"HIV/AIDS in rural Tonga culture"

By

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ABSTRACT

Although HIV and AIDS has become a common phenomenon in Zimbabwe and the world over, it still remains a bone of contention for many people with regards to its spread and consequences. Thirty-five years has gone by since the advent of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. A number of factors, such as unprotected sex; handling of AIDS patients without proper and adequate facilities; and the usage of used needles have been accused of influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS in some parts of Zimbabwe. However, factors influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females are different from what has been said concerning other parts of country .Factors such as cultural practices which are oppressive to females are responsible for fuelling the spread of AIDS pandemic among the Tonga females. In view of this, the study is therefore meant to examine the validity of the claim which presupposes that those cultural practices such as polygamy; marrying of a spouse whose husband is believed to have died of AIDS; child marriage among others, as responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females. It is also the study's aim to validate or falsify the assumption that the Tonga females are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS than their male counterparts. Since the study seeks to establish the plight of the Tonga females of the Pashu community in the context of HIV and AIDS, about 98% of the respondents or participants are females. The reason for this is to maximise a female voice. In other words, more females were interviewed than males. The gathered data during interviews had been analysed. The study findings confirmed the assumed problem of the Tonga females suffering from HIV and AIDS due to the mentioned factors. Presumably the subsequent consequences of HIV and AIDS have necessitated a pastoral oversight to the afflicted females. In some cases, family relationships are broken. Some witchcraft accusations have also caused hatred among some family members. Seemingly pain and suffering in this case has superseded joy. These findings have influenced a recommendation that a further study on specific cultural practices mentioned above be pursued. The study has revealed and addressed the issues affecting the Tonga females in the context of HIV and AIDS.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the following:

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my late parents as follows: my father Mr. Frank Ncube and my mother Mrs. Tabitha Mudenda, affectionately known as Nachilota. Both of them really wished me the best in life. I will remember them all the days of my life.

Declaration

I, the undersigned, do declare that:

I understand the meaning of plagiarism and the consequence of such an offence.

The whole part of this thesis is my original product.

I did not use any information by others, where I did, I acknowledged and properly referenced.

I have not previously submitted part or whole of this thesis to any University, college or any institution of such magnitude.

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Key terms

- HIV and AIDS,

- Rural Tonga culture

- Vulnerability

- Witchcraft

- Ancestor

- Patriarchal society

Definition and explanations of terms.

Culture

Culture is to do with a particular people (nation, tribe, or ethnic group). It is a distinctive way of living, love, eating, playing and or worshipping. It may refer to musical or visual arts, modern influences on life, an acquired tradition, and regulations that bind the life of a community. Culture can be a double edged sword: it can form community identity and it can also be used to set apart or oppress those whom it calls other, (Musa Dube, 2003:89).

Sexual violence

Sexual violence here, unless otherwise, refers to the deprivation of women rights to consent in sexual related decisions. This sexual violence is understood in the context of power. At the centre of sexual violence against females is a demonstration of who is in power (Beverly Haddad, 2011:280). This is what the study is concerned about.

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Taboo

A taboo is a system or the act of setting a person or thing as a sacred or accursed. In Tonga culture there are many ways in which a taboo is referred to. Talking about sexual issues is a taboo. Unlike in western culture, in Tonga culture talking about sexual issues is not for public consumption and this has a negative bearing in the context of HIV and AIDS.

Vulnerability

This implies exposure to danger or injury. In the face of HIV and AIDS, the Tonga women are exposed to danger by virtue of their nature.

Forced marriage

In Tonga culture marriage between a man and a woman can be arranged by relatives or parents of the two without the consent of the woman. Again this has a negative impact in the context of HIV and AIDS.

Early marriage

It is a primitive cultural practice whereby a girl or minor marries ether a boy or a man. At this stage the minor would have not matured enough to be considered a married woman.

Polygamy

The practice of polygamy in Tonga culture is mainly for moral reasons. The man is allowed to find release for his sexual wants within instead of him having to move outside his family and so bring him to conflict with other men. It is also meant for cheap labor source in the fields (Gelfand, 1984:176).

Inheritance (levirate)

It is a situation whereby the widow marries the brother of her deceased husband. This practice is prevalent among Tonga people (Helen Jackson, 2002:134). In the context of HIV and AIDS, this practice may promote the spread of the disease.

