation movements in Africa and the use of American church monies in their political struggles. This is a hot issue in current international Christian understanding as will be seen later.

The blood of Christ is central to African Christians, many of them familiar with the power of atonement in the blood from African traditional rituals. For some it is God's broom for purifying the world. For others it is a continual cleanser from sin since
salvation takes place daily — people sin constantly and therefore need the sacrificial blood to be applied daily in their lives by faith via ritual. Some churches even wear red uniforms that show their preoccupation with the blood that purifies. The concept of blood is also important to any agreements, especially the ones including oaths, or human relationships.

God's goodness towards his people is personified by the Holy Spirit whose mouthpieces are the prophets. The prophets then replace traditional elders who were custodians of societal wisdom prior to colonialism.

For many Africans, death is a familiar phenomenon. Not only are the dead not kept away from people, there are no private funerals and no funeral homes. The dead are alive in another world but continue to influence affairs among the living. In some churches, for instance the African Israel, there is a practice — ritualistic — of "resurrecting the dead" several days after burial. Apparently the churches expect that until that is done, the dead usually remain in the ground. This could be based on the fact that Christ was in the tomb several days before the resurrection.

Many of the indigenous churches are poorer than mission churches. It is therefore not surprising that some of the ministers in the former group compare heaven with European cities while others tell their audiences that heaven will be like missionary living. Many of the locally composed songs reflect the expectations that the people, who are lacking materially here on earth, have in the hereafter. One such song the author has heard sung by indigenous churches tells of the availability of rice, good clothes, loaves of bread, nice houses, etc, in heaven. This helps provide motivation for the less fortunate who look forward to the day when,
in God's heaven, they will not lack.

On balance most African churches are open to other faiths, except the mission ones. Ensor found this a disturbing fact. She complained that:

In this country [Uganda] you will often find a Moslem, a Protestant, a Papist, and a heathen all living in one house, all relatives, each following his own "religion" with the most terrible chaos of thought as a result.\footnote{143}

Actually what she calls chaos is for Africans community life or family ties.

Without a strong sense of community, discipline would, in the author's view, be problematic. Mbiti tells of how that many churches discipline their members with varying degrees of strictness, so that"some are fined, others put on probation, and some are even excommunicated when they prove to be notorious."\footnote{144} Certain churches have codes of discipline that prohibit such behaviours as begging, teasing, committing major sins -- theft, adultery, murder, laziness, etc.\footnote{145}

As part of community existence, some churches do insist on selecting marriage partners for their members.\footnote{146} This is a role that was played traditionally by elders, usually one's relatives. For other church members the community is extended to include the animal kingdom. In other words, it is wrong to kill mosquitoes. If undesired, the faithful are expected to pray for God to remove them as well as other pests.\footnote{147}

Taking the Bible literally, with a greater reliance on the Old Testament\footnote{148} allows for practices, including the leadership of women that would be frowned upon in certain mission churches.\footnote{149} In fact, as stated earlier, some churches are founded by women and followers have no
trouble respecting and accepting the former.

The subject of sex was touched on. To that could be added the fact that homosexuality is unacceptable to both mission and indigenous churches.

Others (general class)

The Oral Tradition is still strong in much of Africa. Prior to colonialism and, perhaps, during the era but to a lesser extent, the old were exalted as the "storage banks of experience and entertainment." Indigenous churches, peopled by experts or specialists in the oral tradition, employ such devices as "rhyme, rhythm, melody, structure, repetitions" in all areas of religious life. To people living in literate societies with print and other media, there may be concern over the accuracy of messages passed on from person to person or even the ability to remember such messages, especially sermons. But as Riesman points out,

messages are conveyed orally with an accuracy fabulous to us...words are like buckets in a fire brigade, to be handled with full attention.

However, there is a disadvantage in oral traditions. The rest of the world tends to ignore or not take seriously non-printed pieces of data. Therefore much about African Christianity that is of cultural value may be untapped. What is more, much that is now recorded needs updating to reflect changes and refinements. But a more serious problem has to do with the fact that almost all that is written is by detached observers who may not fully understand the Christian phenomena since religion is necessarily a subjective matter.
Summary

The community is still a major aspect of African Christianity. As Jassy put it,

It is by becoming a member of the community of the elect, the people of God, that the sinner can be saved. The elect recognize one another by their customs and their costumes. They preserve their purity by observing the commandments of the church.153

Mission churches tend to view revivalism in indigenous churches as "mass hysteria."154 Describing the former, Mbiti says that Africans view their approach as

a set of rules to be observed, promises to be expected in the next world, rhythmless hymns to be sung, rituals to be followed and a few other outward things. It is a Christianity which is locked up six days a week, meeting only for two hours on Sundays and perhaps once during the week. It is a Christianity which is active in a church building...is based on books...hymns are sung to foreign tunes which have little rhythm and without bodily movements like clapping the hands or twisting the loins as a religious expression. Worship in mission churches is simply dull for most Africans.155

However, Mbiti concedes that mission churches have their strong points. Mission churches have, he says:

potentialities and strengths of organization, institutionalism, links with the historical traditions of Christendom, financial resources, personnel from overseas, an increasing ecumenical concern, and a deliberate attempt to relate Christianity to modern problems in Africa....Mission Christianity retains many anachronisms, some of which even its European...
and American origins have begun to shed, for instance, liturgy, hymns, articles of faith, doctrines, architecture, visual aids, form of worship, division of the Church and structure of the ministry.

Mbiti then goes on to add that

African converts who profess mission Christianity are often eager to embrace as much of it as possible.156

Such a situation would be no cause for worry had it not been for the fact that mission Christianity is "deeply rooted in Euro-American culture."157 Perhaps it is out of a desire to emphasize African culture in mission churches that led African Christian leaders in their recent Nairobi conference to agree that:

African Churches are to draw up and promote new activities and programs that take into consideration the originality of the African vision.158

Regarding indigenous churches, Mbiti has this to say:

Revelation and healing play important roles in independent Churches. Some of them forbid their followers to use European medicines, teaching their members to depend entirely on God's power through prayer and healing services. Revelation comes through dreams and visions, and through meditations when leaders withdraw to solitary places for varying lengths of time. Emphasis is also laid on the place and work of the Holy Spirit, and during worship services people seek to be possessed by Him. When they become possessed, they speak in other tongues.

The literal interpretation of the Bible is common among these churches....There is a
tendency among some groups to stick almost exclusively to the Old Testament and its precepts. Some of the leaders are women, and these are fully accepted and respected by their followers.159

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, several conclusions can be drawn. First, African Christianity is characterized by total faith in God -- reliance on God for material as well as spiritual well-being. But this is largely the case within indigenous churches.

Secondly, and because of number one, African Christians in indigenous churches tend to seek for the dramatic, the powerful, the demonstrable, and the supernatural. In many cases they have a certainty regarding whereof they speak that is not unlike many Biblical accounts. Perhaps those whose needs are the greatest or who feel they owe much tend to love more if not the most. Theirs is a vital living Christianity.

Thirdly, Christians within the indigenous camp tend to be more satisfied with their experiences. This is closely linked with the notion of knowing what they believe. Kaunda exemplifies this sense of satisfaction with the old time religion, as he calls it.

Fourthly, these churches do not, on the whole, boast of having members drawn from Africa's best educated and the monied, although there are exceptions to this.

Regarding the mission churches, these have the better technology in the forms of education, personnel, resources including finances, hardware from Western mother churches and on the whole the better educated and necessarily the more affluent. However, many of these, including some cited above seem at least in their
writings, unhappy because they are not truly African in their church services. Their spirituality, if one was to look at it in comparison with the other camp tends to be less permeating into the rest of their lives. Again there are no doubt exceptions. In Chapter Seven, several of these points will be followed and Gebser's typologies applied for comparison with American Christianity.

It should be pointed out that according to some scholars who have done extensive research in Africa recently, colonialism within the church is not over. This will be taken up as a possible explanation for the dissatisfaction within mission churches in a later chapter.

While the indigenous churches may be doing well spiritually it is hard to tell or judge their impact on total populations considering their technological limitations.

Also, it is interesting to note that those who reject various aspects of Western technology equally reject African counterparts. They view their position to be scripturally sound and not based on man's opinion. It seems plausible to suggest that for many indigenous churches to obey God is a greater concern than to bow down to human systems, Western or African. Even here there are exceptions as pointed out earlier in the chapter.

Perhaps the greatest challenge indigenous churches face is practicing pre-scientific Christianity in the age of technology. But then they claim access to "I Am" and therefore where they have no engineers to drill wells, water may be obtained from rocks in response to believing prayer coupled with spontaneous praises. Rather than go through a bureau of adopting children, which
would be a technological process, they pray for the barren and children are born. Even critics of these Christians must first discredit the Biblical accounts, since most of them try to always find parallels from the Bible, before dismissing them, as some have done, as simply misguided and ignorant. If this was in a different culture, one would have sought for certain "objective verifications" to the claims. But, while technology may be low in Africa, faith seems to be strong or there are strong illusions of a religious nature.

Nor should it be forgotten that many of these indigenous Christians have borrowed or modified for Christian purposes certain of the traditional values that in their view did not contradict the Bible. Later on we will see how this compares with American religious innovations.


4Westermann, p. 1.

5John Mbiti belongs to the former school, while Marcel Griaule sees religion in Africa as a cultural phenomenon not unlike other phenomena — — learned. Marcel Griaule, "The Problem of Negro Culture", in *Interrelations of Cultures* UNESCO, 1953, p. 360. Many of the writers belong to the Mbiti school.


9Mbiti, pp. 77-96.

11 Exodus 3:5.


13 Welbourn and Ogot, p. 102.


15 Deuteronomy 22:19, 29.

16 Turner, p. 228, 229.


18 Turner, pp. 302, 303.

19 Such political leaders as Nyerere, Kenyatta, Mboya, Obote, Senghor, Nkrumah, Muzorewa, Mugabe, Sithole, Kaunda, etc. were Christians who also played a leading role in their nations' independence.


21 Ibid., p. 180.

22 Ibid., p. 177.

23 Ibid., p. 75.


25 Ibid., p. 32.

26 Hastings, p. 178.

27 Welbourn and Ogot, p. 31.

28 Silas Owiti, Unpublished Manuscript.

29 Welbourn, p. 34.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., p. 42.
32 Hastings, p. 72. Hastings points out, however, that scientific medicine was too narrow in its approach to deal with all the problems facing the common man. Ibid.
33 Turner, p. 218.
34 Ibid.
35 Welbourn, p. 34.
36 Ibid., p. 37.
38 Ibid., p. 55. But Wilkinson doubts that divine healing as recorded in the New Testament is possible today, a contradiction to his other statement that the practice is valid as a complement to medical practice. Ibid.
39 Turner, p. 216.
40 In Kenya for instance, churches such as The Church of God allow the wives of polygamous husbands into their membership but not the husbands. The author knows of no mission church that allows the husbands of more than one wife full fellowship into church membership. Those who marry a second wife are usually considered backsliders. See Hastings p. 115 for general comment.
41 Turner, p. 218; Welbourn and Ogot, p. 145.
42 Welbourn and Ogot, pp. 70, 71.
43 Ibid.
44 For instance where the founder or leader of a church is himself/herself from a polygamous marriage.
45 Hastings, p. 126.
46 Welbourn and Ogot, p. 91.
47 Ibid., p. 104.
48 The only form of dance most indigenous Africans know Americans and Europeans participate in is non-Christian. Mission churches do not allow dancing; hence the indigenous churches plea to members to only dance in the Spirit, the only Christian form of dancing. See Welbourn and Ogot, pp. 74, 99. Also Mbiti, p. 308.
49 Ibid., p. 99; see also, Andereya Kajerero, quoted in Hastings, p. 53.
50 Welbourn, p. 51.
52 Hislop, pp. 103-113.
53 Hastings, p. 102; One group even identified itself as Joremo (the people of blood) see Jassy, p. 81; the group always sung blood songs.
54 Welbourn and Ogot, p. 31, 77, 74, 16017; Hastings, p. 71. Owiti, Manuscript.
55 Silas Owiti, Unpublished Manuscript.
56 Ibid.
59 An educated member of one such church states that the services "depend on 'how much of the Holy Spirit is in the congregation'". Cited in Welbourn and Ogot, p. 92.
For instance, neither Kaggia nor Owiti initially wanted to establish organizations. They did, however, found "Friends of the Holy Spirit Church", and "The Voice of Salvation and Healing church", respectively.

Other churches include Voice of World Wide Salvation and Healing Revival; Ekibina kya Katonda Omu Ayinza Byona (the Society of the One Almighty God); The Power of Jesus Around the World; Deliverance Church; Etc.


The accounts by Welbourn and Ogot, Jassy, Hastings, etc. treat the various aspects of church differences, doctrinally, adequately.

Ibid., p. 125.

Ibid.

The impact had some negative aspects to it when Lenshina led a revolt that killed all within the group's reach that were regarded as evil doers.

Hastings, p. 5.

Jassy, p. 80.

Ibid.

Welbourn and Ogot, pp. 77-78.

Kivuli says he had experiences similar to those of Saint Paul in Acts 1: 4-9. Ibid. p. 77.

Barrett, p. 13; Jassy, p. 83.

Welbourn and Ogot, p. 79.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 78.

Ibid.

Jassy, p. 84.
78 Owiti, Manuscript.


80 Ibid., p. 69.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid., pp. 70-71, 153, 154, 157, 158, 159.

83 Welbourn and Ogot, p. 29.

84 Ibid., p. 77.

85 Ibid., pp. 77-78.

86 Exodus 17: 1-6.


89 Owiti, Manuscript.

90 Hastings, p. 88-89.

91 Ibid., p. 102.

92 Jassy, p. 120.

93 Ibid., p. 84.

94 Ibid.

95 Welbourn and Ogot, p. 29.

96 Ibid.

97 Ibid., p. 45.

98 Ibid. p. 74.


102 Ibid.

103 Welbourn and Ogot, p. 87.

104 Ibid., p. 103.

105 Hastings, p. 72.


107 Jassy, p. 128.

108 For many churches, especially the mission group, this is one of the "rules" members must keep. It is also a way to gain new members. See Welbourn, p. 44.

109 Welbourn, pp. 70, 71.

110 Ibid., p. 35.

111 Welbourn, and Ogot, pp. 70-71.

112 Ibid., p. 103.

113 Jassy, p. 128.

114 Hastings, p. 37.

115 Like the Joremo group, it is possible the group holds to the notion that people sin all the time and must therefore renew their baptism. Romans 6:4.

116 Welbourn, p. 37.

117 Mbiti, p. 307.


119 Exodus 19:3ff; 24:13; Mark 6:31; etc.

120 Welbourn and Ogot, pp. 16-17.
Africans singing from hymn books from the West are as solemn as or as formal as "an English village church." See Welbourn and Ogot, p. 99.

Ibid., p. 100.

Ibid., pp. 100-101.


Jassy, p. 220.


Sithole, Mutezo, p. 103.

Kaunda, Letter, p. 18.

Sithole states that "Practically all important African political leaders went through Church schools." African Nationalism, p. 56.

Sithole, Mutezo, p. 97.


Sithole, Nationalism, p. 52.

Jassy, p. 129, especially the mission churches; also Welbourn, p. 62.

Sithole, Nationalism, p. 56.

Hastings, p. 71; This is one area of weakness in the mission churches.

Ibid., p. 75.

Welbourn and Ogot, p. 28; Jassy, p. 81; the Joremo must continually be cleansed from sin.

Hastings, p. 75.
For instance, marriage agreements are in many parts of Kenya sealed by "shedding" the blood of a ram or a goat.

Jassy, p. 118; hence the emphasis placed on the Holy Spirit in indigenous churches. Mission churches do not, except the pentecostals, give much emphasis on Spirit-possession, or the work of the Spirit.

Jassy, p. 21; Welbourn, p. 171.

Welbourn, p. 68.

Mbiti, p. 308.

Ibid.; Hastings, p. 126.

Welbourn and Ogot, p. 34.

Welbourn, p. 48.

Mbiti, pp. 307-308.

The mission churches tend to take Paul literally regarding the role of women in the Church. Ironically, they frown at the indigenous churches' literal approach to the Bible. Something the latter cannot be faulted for considering the resources -- intellectual -- lacking their members and leaders as well. See Mbiti, pp. 307-308.


Ibid., p. 110.

Ibid., p. 111.

Jassy, p. 121.

In which case it cannot be of God since the God of mission churches is more orderly -- western-style.

Mbiti, p. 305.

Ibid. p. 309.

Ibid., p. 309.

CHAPTER VI

CHRISTIANITY WITH MEDICINE IN AMERICA

Christianity is interwoven into the American experience from the beginning. In fact, many Americans consider themselves as being "reared in the culture of a Christian land."¹ A recent issue of Newsweek devoted about eight pages highlighting the impact of the Bible on the life of the nation. As Woodward and Gates put it, the Bible has "exerted an unrivaled influence on American culture, politics and social life."² Greeley points out that

religion is so much a part of both the self-definition and the social location of most Americans that the strain and thrust is toward some kind of conscious and explicit religious affiliation.³

Any observer or student of American Christianity immediately faces two issues: first, it is almost impossible to discuss American Christianity without its European influences. Much of American theology has origins in Europe, especially Western Europe. Therefore, when pertinent to the discussion, there will be references to Western European Christian experiences. Secondly, it is quite complex devising a scheme into which to place the various brands of American Christianity for an analysis similar to the one in this chapter. For instance, charismatics and evangelicals overlap. In
Packer's words, "Many evangelicals define themselves as charismatics; many charismatics define themselves as evangelicals." In view of the charismatic movement, one cannot isolate Protestants from Catholics. And even if this were possible, there is such a continuum within Protestantism...all the way from extreme liberals via moderates to extreme fundamentalists. Nor are the labels Mainline, Evangelical and Roman Catholicism helpful for our purposes since there is much diversity here too.

Since the focus here is on Christianity as culturally expressive forms rather than from a theological perspective, the phenomena will be treated generally, except where the forms within a certain denomination or group help to clarify some point. Specifically, we are interpreting how in America, "certain manifestations of the sacred...enable...[Americans] to discover meaning and order in life." In other words, this chapter is an "intelligent guess" at the way Americans "symbolically express their culture's relation to a primordial, fundamental order or ground of reality...," in this case the person and work of Jesus Christ.

Many of America's denominations claim to be operating on the basis of the Biblical pattern. In the Bible the savior and the healer are inseparable.

On that backdrop, American Christianity with medicine will be interpreted in terms of the five classes: Linguistic meanings, testimonies and anecdotes, ritualized practices, ideologies or theories, and a general category. This was executed in Chapter Five for African Christianity. As was the case there, the classes overlap and, within each class there is also overlap and/or mutual dependency.
Linguistic Meanings

First, the notion of the "sacred" for American Christians: Americans seem to have found parallels between certain biblical passages and their own experiences. Somehow they were able to extrapolate that they were "a special sacred nation, a people called by God to establish a model society, a beacon to the world." The country, and therefore the society is, as McEdwards, Steele and Redding point out, viewed to have been "established by divine providence and with a divine destiny." Even the wealth of America is sacred or "God-given."

In the American experience, certain documents are accepted as "Holy Writ", that is, sacred. These include the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. For certain of the faithful, glossolalia and the Roman Catholic Mass are also sacred. There are many Christians who regard a papal visit to America as sacred. Still, for many, certain national holidays fall within this sacred meaning including, Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, and Thanksgiving. Kathryn Kuhlman, a leading charismatic evangelist for decades, considered all the healing miracles in her meetings as "very sacred." For Carl Henry, a leading spokesman for American Evangelicals, the "unity of Christians" is divine or sacred.

In contrast to the "sacred," there is the profane in certain American circles. According to Treharne, a physician-surgeon of thirty years turned-minister, "the science and art of medicine and surgery" are profane or "worldly." Snead and Yeomans, an orthopedic surgeon and a physician-surgeon, respectively, concur in Treharne's stance on the profanity of medical technology.
Closely related to the "sacred" and the "profane" and even somewhat overlapping with these are the terms "divine" and "human." Some American Churches regard the ecumenical movement as human. Henry goes so far as to include: the National Association of Evangelicals, the National Council of Churches, World Evangelical Fellowship, International Council of Christian Churches, International Association for Reformed Faith and Action, and the World Council of Churches in the "human" category. In his view, these are "but creatures of the twentieth century, projected and created either by modern ecclesiasts or by modern denominations."

But determining what is divine versus what is human is problematic to some church members. Whitehead, for instance, argues that a medical doctor can be, "under God," a divine agent bringing needed relief to the afflicted. But then he turns around, with no explanation, and states that doctors are not only human, but evil or agents of Satan. The crucial factor seems to be the roles doctors play at any given moment. For instance, when doctors perform "abortions, infanticide and euthanasia," they are "murderers" and therefore emissaries of the Devil. When these same doctors cure diseases they become partners with divinity.

Unlike the doctors who view medicine as profane, cited above, and unlike also Whitehead who would turn most doctors into schizophrenics, Wilkinson, a medical doctor himself, views all healing as divine whether it is through the natural processes of tissue repair, by the administration of potent drugs, by the application of mental influences, or by the intervention of a miraculous power.
It is interesting to note that in the case of drugs, Yeomans considers them as backed by "demon power." She speaks of "the morphine demon." Another cultural expression which seems to be gaining prominence and in some cases replacing American clergy, but is linked to demons or devils, as Sargent points out, is astrology. Astrology is of the devil or evil, even though it offers needed certainty to a people filled with anxiety. In fact, the whole phenomena of the occult are according to a leading charismatic scholar, Satanic. Freeman's work leaves one with the impression that not many churches associate the occult with the devil, notwithstanding himself and Sargent, among others. Many of the nation's papers usually contain columns on astrology, horoscopes and related phenomena.

Julienne Ford observes that possibly many modern occultists, whatever their beliefs and practices, may not consider themselves as "sinister brothers of the left-hand path" in which case, they may view their experiences as technical and not evil or satanic.

By law, Americans may not practice polygamy. However, the rise in divorce rate is viewed by many Christians as the work of "the enemy." Johnson believes that Evangelicals have softened their stand on divorce. Stout, a Christian psychologist, marriage and family counselor is concerned that divorce takes place among clergy and laity alike. But behind all this is, in his view, it is the American public's tolerance toward the phenomenon that in turn influences the church's stand. This is interesting when one considers the cultural role played by the American church: whether the church is follower or leader in the light of the New Testament concepts of the "salt of the earth" and "the light of the world." But to that we shall return later.
For many church-goers, the plight of children from broken families is of grave concern, especially because of the place accorded the family in the traditional American value system.

The meaning of medical technology has been discussed in other contexts above. With more sophisticated advances in the field of medicine come dilemmas for certain church people. For instance, Grace Chapman is troubled regarding her father's terminal illness. He is 83 years old and a "lover of the Lord and His Word." Should she as a Christian allow her elderly father go to his eternal reward sooner or must she endure what to her are "extraordinary" treatments, administered against her father's will? Her father suffers from a fast-growing cancer on his face, heart trouble, a diabetic condition, an operation of cancer of the colon five years ago, and a urinary blockage....

The elderly man's family finds it almost emotionally unbearable to watch him slowly wasting away in a hospital bed. In such a case, there is not just a matter of the role or meaning of doctors and hospitals but the whole question of ethics.