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Chapter 1.

"HIV and AIDS in rural Tonga culture"

1.1 Introduction.

It could be argued that suffering in the context of HIV and AIDS may be perceived as relational. Amongst the Tonga people of Binga, the assumption is that the vulnerability of women to HIV and AIDS is related to certain cultural practices which are insensitive of gender equality. The Tonga community to this day is a community which still holds to hard and fast African cultural heritage. The people's lives are enshrined in culture. Some of the cultural practices are good for all people while others are not. Some of the cultural beliefs are believed to be oppressive to children and women. A good example is when children, or a woman, cannot identify and describe their rights. The community has been slow to realize and challenge these cultural practices which are believed to have brought untold suffering to the people in this time of HIV and AIDS. Women have the highest rate of AIDS related illnesses and deaths. To substantiate the alluded claim, I will relate a local incestuous story in the body of this thesis.

This chapter is an introduction to the study which focused on the 1 Background 2 the problem statement 3 the research gap 4 aims and objectives 5 significance of study 6 assumptions of the study7 preliminary review 8 preliminary methodology 9 research boundary and chapter out-line.

1.2 Background of the Study

The study, which is in Practical Theology is carried out in a Zimbabwean context and takes centre stage in a small community under chief Pashu.

Binga is a small inhabitancy of Tonga people commonly known as the people of the valley. This area is along the Zambezi River in the North West of Zimbabwe. It stretches from the Victoria Falls to Kariba. The Tonga people make up about 4% of the total

population of Zimbabwe (Weinrich, 1983:104). Small as it is, this ethnic group has suffered from various dangers, such as deaths from malaria, wild beasts such as elephants and lions and from war during the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and now from HIV and AIDS.

The liberation struggle has come and gone, wild beasts can be controlled and so is malaria, although it cannot be completely eradicated, but HIV and AIDS has come to stay. This is worrying if something is not done as a matter of urgency.

A 20 year old woman named, Betty, (not her real name), was sexually abused by her Uncle John (not his real name). The incident took place in 2010 at a local village in Pashu. The act of incest according to Tonga people does not only bring shame upon the family but to the individual, the immediate family and the community at large. It then follows that any such cases are resolved domestically. This is what traumatized the woman in question. She was sexually abused by a person closely related to her, a person who should protect her. She was infected with HIV and AIDS, a terminal disease. The matter was not reported to the police because of some cultural beliefs which are oppressive and suppressive to women in particular. One can realize how traumatic and miserably life must have been for Betty.

From the given story above, it can be seen that this impact of HIV and AIDS can also lead to the extinction of this marginalized ethnic group, the Tonga, hence this research is important.

1.3 Problem Statement

The issue of HIV and AIDS and the suffering it has caused on the lives of the Tonga females is a cultural problem. This problem has in turn raised some pertinent questions such as the following:

In what way can a minister ministering within Tonga culture care for the HIV and AIDS victims?

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How can a clergy respond to some issues of cultural practices? A good example is a situation whereby an abused woman does not report the matter to the police or to anybody because it is culturally taboo to freely talk of sexual issues.

How can care givers help the infected and the affected to respond to the issues of HIV and AIDS and restore human dignity?

The purpose of this study therefore is to respond to the questions raised by the statement above.

1.4 Research Gap

A research gap refers to an area of the study which is manageable enough to still be coherent. The meanings and results of such a gap contribute to the board of knowledge (Wisker, 2008:59).

The issue of HIV and AIDS has attracted many people the world over. Preliminary literature review has revealed that the problem of HIV and AIDS has been extensively dealt with. However, due to its complexity, to claim that the issue of AIDS has been exhaustively and rigorously dealt with would be to oversimplify the matter.

Those that have written on HIV and AIDS addressed different aspects of HIV and AIDS. Some women theologians focused on liberating their fellow women from male domination (Dube, 2003: 84). It can be learned that their focal point was not on culture. A Cross-Cultural Learning Conference (CCLC) held in South Africa was meant to share on how to address the problem of AIDS and behaviour change. The meeting comprised the international and local communities such as America, Asia and Africa. Although culture was a component in the discussion, it was generalized because the communities which met were of different cultures (Wangulu, 2013: 7).

Chitando a Zimbabwean prolific writer in issues of HIV and AIDS has shown that something has been written on HIV and AIDS in light of Shona and Ndebele cultures (Chitando, 2009: 49). This Zimbabwean literature does not seem to mention any study on Tonga culture. Mataka draws emphasis on the importance of local culture as an appropriate approach to combat AIDS. Even those who have written from a Zimbabwean

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context have not addressed the issue of culture as a local and contextual phenomenon (Maree, 2013: 26). In view of these disparities, a study on Tonga culture and HIV and AIDS is for me a research gap.

1.5 Aim

The aim of this research is to assess and establish the validity of the claim that the vulnerability of Tonga females to HIV and AIDS is associated with some negative cultural traditions.

1.6 Objectives

- To explore and examine sexual cultural values of the Tonga people of Zimbabwe.
- To assess the effects and impact these cultural values have on the society in question.
- To examine possible ways in which abusive and oppressive elements of this culture can be alienated without necessarily destroying the people's culture.

1.7 Significance of Study

The study was worth undertaking because it pertains to issues of human life and dignity. It sought to address cultural values which seem to pose a danger to Tonga people in general and women in particular in the context of HIV and AIDS. The findings of this research was used to recommend measures to militate against it happening in the future

1.8 Assumptions of the Study

It was an assumption of the study that the chosen respondents would open up during the interviews. It cannot be taken for granted that the affected and or infected people can easily divulge matters of HIV and AIDS because of the fear of stigmatization and discrimination (Dube, 2004:125).

It was an assumption that taboos in sexuality is a cause for concern in the context of HIV and AIDS as experienced by Tonga women of Binga (Marty, 1993: 40).

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It was also an assumption that the answer to the plight of these victims hinges on the involvement of the church's programmes on pastoral care and on Christian education.

1.9 Limitation of the Study

In an academic research, there are bound to be some challenges which limit the study findings. Be that as it may, the method of performing epoche' may be prejudiced (Cox, 1991:26). Performing epoche' means suspending all preconceived ideas starting from the phenomenon itself. However, this is not to suggest that the findings would be bias oriented.

Since this research appeared to be highly sensitive, there was therefore, a need for confidentiality and security to be of importance to the subjects. Human beings are not objects and cannot be used as means to the researcher's end (Walshaw, 2012:94). In other ways, interviewees may not open up following their cultural beliefs. It was also a possibility that only young adults can be willing to freely talk of sexual issues. If so, this would have brought the challenge of reducing the scope of the findings.

Among the aged locals of Tonga society, illiteracy may hinder progress. Most of the Tonga males and females were deprived of education during the colonial era. This was partly due to the poor geographical location of this tribal trust land as it was called during the partitioning of land in the time of the colonial era. The climate was not favourable for white settlers, hence the lack of development in the area. This means that most of the now aged people are unable to read and write. These are the people who are believed to be still deeply rooted in cultural beliefs which are believed to be a cause for concern as it relates to HIV and AIDS.

1.10 Literature Review

Literature review is defined in this instance as a survey of the literature already published by others. In this research, literature which pertains to pastoral and cultural traditions was considered. This preliminary literature was a guide to what follows in chapter two.

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Byamugisha's concern for the AIDS afflicted souls (Byamugisha, et al 2012) and Gerkin's pastoral care for individuals and family (Gerkin, 1997:26) fit very well in the questions raised by the research. This addresses the question of human suffering. For Fr. Robert Igo, suffering is a natural phenomenon (Igo, 2009:122). What Fr. Igo is saying is that suffering should not be viewed as something which can be completely eliminated. Talking about HIV and AIDS among Tonga people does not visualize a day in which one wakes up and finds everything is well. The idea was to expose as much as possible those cultural elements which dehumanize women. The effort was to advocate the elimination of such practices. Examining Wilbur Donavan's perception of culture, it can be seen that Western culture promotes extra marital affairs. For western culture an extra marital affair is not an issue (Donavan, 1984:13). In African culture, an extra marital affair is viewed as disrespectful and is really an issue. Africans have now adopted or borrowed western culture and have even wanted to live like westerners. In the face of HIV and AIDS, this has a negative impact. Richard R. Osmer has offered four tasks of Practical Theology as follows:

1. What is going on?

11. Why is this going on?

111. What ought to be going on?

1V. How must we respond to what is going on? (Osmer, 2008:4).