There are several remarks addressing the above issue. For Blumhagen, a practicing physician and a former medical missionary to Afghanistan, everything medically possible must be done to prolong life. However, she suggests that while doctors and the hospital administer medicine, the church should "find ways to relieve the loneliness, rejection, hopelessness, and fear for those approaching the end of life." In the opinion of Addington, a practicing surgeon and a former missionary to Hong Kong, there are no absolute answers to cases similar to Mrs.
Chapman's father. He believes Christians should and can get guidance from God in order to make the right decisions. Addington also considers the medical procedures carried out on this patient as "not extraordinary."  

The suggestion to pray and seek the will of God regarding medical technology may not be as easy as Addington implies. Treharne aptly points out that

A man who looks to God only and not at all to a certified doctor, in illness, is virtually on illegal ground...The whole principle of faith in the unseen and intangible is foreign to the mind of the world, and is looked upon with suspicion.  

Thus, as long as the illnesses are mild or doctors approve their patients to go to a minister or church for faith-healing as will be seen below, there is not much Christians can do to trust God, unless they want to risk prosecution or the transfer of their loved ones from their custody to that of the authority of the State. In Columbus, Ohio, for instance, there have been two recent cases in which the families chose to rely on God solely but the judges decided against them.  

Returning to the case of Mrs. Chapman's father, Baylys, a Christian book publisher, considers the difficult question to be "whether living is being prolonged, or simply the act of dying." In his view the decision is hard to make but God does forgive our wrong decisions.  

It is quite complex to determine the roles and meanings of medical technology in relation to those that may want to consider faith-healing as an alternative. In part, this is as shown above because there is no clear
cut position regarding the "divinity" or "humanity" of medical technology or the "sacredness" or "profanity" of the same.

However, there is another side of the issue raised by Antony Preus, of the New York Medical Center. He observes that there is the conflict between humane response and economic factors posed by new technologies.

During a conference held at the State University of New York in 1982, Preus discussed several recent cases, including that of a dying eighty-year-old man who could be kept alive for one extra month at a cost of $40,000.42

Fortunately, there are insurance policies and medicare programs available to Americans, including church members, that provide a way out of the economic bind.

Let us now move on to another category.

An interesting feature of American Christianity is Revivalism. Throughout the nation's history, there have been spiritual awakenings and revival movements differing both in scope and impact.43 American revivalism has been largely of Protestant doing. The emphasis in these movements has tended to be on the "inner spiritual experience far more than rational theology as the basis of faith." Therefore the movements have been, on the whole, anti-intellectual.44 This has not, as Moseley points out, endeared revivalism to most intellectuals. For instance, in the 1960s, the latter engaged in religions by "criticizing" those emphasizing personal religion
in the revivalist sense. But Evangelicals may be discovering that to neglect or even remove reason from the forefront of their Christian experience could be disastrous. McDowell, a leading personality with Campus Crusade for Christ International, who has addressed many college and university audiences, states that "Christianity is a factual religion." He adds further that "Christ is a fact of History." He finds the notion of "blind faith" repulsive. In his own words, "my heart cannot rejoice in what my mind rejects." He contends that any Biblical invitations to exercise faith meant "intelligent faith." He goes so far as to state that believing in Christ is "rational."

How widespread McDowell's position is, is hard to judge. However, a historical Jesus as certain intellectuals have interpreted the term, need not necessarily be a spiritual savior. He could instead be a motivating force for social gospelling, which is far from McDowell's intentions. One wonders whether the rational approach may be, in part, responsible for some of the claims to conversion to Christianity or even to the charismatic movement that are never accompanied by "fruits meet for repentance." For instance, John Calhoon states:

You can now speak in tongues and still enjoy martinis at the country club. Pentecostalism has come a long way, baby.

Then we have Snead who states:

We are convinced that if God does not judge America He would have to apologize to Sodom and Gomorrah...the current religious move with its huge indebtedness and unnecessary luxurious and gorgeous buildings has so much superficiality that its effectiveness can only be
tested by trial.
The lush T.V. extravaganzas with mini-skirted entertainers combining secular and religious songs, speakers who earn their paychecks in the Playboy Club one night and "preach the Gospel" the next day, reflect the lack of depth of the current "revival" in this country.51

Be that as it may, McDowell marshalls proofs for factual Christianity that include theologians, historians, archeology, etc.52 Yet, Western scholarship with its characteristic tentative conclusions may not place McDowell on as solid a ground as he assumes. But this will be taken up in Chapter Seven. However, McDowell admonishes all those who consider themselves as "intelligent" persons to read the Bible because of its "reliability."53

On the notions of "rationality" and "faith" and attempts to reconcile them in Christianity, it is quite intriguing to contrast McDowell and Jacques Ellul. For Ellul, the God who is "wholly other" cannot be known via "human means, our intelligence, our scientific means, or our feelings." In his view, God must reveal Himself to human beings, otherwise He remains hidden and unknown. In his own words, "Only God can speak about God."54 In following Ellul further to see how this revelation is realized, we find that it is through the vehicle of "faith." In fact, Ellul seems to view mere rationality as destructive to genuine religion.55

The notions of Satan and evil have been touched on above. However, if there is a single evil or devil that elicits a united combative response from saint and sinner alike, it is communism. For a visitor to the United States, the reactions of most Americans to communism border on paranoia. Glabaugh states that "anti-communism is an American credo." He says further that
there is a tendency for Americans to see all national evils as communist inspired, if not direct conspiracies. Certain fundamentalist churches even fear that communism is already operative in the country. The intensity of the hatred for communism is justified because the ideology is atheistic. Thus one of the devils American Christians fight is personified in the ideologies from Eastern Europe.

Before turning to the class of testimonies and anecdotes, we will look briefly at some more categories: "taboo", "permissiveness", "judgment", "cathedrals", and the clergy - laity polarity, Easter and Christmas.

Some scholars point out that American Christianity is becoming increasingly relegated to the private domain. That is, those who own the faith do it mostly without publicly confessing it. Some see this as an outcome of the technological system. It is, therefore, difficult to get at the meaning of taboo since sanctions make sense in the public domain, in the context of a specific community. But while taboos may be largely absent in American Christianity, permissiveness is not. Perhaps this is best illustrated in the area of sexual mores. Not only are homosexuals gaining acceptance in a number of churches but there are even Gay Churches.

American technology has contributed towards sexual permissiveness. According to Patai, birth control devices have effectively eliminated the last vestiges of the conscientious man's worry about making his casual sex partner pregnant.

He further tells of products available on the market that are supposed to transform ordinary men into sexual
supermen who become "irresistible for women." Then there is the myth of the "possibility of improving one's sexual performance by acquiring 'advanced' techniques." The profusion of "how to" books on sex, the notion of "love machines" are all cultural expressions that are factors in sexual permissiveness.

In part, permissiveness, finds support through the American attitude towards the human body. Since the fall of man, peoples of all cultures try, at least, to cover certain parts of their bodies. Where clothing is readily available, the more the areas covered the better. However, some Americans may be longing for a return to "Edenic" nakedness with "innocence." To quote Patai again,

the coquettish uncovering of the thighs or of the bosom of women, their topless or see-through dresses or bathing suits, the glimpses of both sexes in complete nakedness on stage or in films, the simulation of sexual intercourse in both media, the proliferation of nudist colonies and establishments, and the like are all indicative of permissiveness which no doubt influences American church life. How difficult it must be for many of the faithful to heed Paul's injunction to "abstain from all appearances of evil."63

Even here, technology is a factor, albeit perhaps not so widely spread as yet. According to Rogow,

In at least one New York sex therapy center, the therapists themselves, who mainly are psychiatrists or psychologists, function as surrogate partners, while in other centers therapists and their patients are encouraged to observe each other performing sexual acts.64
Perhaps there may be a "new Puritanism" in America as Psychologist Rollo May suggests. If so, the similarity is only in the intensity of dedication of the adherents but not in the dogmas. This "new" phenomenon which manifests itself through the "typical sexual relationship in America", is characterized by:

a state of alienation from the body, separation of emotion from reason, and the use of the body as a machine....the modern person seeks to have sex without falling in love.

When it comes to judgment, Kluckhohn seems to doubt that the term has any meaning for Americans, and the Western World as a whole. In his own words,

Belief in God as revealer, judge, and punisher has unquestionably weakened in the whole Western World. An increasing number of men and women reluctantly accept death as annihilation, however much they may continue their formal participation in the Christian church as an institution.

In part this may be because of a general "rejection of authority and of discipleship" on the one hand and the death of God ideology on the other. The death of God must be understood as a cultural rather than a theological event, as Gabriel Valenian points out.

Earlier on, we pointed out that several of America's holidays are sacred. During Christmas what impresses one is the purchase power of Americans and their exchanging of gifts. Then there are famous choirs, like the Mormons, who sing Christmas carols. For a culture that celebrates birthdays, Christmas seems important even though the commercial aspects may for many observe its supposed religious significance.
What is interesting to observe is the low-keyed observance of Easter. Considering that Easter supposedly marks the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, and is so basic to Christianity, it is not easy to guess its low-key celebration. Perhaps, it could be because the theme of "suffering has lost its meaning", as Collier suggests. Another possible factor may be that, on the whole, Americans, "inculcated by their cultural conditioning with an inordinate fear of physical pain," may find the story of Easter in bad taste.

In Chapter Two, the notion of technocrats was discussed. The church seems to fit in very well with the rest of the American society -- but in one sense all Americans pass for Christians. There is a dichotomy clergy versus laity, with the former playing the role of specialists. In many of the churches, one gets the impression that its clergy are hired to carry out certain functions while the laity serve mostly as spectators. Exceptions may be in the various pentecostal/charismatic movements and perhaps certain independent churches. While Calvinism, with the notion of every believer being a priest still has adherents in America, on the whole the dichotomy stands.

Lastly for this class, we look at the significance of cathedrals. Americans have a rich heritage in this regard: "Roman basilicas and Egyptian temples to Gothic cathedrals and Renaissance town houses." Some of the older churches have high steeples, bell towers, stained glass windows, and large pillars which may all be on a single church structure or the building may display one or none of the features.

There was a period -- the 1950s to the 1960s -- when church architecture reflected a "this-worldly" stance with flat roofs. But once again there seems to
be a resurgence of cathedrals whose architectural designs "reflect a new grandeur in spirit"; cathedrals that proclaim an "other worldly mission"; church buildings that are "sacred." Those privileged to worship or visit these modern structures cannot help but respond with feelings of "awe" and "mystery" as they behold their splendor in the "metaphysical" spaces that they occupy. Certain of these cathedrals are tourist attractions, for instance, Thorncrown Chapel in Arkansas. Robert Schuller's Crystal Cathedral's architecture is reported to have relaxed an "intellectual who was an atheist" into becoming a member of Schuller's church. Rex Humbard addresses his "national" congregation via television from his "Cathedral for Tomorrow." Thus slowly, but steadily, "sacredness" may be getting restored to cathedrals. But that should not in itself be viewed as an indication that the "profane" may not still be part of regular church activities.

Testimonies and Anecdotes

In this class we interpret select encounters of Americans with God and the communicative impact of the experiences on others. We will begin with the healings and/or physical deliverances.

Morris Cerullo, an evangelist out of California, conducts meetings characterized by "healings, with on-the-spot testimonies of their validity." Lilian Yeomans, a graduate of University of Michigan Medical School, testifies thus:
I was dying the morphine death 40 years ago, and had nothing to look forward to but a funeral, and not much of one at that. No one could help me but God, and at last I found the way to Him...repentance and faith in the Lamb of God; and it brought the same results. It never fails.77 (italics in original)

Because of her strenuous work as a physician-surgeon she took to the use of drugs "to steady my nerves and enable me to sleep," but wound up hopelessly addicted.78 Before God healed her supernaturally, doctor Yeomans had consulted many physicians, some of them men of national reputation...but they were powerless to break my fetters...I actually tried Christian Science, falsely so-called. I also took the then famous Keeley Gold Cure. 79

Markle, a medical doctor, relates how one of his patients who suffered second and third degree burns over 80 per cent of her body recovered, when medically impossible, because "her courage came from faith in the Lord."80

Doctor Reed, Chief of Surgery, Tampa, Florida, tells of how a female patient was healed in answer to his prayer of faith when she was beyond the pale of medical science. In his own words,

I then took the patient's hand and asked in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth for the power of His Spirit to enter into her body and to touch her with the power of His resurrection and restore her to wholeness...the patient accepted the prayer and accepted her situation and began to believe that Jesus was going to heal her.

Two days after the prayer ritual, the patient left the hospital, still ill. Once at home, Reed adds that
she began to be aware that indeed God had healed her and that she was well. She began immediately to resume her normal activities.81

Lloyd-Jones, an English doctor-turned-minister, reports of many cases of spontaneous cures to cancer after they had been diagnosed as medically hopeless. Medical technology had nothing to do with the cures. 82

Within the charismatic movement, healings have occurred during the "hypnotic moment when the Spirit moved to heal the sick and raise the dead." 83 Oral Roberts, a leading personality in America's "electric" church was healed of stuttering and tuberculosis. 84 Carey Reams, a chemical engineer during World War II, was seriously injured when a land mine hit the vehicle he was in near Manila. Before he went to Kathryn Kuhlman for her prayers for healing, Reams was crushed from the waist through the pelvis; his right eye was gone; he had lost all his teeth; his jawbone was fractured; his neck was broken, and his back was broken in two places. The lower part of his body was completely paralyzed. His legs, like dead weights, hung entirely without sensation, but in those parts of his body in which he still retained feeling, the pain was incredibly intense.

To add to that, Reams had lost sixty pounds in weight and been operated on forty one times. After a brief prayer ritual by Kuhlman, Reams got up, slowly at first, but suddenly after a while, discarding his crutches. 85 By 1962, Reams was a "consultant Agricultural Engineer" in the State of Florida. 86

P. K. Edmunds, Senior physician at Provo, Utah, tells of his son's healing following the ritual of prayer and the laying-on-of-hands by a visiting "apostle."
His child, "promptly quieted down, rested through the night and was made whole from that moment." Edmund's son had "sustained a skull fracture and was rendered unconscious" from a fall off the back of a horse and onto a concrete sidewalk.

For many of Edmund's colleagues at Provo, the healing was a coincidence. His response to their skepticism was simply, "If that were a coincidence, then the coincidence was more miraculous than the healing." We now turn to testimonies and anecdotes regarding callings to serve God in specific as well as general capacities.

Some American clergy confess to a "strong sense of vocation....to a certain kind of life." Derek Prince, a Cambridge-don-turned-minister, has a call to teach the body of Christ under "the anointing." Kathryn Kuhlman received her call at age 16, to go out and teach about the Holy Spirit. For Oral Roberts, God confided in him thus:

Son...you are to take the message of my healing power to your generation.

Roberts has heard God's voice many other times and even seen visions of the Lord. One of his most recent was in 1979 when he talked to a 900-foot-tall Jesus he saw while in prayer in one of America's deserts that confided in him to build the "city of faith," a medical center to cure cancer and where faith and medicine will be united.

David Terrel, an illiterate prior to his calling, who claims to be a modern day prophet, from South Carolina, describes his call this way:

When the Lord first called me as Jeremiah I made excuses for I could not read or write. It seemed impossible for me to obey the calling, but God furnishes all that we need if we furnish a clean,
consecrated yielded vessel. My baby sitter spent many hours teaching me to read the Bible, and I believed every word of it. . . . By the time I was 22 years of age, my burden had become so heavy and my concern so great until I vowed my life to the Lord in a long fast, determined to get an answer or die trying. Even in this I received much criticism and practically no encouragement. During this fast I saw many visions and on the 30th day God spoke to me just as plain as anyone could speak. I actually heard His voice with my own ears and there's not a devil in hell or on earth that can make me doubt my calling or what I've been commissioned to do.94

Another prophet, Neal Frisby of Phoenix, Arizona, was called to that office "in the last days to bring the fulness of Bible deliverance."95 Prior to God's visitation, Frisby was a patient in a mental institution.

Kenneth Hagin of Tulsa, Oklahoma, experienced "repeated heavenly visions." As he puts it, "I actually looked into the eyes of Jesus...they looked like wells of living love." In his ministry following the visions, Hagin has a supernatural ability that enables him to "look out across a congregation when I minister and see what certain individuals were doing a couple of days before."96 The parallel with certain New Testament accounts is quite interesting. Anne Glew, a medical doctor, tells of experiencing a

great emotional and spiritual release, associated with the phenomenon of speaking in tongues and a mental image of the Lord putting his hands three times on my head.98

There are reportedly some who have been miraculously healed during visits to the Catholic shrines at Lourdes, in South West France. This center in France
arose from the experience of the simple peasant girl, slightly below normal, who claimed to have had a vision of the Virgin Mary.\textsuperscript{99}

Not only have certain Americans been healed physically, but many are receiving "healing" for their spirits — getting saved or accepting Jesus Christ or being born again. Quite recently, Americans had a born-again president in the person of Jimmy Carter. Then there is the former "hatchet man" for Richard Nixon, Charles Colson, who was converted to Christianity while serving in jail for his Watergate "sins." The famous musical entertainer Bob Dylan was converted to Christianity and was "professing Jesus Christ as Lord", mostly "through his new album." Just how total his turn-around is remains to be seen.\textsuperscript{100}

Apart from the famous conversions, other Americans in respected employs are finding Jesus Christ. Lambert Dolphin, a physicist who graduated from Stanford, accepted Christ in 1962 after disappointments with "Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Zen." For a while he was also intrigued by Nirvana. After his conversion he says, "Old problems and desires have faded away." Dolphin is now "building on Jesus the Solid Rock."\textsuperscript{101}

Tom Landry, who coaches the Dallas Cowboys, "discovered that truth [that we are made for God] from St. Augustine at the age of 33." In Landry's case, there was deep regret that he was so long coming to Jesus. He had wasted many years outside "the fellowship of Jesus Christ."\textsuperscript{102}

Gerhard Dirks, a computer expert who consulted for IBM, asked Jesus to come into his life to provide "new instruction patterns" which once they were "stored" in Dirks' life prevented him from doing what was unacceptable to Jesus.\textsuperscript{103}
The cost of evangelizing America and overseas is enormous. Most if not all big time preachers devise ways of soliciting needed funds. For some, the offers are made on telecasts of certain gifts from the minister—mostly evangelists and some pastors—to all who send in a certain sum of money. Nothing encourages the faithful to give as the assurance that their own finances would be multiplied. For instance, the late evangelist A. A. Allen who operated from Arizona had a personal testimony about God miraculously multiplying his finances which he used to tell his followers in order to encourage the latter to donate generously to his ministry.

Faced with a $410 bill that he was unable to pay, with only a few one-dollar bills in his pocket, Allen prayed to God and each one-dollar bill was changed to twenties. In his own words,

Of course, some of you do not believe this. Listen, you old skeptic, you don't have to believe it, because it doesn't have to happen to you. But it had to happen to me. I'll tell you why, I decreed a thing....I believe I can command God to perform a miracle for you financially. When you do, God can turn dollar bills into twenties.

It is interesting that A. A. Allen was viewed by some as one of America's "prophet[s] of the poor people." Later in his ministry, Allen laid hands on those needing financial miracles who donated $100.00 to his missionary outreach. They received "power to get wealth."

Frederick J. Eikerenkoetter II is more bold, perhaps than most, on his prosperity preaching. One of his slogans is "you can't lose with the stuff I use"; "the lack of money is the root of all evil"; "money answers all things." For him, religion is good business.
John L. Sherrill, an investigative reporter, received the Baptism with the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues. Sherrill had set out skeptical of the charismatic movement, especially the phenomenon of glossolalia. His *They Speak With Other Tongues* is filled with stories of people, including members of the Yale Christian Fellowship who "received the Baptism in the Holy Spirit with charisma, including tongues." He testifies of having "found tongues invaluable," in helping him avoid letting his own opinions interfere with what God willed and wanted to do through his ministry.

The laying-on-of-hands is a common ritual preceding the Baptism with the Holy Spirit. With that we turn to our third class: ritualistic practices.

**Ritualistic Practices**

The subject of ritual has already been covered with regard to the laying-on-of-hands, the giving of finances, and prayers for healing. To that we may add one innovation: "praying for the sick en masse", a technique developed by T. O. Osborn to eliminate the "long healing lines and human limitations." Here we will consider the areas of: worship, baptism, fasting, exorcising spirits, eucharist, seminary training and ordination.

Andrew Greeley outlines two ways of interpreting church worship: the Dionysian and the Apollonian. The former scheme regards man as both "irrational and superrational, both mystical and orgiastic." Dionysian ritual/liturgy is therefore characterized by

the nonrational, the ecstatic, the emotional in man's prayer, arguing that man can only come in contact with the Deity if he transcends the sedate rationality of his everyday life.
Appolonian worship on the other hand is based on the view that man is rational. Therefore, dialogue with the Almighty should be

rational-sober, moderate, with bare of emotion. Such liturgy is classic and exercises a tight restraint on outburst and display.116

With these two forms, church worship can be analyzed in terms of simple church or high church as functions of either form. We will now follow further this approach and apply it to our discussion of worship.

First, the simple church and Dionysian is characterized by

The direct intervention of the Spirit, particularly when the emotions have been excited in such a fashion as to be open to them, combined with a simple, plain, and matter-of-fact approach to prayer produce a liturgy which enables those who follow it to avoid elaborateness and at the same time give free vent to their emotions.117

In the American Christian experience, there are examples of Simple Church and Dionysian worship. Here are several examples: In the Morris Cerullo meetings, there is "clapping and exuberant worship; attenders anointed with oil; and a concluding salvation altar call."118 According to Moseley, the Charismatic Renewal, beginning in the 1950s was characterized by the baptism of the Holy Spirit with "outbursts of glossolalia."119

In many of the "crusades" conducted by faith-healing evangelists, there is "praying, clapping, shouting, pleading with the crippled to walk, commanding the blind to see...."120

In a typical A. A. Allen meeting the faithful
glorified "God with singing, dancing, shouting, speaking in tongues, [and] falling prostrate before the Lord."¹²¹

On the whole, the charismatics who have helped make Pentecostalism more respectable in America, and the Pentecostals, independently and within denominations, exemplify the simple church and Dionysian form of worship.

Secondly, is the Simple Church Apollonian: examples of these are most of the traditional Protestant denominations: Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Low Church Anglicans. In these churches,

The services are relatively plain and simple at the same time sober, restrained, and dignified. Even the hymns...are still quite sedate and restrained, at least compared to the vigor and enthusiasm of a Pentecostal or even Negro Baptist prayer meeting.¹²²

It should be pointed out that American churches having Simple Church Apollonian-type worship have been experiencing a membership decline. This is interesting. Even though it may not be the explanation for the decline, it could possibly be a contributing factor. There is little audience involvement or participation in worship or even proselytizing.¹²³

The third type is the High Church Apollonian where worship is

dignified, rational and restrained, while at the same time elaborate, artistic and stylized.¹²⁴

An example would be Latin Mass in the Roman Liturgy.¹²⁵

Most if not all American churches baptize their members. The differences come about in terms of such matters as: how much water is used -- sprinkling or immersion, age of candidates -- whether infants or as adults.¹²⁶ Many of the churches use the ritual as
initiation of members. Others use it as a sign to the world that one is converted. The latter category generally baptize adults, or at least those able to make personal confessions of their faith.

There is no indication that baptism is connected to status or the adoption of new names. However, there is such a variety of understandings in the various churches regarding the manner of becoming Christians.

When it comes to the ritual of fasting, this seems to be practised largely by charismatic/Pentecostal types of churches, especially the leadership. For instance, Oral Roberts fasted and prayed, losing over thirty pounds before God spoke to him regarding his ministry of faith-healing. Franklin Hall's message is centered around fasting.

The ritual of exorcizing of spirits is generally performed by some of the same churches and/or ministers who pray for the sick, with differing degrees of success. Earlier in his ministry, Oral Roberts was casting out demons. The undisputed leader in this ritual, however, was A. A. Allen, who often sent blessed prayer cloths to the demon-possessed.

Another expert on exorcising of demons is Derek Prince, who traveled extensively teaching on the subject and expelling demons from people. Working closely with him was Don Bashan who provided the instructional manual for exorcising demons. Both Prince and Bashan emphasized healing and fasting as well as the exorcising of demons.

A commonly accepted ritual in churches is the eucharist or holy communion. In Roman Catholicism, the notion of transubstantiation surrounds the ritual. Other churches celebrate with varying regularities.
Rituals are practiced for other purposes too. For instance, "A candle lit to St. Anthony for finding a lost object," a "St. Christopher medal used to prevent accidents or the expectation that meat eaten on a Friday would bring one out in spots", hence the rule of "Friday abstinence." 138

In a technological society, specialization becomes important in order to perform public functions. For ministers, other than those who have supernatural experiences of the type discussed above, seminary training and/or ordination serve as initiation rites into the ministry. Certain denominations have their own theological colleges or Bible colleges. There are also interdenominational colleges where ministers are trained and ordained, although the latter ritual may be done by sponsoring churches. The title "Reverend", one who is to be "revered" is commonly used for the clergy.

The emphasis placed on ordination and the possession of "academic" qualifications for ministers results in, among other things, "diploma mills" that make possible for certain American clergy to be vested with the title of "Reverend Doctor for a nominal sum." 139 Many of the big time ministers have honorary doctorates, including Oral Roberts, Morris Cerullo, Jerry Falwel, Kenneth Hagin, Robert Schuller, etc.

It is difficult to determine the nature of discipline, if any, effected by any of the churches. Certain of them have taboos but apart from the mention here and there about a preacher losing a license, the author cannot tell whether members are punished and if so in what way(s). Pentecostals have a rather strict code of conduct that looks unfavorably upon "worldliness" in various forms. Members must abstain from such things as:
filthiness of speech; foolish talking or joking; use of slang; attending public fairs or gatherings; use of swimming pools; wearing jewelry, gold, feathers, flowers, extravagant apparel, neckties, split skirts, low-necked and short-sleeved dresses.

Other taboos include "gambling, drinking, entertainment, and licentiousness" which are all regarded as the works of the devil. But, as pointed out, how these regulations are enforced and deviants penalized, or even how valid they are for the 1980s is hard to determine. So much for rituals.

Theories/Ideologies

The notion of detachment was discussed with regard to sexual mores. This predisposition seems fairly common among Christians. We touched on those who apparently get converted but without any commitment to the Christian life. The scientific frame of mind that encourages objectivity tends to affect churches. People tend to require evidence that is "objective and conclusive or they will not commit themselves." But they will only accept certain categories of evidence. Andren tells of "the aloof attitude sometimes fostered in modern schools of psychiatry, psychiatric nursing and social work" that does not go far in helping patients.

But while the scientific approach may help individuals not to be gullible, people are reduced to mere matter by science. Reality is often denied. For instance, pain is denied and killed by pills; while the human being is viewed as a delicate machine that must be constantly supervised by doctors. Instead of church ministers, scientists are the priests who approve or disapprove divine realities such as spirits, angels,
etc. Barker sums it succinctly when she states that "in the supermarkets of epistemologies and technologies she (science) reigns supreme."

Because man can find solutions to most of his problems including escaping to the moon or other planets, heaven and hell do not mean much to most Americans. Americans want self-help rather than reliance on God. The sense of community is weakened as individualism is promoted more and more. In Harold Beoman's words, people go to church as individuals, or as individual families, to gain spiritual nourishment to sustain them in activities and relationships that take place elsewhere.

He then goes on to add that, "We are thus confronted with a combination of a 'religionless Christianity' and what may be called a 'Christianity-less religion'."

Church historian Marty states that, "The market orientation of religion in the current revival leads it to cater to individuals but not to build a community." While there may be great gains made by the electronic church as well as other groups, these fail to bring about communion and instead foster "the privatist solution." (italics in original) Although, as stated earlier, Americans wish to emulate the New Testament Church — after all, they alone are a model for the churches of the world — where there is a communal society that expresses itself as "one body of which Christ is the head", there is denominationalism marked by competition for monies and memberships.

Once again, technology is the scapegoat for the churches' ills. It is to be blamed for the lack of "the life of the Spirit, for the personal, and for God." For Marty, the mass media bear the respon-
sibility for lack of genuine Christian communities in the American churches. In his view, mass media (technology)

helped generate suspicion, since they accent vivid and conflictual, not serene and secure aspects of institutional life. And they do so instantly, and from great distances....The tape recorder of the FBI prevents moderns from joining the ranks of the equally frail saints who preceded them.

Marty continues to point out an even more serious problem regarding advertising technology. In his words:

Revelations of lapses in integrity in the bedrooms and the legal dealings of the stars help elevate the audience by cutting the heroes to size. Many of the heroes and heroines have been celebrated church people and they have cut themselves to size.155

Thus we have those who otherwise ought to be revered brought to the dust.

It is not surprising that while over half of Americans pray to God, less than half that number expect any response from God. They are not even sure God hears their prayers.156 Notwithstanding problems at home, interest in mission is rising. There is compensation overseas for what ever may be lost at home. Most, if not all, Evangelical Churches have or support missionaries elsewhere in the world.

Without belaboring the point, technology does play a vital role in American Christianity that is threefold: more people can be reached because of it; many Christians are fearful of identifying with certain communities because of negative publicity; it determines the
pecking order of ministers as well as congregations -- those employing, for instance, electronic media and who reach larger segments of the population are better known while the larger congregation need it for efficient communication.

Lastly, under ideologies/theories, because of the place accorded science - technology, a place much higher than that accorded the church, it becomes presumptuous for anyone individual or church to exhibit a level of certainty not permissible in normal science. This places fundamentalists like the Southern Baptists in a difficult position. Debates over the inerrancy issue are common.¹⁵⁶ Those who take the Bible literally or who want to relate to God as the "I AM" -- unchanging and therefore still doing today what He did in yesteryears and centuries -- discover that they are on the fringes of mainstream American Christianity. This has been the fate of the Pentecostals and those holding onto the supernatural manifestations as part of present day Christianity. Faith must be refined and subjected to the scrutiny of human reason to be acceptable. In fact, the Bible is constantly being demythologized.¹⁵⁷

General

Libraries abound in America. What is not in print or recorded electronically is given less credence. Churches rely on their own documents to test doctrine and determine what is acceptable in Christian belief and practice. Thus although many may "know" the Bible, increasingly there appears to be a situation similar to the one Ellul describes when he testifies,
I found myself among people who, for example, read the Bible, but did not believe in miracles. They saw Jesus as a good model, but felt that his resurrection was obviously a fable. Dependence on print, libraries and an elevation of rationality makes sense in a society where man/woman is the measure of all things. This reduces God to a level that humans can fully fathom. There is no more room for mystery in "higher religion." McKeon argues that advancement in religion comes about when man is able to separate "science" from "magic", and separate "religion" from "superstition." Sophisticated Americans do not want to be part of immature Christianity. Says Allport, As Christianity is practiced it is frequently as magical, as arbitrary, as self-centered as is the totemism of the Nandi or the fetishism of the Andamanese. And, no civilized American wants to worship God in a manner similar to the way the Nandi of Kenya and the Andamans of Burma do. The testimonies of the healings taking place at Lourdes were rejected by Christians because of the founder's social standing -- "a simple peasant girl, slightly below normal." Thus in a country dominated by science, those who esteem "prescientific" approaches to Christianity may find themselves candidates for interviews with psychiatrists.

Summary

The American churches are a complex phenomena. Within any single group, say Episcopalians, one finds various divisions or brands. The churches that once
aimed at transforming American society into a "righteous empire", to borrow Marty's terminology, find themselves adapting to American technological systems. Religious ritual, while widely practiced, does not make God a present reality, for instance, to answer prayers without man's help. The deeply religious, in terms of relying on God, are drawn from the "lower and lower middle classes." There is a pattern, with certain exceptions, that as Americans gain in secular learning, they diminish in spiritual awareness.

Communism remains the arch enemy of Christians in America. War is therefore justified if it serves to destroy this devil. Unfortunately, the devil may not be located at its home base within the Soviet Union. Instead it is challenged in the smaller countries. This might explain, in part, the conflict within the World Council of Churches for its support of communist inspired liberation movements in regions like Southern Africa. The WCC gets much if not most of its funds from American Christians.

Technology becomes a barrier and a "gift from God" simultaneously. It is hard for Americans to participate in "pure experience, immediacy, relative" with the God of the Bible (italics in original). To do so would mean to accept as valid "prior to reflection", as Doublas points out. But there are exceptions. And while these are definitely in the minority, there is some interaction between certain well-placed Americans such as intellectuals, doctors, lawyers and those that may be lower in social standing but rich in faith. Perhaps one of the challenges the church faces is to be able to remove the "respect of persons" from church relationships. As long as those who engage in healing
and other Pentecostal-type rituals are regarded as "clearly deplorable" and "fake," it is puzzling for their persecutors to claim to be at the same time professors and followers of the "doctrines" of Christ's religion.

There is a sense of irony in the American church trying to reconcile its scientific bases with Biblical faith. Lloyd-Jones places a finger on it when he says, "it is unscientific to reject facts; and it is no part of our business as Christians to do so." He goes further and points out that for himself, when certain church elders, many of them responsible citizens, attest to miracles which some of them have directly experienced, "I cannot say that they are liars, neither can I believe that they are deluded....They are reliable witnesses."

In part the difficulty is in the closed scientific system that has been prevalent in the West; the "deterministic, mechanistic and static...outlook...", that complicates the matter for many otherwise well-meaning Americans. Since, as Lloyd-Jones puts it, "Most of us belonging to the Evangelical tradition had virtually accepted it, and believed that this was the only truly scientific attitude", it is painful giving up cherished man-made traditions that helped put Americans atop in the community of nations as pointed out in Chapter Two.

In the next Chapter when a comparison is made between American and African Christianity, many of these observations will become more pertinent for the intercultural communication perspective.


9. See for instance, Psalms 103:2-3; 1Peter 2:24; Mark 2:5, 10; etc.

10. Woodward and Gates, Newsweek, p. 44.

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14 Greeley, Denominational Society, p. 10.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., p. 17.


22 Henry, "Christ and His Embattled Legions", p. 405.


24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.


29 Ibid.

30 Hobart E. Freeman, Every Wind of Doctrine (Warsaw, Indiana: Faith Ministries and Publications, np)


34 See Matthew 5:13-14.

35 "Bad News About the Effects of Divorce", citing a study by Berkeley psychologist Judith Wallerstein, Christianity Today 26 (November 12, 1982) p. 84.


37 Jeanne Blumhegen, "We Cannot Choose in a Moral Vacuum", Ibid. pp. 29, 30.

38 Gordon L. Addington, "There May be No Absolute Answers", Ibid., p. 31.

39 Treharne, Healing Via Redemption, p. 47.

40 The author interviewed both families following the incidents and has been to their church. See Michael Norman, "Court Orders girl's treatment", The Columbus Dispatch 1 June 1982, p. B1; "Boy is 'good' after ordered surgery", Columbus Citizen Journal 29 September 1982, p. 7.
Joseph Baylys, "Is it Life or Death that is Prolonged?" Christianity Today 26 (February 5, 1982) p. 30-31.


Moseley, Cultural History, p. 59.

Ibid., pp. 139, 140.


Ibid., p. 4.

Moseley, Cultural History, p. 140.

Matthew 3:8.

Cited in Moseley, Cultural History, p. 152.

Joseph A. Sneed, Urgency of the Hour II a tract (Ellaville, Ga.: Christian Training Center, n.p.)


Ibid. p. 91.


58 See for instance, Martin E. Marty, The Public Church, p. 7. Marty blames the media for the privatization of Christianity; Moseley, Cultural History, pp. 65-146.

59 Here referring mostly to advertising and bureaucracy. Also electronic evangelism and the size of some churches makes it easy for individuals to be privy about their Christian experiences.


62 Ibid., p. 89.

63 1 Thessalonians 5:22.


65 Cited in Rogow, Ibid., p. 153.


68 Cited in Patai, Myth and Modern Man, p. 168.
It is interesting that for both critic and the faithful alike, Christmas is equally accepted, even though it is known to have pagan roots, and that the date is inaccurate; it blends in well with the culture.

Collier, "Situation We Face", p. 28.

Patai, Myth and Modern Man, p. 281.

An impression the author gained after visiting churches in various denominations during 1972 for 3 months as a visiting preacher, and between 1976 and 1983, in about 8 states. The author has had discussions with pastors during these visits.


Ibid., p. 79.


Lilian Yeomans, Health and Healing, p. 15.

Lilian Yeomans, Healing from Heaven, p. 8.

Ibid., p. 11.

George B. Markle, IV "Body, Mind and Faith", in Claude A. Frazier, Faith Healing, p. 16.

William Standish Reed, "Case History and Opinion or Four Steps to Wholeness", in Frazier, Faith Healing, pp. 39-41.


85 Kathryn Kuhlman, I Believe in Miracles, p. 23.

86 Ibid., p. 29.


88 Ibid., p. 74.

89 Moseley, Cultural History, p. 62.

90 Harrell, Jr., All Things Are Possible, pp. 184, 185.

91 Ibid., p. 190.

92 Roberts, The Call, p. 34.


95 Ibid., p. 221.


97 For instance, Acts 5: 1-3.

98 Anne M. S. Glew, "Personal Experience in Faith Healing", in Frazier, Faith Healing, p. 81.


Ibid., p. 345.

Ibid., p. 342.

Oral Roberts has his "Seed Faith" Concept, T. L. Osborn offers his "Pact of Plenty" to donors, Jimmy Swaggart has numbered offers, sometimes these are autographed Bibles; Jerry Falwell sends out "gifts", including lapel pins with "Jesus Saves" inscribed on them, etc. In watching the telecasts of certain of these ministers the author found them often boldly pleading for finances which had to come in immediately if their ministries were to continue. Often there is as much time spent "begging" for donations as on preaching the Gospel. Most if not all of the national/international ministers have magazines and/or newsletters that usually contain a fund-raising plea. See Harrell, Jr. pp. 102-104, for further remarks on fund-raising strategies.

Cited in Harrell, Jr., All Things Are Possible, pp. 74, 75.

Ibid., p. 200.

Ibid., pp. 200-201.

Ibid., p. 235.


Ibid., p. 81.

Ibid., p. 127.

Apart from accounts in Sherrill's work, this is common in the charismatic revivals and within the Pentecostal Churches; For research evidence on glossolalia, see Michael Motley "Linguistic Analysis of Glossolalia" Communication Quarterly 30 (Winter 1982): 18-27.

Harrell, Jr. All Things Are Possible, p. 87.

Andrew Greeley uses the terms "ritual and liturgy" but the author prefers to categorize these under "worship."

Greeley, Denominational Society, p. 23.
116 Ibid.
117 Ibid.
119 Moseley, Cultural History, p. 150.
120 Harrell, Jr. All Things Are Possible, p. 6.
121 Ibid., p. 195.
125 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
128 For instance, the Pentecostals. See Shulman, Religious Heritage, p. 280.
129 For some, participating in the two rites——baptism and the eucharist——qualifies one for membership. For others, one must have a personal relationship with Christ as well as live under a defined code of conduct.
131 Harrell, Jr., All Things Are Possible, p. 80.
132 Ibid., p. 88.
133 Ibid., pp. 88, 89.
134 Ibid., p. 185.
135 Ibid., p. 226.
136 Ibid.

138 Ibid., p. 28.


140 Ibid., p. 274.

141 Ibid., p. 275.

142 Collier, "The Situation We Face", p. 30.

143 Henry E. Andren, "The Place of Faith in Mental Healing", in Frazier, *Faith Healing*, p. 27.


146 Ibid., p. 146.

147 Barker, "Science as Theology", p. 265.

148 Ibid., p. 264.


152 Ibid., p. 7.

153 Ibid.


157 William A. Powell, Sr., "Liberalism Brews Within the Southern Baptist Convention" Fundamentalist Journal 2 (February 1983); 20-23, 33.

158 Ellul, Perspectives, p. 16.

159 McKeon, "Philosophy and Divinity of Cultures", pp. 27, 28.

160 Allport, "The Situation We Face", p. 46.

161 Lloyd-Jones, The Supernatural in Medicine, p. 6.

162 Harrell, Jr., points to repeated instances when healing and charismatic preachers are scared of what might be done to them because of their beliefs and practices in All Things Are Possible.

163 For example the Baptists. See Moseley, Cultural History, p. 135.


166 Douglas, Natural Symbols, p. 78.

167 Harrell, Jr., All Things Are Possible, pp. 99, 100.


169 Lloyd-Jones, The Supernatural in Medicine, p. 7.

170 Ibid., p. 8.
CHAPTER VII

AFRICAN AND AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY WITH MEDICINE:
SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

In this chapter a comparison via the translatable schema is made between the meanings of African and American Christianity with medicine in order to determine the similarities and the differences. Following that, the findings are organized into charts that allow for fast references. Finally, three of the Gebserian typologies: magical, mythological and mental rational, will be applied to the meanings to facilitate generalizations that will in turn allow the answering of two of the questions being investigated.

For the most part, references to African Christianity will apply to indigenous churches, except where mission churches share significantly in common meanings with the former. Also, the latter group of churches will be included for purposes of contrasting with the former. As pointed out in Chapter Five, mission churches are extensions of European or American denominations. Because of technological and cultural factors, they may not be exact replicas, and in many cases, mission churches have more expected out of them as will be demonstrated in Chapter VIII than the central or European-American mother churches.

In Chapter IV, it was stated that comparisons need be done vertically in order to determine "same" things
cross-culturally. Christianity has a universal appeal. Therefore, in a number of cases, horizontal comparisons will be done -- a departure from the rule -- to help determine, to what extent, expressive forms can be understood directly across cultures. Where such comparisons are made, it will be indicated for the reader. Otherwise, all comparisons will be vertical. Again, it should be reiterated that it is similarities in cultural meanings with respect to the forms.

From time to time, the author will include expressive forms not covered in Chapters V and VI that are in the literature. For any additional forms, references will be provided for the reader. As stated in Chapters IV, V and VI, there are overlaps in meanings and often mutual inclusivenesses within and between classes. Therefore if a form is covered during discussion of any one class, it will be excluded in subsequent discussion which pertains to the class it falls under based on the schema in Chapter IV. In this way, repetitions can be minimized, if not avoided. Thus the comparisons are done by classes.

Similarities and Differences in Linguistic Terms

There is a similarity in meanings between American denominationalism and African separatism. In both cases the behaviors are efforts by the churches to distance themselves from those regarded spiritually as "outsiders" with reference to the specific company of the committed. In the African sense, it is a separation from the "worldly" and the unregenerates. For Americans, this usually involves another denomination. As Greeley points out, "Denominational distance is still an extremely important reality."¹
It is a common practice for Americans to celebrate birthdays by partying and buying gifts. For Africans, it is during child naming that the celebrating takes place. What is more, such African celebrations have a strong religious flavor to them.

Besides, the names given to children of Christian parents in parts of Africa have religious meanings. Several examples illustrate this: 2 for Igbos, Chinesom means "God is always with me"; Chetachi means "whatever the circumstances, always remember God"; Onyinyechi means "This is God's gift"; while Chinyere means "This child is a gift from God"; Chimezirim means "God has blessed me." For Bini Christians, the name Osotohamwen means "God have mercy on me." In the case of the Isoko people, Ajirogheni means "Praise the Lord." Although Christian parents may give their children names with religious connotations, it is generally the Christians who insist on such names. 3

Having children is a natural thing in Africa. For Americans this is becoming increasingly technical. There is planned parenthood, involving doctors, career plans and at times social status, with the more affluent generally having fewer children. Also natural is the notion of marriage or getting married in Africa. It is considered unnatural not to want to marry. For Americans, not only is marriage a technical affair which centers around a document or a marriage license, but increasingly, men and women can cohabit and still claim not to be married. Thus while for Africans, the sexual union is the determinant factor in marriage, for Americans it is the document. There is for Africans an insistence that marriage ceremonies be public and be conducted in church for all who adhere to the faith.
Regarding marriage, it is interesting to note that word of mouth carries more weight in Africa — Oral Tradition — than it does in America — Print Culture.

Americans generally view sicknesses, diseases, and illnesses as technical structures. All are caused by viruses or bacilli. In Africa, demons are behind these phenomena. Thus we have technical structures meaning the same thing as supernatural powers. Therefore Americans resort to medical technology so that the problem can be diagnosed and the bacilli attacked directly at the affected part of the body. Africans, on the other hand, will pray, consult spiritual leaders as to the spiritual cause of the problem — whether it be individual sin or community sin. As part of the healing ritual, forgiveness is sought or restitution made. Much of this is a carry-over from traditional religious practices, in which "God's medicine includes good health, fertility, increase of life and possessions."

That Americans regard health as technical does not mean a total unawareness of the spiritual causes to sickness, disease and illness. However, as Markle points out, "few [Americans] realize how much physical sickness is caused by spiritual weaknesses." A possible explanation may be the place accorded reason in contrast to faith, and where the latter is exercised, the object of its focus. American medicine is one of the main fruits of Western medical technology. In America, as Reed points out,

Nothing is taught in medical schools concerning faith in this relationship to getting well except that it is a maxim that the patient must have faith in his physician in order to become well.
Doctor Reed (chief of surgery in Tampa, Florida) goes on to add that "Little is mentioned in the church concerning the role of faith or prayer in healing."  

Reason is accorded in America the same place faith is given in Africa. However, because of technology, reason rules and faith suffers. Even Christians are ashamed of faith. Because African churches teach total reliance on God, faith is not only cultivated but it becomes imperative. Therefore one could conclude that both Americans and Africans have faith. However, the former place it in medical technology or reason while the latter place it in God. Perhaps we can understand why Mendelsohn refers to doctors as a priesthood in the "Church of Modern Medicine." Therefore faith healing in Africa is similar to "cures" by medical doctors in America. Faith-healing is divine to Africans while medical technology is divine to Americans. The African "clergy" is accorded the same social status as that of the American local doctor.

Increasingly, the practice of acupuncture is receiving medical attention in America. If its efficacy is demonstrated and it gains wider acceptance, it will be similar to Juju in Africa. The big difference is that while for the African Churches, Juju is out, for American churches, acupuncture is just coming in. Equally out is the practice of human sacrifices by some African ethnic groups. The American forms similar to human sacrifices are birth control, abortion, and infanticide. But even here, Africans have spiritual motivations while Americans may view this as a practical matter. Once again this may be a case of the similar forms going out of one culture while gaining acceptance in the other culture. As is evident from the child naming celebrations and some actual names given to African
children, children are a blessing from God, hence the rejection of birth control by most Africans.

It would be unethical for an American minister to raise funds for private use. For Africans this would be sin. As to the actual giving of money, Americans view it as Christian charity while Africans see the ritual as "tokenism by miserly rich people." Perhaps this might explain, in part, the financial resources of African Churches as compared to American ones, based, of course, on relative economic strengths of the societies. Thus what is a question of ethics in one culture is viewed to be the same as sin in another.