This buttresses the study objectives seen previously in the chapter.

1.11 Methodology

Methodology can be defined as the rationale and the philosophical assumptions underlying a particular study rather than a collection of methods, though methodology leads to and informs the methods (Wisker, 2008:67).

Wisker's definition of methodology implies that different studies employ different methodologies and methods. The choice of method is informed by the nature of the research title and or research question. Some studies employ quantitative while others use

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qualitative approaches. In some instances a combination of these methods is used. However, this study used the qualitative method. The choice of this method has been necessitated by the nature of the study which is pastoral. The purpose of this study is to identify, describe and interpret the Tonga culture and its effects in the context of HIV and AIDS.

In view of the above statement, Hitchcock and Hughes (in Cohen et al., 2001: 3) suggest that it is useful to think in terms of the following three significant lenses:

Ontological assumptions which give rise to epistemological assumptions; Epistemological assumptions which give rise to methodological considerations which in turn gives rise to instrumentation and data collection (Maree, 2013: 31).

1.12 Ontological Assumption

Ontology refers to the assumption about a particular worldview. In other words it is the study of truth or reality (Mouton, 2006; 3). It derives from a Greek word "ontos" translated as "being or reality". Mouton advocates multiple worlds when he says: "People live in different worlds. Each world has its own different set of usages, rules and roles. Different worlds have different beliefs or stock of knowledge (Ibid, 2006:3). Here the term "worlds" is used metaphorically. In a strict sense human beings live in one space and have one time frame. Worlds, refers to opinion, knowledge and views. With regards to the undertaken study, the Tonga worldview refers to their opinion, knowledge and views about reality or truth. These people have their own way of life and experience which may not be the same as others. In this study, ontological assumption takes a nominalist approach. This theory about social reality differs from a realist position which advances that reality can be understood from an external point of view. The nominalist position is that reality is a product of words and names created by the mind within levels of individual's consciousness (Cohen et al., 2000: 5). The life experience of the Tonga people is informed by their culture, tradition and context from which this experience is developed. In order to explore the Tonga cultural worldview, this study used an interpretative approach as its epistemological assumption.

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1.13 Epistemology assumption

Derived from the Greek words *episteme* (knowledge) and *logos* (reason), epistemology is a theory of knowledge (Jonathan Grix, 2010: 166). Burrell and Morgan (in Cohen et al., 2001: 6) explain that knowledge can be viewed in one of two ways. It can either be seen as hard, real and objective, a (positivist stance), capable of being transmitted in tangible form-a view which might lead to adoption of an observer role and using the methods of natural science to consider the use of quantitative methods (for an example standardized test.). Alternatively an interpretive, anti-positive stance may be adopted- a 'softer, more objective, spiritual or even transcendental kind", which might lead to a more objective, participatory role, often rejecting the standard methods of natural science. An interpretive paradigm is a view of social science, a lens through which the practice of research can be examined (Cohen et al., 2001: 6).

In view of the given options of viewing knowledge, this study adopted the second option which is interpretive. Interpretive is an umbrella term which covers just as many variations of approach to social enquiry. Positions under this heading are: relativism, phenomenology and hermeneutics, to name but a few. Influential theorists in this paradigm include German thinkers such as Immanuel Kant G.W. Hegel and Max Weber (Grix, 2010:82). This paradigm has its roots in hermeneutics, the study of the theory and practice of interpretation. It developed in the 19th century as a philosophical theory of meaning and understanding, and also literary interpretation. Nineteenth century hermeneutic theorists such as Friedrich Schleiermacher and Wilhelm Dilthey considered understanding to be a process of psychological reconstruction whereby the reader reconstructs the original intention of the author (Marre, 2013: 59).

This theory views knowledge as constructed not only by observable phenomenon, but also by the description of people's intentions, values reasons, meaning making and self-understanding (Henning, 2013:20). In this theory, individuals and groups create and sustain their social worlds. An inquiry into Tonga cultural worldview can therefore be sustained by employing this theory. In opposition to the positivist paradigm, the interpretivist understands the world to be full of complexity and fluidity and that it can

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only be investigated through a systematic analysis of social meaningful action (Walshaw, 2012: 48).