Americans have a self-image of peaceful people committed to preserving world peace. For Africans, to amass so many destructive weapons is to be definitely committed to war and not peace. So the instruments or symbols of peace in America even mean war to Africans. For the latter culture, to be unarmed is to be spreading peace. When a Luyia says "emilembe" or "omulembe" to another, this is accompanied by an extended open hand -- obviously unarmed -- as announcing "peace"; "all is well." The notion of Satan or the Devil is common in African Christian circles. Those who sin or commit crimes generally blame the devil for it. All the unpleasant events, experiences, etc. are explained in terms of the devil. In the American churches, with varying degrees of hostility, the devil or Satan is not necessarily spiritual. It is personified in the Soviet Union -- Communism or at times Socialism. Even otherwise sober-minded Americans usually feel an increase in their flow of adrenalin whenever Communism is blamed for moral collapse, economic decline and worldwide unrest. Those who
embody communism: the Russians, the Cubans, at times the Chinese, with their allies are in America detested with the same intensity that African Christians hate the spiritual devil. Therefore some American churches support a strong defense. Ministers claiming to be combating communism in Africa and elsewhere receive large donations. What is a devil to Africans is similar to Communism to Americans. The responses from the African church may be such rituals as fasting, meditation, prayer, etc. Thus what in the American culture is largely an ideological as well as military problem is in Africa a spiritual warfare. This may be in part because those who feel helpless generally find recourse to divinities for assistance while the strong may want to take on their enemies.

Thus while Africans see that the enemy, Satan, can be dealt with by realizing that it is "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts",13 Americans may find themselves enlarging their defense capabilities or employing other means, such as trade embargos to put a halt on their arch enemy.

It seems to be common practice to exchange rings at American weddings to symbolize love and commitment. As long as the tokens are worn, love remains. In Africa that is the "same" as amulets that symbolize love too, except the kind that churches reject as sinful; hence the rejection of rings by some African churches, because they are seen as taboo. So a token of love -- wedding ring -- in one culture's church means the same in another culture's church.

Such phenomena as earthquakes, tornados, lightnings, etc. that do damage to people and property are regarded as "Acts of God" by Americans. In general, Americans find it necessary to protect or safeguard themselves
from such "acts" by taking out insurance policies. In Africa, Christians view only the positive miracles: water coming out of a stone during the dry season, barren women bearing children, being delivered from one's potential killers, etc. Rather than insurance, Africans need assurance. Thus "Acts of God" in America is the same as "miracles" of deliverance or supply in Africa.

It is customary for some Americans to exchange baskets with Easter bunnies and eggs and even mask themselves. This is supposedly for children who derive pleasure from the rituals. What is an American custom -- a time of fun -- is magic and therefore taboo in Africa.

Age tends to be a very sensitive subject for most Americans after their "youthful" days. While youth is desirable in America, age (elderly) is the desirable state in Africa. Put differently, while age is undesirable for Americans, Africans consider youthfulness something to be tolerated or overcome.  The veneration of the elderly in Africa is in part tied to the Oral Tradition: in which elders are the custodians of community wisdom. But this is also because African families are for raising children while in America they are for spouses. While American families depend for their success on spouse compatibility, African families revolve around mother-child relationships. From early childhood, there is teaching to respect elders and all those older than oneself.

Before turning to the class of testimonies and anecdotes, several horizontal comparisons will be done. In Africa, sacred applies to places of worship, human sexuality, holy water; while in America it applies to Cathedrals -- but to their architecture more than to them as places of worship -- the country, the people, political documents and certain public holidays. Thus
for Americans, the ego in the national psyche is evident. There is a great disparity here. At the individual level, the notion of super-man is manifested. A single individual is said to be able to snatch the American family from destruction.16

The majority of America's leading religious personalities have foundations, organizations, or enterprises, chartered in their names. In certain cases family members are on the boards of directors of these.

In a culture with specialists for almost everything, ministers are technocrats while the laity respond by giving money so the projects the ministers have to carry out become sacred and the focus of financial donations. Many of the ministers, especially in the electric church have large budgets.17 By contrast, African religious leaders do not name the churches they found after themselves. Nor will it be well received if they used their immediate families as key members on the committees responsible for large public donations. The churches usually bear descriptive names.18 The indigenous churches have names that would be similar to some American denominations, even though theologically they are closest to American Charismatics and Pentecostals.

While the founders of African churches enjoy a special place in the hearts of their followers, it is usually the church and not the individual that is promoted or publicized. But the African church is never viewed as one person's. Rather it is a community phenomenon, where the faithful may find, in Welbourn's and Ogot's words, "A place to feel at home."

African education is informal, conducted within the home. It is also learner-centered. Learning is by doing — discipleship. The young are taught through proverbs and folktales. In America, education is found outside the
home and is by hired experts. The learning process is teacher-centered and takes place in formal schools. What for Africans could be idolatrous and therefore leading to the fear of evil, would be similar to going astray, a meaningless concept in America. To break a covenant-relationship with God, so serious in Old Testament setting means, for Africans, breaking one's relationship to one's kinship group. In America, it is viewed as self-centeredness.

Similarities and Differences in Testimonies and Anecdotes

There are testimonies to prosperity in American churches, especially the electric and independent ones, that seem absent in African churches. However, Africans are "prospered" if they have a good harvest or if their flocks multiply. In any case African prosperings are less dramatic in comparison to those involving the multiplying of dollar amounts - usually after responding to one or more of the package deals offered by certain American preachers.

Doing a horizontal comparison, we find similarities in the supernatural callings of African Christian leaders and those of certain American Pentecostal and charismatic ministers. In both cultures, there are claims to revelations, prophecies, visions. The only difference is in dreams where Africans tend to excel. While there is also a similarity in attitude toward glossolalia between American Pentecostals (and charismatics) and Africans, most Africans utilize the ability more vigorously in their worship and insist on its presence in church meetings while some American charismatics consider it optional. Another exception is the mission churches whose stand on it is similar to (except for Pentecostal mission churches)
that of the majority of Americans who reject tongues.

Most of the testimonies were covered in the above class, for instance, those of healings, protection, water from stones, etc. The one category related to the tongues the ability to speak by direct inspiration, has similar meanings, horizontally, between same groups as for glossolalia. However, the ministers in certain of these other churches in both cultures would consider themselves inspired, only this would be via research, reflection and trained common sense.

**Similarities and Differences in Ritualistic Practices**

Again, certain of these have already been discussed in the class on linguistic terms. Among those not covered are: Living by faith, common among Charismatic and Pentecostal circles in America. When American visiting ministers and even missionaries have been to African countries, their ability to spend money has impressed African Christians. In African culture, those who live by faith and therefore have plenty do not beg. To be "not a money lover" means, in Africa, that one is generous. However, in America it simply means a good preacher, who usually receives, cumulatively, large sums of money. But an African who has lived in America soon discovers that living by faith actually means begging for money, sending out soliciting letters, some of them with touching emotional appeals.

Recently, a Liberian student at Ohio State University, in need of money for tuition, told the author of writing Oral Roberts requesting for help. In response, she was instructed to send him money -- seed faith -- and the ritual would make her prosperous. In America, fund-raising rituals are sided by the government via tax-exempt status accorded churches, religious organizations (and other charities). This is missing in Africa. Technology aids
fund-raising. Many of the appeals for funds — and the author has received quite a few — are processed so as to appear personal when in actuality they are mass mailings.

It should be pointed out that regarding the ritual of faith healing and negative attitudes to medical technology, there are American Christians, albeit a minority, who share similar meanings (horizontally) with Africans, including once well-placed medical doctors.

When it comes to baptism, Americans practice the ritual for various functions, including church membership, and as an outward sign that one is a believer. The ritual involves varying quantities of water. Some sprinkle, while others immerse. In Africa, baptisms are mainly for social statuses — Christians as opposed to pagan/heathens — or as a means to get new names. In some churches, the ritual is strictly as a sign of conversion to Christianity.

The ritual of glossolalia, widely practiced in African churches, and regarded as sacred is "same" in America as the ability to speak in foreign languages — the kind mission aries are supposed to possess. While American ministers (Pentecostals and Charismatics) pray for the sick, in Africa, certain churches have all members participating in the ritual as believer-priests.

We saw in Chapter Five that Africans rely more on the Old Testament. Actually, in certain forms and some rituals, Americans rely more on the Old Testament. The architecture of the inside of the churches, the emphasis on liturgy so common in mainline churches and the Roman Catholics are all closely associated with Old Testament forms of worship in which priests played the dominant role while the congregations were mostly as spectators. Elaborate rituals of worship or liturgy are almost absent in the New Testament. Such rituals are less pronounced in African churches.

A ritual dominant in America but almost missing in
Africa, except in mission churches, is seminary training. For Africans, periods of seclusion, fasting, prayer become the credentials as these preparations translate into supernatural manifestations of power attesting to the divine call of the one so exercised. The eucharist appears to have no similar ritual in Africa, with regard to its meaning.

The scientific method is a ritual esteemed by Americans with no similarity in Africa. The ordination ritual is similar to initiation rites in Africa which for the church involves receiving a divine commission to carry out a specific duty. That becomes one's title, although increasingly many Africans are becoming "Reverends."

On horizontal comparisons, the ritualistic code of conduct of African Churches is strikingly similar to that of certain Pentecostal churches. In one such American denomination,

filthiness of speech; foolish talking or joking; use of slang; attending public fairs or gatherings; use of swimming pools; wearing jewelry, gold, feathers, flowers, extravagant apparel, neckties, split skirts, low necked and short-sleeved dresses,

are unacceptable. Also, worldliness is condemned as well as "gambling, drinking, entertainment and licentiousness", which are regarded as rituals of Satan. The list is longer including other forms as "arrogance, rebellion, holier-than-thou pride, jealousy, competitiveness, and insurbordination."²⁵

One does not need to look hard to realize that such churches are rare while it would be interesting to find out how they reinforce the ritual of discipline for offenders. While there is a similarity in dress and moral codes, allowing for cultural variation between
Africans and American, the ritual of discipline seems absent in American churches. The only possibilities seem to be cases regarding ministers whose licenses could be withdrawn.  

In the age of electronic media one is left wondering how families in such circles can be kept from engaging in much of the forbidden practices via television. Probably the medium may be forbidden to the members.  

The ritual of learning or transmission of knowledge is by imitation in Africa while in America it is by formal instruction. When it comes to work aimed at bringing in livelihood, it becomes a matter concerning the extended family making African Christians responsible for more than the nuclear family which is the providing unit for American children.  

The subject of medicine has been discussed earlier. Here we need to add that whereas hospitals are viewed as expressive of love and compassion by Americans, Africans are puzzled by such institutionalizations of healing which to them should be personal. To be hospitable means being doctrinally sound for American while Africans see it as simply being hospitable.  

An interesting ritual is church attendance. For many Americans it is like participating in a social club while for some Africans, especially those suspicious of the missionary enterprise, it is regarded as playing the white man's game.  

Lastly, in this class are the rituals connected to love. In America, to kiss means love or sex. In Africa, kissing is horrifying since only monkeys kiss. The author remembers an incident when a culturally captured African (Westernized) kissed his bride after the marriage ceremony. Most of the guests hid their faces in their hands, with heads bowed in embarrassment.
In another incident, two American missionaries the author had helped recruit were dating each other and kissed during a church service. The author, who was at the time responsible for the missionaries, was told in no uncertain terms that such immoral youths were not fit for the mission field and would corrupt the morals of African youths. The meeting was at a High School attended by both boys and girls in their late teens and early twenties. The rebuke came from the deputy headmistress. Needless to say the author was nonplussed.

The statement "I love you" could mean love or sex to Americans. In an African setting, it means "I want you sexually", and therefore part of unbecoming language for a saint, unless, of course, if directed to one's spouse.

The one ritual that has the same meaning horizontally is sitting by a sickbed which in both Africa and America is viewed as expressing love and concern. However, for many of the African churches, including mission ones, such a ritual would most certainly be accompanied by the prayer ritual. Having looked at ritualistic practices, we now turn to Theories and Ideologies.

**Similarities and Differences in Ideologies and Theories**

An underlying feature of American society is the separation of church and state. In Africa, this is never a significant matter. Most presidents are deeply religious and for a people whose lives are not compartmentalized it would be virtually impossible, however desirable. Interestingly enough, religion is a major factor in American politics. It was difficult for Americans to accept John Kennedy, a Roman Catholic as president. In Africa, Nyerere, a Roman Catholic, is president of
Tanzania with a Moslem majority. In Nigeria a Moslem is head of state with a significant number of Christian supporters. Thus religion is blended into politics in a manner uncommon in America.

Man has a high place in American society. Some suggest that he or she may have succeeded in taking the place of God — the old dream of being "as God." In Africa man is still only a creature and can never be the measure of all things as is the case in America. The place accorded man in America is best illustrated by the fact that whether or not the Bible is God's word depends on what man can say about it. This is particularly the case if the man/woman happens to be a scientist. Science (married to technology) is supreme in American society. Even certain preachers praying for the sick wait for a doctor's word to accept the validity of the healing. It would be interesting for other Americans to test patients to see if the cures by doctors are valid. But doctors as scientists enjoy high prestige.

Drugs are agents of scientific miracles. Even though there is concern, they are as American as hamburgers. There are drugs for moods, for sleep, for waking up, etc. There are drugs even for attracting the opposite sex. Drugs may help bring about the ideal man once the right dosages are discovered and administered. In Africa the use of herbs and charms for cures and attracting the opposite sex would be viewed suspiciously, especially the latter. Certain African churches, as stated earlier, would reject both forms. Mission churches imitate mother churches, only that they have fewer drugs to consume.

If the prophecies about the irreligiosity of America, stated in Chapter One and Six, come to pass, there may be a "new" heaven — a technical one. Technologically,
Americans may take off to the moon or elsewhere and therefore need not a heaven. However, there are still fundamentalists who believe in a literal hell and heaven but who may not be certain as to who will go there. This is interesting since some fundamentalists insist on segregation so that if there is a heaven, we cannot tell how the races will be relating.

For indigenous churches in Africa, heaven represents all that has been missed down here. Most of them know a bit of hell already down here so that it is a place to be avoided.

Christianity seems to be, for most Americans, a way of interpreting and explaining past history. There is an evolutionary approach to it as Americans seek to refine the faith through higher criticism to get mature religion or an advanced form. For Africans Christianity holds much promise, but in their case, primitive Christianity. The Bible seems to speak directly to the African condition. Much of the culture in the Bible seems so familiar to Africans. They have polygamy, have shepherds. They have and know their neighbours and seek for and give help to neighbours. They can relate to poor widows donating their last savings as well as prophets of God, who can call fire from heaven but who have no house to call their own.

There is a link, a connection between Africans and nature. Therefore, some Christians are reluctant or even refuse to destroy insects, animals, and the earth preferring to pray to God to be the one to move His other creatures away. Africans have a rationality but it is the kind that is other than "either/or" so common in America. African rationality is "intuitive by participation." It has a "both/and" formulation. It is not hard for this rationality to grasp Einsteinian physics.
while at the same time believe in spirits. Except those culturally captured by the West, Africans have no real trouble accepting Biblical miracles.

Americans in the mental rational world must analyze and seek evidence in order to believe. For them seeing is believing. Sense data is given higher ranking than "blind faith." This rationality seeks increasingly for laws and formulas. Some Americans seek spiritual laws which once obeyed, will inevitably result in salvation or conversion. An example of this is the tract on The Four Spiritual Laws put out by Campus Crusade International and used by other evangelical organizations in soul-winning. Africans seek for the ritual that will effect a new nature in the heart of man. The African God appears all powerful. But, they still need to discover how to appropriate God's material wealth. For Americans, there is ambivalence regarding God's love. He has power to save but then He sometimes chooses not to save.

Although God created the world, possibly by evolutionary means, Americans point out, regarding homosexuality, that

we should not expect that God will necessarily change their homosexual condition, though unquestionably he is able to do so, and in some cases does so by means of psychotherapy.36

There is therefore no guarantee God answers prayer. Thus the American God is, by and large, limited to what man can do and understand. There are, of course, exceptions. But here we are talking of minorities whose credibility is questioned. For instance, the American Medical Association (A.M.A.) says that "all miracle cures were the result of either suggestion, spontaneous remission, or wrong diagnoses.37 Most of the Pentecostal and earlier Charismatic preachers are said to have "generally appealed to the abjectly poor -- to blacks, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites.38
What is even more revealing, "Prominent American religious leaders considered the healing revival clearly deplorable."\(^{39}\)

Thus the Christianity that Africans find satisfying, is in America, the rallying point for those lowest in social status.

An African University lecturer defends the healing practice of Archbishop Mlingo, cited in Chapter V, who has become a controversial figure in the Roman Catholic Church's branch in Eastern Africa. The African scholar asks:

why is official Christian practice as represented by the churches today so far removed from the humble example set by Jesus of Nazareth? One of the problems of Christianity is that it has been propagated by Europeans who have forsaken their natural harmonious coexistence with the totality of universal forces of spirit and matter and have instead isolated and embraced materiality to almost the total exclusion of spirituality.\(^{40}\)

Perhaps the most problematic aspect of American Christianity is the attempt to apply arguments that are "field-dependent" to the world of science, but apply them to religious phenomena without realizing that such arguments cannot and need never be "field-invariant."\(^{41}\) As Msangi perceptively points out in the case involving the Archbishop, "One would have thought the church would use different criteria ["field-dependent"] since the very existence of God, or the Holy Spirit for that matter, cannot be proven or demonstrated scientifically."\(^{42}\)

But as science is in America and science functions on consistent laws, Americans seek for ways to formulate the God of Christianity. For some, he is dead since he cannot be reduced to understandable formulas. For
others, He is alive but accessible through faith.

However, there are other forces at work in American society that have been driving some from the "middle-class" into the worlds of "the occult, psychic phenomena, and divine healing."\(^{43}\) Whether this is a cultural revolution in ideology as basic theory of normal American Christianity is hard to tell.

One area that has experienced a revolution is sex. Homosexuality is but one manifestation of this; cohabitation and permissiveness in pre-and extra-marital relationships are other areas. Ostling, among others, blames the pill for lapsed American sexual morals. As he puts it:

\[\text{the availability and promotion of birth control doubtless have encouraged promiscuous and adulterous behavior.}\]

He goes on to add

\[\text{there has been a cultural revolution in TV, the press, and the popular music industry towards publicizing hedonism, promiscuity, and abuse of narcotics.}\]^{44}

Boulding tells of how in America and the West, "Sex is about as sacred as a common cold and about as mysterious as a gourmet cookbook....The development of relatively easy methods of birth control pills may represent an irreversible technical change, which can hardly fail to have an impact on the sexual mores and practices.}\(^{45}\) However, media technology has contributed greatly to American Christianity so that it becomes complicated to determine consistent American ideology on the issue.

But if the church may be failing, the Christian school may be succeeding. According to Carl Henry,
In a day when problems of sex and drugs plague high school campuses, even some parents having no religious preferences are sending their children to Christian schools as a means of preserving family respectability.46

But Africa too has her sexual problems. According to Stafford, an American writing from Kenya,

Kenyans are generally conservative about sex; they are shocked when they hit New York City — or even Wheaton College. It is also true that the number of pregnant brides in strong, evangelical Kenyan churches would shock most Western Christians.47

What Stafford omits is to point out the extent to which contraceptives are used in Kenya compared to the countries of the "would-be shocked Western Christians."

Sex, as stated earlier, is sacred and virginity rewarded in many African churches. There may be a similarity between mission churches and American churches but even here it would be a faint copy.

Media technology is blamed for hurting church community by church historian Marty. Privatization of Christianity has become the pattern. In his view, Christianity is only an aspect of American life. There are other equally important aspects.48 As was stated in Chapter V, African Christianity permeates other facets of their lives.

Slowly, but steadily, women are gaining acceptance into the American ministry.49 But, on the whole, the ministry is male-dominated. Among Charismatics there have been some prominent women preachers such as Aimee McPherson, Kathryn Kuhlman, etc.50 In Africa, women have founded churches, are ordained of mission churches and minister to mixed or all female congregations in some
indigenous churches. However, the ordination of women in certain mission churches sparked off controversies with the mother churches.

General

In this class, the Oral Tradition in Africa and Print in America have been discussed. To those could be added that the memories of Africans have to be very keen since they have to remember so much by heart. There are illiterates singing in church choirs but who are never lost, even when accompanied by educated singers with hymn books. The elderly serve as mobile libraries or encyclopedias.

In America, Christians rely mostly on printed materials. Libraries are common and easily accessible. People need not remember so much by heart. Therefore the elderly in Africa are similar to library in America. African memories serve as slates that are written on and as reference resources.

In the following pages, charts — Figure I — are provided that summarize the comparisons discussed above and include forms not covered above but discussed elsewhere in this dissertation. Where more than one meaning or form is given, this indicates differing views within the cultures. However, an asterisk is placed beside the dominant view. Where there is more than one meaning, an AF above a form or an AM, represent Africa or America respectively.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>AFRICA</th>
<th>UNITED STATES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>distancing from</td>
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<td>denominationalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>desirable</td>
<td>elderly (age)</td>
<td>youthfulness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF spiritual/ technical AM</td>
<td>sin</td>
<td>ethics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halloween</td>
<td>taboo</td>
<td>* custom/taboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF AM profane/sacred</td>
<td>pagan</td>
<td>Christmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF AM positive/negative</td>
<td>miracle</td>
<td>act of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diseases/illnesses/sickness</td>
<td>demons</td>
<td>demons/viruses, bacilli</td>
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<tr>
<td>safety</td>
<td>assurance</td>
<td>insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supreme</td>
<td>faith</td>
<td>* faith/reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evil</td>
<td>Satan</td>
<td>Communism</td>
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FIGURE I TRANSLATABLE SCHEMA
203
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>AFRICAN</th>
<th>UNITED STATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>having children</td>
<td>natural</td>
<td>technical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>spiritual</td>
<td>* blood/technical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humans</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>* heart/mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hospital</td>
<td>personal</td>
<td>institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glossolalia</td>
<td>spirit-possession</td>
<td>spirit-possession/occult*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>divine</td>
<td>* human/divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolerated</td>
<td>polygamy</td>
<td>divorce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hospitable</td>
<td>hospitable</td>
<td>sound doctrinally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>price of peace</td>
<td>human sacrifice</td>
<td>war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insurance</td>
<td>unbelief</td>
<td>* safety/unbelief</td>
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**FIGURE I (CONTINUED)**

204
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
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<th>UNITED STATES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>assurance</td>
<td>safety</td>
<td>* presumption/safety</td>
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<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>presence</td>
<td>* presence/concept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calling</td>
<td>visions, revelations</td>
<td>* growth/visions/revelations</td>
</tr>
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<td>supernatural</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>profane/sacred</td>
<td>* sacred/profane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not lover of money</td>
<td>generous</td>
<td>good preacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conversion</td>
<td>changed life-style</td>
<td>changed life-style/nurture*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baptism</td>
<td>status/name</td>
<td>* church membership/sign of conversion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taboo</td>
<td>worldliness</td>
<td>* meaningless/worldliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satan/God</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>media</td>
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**FIGURE I (CONTINUED)**

205
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<th>MEANING</th>
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<th>UNITED STATES</th>
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<td>European game/sacred</td>
<td>joining club</td>
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<td>politicized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>native</td>
<td>respect</td>
<td>exploit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible</td>
<td>relevant</td>
<td>* irrelevant/relevant</td>
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<td>rationality</td>
<td>either-or/both-and*</td>
<td>either-or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirituality</td>
<td>no status</td>
<td>social status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celebration</td>
<td>child naming</td>
<td>birthday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>spiritual</td>
<td>custom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage</td>
<td>union</td>
<td>license</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cures</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>medical technology</td>
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FIGURE I (CONTINUED)
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<th>UNITED STATES</th>
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<tr>
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<td>juju</td>
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<tr>
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<td>horror</td>
<td>love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to love</td>
<td>sexual</td>
<td>sexual/love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by sickbed</td>
<td>concern</td>
<td>concern</td>
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<tr>
<td>donating money</td>
<td>wealthy</td>
<td>charitable</td>
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<tr>
<td>weapons;arms</td>
<td>war</td>
<td>peace*/war</td>
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<tr>
<td>progress</td>
<td>begging</td>
<td>live by faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barrenness</td>
<td>evil</td>
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FIGURE I (CONTINUED)
207
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<tr>
<th>MEANING</th>
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<th>UNITED STATES</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
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<td>print</td>
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<td>private</td>
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<tr>
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<td>believer-priests</td>
<td>spectators</td>
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<td>teacher-centered</td>
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<tr>
<td>sin</td>
<td>fear of evil</td>
<td>meaningless</td>
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FIGURE I (CONTINUED)
208
<table>
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<th>MEANING</th>
<th>AFRICAN</th>
<th>UNITED STATES</th>
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<td>New Testament</td>
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<td>extended family</td>
<td>nuclear family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>sacred</td>
<td>certain hills/worship places</td>
<td>people/country</td>
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<td>cathedrals/Constitution</td>
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<td>ordination/seminary</td>
<td>ordination/calling</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>demonism</td>
<td>psychic phenomenon/demonism</td>
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<td>disease/illnesses/</td>
<td>spiritual</td>
<td>technical/spiritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sickness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>social mobility/religion</td>
<td>religion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE I (CONTINUED)
Based on the charts, there are very few forms that are translatable horizontally. For instance, taboo, sitting by sickbed, etc. But even here, it does not apply to total cultures.

For the rest of this chapter, the comparisons above will be interpreted in terms of three worlds — Gebserian typologies — Magical, Mythic, and Mental Rational. Following that, generalizations will be made and conclusions drawn.

The Magical in African Christianity

One of the characteristics of this world is ability to identify with causes. Many Africans have identified with their Lord by dying as martyrs, especially among the Bagenda of Uganda and Gikuyu of Kenya. The nationalist movement in Africa was led by Christians who identified with it religiously and saw it as God's deliverance. Some rationalists insist that they are identical with the church and cannot be kicked out of it. The practice of ritual is vital in the magical world for it is via ritual that access to divinity is gained and power manifested to effect the desires of the faithful. Prayer for the sick, both by church ministers and church members alike, done with the laying-on-of-hands or sprinkling of holy water. There are miraculous healings and supplies of water from stones as Christians pray and sing to the Lord.

The exorcising of evil spirits through power gained through the Baptism with the Holy Ghost and sustained via fastings, prayer, seclusions are forms belonging to this world. Magical man is fascinated with power.

As stated earlier, the magical world is symbolized
with the point. There is no past and no future. In African Christianity, the faithful view themselves as linked by points, which are easily replaceable, to the primitive Judeo-Christian era. Therefore they expect what happened in the Bible to recur today. There is even an element of Zionism. The lack of the ego and the prominence of church group consciousness are magical. It is the churches and not individuals that are promoted. Even those who sin know that they do so against the church. The choosing of marriage partners by church members, the wearing of uniforms and writing of church labels on the doors or gates of homes are all manifestations of magical structure.

The concept of taboo is important to magical man. Not only does he/she seek to master the correct rituals that enable him/her to tap on divine power, but he/she avoids behaviors that would break the vital link with divinity. Therefore sexual intercourse is forbidden on worship days and their eves. The faithful cannot dress or appear worldly in their conduct. Like the biblical Israel, certain foods and drinks are forbidden.

Considered taboo is the trusting in human doctors, also forbidden biblical Israel, the celebrating of Christmas, European-type dances, wedding rings and for some churches, sitting on committees. It is interesting to notice here the refusal to differentiate Western from African medicine. Such differentiation is not possible in the magical world that sees the medical ritual as the same regardless of the practitioner. As long as he/she is living in right relationship with divinity, the African Christian is assured of divine protection and does not need human insurances. There is therefore a desire to be holy before God, symbolized by worshipping bare-feet, because the worship place is "holy ground."
The separating of the faithful from the ungodly is in order to avoid contamination. Believers rejoice when they can destroy works of sorcery and all articles used in pagan worship such acts commend them to God.

In the indigenous church, Christians receive new names that "confer" new statuses on them -- the "abalokole", (the saved), the "Johera" (the people who love) etc. In mission churches, the acquisition of Western names confer social status -- such names being regarded as "Christian" missionary circles while African names are considered "pagan" or "heathen." But as seen earlier, individual names of Christians in parts of Africa always have a spiritual meaning to them. This is magical -- the name confers the characteristics or personality to the bearer.

There is no compartmentalizing for African Christians. All things are related, including animals, objects, and people. This is truly a magical world. Therefore African Christianity permeates all of life. And the God of Christianity controls everything including insects so that He alone should be asked to remove those that are undesirable.

The workings of ritual are effected by faith in God and in the efficacy of the rituals. On the whole, African Christianity in this world is characterized by supernatural power, a strong faith and reliance on God, identifying with biblical characters, a strong sense of community which makes church discipline possible, and a vital sense of taboo.

The Mythological in African Christianity

Traditionally, the elders were the seers of the communities, imbued with the secrets of the ancestors and the gods. In Christianity, church elders, and to some extent church members, seek constantly to hear
directly from God so they can comprise the new "elderly class" that has divine secrets. Their breath is then highly valued. They receive visions, revelations, dreams that can be relayed to the faithful. There is a marked prophetic emphasis in African churches.

For an Oral Tradition, the prophet's words are valued – good breath. But the prophetic ministry extends to women who may prophesy, lead songs, speak to mixed congregations, dream dreams and see visions. Thus female breath is equally good.

In this world, the voices from the past – God, the Bible, prophets of old, and in a few cases ancestors – instruct, inspire and guide the founders, elders and church members, initiated into believer-priesthood via ritual, into fulfilling special divine missions.

Many of the miracles are performed because of compassion and concern for the lost and suffering. The leaders feel tenderly towards their hurting flocks and therefore want to relieve them of the pain, ailments, oppressing demons, etc. Having been nurtured principally by their mothers, there is a "motherly" and to a lesser extent a "fatherly" love and concern. Most leaders speak of their church members as "my people", while the faithful talk of "our leader."

An interesting feature of African Christianity that is hard for outsiders to grasp is the ability of believers to see life in death. Therefore, while they may mourn deeply at funerals, Africans name their newborns after the deceased so that life comes out of death. Yet this must not be confused with reincarnation. But it is interesting to hear African mothers talk of having given birth to the dead man or woman while referring to their new borns.

Lastly, there are the confessions and songs at worship times. Being able to speak out in the open is considered
spiritually refining. Inspired, spontaneous singing characterizes most services.

On balance, the mythological in African Christianity is characterized by an emphasis on oratory, the feminine or softer virtues, feminine involvement along side with males, the complementarity — life-death, and the lack of a sense of contradictions, as when some of the faithful associate with unbelieving and kin or when they mingle at certain places and ceremonies with those from other churches or denominations. The structure is also manifested in a strong sense of calling accompanied by supernatural voices from the past which is experienced by those who then replace the elder tradition. Individuality or the ego is present but the community is still dominant. While mythological Christians have a past that speaks to the present, the future is for them not yet.

The Mental Rational in African Christianity

Because for some Africans, the adoption of Christianity becomes the path for social mobility, many convert for material gain aimed at bettering the individual person or family. The majority of Africans who convert in order to gain social mobility continue but mostly in a nominal sense. As Missionary R. Bureau puts it, "We manufacture Christians but life takes them away from us."51

Africans in this world find their Christianity quite superficial, and so has no real answers to life's personal difficulties, no any real influence on the people's social problems.52

Africans in this mode consider Christianity an "European game." There is also a tendency for them to
distinguish between the "secular" and the "religious." Therefore, their Christianity fails to permeate all of their lives.

An interesting aspect of this structure is that those within it consider, for instance, the "faith-healing". Archbishop's ability of speaking in tongues is "tribal incantations", while his healing ministry is said to be "impinging on his time, to the detriment of his administration of the diocese." The bureaucratization of the church is obvious in these concerns. In fact, the Archbishop was recalled to Rome, the world headquarters of Roman Catholicism to be straightened out theologically and examined medically, by experts selected by the Pope. 54

Mental Rational Christians have some difficulty accepting divine healing. Since healing rituals lack rationality, they do not therefore enjoy the sanction of medical technology. On the other hand, many of the Christian brethren in this world are acquiring more western goods than those in the other two worlds. In part this is because of their better educational training and therefore better jobs.

Most of the nationalistic leaders are in this mode and seek to establish self-determination which is based on individual self-worth. A majority of mental rationalist Christians are in mission churches where they are exposed to western values. However, many are dissatisfied with their experiences and voice such disappointments through the printed page. Some are adamant supporters of liberation movements in Southern Africa and reject Western Christianity since it has, in their view, close links with the regime in Johannesburg. The majority of political leaders of post-independent Africa were Christians in this mode, including Julius Nyerere, Abel Muzorewa, Milton Obote, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, Tom Mboya,
Kenneth Kaunda, Leopold Senghor, etc.

In this world, Christianity is viewed as progressive because it provides African countries with technocrats. All these are people with high literary skills, the kind that are lacking in much of the indigenous church. However, there are a small number of mental rationalists within the indigenous church, even though most of them are less trained or lack advanced training in technical fields.

While mental rationalists criticize Western Missionaries, they appreciate Christianity for its emphasis on individualism since they consider African subjection of individuals to the wishes of the community to be anti-progressive and oppressive.

There is no record in the author's sources of African Christians demythologizing the Bible. Perhaps the African psyche so predisposes them that they need not do so. But the missionary cultural biases are problematic for these Christians, some of whom were European and American trained.

Unlike those in the Magical world who stress the Old Testament, the mental rationalists stress the New. This is in part because the New Testament serves to fuel nationalism because of its emphasis on the worth of the individual that in turn frees Africans from the fear of the group while at the same time enabling them to resist colonialism and embrace progressive ideas. For them, the Bible is viewed as having the "most powerful ideas for the heart and mind." But in order to accept biblical teachings and manifest a coming of age or a maturing in spirituality, there must be, for African mental rationalists, a rejection of paternalistic western Christianity. The problem is that many of the churches in this mode are tied to the west by purse-strings. Localism as argued in this project entails efforts towards self-reliance in Christian expressions.
On the other hand, "African converts who profess mission Christianity are often eager to embrace as much of it as possible"; a Christianity that is "deeply rooted in Euro-American culture." This creates certain contradictions and tensions in mental world Christianity.

Notwithstanding the contradictions, African Christians in the mental rational world want originality in churches.

In conclusion, African Christians in the mental rational world are characterized by: individuality or a strong ego, contradictions, a detached approach to Christianity -- they are Christians but criticize the faith. There is a rejection of Western missionaries largely for their cultural biases. (In the magical and mental worlds missionaries are rejected because of their lack of the power of the Holy Spirit and failure to teach the whole Bible -- actually their failure to take it literally). The technological is esteemed while there is a compartmentalizing of life. Christianity is not permeating for these African progressives, who are analytical and intellectually-inclined. Their engagement in ritual appears superficial with not many powerful results from their prayers or miracles taking place. They are mostly dissatisfied with their Christianity as they see it linked with much evil towards the black man in the world, whether this be experienced as racism or apartheid.

Interplay of Magical, Mythological and Mental Worlds in African Christianity: Some Conclusions

There is exchange of communication between the magical and the mythological, with one world supporting the other in a reciprocal process. Those who practice
ritual also speak prophetically. The same ones who hear voices from the past engage in ritual to authenticate their vocations. Glossolalia is on the same plane as exorcising spirits even though the former is mythological while the latter is magical and both are linked via ritual. Often those who exorcise spirits do so through glossolalia.

There is also some interaction between the magical and the mental rational. Identifying with nationalism on the one hand while participating in western technological structures on the other. Also, there is the technocratic element which is a product of the scientific method couched in tentativeness while at the same time a strong tendency towards asseveration that is magical.

However, the mental world speaks more to the magical and mythological but accepts less from both worlds. But, somehow, the mental rationalists are able to read the New Testament which emphasizes the softer virtues -- love, forgiveness, compassion, etc -- and yet arrive at Old Testament conclusions, characterized by the macho virtues -- war, revenge, etc. A possible explanation might be the presence of elements of the warrior tradition in African history. Still the combination is quite intriguing.

The emphasis on God as pure presence is magical -- experiential -- while the notion of powerful ideas for the mind that are to be found in the Bible is mental rational.

The contradictions seen in Christianity with racism is mental rational but when Christianity is viewed as liberating Africans from colonialism which was racist then this becomes complementary -- mythological.

Thus there is an interplay between the worlds. However, the mission churches tend to comprise mostly
mental rational, while the indigenous churches are heavily within the magical and the mythological worlds. While some Africans in the mental world may consider aspects of magical and mythological Christianity as superstitions, on the whole they are less critical of these than they are of mission Christianity to which they subscribe. The attitude of mental rationalists to medical technology is mostly positive. Now let us turn to the American side.

The Magical in American Christianity and Medicine

It was the original aim of Southern Baptists -- the largest Protestant denomination in the world -- to "convert individuals and to transform social structures." Within the charismatic renewal, the laying-on-of hands if quite common. The ritual bestows power for doing signs and wonders. In Roman Catholicism, candles lit to St. Anthony, St. Christopher medal for preventing accidents, the notion that meat eaten on Fridays breaks one out in spots are all magical. So also is the eucharist, particularly the notion of transubstantiation.

The taboo notion with regard to dress codes and general conduct on the part of certain Pentecostals is magical. The faith-healings in charismatic meetings and Pentecostal circles are forms within this mode. The ritual of water baptism that identifies one with Christ in His death is magical.

The notion that America is destined to lead the world and therefore simply manifesting that destiny, is magical. What we have is a situation where Americans see themselves as identical with the forces of history.
The spontaneous healings of cancer cited in Chapter VI as well as the workings of the placebo in American medicine are magical. So is the notion of miracle drugs that transform mere men to sexual supermen who are irresistible to women. When American doctors look at patients and pronounce them "Okay", this is magical.

The celebrating of Christmas, Halloween, Easter, and the political holidays is magical. The baptism with the Holy Ghost through prayer and the laying-on-of-hands is within this mode. So is the doctrine of predestination, as held by Southern Baptists. On the whole, apart from its medical forms, magical Christianity is, in America, the proper province of "lower and lower middle classes."

The Mythological in American Christianity and Medicine

Many of the Pentecostal and Charismatic leaders as well as some fundamentalists claim to have specific calls from God to carry out particular tasks. For some it is evangelism, for others it is teaching, while still for others, it is praying for the sick and exorcising devils. Many of these claim to have an "anointing" that enables them to tap on divine wisdom and knowledge for their ministries. Their speaking is thus inspired divinely. There are also medical doctors called to the mission field to relieve the suffering of heathens, etc.

Among charismatic preachers, most of whom started out as Pentecostals, there are claims to divine revelations, the seeing of visions, abilities to read, as it were, into people's past lives, visions of angels as well as angels' visits. The phenomenon of glossolalia, prophetic utterances, and the hearing of God's voice by many in the above two camps -- which are not mutually
exclusive -- are mythological. Some have heard God's voice repeatedly.

While the majority of the people in this mode are similar to those in the preceding one, that is America's poor who have "barren emotional lives", increasingly, and particularly because of the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International, there is a noticeable "acceptance of Charismatic religion by thousands of successful middle class people." However, certain of these do not share fully in the theology that emphasizes glossolalia.

There is a relatively smaller minority of intellectuals in this world who have had visions of the Lord, and others who are able to know by the Spirit those that God will heal. The women in both Pentecostal and charismatic circles prophesy and speak in tongues. Some have their own ministries and churches.

There is a complementarity brought about by the notion of "common grace" by which Christians realize that they need pagans or heathens. This is mythological. Within the American revival movement, there is an emphasis placed on "inner spiritual experience...as the basis of faith." This is an expression within the mythological structure.

The approach to medicine where some doctors try to balance between "health and disease by pushing up the patient's resistance," is mythological. Instead of attacking disease, one tries to strengthen the body to deal with it. The practice of acupuncture, from China, that is gaining attention in American medical circles is within this world. The notion that "one can only be a person if one belongs to a group, only if one belongs to a community," used in reference to the need for Christian
fellowship is mythological.

The phrase "the founding fathers" commonly used in America for legitimation of or explanation of on-going situations is mythological. The users could be assumed to be hearing voices from the sacred past. On balance, this world is characterized by love as the motivating factor. Although some critics charge that profiteering is, for certain evangelists, the main factor as well as compassion. The heart which is the center of feelings - - is also emphasized. There is also complementarity, and, the anointed speaker is much sought after or has his/her projects well-funded by donations from the faithful.

The Mental Rational in American Christianity and Medicine

By far, this appears the dominant world for American Christianity. This world includes those who read the Bible but disbelieve in miracles. Within it are ministers who argue for organic salvation rather than an experiential or miraculous one.\(^67\) This world rejects revivalism since the movement makes man helpless and God all powerful.\(^68\) Mental rationalists esteem man and feel he/she has something to contribute to Christianity.

This world is characterized by detachment. Most writers on the charismatic movement do not believe in it. Even certain doctors who claim that faith has helped patients are quick to deny their own beliefs in "faith healing."\(^69\) The aloofness is fostered in colleges of medicine, psychiatry and nursing.\(^70\) Mental rationalists always want evidence that is "objective and conclusive or they will not commit themselves."\(^71\) Unfortunately, Christianity teaches believing first then seeing the evidence. This leads, at least in part, to the notion that God
must be dead as there is no scientific evidence for his existence.

Reason and the mental faculty is highly priced in this world. This is the world of technology that brings about "the need in man's thinking to stick pretty close to what he can experience in an ordinary way," which also contributes to the death of God in the culture.  

There is a compartmentalizing of life so that if salvation is kept within the secrecy or privacy of the Christian's heart, it poses no problems. Man is viewed as being "a purely scientific and purely rational human being." It is quite problematic for the mental rationalistic to reconcile Christianity and rationality. And whenever such attempts are made, the situation that follows is captured for us by Nieuwenhuijze thus:

> When religion complements rationalism, it is in the position of a stand-by in case of emergency -- an insurance agent of Eternity Inc., who turns up whenever there is a matter of life and death. When rationalism complements religion...it will at its very best put blinkers over man's eyes so that he should not see God and be blind-folded by His glory....the result on the part of religion is....the "agony of Christianity." 

In medical practice, doctors engage in the ritual of attacking the "bacilli directly." The patients are viewed "only in terms of morbid anatomy and pathology." It is therefore common practice for American physicians to send their patients to another expert for specialized treatment even if the former and the latter experts do not communicate or even personally know each other. But this is not necessarily bad, for although the individual is important in mental rationalism, efficiency is more valued than the individual: technology is placed above humans. That means that if one pill cures, ten pills will
even do better. If one program tackles a problem, a hundred programs should be even more effective.

In Christian terms if one missionary can convert a hundred heathens, ten will convert a thousand. It is not unusual to see this mode of thinking in mental rationalists. The world of technology is also the world of mass production. Christianity must be developed, in linear terms, or be refined to suit mental rationalists. There is therefore demythologizing, advanced by Rudolf Bultmann, which

virtually eliminates the supernatural element in historic biblical Christianity, thus fundamentally altering the nature of the message itself.77

However, as stated in Chapter Six, there are efforts by Evangelical intellectuals to justify Christianity on rational grounds. There are constant debates between intellectuals on such topics as: inerrancy, the virgin birth, nurture versus the new birth, etc. that characterize the mental rational world.

Much of the supernatural phenomena are rejected because of the people connected with the movements. Some are said to lack adequate academic training, others to be of low social status. However, there are many in this world who accept Christmas, Halloween, consubstantiation, etc. all of which cannot be justified on scientific or historic accuracy, as being part of the Christian faith, unless, of course, one equates European paganism with Christian tradition. Most mental rationalists consider faith-healings as invalid.

With man perceived as the measure of all things, a view held by the sophists, and science reigning supreme "in the supermarket of epistemologies and technologies,78"
it is becoming increasingly difficult for most Americans to accept the Old Time Religion as practiced by those within the Magical and the Mythological Worlds. This seems to be particularly the case among the better educated. In general there seems to be an inverse relationship between level of education and intensity of Christian commitment. This might explain the growing phenomenon of Christian Schools at both the grade school and college levels.  

Interplay of Magical, Mythological and Mental Worlds in American Christianity: Some Conclusions

The problem of exchange between magical and mental Christians has been stated. The latter world influences the former in ways not reciprocated by the former. In fact, it is interesting how many in magical and mythological worlds are acquiring cheap diplomas and honorary doctorates which, in the author's view, are aimed at making them acceptable to mental rationalists, or at least appear rational.

Many in the Magical and Mythological Worlds have changed or perhaps adapted their messages such that prosperity is emphasized more than are healings. As never before, it is the technology of the mental world that explains many of the "miraculous" conversions where, apparently millions are reached each week via electronic and print media. And although electronic preachers may not be having a certain impact on America's spirituality, the programs are comforting and reassuring to the sponsoring faithful. It should be noted that in this regard, Marty observes that,

The widely advertised boom in conversions has not led to consistent and durable church growth. A new religious consumerism, they say,
replaces a concern for the cost of discipleship. The market orientation in the current revival leads it to cater to individuals but not to build community.

In the author's view, and based on the features that characterize the Gebserian typologies, communities will be difficult to realize when the mental rational world which emphasizes individuality above the community is dominant.

There seems to be an almost mutually exclusive relationship between faith and reason. However, there are exceptions, albeit extremely few where, for instance, doctors are able to enter the magical within Christianity when technology is unable to effect a cure. But there is a serious contradiction characterized by rejecting evidence for faith healing (since doing so is unscientific) even if the sources of the evidence are poor or unschooled. Social scientists who rely on similar evidences in other contexts need to be consistent when it comes to Christianity.

In general, there seems to be an antagonistic relationship between American technology and Christianity that makes it hard for Americans to be in both the mental world and the Magical or Mythological at the same time.