In view of the above nexus, hermeneutics which is not in contrast with interpretivism was the paradigm upon which the study was based. In this theory of knowledge, experiences evoke different meanings for different people, and are informed by culture, tradition and the context in which they are developed. Any understandings that emerge are based on a shared consensus which is fluid and never final (Walshaw, 2012: 55). This approach is relevant to the intended study because the purpose of the study is to construct some knowledge from a social context. The study is dealing with the Tonga people and their culture which is assumed to be a cause for concern in the context of HIV and AIDS. This knowledge is socially constructed using different methods. The study used the qualitative method. The Qualitative method advocates knowledge as a social construct. Methods to collect knowledge about this social group were also determined by the nature of the study. The issue of effects of possible Tonga culture in light of HIV and AIDS can be seen to be a pastoral one. It is therefore the obligation of this study to create a pastoral methodology which addresses the issue of affliction. The appropriate model in this case is none other than Harold Taylor. Taylor's "Tender my sheep" is a pastoral concern written from a cultural perspective. In this book, the author views the care givers as the shepherds and the subjects as the sheep.

"Tend my sheep" is derived from the Jewish concept of shepherd hood. Jesus is the shepherd and His disciples the sheep. Ordained ministers are viewed as the shepherds. Lay church workers and the community are the sheep (Taylor, 1994: 7). This concept of a shepherd was well known in Jewish culture. The work of the shepherd in guarding and guiding as well as feeding the flock was essential if the animals were to be productive and valuable for their owner. This idea of a caring shepherd was so familiar and meaningful to the people of Israel and many preachers and workers used it.

This study uses this model as a method to journey with the Tonga women who are HIV positive. AIDS is a terminal disease which brings uncertainties and fear to both the infected and the affected. This disease also brings about stigmatization, segregation and discrimination. People who are HIV positive feel out of place. A lot occupies their

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minds. They feel not wanted even by their own and the community at large. To them, death is imminent and they are like sheep without a shepherd. Shepherding which is care giving is therefore the answer to the plight of these people.

In the Jesus context, Jesus was the real model of a shepherd. The political and the religious leaders of Israel, such as kings, priests, and prophets were viewed as shepherds too. Today these are ministers of religion and pastors and lay church workers. The flock is the individuals, families and the community at large (Taylor, 1994: 7). This method only helps the subjects cope with their traumatic experiences.

There is, in addition, the element of cultural oversight which needs to be addressed. The assumption is that the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga people is basically influenced by some cultural practices which are oppressive, such as early marriages, polygamy, marrying a deceased's spouse to name a few. Another methodology is needed to address this problem. The appropriate model in this case is Nick Pollard. Pollard's method of "Positive Deconstruction" was used. For Pollard, positive deconstruction is a process. This process involves four fundamental elements: identifying the underling worldview, analysing it, affirming the elements of truth which it contains, and finally discovering its errors (Pollard, 1998: 48). Pollard says that each worldview should be treated with some respect because it holds some elements of truth (Ibid, 1998: 48).

 However, in these truths lie some errors. The Tonga cultural worldview has some truths in it because the people have held this view since time immemorial. However, in this era of HIV and AIDS, this worldview needs to be reviewed and its cultural values re-examined. What used to be of value yesterday may be void today. The importance of Pollard's method of positive deconstruction in this study is its provision, to deconstruct and reconstruct. This will help the Tonga people to review their own worldview and see if there is still need for them to keep holding unto some or all their cultural practices.

To substantiate the issue of cultural conflict, an incident involving the police and the apostolic sect happened in Zimbabwe recently. The incident took place in Harare in a township called Budiriro, on Saturday May 31 2014. The nasty experience emanated from the initiative by the Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe (ACCZ) delegation

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to ban the apostolic church. The crew which confronted the Apostolic church for closure comprised the news crew, the riot police and the Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe leadership. Reasons for this strife refer to the cultural practice by the apostolic members to give their young girls to old men for marriage. The baPostoli claim minors as young as 13 years to be their wives. This practice has been shunned by the Zimbabwean government for long but some people would not head. It is from this background that the baPostoli ran amok. Seven of the police officers and some of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation members sustained serious injuries in the exercise (Zimbabwe Mail of May 31 2014).