According to Boulding, the desacralization of sex in America resulted from the scientific investigation of the phenomenon, beginning with Freud. Nor can we assume that the magical or the mythological are absent in American culture. As Boulding further observes:

If anyone thinks that animism is extinct or a fossil relic of the past, all that is necessary to dispel that illusion is to open the newspaper. There is pretty sure to be an astrology column. I am not sure what the theory is behind astrology; if there is any, it almost has to be animistic, that somehow the planets and heavenly
bodies are beings creating a personal climate around us, as do our human associates. Even if they are doing no more than weighting the dice of life, that is a pretty skillful operation for a planet and would seem to require a high degree of animistic thought.\textsuperscript{82}

But Boulding does not stop here. He goes further to point out that Americans may try to glibly dismiss the supernatural. In his own words:

\begin{quote}
We can perhaps dismiss astrology as superstition. If we turn to the sports pages, however, we will find creatures with strange names, like Red Sox and Dodgers, engaged in endless and elaborate rituals of conflict. If we turn to the political pages, we will find embodied spirits like Uncle Sam and John Bull, and animal totems in the shape of eagles, lions, and bears, exhibiting behavior and passions that are proper only to individual human beings. The tendency to be animistic about collectivities indeed goes very far back in the human race....The enormous legitimacy of the national state and its capacity to attract human sacrifice may be related to the fact that our image of it is highly animistic and that we think of it as a person.\textsuperscript{83}
\end{quote}

\textbf{Conclusion}

Americans are constantly trying to defend biblical Christianity through rationality and the scientific criticism of the Bible. In their attempts to refine the faith or separate "religion from superstition," they are increasingly becoming irreligious. A predominantly mental rational approach to Christianity yields Christians who are "born again" but whose patterns of life or life-styles are anything but new.

However, because of technology, American churches are increasingly going into all the world in efforts to
extend, (perhaps their "righteous empire," as Marty calls it) the kingdom of God. But the same technology — or at least aspects of it, the media, expose American irreligiosity to the heathens around the world. From the sources consulted, the deeply Christian — if by Christianity we mean those who follow and practice the doctrines of Jesus Christ as contained in both Testaments — are a minority. While the country leads in the production of Bibles, these are not much read. In the author's view, much of the faith of America is more in her technology than in the God of Jesus Christ. But because technology spells the "pyramidizing of power," American Christians appear to be more righteous because they are more involved in Christian activities, like evangelism, in much of Africa.

On the other hand Africans tend to have a strong faith in God demonstrated by a willingness to risk even life itself on the faithfulness of the God of Jesus Christ. In a technological age, their impact is quite limited as most of them lack economic and literary bases for expanding to other regions of the world. African cultures is more receptive to replications of biblical Christianity than is American, largely because of evolutionary theoretical assumptions in the latter that tend to regard suspiciously, pre-scientific patterns of life. Technological advancement does not translate easily into "heart-felt, life-changing, religious experiences." Some scholars, like Ellul, suggest that the drug scene in America and the rise in the involvement with the occult, which is the "same" thing as African witchcraft are manifestations of the inadequacy of the American dominant Christian model to satisfy spiritual needs.

From this, several observations can be drawn. First, if Americans want proof of God being the Great I Am, they may find this in fresh forms in Africa. Secondly,
since Christianity, and for that matter any religion is native to the magical and mythological -- ritual, transcendence, pure experience, etc. -- Americans need to learn to enter and exit these two worlds, while remaining linked to the mental world. This would be particularly the case during their times of worship in their homes or churches. Considering that many of them have no real trouble accepting occult phenomena, considering also the presence of the magical and mythological in American media and culture, it should not be hard to shift worlds. Inasmuch as the Christian world-view is based in ritual and revelation: God revealing himself to man, shifting of worlds is imperative if American Christianity is to be culturally satisfying. Both expressive forms are highly refined in African Christianity. And, since indigenous church Africans seem quite satisfied with their Christianity, Americans may learn from them, especially if predictions regarding the shifting centers of evangelism in favor of the Third World come true.

Africans have been learning from America for many decades. They will continue to do so in the areas of technology. The Bibles circulating in Africa and religious bureaucracies are American if not Western.

Therefore as Americans realize the validity of the Magical and Mythological worlds with respect to Christianity, intercultural exchange with African Christians will be enhanced.
FOOTNOTES

1 Greeley, The Denominational Society, p. 91.

2 The names and their meanings were given by Nigerian Christian parents attending the Ohio State University who were meeting at a church fellowship also attended by the author.

3 This was told to the author by one of the parents.


7 Reed "Case History and Opinion or Four Steps to Wholeness", p. 38.

8 At the time the work was published, Mendelsohn was Associate Professor of Medicine at University of Illinois and the Chairman of the Licensing Board for Doctors in the State of Illinois. See his Confessions of a Medical Heretic (Chicago: Contemporary Books, Inc., 1979), p. 67.

9 Mendelsohn tells of how doctor power is illustrated in their ability to order any of their patients to "strip" with the orders obeyed without question. Ibid., pp. 67-87; In many indigenous African churches priests play the role of doctors, also a carry-over from tradition.


11 Charles Kraft, Christianity in Culture, p. 97.

12 This is the customary greeting among the Luyia of Kenya.

14 Kraft, Christianity in Culture, p. 60.

15 Ibid.


18 See, David Barrett, Schism and Renewal in Africa for examples.

19 Kraft, Christianity in Culture, p. 60.

20 Ibid., p. 95.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., p. 325.

23 Shulman, The Religious Heritage of America, p. 27.

24 Ibid., p. 274.

25 Ibid., p. 275.

26 Harrell, All Things are Possible, pp. 112-116.

27 Kraft, Christianity in Culture, p. 91.

28 Ibid., p. 97.

29 Ibid., p. 325.

30 Ibid., p. 97.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 See, for instance, Patai, Myth and Modern Man, p. 168.


37 Harrell, All Things are Possible, p. 101.

38 Ibid., p. 8.

39 Ibid., p. 99.


42 Msangi, "In Defense of Psychic Healing", p. 22.

43 Harrell, All Things are Possible, p. 5.


50 Harrell's, All Things Are Possible, discusses some of the prominent women within the charismatic revival.

52 J. B. Schuyler, cited in Mbiti, Ibid.


54 Ibid.


57 Ibid.


60 Harrell, *All Things are Possible*, p. 5.

61 Ibid., p. 148.

62 Glew, "Personal Experience in Faith Healing", p. 81; Harrell, *All Things are Possible*, p. 188.


68 Ibid.

70 Andren, "The Place of Faith in Mental Healing" p. 27.
73 Ellul, Perspectives of Our Age, p. 91.
74 Van Nieuwenhuijze, Cross-Cultural Studies, p. 181.
75 Lloyd-Jones, The Supernatural in Medicine, p. 16.
76 Ibid.
77 Davis, Theology Primer, p. 23.
78 Barker "Science as Theology - The Theological Functioning of Western Science", p. 264.
80 Marty, The Public Church, p. ix.
81 Boulding, Ecodynamics, p. 335.
82 Ibid., p. 344.
83 Ibid., p. 345.
CHAPTER VIII

FROM LOCALISM TO COSMOPOLITANISM AND BACK AGAIN:
A MODEL FOR AFRICAN AND AMERICAN MULTICULTURALS.

Introduction

In the last chapter, it was concluded that the dominant worlds in Africa are the Magical and the Mythological. Americans on the other hand have the mental rational world as the dominant one. In this chapter, we will explore these two statements, pointing out the implications for Christianity with medicine and set the stage for introducing a model for intercultural communication that takes into account the above conclusions while at the same time providing an avenue for bridging the "world gap" between the two cultures.

Accordingly, the chapter is organized in four sections: the current encounters within American and Africa based on the dominant worlds and between the two. Figure Two portrays the communication dynamics. Then there is a section on Afrocentricism, where the African "creative ethos" is explored in order to determine what Africans can contribute in exchange encounters with the United States. Undergirding this are the two dominant worlds of Africa: magical and mythological. This is followed by a brief section on Eurocentricism, the American universe and its impact on American Christianity. Here, the mental rational world is salient throughout the discussion.
The above three sections permit now to lay out or outline a model towards intercultural communication that introduces a fourth world, the integral. It is via this world that, in the author's view, intercultural communication can be realized. Also explored in this section is the subject of localism. The last question is then answered: the prospects of multicultural Africans and Americans; in other words the emergence for Africans and Americans who are true to localism but sensitive to cosmopolitanism. That is, those who are involved in local culture but who see a "there" in their "here." For that is the essence of intercultural communication as was pointed out earlier. Before proceeding further, several definitions are in order.*

Multiculturals would be those willing to trust other worlds, to cooperate with other worlds as they realize the limitations of their own worlds to tackle domestic as well as international issues.¹ Equating integral man with multicultural man, we can find that multicultural man has an identity that is more fluid and mobile, susceptible to change and open to variation. The identity of multicultural man is based, not on a "belongingness" which implies either owning or being owned by culture, but on a style of self consciousness that is capable of negotiating over new formations of reality...is a radical departure from the kinds of identities found in both traditional and mass societies...[multicultural man] lives, instead, on the boundary.²

As Things Are

In Chapter VII it was concluded that the dominant world for Americans is the mental rational. It was also stated that the other two worlds are functional but to a
lesser degree. In the case of Africa, we concluded that the magical and mythological worlds were dominant. Although the mental rational world is functional, it is so to a lesser extent.  

In both cultures, there is better exchange between the magical and the mythological worlds. This is not surprising, at least with respect to Christianity, because religion belongs in the magical and mythological worlds. With regard to Christianity, the birth of Christ, his miraculous ministry, his resurrection and especially the blood covenant are all in the magical domain. Ritual is the essence of abiding Christianity. For instance, baptisms, communion or the eucharist, worship, prayers, etc. are the basis of the church.

There is also the mythological in which the past speaks to the present, the notion of vocation, inspiration, being able to speak in the name of, the polarities good-evil, life-death, and other complementarities. Also, utterances are basic to the propagation of the Christian faith.

In both the magical and the mythological worlds, to know entails experience while in the mental world, knowledge need not be a result of first hand or direct experience. Experience is the essence of any genuine religion. But here we are speaking of experiencing that comes prior to reflection. To worship is to feel a sense of awe, wonder. The truly religious hear with their inner selves while mental rationalists rely almost exclusively on sensory data.

Figure 2 diagrams current interactions between the three worlds in the United States and in Africa and portrays the nature of encounters between the two cultures.
Figure 2 - Current Relations Between Africa and United States
There is a one-way flow of messages from America to Africa. This includes missionaries, both religious and medical, medicines, Bibles, hymn books, other personnel, other hardware and software. The only messages coming directly from Africa to America are by Americans living in Africa who write back to their sponsors and friends. Apart from African students and Christian ministers who visit the United States briefly, the author is not aware of any bonafide missionaries from Africa to the United States (excluding political refugees). The African students coming to the United States go to colleges or universities. Some of them go to church-sponsored colleges and Bible Schools. However, they come primarily to learn. In intercultural encounters, they are not treated as American missionaries are treated in Africa. The latter go as experts—theologians, technicians, and otherwise, even though some of their qualifications in these fields are questionable.

Therefore the knowledge most Americans have about Africa is primarily what American personnel in Africa (plus Hollywood's contribution) write back. When Americans try to validate such knowledge with African students in their country, there is always resentment if not utter disgust. Not only is the knowledge seriously slanted to reflect on an Africa the students would rather forget, but the way the students are often treated seems in their view to be in keeping with the American image of Africa.

There is an interesting parallel between American Christians who go to secular or public colleges and/or universities and African Christians who come to study in the United States. In both cases, the rate of attrition appears quite high. In the case of Africans, it is ironic that they should acquire paganism in its various forms while in the United States. On returning to Africa, the
majority of American-trained African scholars function primarily within the mental rational world, which although relatively the smallest, is growing rather rapidly. There is therefore little direct interaction between Africans influenced by the American mental world and Africans in the magical or mythological structures. Many missionaries conduct themselves as mental rationalists once in Africa, notwithstanding their "proper" worlds within the American society. With few exceptions, and based on our categories here, most of these missionaries are from the magical and mythological worlds, albeit worlds greatly impacted on by mental rationalism. But going to Africa as experts, holding images about Africa that are conducive to such communicative behaviors, missionaries tend to view themselves as mental rationalists once in Africa. Exceptions could be certain of the American healing evangelists.

Therefore there are few direct encounters between Africans and American Christians and medical practitioners in the magical and mythological worlds.

Within each individual culture, interactions among the worlds are not identical. In America mental rationalists dominate message systems. In Africa it is the magical and mythological worlds that dominate message systems: the worlds of the majority. Besides, African mental rationalists are, to a greater extent than their American counter-parts, more favorably inclined towards the other two worlds. But that does not mean that American mental rationalists are immune from the other worlds. As stated in the preceding chapter, they engage in these worlds via sports, mass media portraying psychic phenomena, etc. Courses in Astrology and Witchcraft are taught at certain American colleges/universities, while occasionally there are professing mediums in American academia.
However, there seems to be a tendency to suppress these other worlds probably because many mental rationalists are embarrassed to admit to their fears, anxieties and even superstitions. Such stuff is not the province of scientifically inclined mental rationalists. Of course, there are exceptions to this.\(^\text{10}\)

In African society, it is not unusual to find, for instance, mental rationalists who consult traditional doctors and herbalists in cases of incurable illnesses. Belief in spirits is known among many of them.

Through educational exchange programs, African mental rationalists, many of whom have a Christian background, visit American universities. Therefore we would say there is some interaction between mental rationalists in both cultures but this is quite limited. Besides, rarely do these Africans visit America as representatives of the dominant worlds of Africa. The majority in this group are usually already culturally captured by American and other Western values.

The majority of missionaries in Africa are not sent over there by a single local American congregation. They derive support from a number of congregations, most of which do not know them well.\(^\text{11}\) In this respect, they are not locals. However, as missionaries, they claim to have a call to go to the world -- cosmopolitanism. We stated that the few African students who come to the United States are not representatives of the dominant culture. Therefore they too are not locals. They are, however, cosmopolitans.

In either case, these representatives of what Useem would call a Third culture,\(^\text{12}\) could be said to lack a local base in their own cultures. For the missionaries, especially the independents, this would mean the lack of a single local church that one belongs to as opposed to
those who support financially but who do not know their missionary. For African students in the United States, localism would mean being a genuine sample of or true to a local African Christian Church in the same way that Daniel and his colleagues were true to Judaism while in exile. That is not to say they do not lay claims to some localism. However, they have a weaker cultural identity in terms of localism.

On the other hand there are American Christians and medical experts who are so local that they see no other culture. For them America is the world. The author suspects that some Christians in America assume their country is the headquarters for God's kingdom.

In Africa, there are locals who not only see Africa as their exclusive heritage, and probably rightly so, but for them Americans are a necessary evil. If it wasn't for financial dependency many of them would just as soon expel every American. In some cases the Americans bring this upon themselves. Certain Kenyan ethnic groups have a saying to the effect that "You do not greet a hungry man", meaning that such a greeting invites the hungry to follow you. Americans, missionaries included, openly let the world know that they abound in everything and are loving, generous, etc. Apart from the influx of aliens into the United States, there are those African Christian students who have certain expectations from American Christians. One such student returned to Nigeria with this to say: "I hate America. It has nothing to offer me."

But according to Professor Tausig, an American who was a professor of veterinary medicine in Nigeria for four years,
the local church, rather than parachurch organizations should be the base for international student work. The church's communal and family life, its manpower, and financial resources render it an ideal center.¹⁷

Nor can any American church that emphasizes missions ignore the plight of another African student who states:

Back home I'm used to talking to anybody. But nobody cares about me here. I show a friendly face, but I get the impression that I'm not wanted. Some seem to say, "What business have you got with me?" I am referring to American students and adults alike.¹⁸

The above two episodes may be illustrative of the difficulty between the communicative behaviors of Africans raised in "communal" living and Americans trained to be individualistic. While both groups may be Christian, they obviously have differing frames of reference, except for those like the Taussigs who have the advantage of having lived in Africa.

But perhaps such complaints by certain African students would not be so important were it not for the fact that there are students from about 184 countries in American colleges and countries. What is more, there is a sense of irony which the American church may not wish to ignore considering her abhorrence of communism. Lau points out that nine of the revolutionary leaders in China in the 1940s, were introduced to communism while they were in the United States.¹⁹ From Africa, Nkrumah of Ghana, Azikiwe of Nigeria and Muzorewa of Zimbabwe trained in the United States; none of them communists but all rose to be heads of state in their countries. But Lau makes a remark that is particularly revealing given the tendency of most Africans to link
everything with everything else as pointed out in Chapter V. Says Lau,

Most international students do not distinguish between Christianity, Americanism, and Capitalism. Rejection of one leads to rejection of the others.20

The Afrocentric Universe: Magical and Mythological

According to Nehru, the architect of non-alignment, the ability of one culture to understand another is predicated on a willingness to enter into the world of that other culture. For him,

If we seek to understand a people we have to put ourselves, as far as we can, in their particular historical and cultural backgrounds. One has to recognize that countries and people differ in their approach to life and their way of life and approach. If we wish to convince them, we have to use their language as far as we can, not language in the narrow sense of the word, but the language of the mind.21

From the perspective of this dissertation, if Africans wish to understand Americans and vice-versa, there must necessarily be a willingness on the part of Africans to view Americans through American eyes and for Americans to perceive Africans through African eyes.22 But this is in part predicated on the understanding that the expressive forms of one culture, even if that culture is perceived to be Christian and missionary at that, cannot be
universal. In Chapter VII it was demonstrated how that very few Christian forms can be compared horizontally between Americans and Africans, notwithstanding the universal appeal of Christianity.

Asante argues convincingly that Africans operate in an Afrocentric universe in which

all modalities and realities are united and move in one grand manner. There can be no separation of material and spiritual, profane and sacred, form and substance.

After stating that Afrocentricism predates current systemic thinking, Asante proceeds to add that in the African universe,

The human being, acting with personal power, can animate, activate, and galvanize the material or spiritual. The continuity from material to spiritual is the universal basis of the Afrocentric viewpoint.23

His observation underscores our conclusion earlier that Africans are predominantly within the magical and mythological worlds. That implies that it is easier for Africans to seek for holistic solutions to problems. In Chapter Five, the author cited forms in which this truth is born out. For instance, the view of God's medicine as being more than just a cure for a specific ailment. It was also stated and reiterated above that African mental rationalists are more favorably predisposed towards the dominant worlds of their culture than are their American counterparts. This is particularly so with respect to religion and medicine as demonstrated in Chapters V, VII and above. The complaint by a white missionary to Uganda, cited in Chapter Five, where she
is upset over the mixing of Christians, Papists, pagans, Moslems, etc. is quite revealing in this regard. While Africans are religiously separatist, yet they can accept other realities as kinship ties more readily than Americans can.

Asante tells us further that

African society had prepared a person to welcome strangers with open arms and to share food and shelter;... Thus, when the European was greeted by the African he took graciousness and generosity to mean veneration and subservience.\(^4\)

Part of the new morality in America and the West in general includes the swapping of spouses. In traditional Africa, Mbiti says that those welcome into a home had nothing withheld from them, including spouses, although this applied exclusively to the wives.\(^5\) Thus, forms of what is new in the American sexual revolution belong to the old forms in Africa. If nothing else, this is an example of the weakness of assuming that cultures progress linearly.

Asante points out that scholars have written of Africans as being personalistic.\(^6\) This is quite in keeping with Kaunda's observation that Africa's major contribution to humanity is in the area of human relationships. In his own words,

let the West have its technology....Africa's gift to the world culture must be in the realm of human relationships....The way things are going, Africa may be the last place where man can still be man.\(^7\)

As an African, Kaunda has been able to espouse primitive Christianity, African humanism, and Gandhianism, all at the same time. At this juncture, we will pursue
briefly, the concept of African humanism, as it applies to intercultural relations between Africans and Americans (or Europeans).

African humanism as espoused by Kaunda, among other Africanists, derives from the colonial experience which devalued Africans. For the African freedom-fighter and agent of self-determination — all magical forms — the yoke was placed on him/her because of skin pigmentation; what Kunda calls "an irrelevant biological detail."^28

African humanism has been romanticized and politicized. The African ethnic communities are idealized as "accepting" and as appreciative of people, regardless of their social or economic statuses.\(^2^9\) Unfortunately, such qualities do not rank highly in a technological age. The Africa most American Christians know is one of "benighted misery, ignorance, and cruelty."\(^3^0\) Missionary rhetoric, aimed at eliciting funds, ignores African Christian initiatives, while perpetuating stereotypes.\(^3^1\) Therefore, if Africa is a humane place where humanity is esteemed,\(^3^2\) this is largely unknown to America. Afrocentricism as known and experienced by Africans has yet to gain credence in America.

It was stated above and earlier in Chapter V and VII that Africans do not compartmentalize their lives. In its politicized form, African humanism becomes nationalistic. According to a leading African political scientist, nationalism is,

an instrument by which Europe has been forced, in the last decade or so, to start closing the gap between her principles and her behavior in her relationships with other races.\(^3^3\)

Thus nationalism defines the struggle for self-
determination. Initially this included gaining the
franchise. But even after independence the term becomes
deified for many Africans. In Kaundan parlance,

It was nationalism, of course, which restored
our self-confidence, for it taught us what we
could do together as men, and only as men....It
was the triumph of a man-centered society over
a power-centered society.34

In most of independent Africa, nationalism started out
as a protest movement led by intellectuals, followed by
the more politicized urbanized people, and finally
entire populations joined in to thwart colonial rule.35

Two things should be pointed out here. First, most
Africans do not differentiate between Europeans and
Americans. Therefore references to Europeans often include
Americans. Secondly, the American-based missionary
enterprise's prominence coincided with or benefitted
from the United States' ascendancy to the (self-proclaimed)
number one status in world affairs. This second point
will be taken up later on. But now let us briefly con­
sider the American culture within the present context.

The Eurocentric Universe: Mental Rational

Turning to the American culture, Asante points out
that the Eurocentric universe is one in which

the material, the experiential, is real and that
the spiritual is an illusion. Everything that
is not within sense experience becomes nonsense.36

Therefore, Americans have been labeled materialistic.
Earlier on, we pointed out that scientists are a
new priesthood in America, more powerful and listened to
than religious priests. For instance, the preaching of America's leading evangelist, Billy Graham, has, according to Henry, perhaps the leading American evangelical theologian, "failed to penetrate the core of mainline world council denominations," in which are the largest numbers of Christian mental rationalists. Billy Graham himself regrets the limited impact American evangelicals have on the dominant mental rational world. In his words:

> generally we evangelicals have failed to present to the world great thinkers, theologians, artists, scientists, and so forth.38

Given the place accorded technology which is itself a product of the mental rational world, it is understandable that science takes on, for many, the place of the deity. As Barker points out,

> Through science man puts himself in control of our future. He raises himself to the power of God. Yet through science man is reduced to a lump of matter, programmed through natural selection and DNA into a series of stimuli and responses, determined to blow himself and the rest of creation off the face of the earth into (if science can find it) "Kingdom come."39

She then continues to tell of the

> New priesthood of scientists who...sanction periodically any ideological standpoint one may wish to pursue...science can prove according to the guru, disprove the existence of God, the fact of evolution, the functioning of angels and evil spirits and the true sources of revelation. Science can point the way to eternal salvation and to eternal damnation. Science can make us certain that it is we who are right and they who are wrong.40
adopted a naturalistic "scientism" in combination with a political philosophy that we call "democracy" and an economic philosophy that we call "capitalism."\(^{47}\)

However, as Marty, among others, predicts:

Before the end of the second millennium, there will for the first time be more Christians in the Southern than in the Northern hemisphere.... Every form of magic, superstition, or omen-reading known in the past seems to survive in sophisticated circles.\(^{48}\)

This does not mean Americans are not religious. On the contrary, religiosity is common in the United States. In recent decades, America has even become a mission field for many Eastern religions, some of which have now many more adherents than certain historical denominations.\(^{37}\) However, these new "missions" were helped by the second world war that exposed American soldiers to other faiths.

America's problem has been further complicated in that she has looked to scholars to provide spiritual leadership but this has not been forthcoming.