The story above is an evidence of such cultural practices which are insensitive to human dignity, especially in the case of children. Although this story took place from a different cultural context, it helps to imagine the kind of abuse this study seeks to grapple with. The meaning of all this is that some cultures should be revisited and challenged, especially those that disrespect human rights. Some educative programs and ways and means to reach out to the concerned respondents should be considered. This methodology informs the data collection methods. The study used interviews and questionnaires as data collection methods.

1.14 Interviews and questionnaires

There are many possible ways of gathering information directly from participants if such information cannot be obtained from observation (Bless et al., 2013; 193). The first of these methods is the interview. This method involves direct personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions relating to the research problem. Interviews take the form of face-to face or one on one, structured and none structured to name a few. The second form of gathering information is the questionnaire. A questionnaire is another way used in a study to gather information. It is a bit different from an interview. Salient features of a questionnaire are that personal contact with the participant may not be necessary; questions are fixed and the same for all respondents. Today questionnaires can be administered through the internet. Advantages of this method of data gathering are that a large coverage of the population can be realized with little time or cost. Also, since respondents are asked to mail back the filled-out questionnaires without indicating

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their names, anonymity is assured and this will make it easier for them to answer honestly (Bless et al., 2013: 199).

In the undertaken study, this method may not have been the best to use because of the nature of the community in which the study was carried out. Most Tonga people were less privileged in as far as education is concerned. Some of them did not even acquire basic education. Of course this was not of their doing. Schools in the area were scarce and this led to poor distribution of resources at that time. It was therefore difficult for most of the elderly Tonga women to read and understand these questionnaires. This meant someone having to read on their behalf and explain to them. Another challenge was the distribution of the questionnaires. The study was predominantly in rural areas where the road network is a nightmare. A third challenge related to technology. In the remote area of Binga, access to computers was difficulty. However, this does not suggest that this method could not be used in certain situations.

Today, the education system has improved. Each home has at least someone who has gone to school. These educated ones could read on behalf of the elderly people and explain the questions to them. The challenges faced by accessing information through questionnaire were solved by the idea of triangulation. The combination of methods was applicable in the context of the study in question. What one method left something out, the other one would consider it. Interviews and questionnaires complemented each other. See appendix A for interview questions and appendix B for questionnaire questions. Data produced by employing one method would be otherwise a misrepresentation of the intended findings. In light of the impact HIV and AIDS poses on the Tonga culture in Zimbabwe, interviews offered opinions of the respondents.

Following that the area of research was predominantly rural, questions for the questionnaire were written in the local language Tonga and then translated into English. Interviews were also conducted in Tonga and then translated into English. Due to the nature of the study which was highly gender sensitive, research ethics protocols such as confidentiality, pseudo names and security were taken into account (Anderson and Poole, 2009:30). This provided a conducive environment which persuaded female respondents to open up. These research tools maximize research findings. A group of about 20 were

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randomly picked for interviewing. The sampling considered female respondents only so as to maximize their views. This was meant to minimize biased findings. The age range was between 20 years and 50 years. Data collection by questionnaire used two strategies, namely open and guided questionnaires. Open questionnaire questions cater for subjects who have time for the raised questions while guided questionnaire questions were for people with little time to think.

1.15 Research Boundary

Having identified the gap, the study dwelt predominantly on the defined perimeters of this gap. An example of a cake's slice shows the small area of interest out of the whole cake. What is left out is for other researchers or for further pursuit of the same study in the future.

1.16 Chapter Outline

Chapter One:

This chapter provides the introductory background, aim and objectives, significance of study, assumptions, and limitations, definition of terms, literature review, research gap, research boundary and preliminary conclusion.

Chapter Two:

This chapter is about research methodology. The undertaken study used qualitative methods. Data collection methods were interviews and questionnaires.

Chapter Three:

Literature review:

This chapter examined the consequences of HIV and AIDS as they relate to Tonga culture. The Tonga cultural traditions which are assumed to be the vehicle for the spread of HIV and AIDS were examined in this chapter.

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Chapter Four:

Interviews were dealt with in this chapter. Twenty people comprising males and females of age between 20 and 50 years were selected for interviewing.