Evans-Prichard has some very telling remarks in this connection. In the first place, he points out that sociologists and social anthropologists are hostile towards religious faith and practice.\(^{50}\) He traces European social theory to its rejection of religion all the way to the study of comparative religion which elevated other religions to the same status, as in this case, Christianity.\(^{51}\) Popular biblical criticism was, he points out, the brain child of utilitarianism. His remarks are summed up revealingly thus: leading sociologists and anthropologists contemporaneous or since Frazer were
Perhaps what is more revealing is Barker's research in which she found out that even some religious people in America "invoked science in explaining their theological position." For other Americans, science was their religion, if not the explanation behind their atheism. Still, others regarded religion "unscientific, so that the lack of proof for God became evidence of his non-existence." The problem of American children losing their faith in God once in college is heard often and was touched on earlier.

There are exceptions to Barker's analyses. There are American evangelicals whose belief in God defies scientism. But when we consider the majority of Americans, we are told that "God and the church are no longer dominant factors." The same could be said of Western Europeans.

Ellul remarks that "the fact that Western man in our day no longer prays can indicate simply that he has better remedies at his disposal." In the author's view, a greater part of that remedy is derived from Western technology. While the author would not go so far as to blame the decline within the European, Canadian, Australian and American churches entirely on technology, he considers the phenomenon a major contributing factor.

This does not mean the impact of American Christianity or of the West for that matter, is diminishing. To the contrary, and somewhat ironically, Kraft, an anthropologist-theologian from one of America's leading evangelical seminaries, points our that:

the most serious challenging of the traditional worldview of a great many of the peoples of the world has come from a variety of western culture that anthropologists must characterize as "profoundly irreligious." For in place of a religious (supernaturalistic) worldview we have
agnostics and positivists. Such noted names as Westermarck, Hobhouse, Haddon, Rivers, Seligman, Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski and others all treated religion as superstition and regarded religious faith as "total illusion." Coming to the American scene, he points out that, not only was Morgan, the founder of social anthropology hostile to religion, but he wanted nothing to do with it. He goes on to add,

Among the last generation of distinguished American anthropologists there was not one, as far as I know, who gave assent to any creed, unless agnosticism be accounted one, or who regarded all religious belief as other than illusion; and I do not know of a single person among the prominent sociologists and anthropologists of America at the present time who adheres to any faith. Religion is superstition to be explained by anthropologists, not something an anthropologist, or indeed any rational person, could himself believe in.53

It is therefore not surprising that Mazrui, among others, says that:

In the colonies the missionaries were propagating a concept of Christian religiosity which was already anachronistic in the West.

Further, Mazrui adds:

The missionaries were bringing into Africa a religious feature of western civilization, the Christian values, in a form which most Westerners had already rejected in the course of their own modernization.54

In spite of much publicized religious television programming, there is still, as Bluem points out, a general trend
towards a loss of interest in religion in America.\textsuperscript{55}

When ministers try to evangelize America on television as some are doing, there is the risk of "Madison Avenue Religion", as Deedy calls it. His concern seems to be how to reserve American genuine Christianity from the hands of the few ministers who may be acting as "professional peddler[s]," who sell religion "as if it were cold beer or Fuller Brushes."\textsuperscript{56} However, Altheide and Snow point out that "as media culture religion is both popular and profitable."\textsuperscript{57} Whether or not that popularity and profiteering on the part of some in the electronic church brings the heathens towards Christian commitment is another issue altogether.

Thus far, the limits of the mental rational world have been outlined in terms of its dehumanizing impact on people. From the medical standpoint, the model based on a mechanistic world view fails to approach people holistically.\textsuperscript{58} There is also the problem of mass cures that ignore individuality as well as the ailments of affluency: boredom, stress, anxiety, etc., that turn America into "prescription junkies."\textsuperscript{59}

With regard to Christianity, technology tends to replace spirituality. God becomes irrelevant as people solve most of their problems. Obviously there is a narrow view of the role played by religion in a culture that stresses materialism and that has an inordinate fear of pain. God is not worshipped for who He is, but rather for the goods and services he gives to people. As technology supplies these, God loses employment. This is a major concern on the part of some regarding American
(and Western) Christianity. Yet technology has been instrumental in enhancing if not multiplying, the efforts of ministers in reaching a larger field both in its advertising forms and in its direct utilization as a channel for the gospel message. Ironically, if some who worship at the shrines of technology want to convert the whole world, the result is charges of imperialism as the "heathens" give up familiar life-styles only to find no replacements. As Kraft aptly puts it, quoting Achebe, one of Africa's leading novelists, Things Fall Apart. Christianity is then equated with an American (European) game to be played for advantage.

For Africa, the magical-mythological worlds have limits in a technological age. The Oral Tradition has many handicaps. There is much that is lost or that fails to reach the technologically biased mental rationalists, both within the continent and in America. Many of the outstanding miracles are so localized that it is as if they never happened. There is a need for better organization, improved literacy and better access to media systems. There is also the challenge of dealing with poor self-images or a need for better and positive self-theories. 60

Exchange Relationships within the Integral World

Therefore while Americans need to recognize that there are other alternate worlds to the mental rational one, Africans need to enlarge their mental rational universe. But the antagonism between the magical-mythological worlds, with respect to Christianity and medicine, raises a seemingly insurmountable barrier. It is here that the integral world comes in.

In Chapter Four, this world was said to be
characterized by transparency, openness, and an atmosphere that recognizes the validity of the other three worlds while at the same time seeing other alternatives through each of the worlds. What this boils down to then is a world that taps from the other worlds because it allows for free "entry-exit visas." The challenge of intercultural communication for Africans and Americans then can be restructured or be conceptualized in terms of the ability of each culture to make the integral world its dominant universe while the other three worlds have equal statuses.

The integral world is non-threatening to any of the other worlds. In this world there is a return of divinities, individuality or the ego is present, speech is precious, etc. This world is not fixed. People from the magical universe can enter and interact with mental rationalists.

American Christians could gain from the African forms of church community as well as in the area of dealing with aliens. In a way that perhaps Americans have not known, Africans know what it is to be subjected by one's visitors, having entertained strangers for decades. Because of the constant lack that many Africans experience, it is easier for many of them to solely rely on God. Total dependence on God is a familiar theme in some indigenous churches as we saw in Chapter V. On balance, Christianity is more seriously taken in Africa than it is in the West. 61

On the other side, Americans can help Africans get rid of many of the plagues but not by drugs, but mostly by teaching Africans the basic principles of sanitation. Drugs could then come in as supplements. Americans could train Africans in mass evangelism, the use of print media, increased efficiency that might
alleviate extreme poverty experienced by many Africans, etc. It should not be forgotten that Africans have been learning from Americans for centuries. Unfortunately, not all the lessons were Christian nor were many of them conducive to good health within the African universe. For instance, while curing Africans of malaria, cholera, etc., Americans exported mass consumerism based on individual accumulation that undermines African hospitality and communality.

The integral world permits Africans and Americans to identify with one another. In such identification, as Burke points out, there will have to be a commonality of interests. For instance, this could be the furtherance of the kingdom of God. But beyond this, there will have to be a oneness that permits each individual to remain unique to his/her culture whether it is African or America.62

If an American wants to help an African it should be in the context of "positive attitudes toward [the latter] this other person - -attitudes of warmth, caring, liking, interest, respect." Such attitudes would create a communicative climate in which the American learns to be "acceptant of each facet of [the African] this other person", as he/she is."63 The same should apply to Africans helping Americans.

It should be pointed out that with regard to Christianity, if the motive is not love - - which entails respect - - no amount of financial sacrifice meets divine favor.64

From both cultures, there is a growing dissatisfaction with their dominant worlds. Africans want to be heard by the rest of the world. Americans are becoming more anxious wondering what will happen next to their "righteous empire."65 However, there are encouraging
signs. For one, there is the return of man to quantum physics. Increasingly, there is a questioning of basic values of the mechanistic model as American mental rationalists reexamine the Einsteinian contributions. Once again, scholars are slowly but surely seeking for ways to be intellectual while at the same time be involved in religious values. The "either-or" is slowly being replaced by a "both-and." Perhaps a trip to Africa by scientists who are entering the integral world would speed up this process.

The problem of medical technology was discussed earlier. This is demonstrated by a growing mistrust in drugs and a return to natural foods aimed at strengthening the body's ability to combat infections instead of always attacking sickness and disease directly by drugs. More Americans are learning to meditate instead of swallow pills to suppress stress.

For the Christian, some of the trends could be disturbing but the integral world is one of toleration and not antagonism.

Africans want western technology and are pushing for self-reliance. In many churches, they are learning to rely less and less on the missionaries. This brings me to the question of localism. Localism per se is not a new theme to most Americans. But localism here is in the context of the integral world and as a facilitator of intercultural understanding.

The Workings of Localism in American Society

Localism here refers to several expressive forms or behaviors. In America, localism means that people are true to their worlds as a base from which to enter and exit the integral worlds. Christians need be true
to their professions; that is, be genuine in the Pauline sense. In this way, when they encounter seeking mental rationalists, the latter will be convinced by the lives of the former that Christ does indeed make a difference. For instance it will mean that medical doctors can go to ministers for their spiritual problems that often lead many of them to be heavy drug users and even take their lives. Such ministers must be competent in their magical and mythological worlds to be able not to theorize -- for this is a mental rational world activity -- but perform effective rituals that meet the seeker's needs. When Christians need technological solutions, they need go to the mental rationalists via the integral worlds for expert assistance.

But localism has other implications. Americans need to learn loyalty to a local church and be part of a community. In such a church community people would know one another and be involved in each other's burdens. This is the essence of Christian charity. It is not just taking up offerings but being personally involved. Localism also means involvement in worship as actors and not look to a minister as the hired actor who entertains or performs for the congregation. Such involvement would sharpen church members' awareness to their role as their brothers' keepers.

Local involvement has intercultural implications that have for too long been ignored by the American church. While many easily write checks to aid Africa, few know how to love an African enough to welcome him/her into their homes. This is unfortunate since it is impossible to love those whom we cannot see when we are unable or unwilling to show love to those closest to us. The implications for Africa are obvious here, especially in terms of the black-white relationships in which the American church has not been exemplary to the rest of America.
Localism would mean that any missionary going to Africa be from a local congregation and not a floater. Such missionaries need have encountered African students in their nearby colleges or Universities, been involved with black Americans in some Christian activities, including witnessing to them. This is important because Africans are learning quite fast how America has treated their race, for African students in the United States easily accept the black American version of racism after they encounter what in their view are racist reactions from some American white Christians.71

Because many American missionaries are in Africa or were there, because also many American big-time revivalists like Billy Graham, Oral Roberts, Morris Cerullo, T. L. Osborn, Rex Humbard, etc. have visited Africa, some of them several times, there is the expectation that America must be very Christian. This is further reinforced by the refusal of most missionaries to admit to the paganism and heathenism that there is in America. Missionary rhetoric tends to present Africa as heathen while America is painted as Christian. There are both groups in each culture. A commitment to localism would change this distorted view as prospective missionaries grapple with the paganism at home. If they then go to Africa, it would be with humility rather than as representatives of a higher order.72

Therefore there would be missionaries from single local churches going to a specific local church in Africa. In this way there can be accountability. Besides, missionaries would be relieved from having to resort to certain rhetorical strategies in order to appeal for funds from American churches. This would free missionaries to teach and learn and not "create" news events by pen and camera.
One of the hardest moments for an African student in an American church is to listen to a typical missionary on a fund-raising tour. The author has gone through quite a few. But such distortions are not just restricted to missionaries. Many electronic preachers use similar tactics to raise funds for the mission fields. What results is that the gifts so sent alienate rather than endear Africans to their American succorers, especially those who visit the latter.

The Workings of Localism in Africa

For the Africans, localism implies the "capacity to take pride in some aspects of African culture." This means that African intellectuals learn not to be "misfits" in their own villages. It further means that the African mental rationalist can begin to concede dignity to the physical nakedness of the Karamojong men, or to the use of red ochre on the skin of the Masai, or the invocation of supernatural forces to help determine an election.

Thus the African intellectual learns within the integral world to transcend his own "cultural self-contempt." The African intellectual generally concedes dignity to American counterparts to the forms just stated above. A heightened responsiveness to localism would cure one disease afflicting Africa's intelligentsia. Pye tells of how that one of the important sources of ambivalence among Afro-Asian intellectuals, which they were pleased to articulate, was that their particular disease was being "rootless," of belonging neither to their traditional nor to the modern world.
By accepting their Africanness unapologetically, they could define development for themselves. To this day, development [has] seemed to be the same as becoming Westernized instead of learning how to participate in a worldwide process based on exploiting scientific knowledge.78

Localism for Africans will entail doing research on local herbs rather than importing prefabricated "cures" that undermine African potentials. This means slower modernization while cultivating African cultures. It means emphasizing the technologies of self-reliance.

As for the African church, this has been strong in localism. However, African mental rationalists need to quit blaming missionaries for their irreligiosity and identify with local churches actively. Kaunda touches on a crucial factor when he points out that Africa cannot afford "one subject specialists who are almost illiterate if they step one inch outside of their field."79 Nor can African churches afford impressive cathedrals when they cannot sustain their ministers.

By heightening their prophetic gifts, refining their rhetorical skills, and refining the efficacy of their healing rituals, Africans could become the people that Americans given up by medical science could go to for faith-healing. As those fond of the Old Testament, they could, like Elisha, have the privilege of ministering to wealthy American "Naamans" in need of help.80 With improved literary skills, African prophets could write their visions, revelations as well as cases of those cured to help those seeking for help know where to find it. Africans encountering Americans could do so with poise as they let the latter know that the God who is no respecter of technologies has raised prophets in Africa.
The long silence needs to be broken. At this juncture, we will discuss Figure 3, which diagrams a viable model for American-African intercultural communication in which the major questions of this project are considered. Figure 3 portrays an intercultural communication model in which the integral world is dominant in each of the two cultures and via which all intercultural encounters are realized.

The key features of the model are equality of the three worlds: magical, mythological and mental rational; the reciprocity in message systems between Africans and Americans; the emphasis on localism as a precondition for cosmopolitanism with the understanding that the integral world is open allowing for entry and exit visas based on cultural choices. But the integral world must be entered in from a local world. As long as interactants are within the integral world, they must be open to other worlds: be transparent.
Conclusion

There are promising possibilities for multicultural Africans and Americans. Those who enter this arena will most easily and rewardingly do so through the integral world. Such possibilities can only be realized as both cultures learn their need of each other. Americans need better local commitments while Africans need to be more cosmopolitan.

As Americans recognize the many incurable cases around them, the pagans and heathens within America, they will be humble in their efforts to evangelize Africans and cure all of Africa's ailments with a Gospel that has not worked too well at home and cures that are not only too expensive but are after administered without the consideration of the total person.

As African Christians recognize that this is the age of technology, as they also learn to develop a good self-concept, they could rise up and join American faithfuls in demonstrating that Godliness with contentment is great gain. Africans need discriminately adopt American technology based on local needs. The greatest challenge is for the African intellectuals who need to appreciate localism instead of always longing for solutions that cannot be generated locally. The model postulated provides one possible avenue for enhancing African-American encounters in a non-threatening setting.
FOOTNOTES

*Localism as used in this dissertation and contrasted with cosmopolitanism does not define geo-political communities, even though such groups impinge on local churches as well as influence community/local health values. For geo-political units, see Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed. On the Creation of a Just World Order: Preferred Worlds for the 1990s (New York: The Free Press, 1975), pp. 206-210. Some religious local groups are of significance to international relations as is pointed out in the Columbus in the World Project, a continuing series. See for instance, Leslie E. Stansbery, Columbus in the World, The World in Columbus Report No. 4, Mershon Center: The Ohio State University, 1974.

In the American experience, localism is not new. It has been used to refer to: reporters of news, railway trains, passengers, certain postal mailings, preachers, the local government, etc. See, A Dictionary of American English, eds., William A. Craig and James R. Hulbert (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1942).

Therefore, we employ the term here as defining an attachment or affection to one's world and a concern for the forms and expressions within that world. Those who are sensitive to localism will tend to place the interests of their world above those of other worlds. In other words, locally generated or produced cultural forms will be put above those from outside. The point to be made here is that in our effort to promote intercultural understanding, we be careful not to ignore cultural diversity.

In his analysis of the roles played by cosmopolitans and locals, Gouldner points out that locals are generally high on loyalty and use inner reference groups. Locals are, I think, the "true-believers" of the church community in any location. Gouldner says that locals tend to be the elderly. We can expect them therefore to be oriented toward the local church in community health values as a frame-of-reference. See Alvin W. Gouldner "Cosmopolitan and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles I" in Administrative Science Quarterly Vol. 2, 1957-58, pp. 287, 290; Ibid., II, pp. 446, 449.

Cosmopolitans on the other hand tend to be more professional, younger, empire builders with frames of reference outside the local community. They are generally high on commitment to skills. This is understandable considering that they are "technocrats" as defined in Chapter II of this project. See Gouldner, I, p. 290; II, pp. 449-450.

Historically, cosmopolitanism, as espoused by leaders of the Enlightenment was "an attitude of mind that attempted to transcend chauvinistic national loyalties or parochial prejudices in its intellectual interests and pursuits."
From here we get the notion of world citizenry as descriptive of those who are familiar with and appreciate other cultures. But cosmopolitans go further than this and are willing to borrow from other cultures. As Schlereth points out, this version of cosmopolitanism is idealistic. See Thomas J. Schlereth, The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas of Franklin, Hume and Voltaire, 1694-1790. (Notre Dame: The University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), p. xi.

Bringing the two terms together in the context of this dissertation, we have localism defining a local church or medical practitioner in terms of the power structures within the local community. Granted, some local churches that are strong cosmopolitans -- send out missionaries, financial aids, etc. -- are low in their communities' power structures, still because Christians are both as light and salt in the world, the local church is a power base, albeit not necessarily political. But these are communities where church leaders are among the influentials. See discussion by Delbert C. Miller in "Town and Gown: The Power Structure of a University Town" in The American Journal of Sociology Vol. 68, No. 4, (January 1963): 432-3.

The idea of a Universal Church with headquarters in one country and branches everywhere has no basis in the New Testament. Instead it is local churches via the Apostles and Evangelists. In our day, we include missionaries. Therefore locals can participate in cosmopolitanism but always with a base in a local community.

In Africa, cosmopolitans could bring their skills in bureaucratic forms to bear on local assemblies. In America, missionaries could be representatives of specific local assemblies. One assembly can help another assembly. Therefore, we talk of cosmopolitanism grounded in localism. This has telling implications for certain electronic preachers, floating Christians without a local church base, etc.

Since cultural forms do by their very nature transcend the individual, localism is necessarily a group phenomenon. In terms of the church, there is the local church or "one local community" as well as the church that is "in the world at large." Therefore, the church is both local and cosmopolitan. See Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951). But individual believers can only identify with the local community -- the church.

Some churches have members from a specific ethnic group while others transcend ethnicity. Localism then has to do with the individual groups in regular interaction or with ongoing immediate fellowship ties. This does not rule out the possibilities of local churches interacting one with another, if in fact they are able to do so. However, a commitment to localism means that the local church is the most crucial.
With regard to medicine, the local doctor/herbalist is preferred over the outsider. References or consultations with outsiders are made after recommendations of local experts, be they other practitioners, religious leaders or elders.


2Ibid., p. 364.

3Following Stephen Bochner's insights, each culture, African or American, is defined in this project by the majority group. Cited in Adler, Ibid., p. 365.

4For a more detailed account, see the author's Master's Thesis on "The Missionary Enterprise: A Rhetorical Analysis," The Ohio State University, 1980, especially Chapter Two.


6The author has on many occasions been asked if there are homes in Africa; whether people wear clothes or even eat proper foods. At times he has been asked for how long he has been speaking English and whether he learned it from an American "technical adviser." In talks with other African students in the United States, one discovers a pattern to these questions.

7It was out of this concern that a group of Africans established a Fellowship for African Christian students in the United States and Canada with its base at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The author was actively involved in the Fellowship during his tenure as a student at Wisconsin-Whitewater.

8A case in point was when an American missionary confided in the author that when he first came to Kenya, he was asking the Lord how in the world he would be able to adapt his preaching to simple African minds, having ministered to various American audiences for over a decade. The missionary in question had a third grade education. Missionary qualifications vary from denomination to denomination with the majority of the independents and Pentecostals occupying the lower ranks in academic training.
9 For instance, through the Creative Arts Program, Astrology is taught at the Ohio State University; Michele Davis, a professor of Spanish claims that she "communicates with spirits; [and] uses hands to heal"; see The Ohio State Lantern 26 October 1982: 5; The Ohio State Lantern even finds the predictions of a "psychic" with regard to the future of the University good newsworthy for the university community. See Eric C. Hansen, "Psychic envisions OSU improvements in '83", in The Ohio State Lantern 5 January 1983: 10; in Henry E. Andren, "The Place of Faith in Mental Healing", Faith Healing, ed. Frazier, it is stated that "modern witchcraft is even offered as a course in an American University. The Satan Church in San Francisco has become a well-known subject for discussion"; see p. 33.

10 The practice of hypnotism used in certain medical circles and in certain police investigations is not a modern scientific invention. For a scientific study of occult phenomena, see C. E. M. Hansel, E.S.P. A Scientific Evaluation (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966).

11 In most instances, the traveling to raise funds is done after the call to the mission field and some visits to churches only last a Sunday meeting. Hence the importance of newsletters sent to sponsors once the missionary is on the mission field.


13 See Book of Daniel in the Old Testament for the episodes involving Daniel, Hananiah (Shadrack), Mishael (Meshack) and Azariah (Abednego).

14 This attitude is an extension of being a city on a hill or the breadbasket of the world. In part it may be reinforced by the often heard justification by the American government that views almost everything around the world as somewhat having to do with the "National Interests."

15 Perhaps this is best illustrated by those African governments and even scholars who openly preach Socialism and espouse Marxist-Leninist ideology but who find the United States the place to voice their love for the one ideology America detests. In times of economic crunches,
many of those governments usually seek help from the United States. Thus they may not like the United States yet they cannot get along without her aid.


17 Robert Taussig, cited in Lau, Ibid., p. 31.

18 James Hassan, cited in Lau, Ibid.


20 Ibid.


24 Ibid., p. 408.


27 Kaunda, A Humanist in Africa, p. 22.

28 Ibid., p. 20.


30 Beidelman, Colonial Evangelism, p. 16

31 Ibid.


35 Ibid., p. 82.


40 Ibid., p. 265.

41 Ibid., p. 267.

42 Ibid., p. 268.

43 Ibid., p. 265.


48 Marty, The Public Church, p. 5.

49 J. Gidon Melton and James V. Geisendorfer, A Directory of Religious Bodies in the United States (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977) pp. 6, 9; For instance, there are 125 Protestant groups in the United States as opposed to 228 Psychic groups, and 191 Non-Christian. All these are religious in nature.

Ibid., p. 160.

Ibid., p. 161.

Ibid., p. 162.


Cited in Bluen, Ibid., p. 17.


Many of the negative self-images of Africans are traceable directly to both slavery and the colonial experience. For a detailed discussion of this, see Byrum A. Makokha, *Self Image: A Case for An Indigenized Living Church in East Africa*, Ph.D Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1981, pp. 59-73.


1 Corinthians 13: 3.


Fritjof Capra, The Tao of Physics (Berkeley: Shambhila Publications, Inc., 1975), pp. 17-18; also in his The Turning Point, p. 78.

2 Corinthians 5:17. The notion that the old is passed away and that the new has come.

Capra, The Turning Point, p. 147. The Testimony of Doctor Yeomans cited in Chapter VI.

1 John 4: 20.

There is a need to demonstrate that "This is not that," because the new has come: the love that overcomes racial bias.


Mazrui, Political Values, p. 16.

Ibid., p. 218.

Ibid.


Ibid., p. 430.


2 Kings 5: 3, 8.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

Discussion

The field of intercultural communication was pioneered by Americans following their ascendency to world leader status.¹ It has been mostly dominated by American scholars and therefore been largely as a "one-way circuit"² established to facilitate America's role in the world as well as enable Americans to understand the impact of their messages on world communities. America's goal has been to turn the rest of the world into admirers who would, as they beheld her glory, want to follow in her developments and achievements. Because she leads the West, militarily and religiously, extending the leadership to the rest of the world seemed feasible.

However, no one culture has the sole access to the mental rational world so that now we have the Soviet Union sharing or competing quite favorably for that number one place in world affairs. One major expression of this takes the form of military might poised by each of the two super powers against each other, the same applying to their respective allies.

Japan has entered the mental world and gained the respect and admiration of many Americans, perhaps very reluctantly. In doing so, the Japanese seem to have maintained an intricate balance between western technology and the balance of their cultural forms. While
modernizing, they seem to have retained the Japanese spirit — what is here being referred to as localism. ³

Today it is more accurate to talk of the world in terms of North-South, than the West, the East and the Third World. The North includes Japan and the Soviet Union and in terms of technology, these do not greatly differ from the Americans. However, notwithstanding claims to the contrary, the west has been reluctant to accept other perspectives in the construction of new social realities that would pave the way towards an alternative world community that the peoples of the world can feel responsible for. Speaking as a westerner, Tyrwhitt remarks perceptively that:

It is very difficult for us to get away from the rules of the accepted vision of our western culture and to realize, even intellectually, that this is not the only way of looking at things...[that we could be] conditioned, even governed by, another intellectual approach: [instead we have held to] the single viewpoint... the optical result was the development of linear perspective: the single "vanishing" point and the penetration of landscape by a single piercing eye — my eye, my dominating eye... all other views were, consciously and unconsciously, accepted as wrong: "This is the place to see it from."⁴

America's lead in the world (this was mostly self-proclaimed) was brought about by her technology. As pointed out in Chapter II, it was technology that enabled her and the west to colonize much of the south. But as stated above, it is this same technology — its mastery — that has earned the Japanese a place among the masters of World affairs. For much of the South, especially Africa, the expectation has been that technology is a "universal human heritage."⁵ Further,
technology has been viewed by the nations of, largely, "bystanders", as

a treasure the destiny of which is to be commonly owned by the whole world, but which is, for historical reasons -- or under some points of view, for reasons of imperialism and expropriation -- concentrated in a small number of countries, namely the western industrialized states. Therefore, the developing countries today regard "access" to the technology of the developed countries to be the decisive factor in their efforts to reach economic, cultural and technological independence.⁶

While the author does not in any way wish to dampen the optimism of Africans as they strive towards being respected and somehow relieved of the cross of humiliation they have been carrying, he doubts that America, and the west for that matter, would allow any African state (except of course the regime in southern Africa) to enter fully the technological arena in the way the Japanese have done. In the author's view, the cards seem stacked against Africans on two levels: First, Africa's economy is controlled from outside. This is a technological reality in the area of advertising and international money market systems. It is not the best that necessarily sells but rather the best-marketed.⁷ The simple economic model of supply and demand loses meaning when the advertising industry, controlled by America and to a lesser extent other Northern States, comes into play.⁸

Secondly, Africa's military technology will not, in this view, be allowed to achieve sophisticated levels. This is easy to understand since Americans would not like to think that African leaders of the Quadaffi and Idi Amin caliber could be entrusted with nuclear weapons. While
in some ways, such a situation would be welcome, as a catalyst in bringing about talks to end the arms race because of fear that Africans might unleash such savagery weapons, the west would do its best to prevent Africa's entry into this arena. Nor should it be forgotten that America (and perhaps several other northerners) have remote sensing facilities that constantly keep an eye on the goings-ons in Africa and other regions as well.

Africans must therefore seek other ways of gaining respect and participating in the evolution of an alternative future. Fortunately for Africans, the dominant mental rational world has not only delivered many of its promises but it has created some problems that make Americans and the north want to consider alternative worlds. The blindness of technology — it can annihilate creator and user alike — makes second thoughts necessary. Not only are nuclear weapons destructive to ecological balances, there is the twin danger of modern biochemical techniques. Scientists, as Pannenberg points out, are finding themselves looking for moral resources that could be

mustered in order to prevent or at least reduce the extent of fatal abuse of the possibilities provided by scientific discoveries.

This search is beginning to point to the domain of religion. As Pannenberg further observes,

At this point, then, the churches are appreciated once more as moral agencies that should help the human society in responsibly dealing with the potential of science and technology.

Unfortunately, the American churches and churches in the west have been dominated by mental rationalism such
that they look to scientists for solutions rather than
the reverse. Some scholars suggest that the civil
religion may be the greater factor in American society. In a sense this is quite disappointing that a nation
founded for Christian freedom and supposedly destined
to be a model for mankind should lose its fear of God and
find other cultural gods as substitutes. But this may
be Africa's salvation. In as much as Christianity is a
religion, Americans, because of the dominant mental
rational world, may be at a disadvantage, unless of course
they learn to shift worlds as is postulated in this
dissertation. Geertz tells us that

The religious perspective differs from the
commonsensical in that, ...it moves beyond the
realities of everyday life to wider ones which
correct and complete them. Its defining concern,
moreover, is not action upon these wider
realities but acceptance of them, faith in them.
It differs from the scientific perspective in
that it questions the realities of everyday
life, not out of an institutionalized scepticism which dissolves the world's firmness
into a swirl of probabilistic hypotheses,
but in terms of what it considers wider,
nonhypothetical truths. Rather than detach­
ment, its watchword is commitment; rather than
analysis, encounter. And it differs from art
in that, instead of effecting a disengagement
from the whole question of factuality, delib­
erately manufacturing an air of semblance and
illusion, it deepens the concern with fact and
seeks to create an aura of utter actuality.

Westphalia ended religious warrings in Europe and
created the dichotomy of Christians and pagans, with
Europeans taking on the former label. In cultural
terms, the pagans were also viewed as barbarians.
Besides, they were mostly non-white, hence the racial-
cultural division of the world. Historically, the
missionary mandate has proved ideologically powerful in enlisting European armies that have sought to first Europeanize and then Christianize Africans. Some observers suggest that European Marxism accelerated, if not intensified, the desire to make for Christian losses at home by proselytizing in Africa (and elsewhere). But as stated in Chapter VIII, and as underscored by other observers, there has always been a serious discrepancy between the lifestyles of missionaries and the biblical characters the Africans learned to imitate on the one hand, and the brand of Christianity exported to Africa and what was practiced in American churches. Hopefully American Christians, especially missionaries, will, by being locals first and cosmopolitans after, learn not to place spiritual demands or burdens on Africans that American congregations do not live up to.

Fortunately for Africans, Christianity is not of western origins. Some would even argue that Africa was evangelized before Europe. In any case, Africans discovered that God could reveal Himself to them directly without missionary mediation. This is the phenomenon of the African indigenous churches.

African indigenous churches have, in Christianity, engaged in a self-discovery and self-expression that Americans find disturbing. This is largely because of the originality contained in the expressive forms. The proper provinces of Christianity are in the magical and mythological worlds. Both worlds still dominate African societies. Therefore Africans are discovering that their God is all sufficient, and that they can do without the American (western) medical model that belongs to the mental rational world. For those Africans (and missionaries) in mission churches, this sounds suicidal. But such positions can hardly be supported by Scripture.
On the contrary, Jesus and the early church relied solely on faith-healing, something that has yet to gain acceptance in the mental rational universe of most Americans. But, laying aside the traditions of western Christianity, the Bible even has passages that support the African view of medical technology as being profane if not from the devil.

It seems reasonable to leave each culture to determine for itself what it will incorporate from its pagan past into Christianity. In which case, western medicine should not be used as part of the Christian gospel while at the same time rejecting totally all African medicines. To do so would be repeating the old heresy of assuming that whatever is western is somehow Christian and therefore of God. As Morris points out,

Christianity is not particularly linked with Western culture and Western civilization, though it has been particularly influential in the West and it has largely shaped the ideals of the West.17

It would be ridiculous to assume that the kingdom of God stands or falls with Western civilization or with American culture. Nor is it reasonable or even Christian to assume that just because a person lacks the use of a personal car, television set, western-type clothing, western education, etc., that individual cannot be a follower of the teachings of Jesus Christ.

In understanding the role of western medicine as an aspect of Christianity, we cannot escape the fact that it is a clear case of equating western civilization with biblical Christianity.

For the rural African Christian who lacks health insurance, has no family physician, lacks access to
ambulance services and knows of no medicaid, a God who can not only save from sin, but who will also heal his/her physical body, at no financial cost, is indeed good news. This is not the case when it comes to the African "bridgehead," who already enjoy the amenities of western civilization.18

One thing needs to be reiterated here: American medical technology should not be equated with health. Some of western medicine's "gurus" are not necessarily as healthy as may be expected when contrasted with some of the African doctors. Capra observes that:

Whereas traditional healers were expected to be healthy people, keeping their body and soul in tune with their environment, the typical attitudes and habits of doctors today are quite unhealthy and produce considerable illness. Physicians' life expectancy today is ten to fifteen years less than that of the average population, and they have not only high rates of physical illness but also high rates of alcoholism, drug abuse, suicide, and other social pathologies.19

The case of Lilian Yeomans cited in Chapter VI is illustrative of this observation. In her work Healing from Heaven, Yeomans, herself a medical practitioner, tells of cases incurable to doctors that were cured following the prayer of faith to Jesus Christ.

If indigenous churches take risks, perhaps, those who rely on medical technology take more serious ones. To quote Capra again,

Accidents in hospitals now occur more frequently than in any other industry except mining and high-rise construction....One out of every five patients admitted to a typical research hospital will acquire an iatrogenic illness21
Earlier on, we cited an ABC news report that would support this charge. Much of Illich's research and work centers on this problem. Rather than regard these Africans with suspicion, they need to be encouraged to perfect their trust in God. If the American God is unable to heal, the African God is. But as pointed out earlier, there is a minority in America, including former doctors, who find trusting God a preferred path to health than medical technology. To assume that they are misled seems uncalled for based on the biblical accounts.

The important point to be made here is that whether medical technology or God or both, the people of God need be true to the worlds they operate under and follow Jesus' teachings based on their revelation of Him. Those who see Him only as Savior from sin but as "the one who used to heal" need be left to pursue their convictions. But those who see Him as unchanging and therefore doing what He did in Bible times need be allowed to obey the dictates of God in their lives as they understand the same. Entry and exit visas into the integral world permit an attitude that accepts the validity of the worlds as well as their limitations. One world is not superior to another. However, it is relatively easier for those in the magical and mythological worlds to see the validity of the Bible literally. It is equally easier for mental rationalists to believe religiously in the invisible phenomena of science.

Before leaving this discussion, it must be pointed out that American medical technology is big business so that it is not always easy to determine whether it is profiteering or love for the afflicted that motivates its technocrats. Incidentally, the same could be said of certain brands of American Christianity.
Some Limitations

Christianity is an exclusive religion. There is therefore a limit as to how much Christians can enter other worlds without seriously compromising their faith. Therefore the model proposed here is valid in as much as Christians are in the world but not of it, or in as much as Jesus allowed the tares to grow with the wheat. Put differently, Christians need sinners as their mission field even though the social intercourse may be restrained. In which case there is a limit placed by the faith itself as to how much and how far believers can participate in the profane without losing touch with the sacred.

Secondly, the use of "magical" carries bad connotations for most Christians. Although in this dissertation, magical world has no direct connection with magic in normal usage, the associations would make it difficult for certain Christians to see the difference. This is a major difficulty in using Gebserian typology for Christian forms.

Thirdly, at this writing, an English translation of Gebser's work is yet unavailable.

Lastly, what is here postulated are possibilities and it would be presumptuous to assume that the suggestions here made are a reality. The integral world will take time to expand. Mental rationalists will be slow accepting equality with other worlds which may entail loss of place in their social pecking order. But there are signs that a change may be already in effect, albeit, gradually.
Some Implications

This work is an attempt to study intercultural communication while applying schema that have no evolutionary assumptions and that permit for equality and exchange between participants. But this was only possible because of selecting variables that are present in both cultures -- religion and medicine. This should encourage other researchers to seek variables that do not automatically place one culture at an advantage.

This study could be done with other variables and by the use of quantitative data. It could also be done via field study to gain more up-to-date data. That would, however, depend on time and financial resources.

Unlike other works that regard Africans as "under-developed, culturally deprived, disadvantaged, and 'culture-poor'"24 this work recognized the validity of Afrocentricism as well as Eurocentricism as expressive forms of equal but differing worlds. This provides a way of viewing intercultural encounters in a way that does not conflict with theoretical assumptions in dyadic encounters which are the prototype of all human communication.

When it comes to the question of missionizing, this was never intended to be forever the responsibility of Westerners. In as much as Christianity is a missionary religion, it is up to every adherent of the faith, regardless of his/her cultural background to proselytize if he/she so chooses or feels so obligated. Moltmann's observations are quite fitting here. In his view,

the older churches...cannot continue to see themselves as the agents of European or American Christianity.

Up to now missions have largely been
Western missions --- one thinks of people in Europe [America] sending out missionaries to Africa and Asia. But the Mexico City Conference in 1963 talked about "missions in six continents". The Bangkok Conference in 1973 announced the end of the unilateral "Western mission" and the beginning of multilateral "world mission." Yet up to now the European [American] churches have found it hard to discover Europe [America] as a missionary field or to see themselves as missionary churches.25

Scholars need therefore to continue to look for methodologies, theoretical frameworks that allow for seeing people through their own eyes. The comparative method as utilized here permits other perspectives to come into play. The translatable schema are open ended. More forms could be added or different ones used. The typologies are general enough to allow the use of other variables.

The relevance of technology in intercultural communication cannot be overstated here.

Summary

By viewing Africans as functioning mostly in the magico-mythological worlds, we are able to understand why African Christians have less trouble in understanding the Bible literally. For them, the past is in the present. Bible days are here again. It is all still so fresh. By the Holy Spirit, Jesus still heals the sick and forgives sinners. Therefore there is an emphasis on Spirit-possession by African churches and the feeling that missionaries do not declare the full counsel of God.

Similarly, by viewing Americans as being predominantly within the mental rational world, we can understand
the difficulty they have in accepting the Bible's relevance for to-day. For many American Christians, man has evolved so much that God expects man to help out. So far so good. Except that Americans would then go and condemn African evolutionary ideas with respect to African doctors. Here is where the trouble begins. In any case, mental rationalists constantly compartmentalize the human being: the spirit for God, the body for the doctor, the mind for the educator. That Christ who saved also healed presents a problem for most Americans while Africans have no trouble believing this. Mental rationalists have a distinct past history. Africans carry their history, as it were, with them in the present through the elder tradition.

In Chapter IV, it was stated that the point symbolizes the magical world while the triangle symbolizes the mental rational world.

It should not be surprising then to find the majority of Africans seem simplistic in their trust in God. In fact, as they read the Bible they are encouraged in that God still uses the foolish things to confound the wise. The rejection of Christ by the worldly-wise and the religious-wise only confirms African belief that the white people may be getting forsaken by God because of their pride and refusal to seek God with the whole heart.

The irony of it is that Americans are teaching Africans to trust God while Africans are not in America teaching Americans to regain what faith in God they lost on entering the mental rational world that is based on reason and that has no divinities.

Therefore, based on the model postulated in this dissertation, those who want to be truly Christian must learn to enter the magical-mythological worlds during church services and other religious activities,
returning to their other worlds at other times.

Based on past records in both cultures, Africans have done better in functioning in more worlds than Americans. Colonialism had a part in this; it was not all by free choice. In Africa one finds Marxist Christians, Marxist Moslems, Moslems who embrace indigenous values, etc. What has been toughest is the combination of indigenous religions and Christianity. But here again there is an inconsistency on the part of the evangelizers. There is much in American (western) Christianity that is pagan: Christmas, Halloween, etc. Why then condemn it if Africans carry over some of their pagan practices into Christianity?

On the other hand, Africans who wish to understand science and technology need enter the mental rational world, where Americans "lead" the rest of the world. This provides one area for Exchange relationships. As stated and restated before, there are Americans who are in the magical-mythological world but they are a small minority. There are also Africans in the mental rational world but these are a small number.

Therefore when it comes to Christianity, especially manifesting faith, something good may come from Africa. Understanding these differences enhances intercultural communication between the two cultures.

From a purely economic standpoint, it is unrealistic to expect African churches to measure up to their American counterparts. Beetham perceptively remarks that,

the church in Africa cannot afford a professional ministry on the western [American] pattern, any more than it can afford the upkeep of mighty cathedrals.26
From the spiritual standpoint, there is a sense in which,

the churches of Africa are still waiting for their own poets, musicians and dramatists to express in African accents the record of their Lord's earthly life, the story of the salvation He has wrought, and the experience of those in whose daily life the Holy Spirit is revealed.27

But this will come about as localism postulated here is effected. Just as American Christians speak for themselves, no missionary, however gifted, can sing Africa's redemption song. Africans need to speak for themselves and via the integral world, speak to America. Nor should it be forgotten that they have listened for centuries to Americans and other Westerners.

Conclusion

In bringing together the conclusions of this project, several concluding remarks can be made. First, international understanding will be enhanced when cultural boundaries are recognized and respected. To recognize and to respect as used here implies that crossings need be done cautiously and with a willingness to accept the universe (s) of the host culture; in other words, endeavoring to understand the perspectives of the insiders.

Secondly, within each culture, there is a dominant world or worlds, although other worlds are functional. Each culture, based on its predispositions and needs, finds a dominant world that best enhances its survival. For Africans, it is the magical-mythological while for Americans it is mental rational. In no culture are other
worlds totally absent. For instance, many Americans who generally regard Africans as "backward" because of involvement in the magical world are themselves steeped in it. The difference is in the objects of focus in the cultures.

Thirdly, and following from number two, Christianity is rooted in the magical-mythological worlds. Even the great Apostle Paul recognized the disadvantages of mental rationalism when it came to responding to the preaching of the cross of Jesus Christ. Therefore here is one area that Americans can learn from Africans: How to depend or rely on the God of the Bible. To the Africans, the Lion of the tribe of Judah does not need to be defended; rather He needs to be let loose and He will and can defend himself. The Gospel is to be proclaimed and believed. But the proclamation must be with demonstration. For Americans, God must be constantly apologized for because of: what he used to do but no longer does; his arbitrary way of saying yes to some and no to others, etc. While apologetics, dispensationalism, and for many biblical criticism that often leads to demythologizing, occupy the bulk of American Christian or church time, Africans, especially in the indigenous churches, are busy learning how to live the Bible.

While there may be misperceptions about the other in both cultures, while also there is a need for both cultures to see a "here" in a "there," as part of the world community, Africans need Americans and vice versa. In other words, those within the magical-mythological universes need the mental rationalists and vice versa. The God of Jesus Christ, we are reminded, is no respecter of persons; to this could be added cultures.

Fourthly, Africans need to discrimately learn to
use print media since the Oral Tradition is not well received among mental rationalists. In this way, they could counter-penetrate America and help evangelize those who for so long evangelized them. But Africans must do this from a position of strength: be true to localism. This would make reentry relatively easy.

Fifth, while medicine is an essential part of American Christianity, there is no biblical warrant for this. The origins of western medicine lie elsewhere. Therefore, those Africans who choose to rely on God rather than on all medicine are godly-wise, given the technological lag Africa has with the United States. Besides, on what basis can anyone condemn African medicines and her doctors while at the same time providing total leeway to American medical technology? Certainly not on the Bible. Africans need define their health needs themselves and decide, based on the light they have, how best to meet them.

Those who wish to receive medicine may do so from either sources: African or American (western). If we accept the thesis that each Christian people should do their utmost to relieve suffering, we cannot encourage the imposition of a foreign technological system on an ill-prepared people while at the same time discrediting those systems that have for centuries held them together. Given that it is difficult to think of evangelizing in western terms independent of western technology, it is to be left to the host cultures as to what will enhance localism or self-reliance and which may be acceptable or what may perpetuate dependency, and which may best be rejected.

Thus, intercultural understanding will be enhanced when we are willing to examine our basic assumptions based on our own universes. As stated above, if trusting in
God alone is risky, there is evidence to suggest that those who rely on doctors take perhaps more serious risks. Of course the drug industry, closely linked to the American Medical Association, may lose profits. But Christians cannot justify exclusively, Western medical technology which is from the mental rational world, on biblical grounds. In fact, the Bible is pre-scientific.

Sixth, exchange relationships between Africans and Americans will best be realized via the integral world. Because in both cultures the worlds: magical, mythological, and mental rational are present, a grounding in localism followed by free entry-exit visas into the other worlds will prepare members of each culture for cosmopolitanism. As Ellul aptly puts it, Africans and Americans need to "Think globally, act locally." In thinking globally they will recognize other worlds while in acting locally they can become "honest, realistic, and authentic," at the grassroots level.

For the African students in the United States, they can enter other worlds but remain true to the universe of village life. This would minimize the "rootlessness" of many who reject village values and indiscriminately accept mental rationalism only to find that Americans also "reject" them. It will also minimize the brain drain that is causing so much concern to African and other countries as their mental rationalists leave permanently for America (and other Northern countries).

But for all mental rationalists, African or American, there should be a

striving for that difficult position that is guided by criticism but still open to wonder in the face of what myth and symbol have to give.
...myth has to do with a telling that seeks to bring the hearer into the presence or region of that which is told (italics in original).34

This predisposition is gained within the transparency of the integral world.

Lastly, whether or not what is recommended or postulated here enhances actual African-American encounters depends on the strength to love and willingness to cooperate. This is something that no conceptualization or theorizing can predict. Hopefully, Christians in both cultures have a capacity to understand, love and therefore forgive the other freely.
FOOTNOTES

1 Asante, "Intercultural Communication," p. 408.

2 Becker, Directions for Intercultural Communication" p. 347.


5 Fikentscher, Transfer of Technology, p. 7.

6 Ibid.


9 In a seminar conducted by the Foreign Student Council, in Washington, D.C., October 1981, the author was reminded by an editor of the Washington Post that nuclear weapons are safer in the hands of Americans than they would be in those of Africans and Third Worlders. This was quite revealing.


12 Ibid.

Clifford Geertz, quoted in Greeley, The Denominational Society, pp. 54-55.

This is due to the tendency of regarding Western Civilization as somewhat sacred. In America it is the Zionism theme: Americans viewing themselves as the New Israel, at times as justification for "cruelty to other people. See Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," p. 393.


Capra, The Turning Point, p. 147.


Ibid., p. 149.

See his Medical Nemesis.


27. Ibid., p. 47.


30. Revelation 5:5.

31. The parallel between Israel and America breaks utterly when it comes to who is the healer and by what means. For the former, it was God and none other. For the latter, it is man made sacred.

32. Ellul, Perspectives, p. 27.

33. Ibid.


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