Chapter Five

This chapter is about the healing methods which in this case is the pastoral response to the assumed problem faced by the Tonga people.

Chapter Six

The chapter looks at the findings of the whole study and makes some recommendations. These recommendations are being made either for practitioners or further research.

1.16 Conclusion

The success and palatability of the project predominantly depended on availability of resources and the willingness of the respondents to cooperate during the research exercise. It also hinged on the researcher's skills to interact with other theories and theorists. The nexus of the research findings then determined what recommendations to make.

Chapter 2

Different Methods and methodologies as examined in this study

2.1 Introduction

In any given situation in academic circles, it would be a misnomer to predetermine a research methodology and methods for the intended study. In other ways, the implication of this statement is that there is no superior method, qualitative or quantitative. What one intends to do is what determines the source and choice of method (David Silverman, 2005: 6). Gina Wisker buttresses Silverman's opinion as follows:

> The choice of methodology and the methods for your research follows on naturally from your worldview and philosophy, and from the clear definition of a title and of the research questions that underpin your research. Different disciplines tend to favour different methodologies, but the choice is also dictated by the way in which you see the world and believe that you can know about the world, the kind of information you wish to discover and the ultimate outcomes of the research (Wisker, 2008:66-67).

This study, affirms loyalty with Wisker and Silverman with regards to the source and choice of research methodology and methods. Accordingly the study is qualitative by design. It should also be noted that the study falls under the postmodern paradigm and takes a hermeneutic approach.

2.2 Qualitative

Qualitative research stresses meanings in context rather than numerical measured data (Poole, 2009: 24). Most qualitative research operates from the perspective that knowledge is situated and contextual therefore the job of the interview is to ensure that the relevant contexts are brought into focus so that knowledge can be produced. According to this perspective, meanings and understandings are created in an interaction, in which it is effectively a co-production, involving researcher and interviewees (Jennifer Manson, 2004:62).

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In view of the above nexus, the study finds solace in the qualitative research method. The complexity of the nature of the study may suggest more interaction between the observer and the subjects so as to excavate the sought knowledge about the phenomenon under investigation. Talking about HIV and AIDS is talking about humanity as subjects. But human character is unique in that it is subject to change. Going the qualitative way may suggest getting closer to the desired study findings. This study is about Tonga women and HIV and AIDS. Culturally the subjects are very reserved that for them to open up is a big challenge. More so HIV and AIDS is a very sensitive topic to talk about. It becomes even more difficult to imagine women respondents divulging their status in that context. This then suggests that data collection by questionnaire as a method may augment other methods thereby avoiding a compromised research effort.

When trying to penetrate and understand the Tonga worldview, the idea of interaction with the concerned subjects is of paramount importance. Tonga people like any other ethnic group have a culture and this culture is unique and peculiar to them alone. It may be to over emphasize to assume that there is a global African culture. In Zimbabwe, different ethnic groups observe cultural boundaries. For an example Shona, Ndebele and Tonga people may not agree culturally.

A simple test would be to take three representatives of these people to a table for a meal and observe them. They will each show different characteristics before and after the meal, suggesting that they come from different cultural backgrounds. Their religious worldviews are equally different although there could be some common elements in some instances.

Tonga society is androcentric, meaning that it is male dominant. Women in that society are not allowed to talk to strangers or address them in the presence of men. It is males who welcome and address visitors. This is only a tip of what makes Tonga culture different from other cultures. This is also a reason for arguing against a global culture (Haralambos, 2008:664).

In view of this, an appropriate method which takes cognisance of cultural diversity should be considered. There are a number of paradigms from which any study can relate.

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Some of them are in the modern and others in the postmodern frames. The common two perspectives in the modern are positivism and the structuralism. In postmodern they are emancipatory and hermeneutic perspectives. The provided paradigms below are only a demonstration of possible approaches. However, the study uses only hermeneutic approach.

2.3 Positivism

Positivism is a school of thought which has proved to be the most dominant research paradigm of the past century. The recent paradigm use it as a marker against which they seek to differentiate themselves from other approaches (Grix, 2010:80). The historical legacy is said to stretch back to Aristotle and has been developed in a variety of ways by such figures as Francis Bacon, Rene' Descartes, August Comte, Thomas Hobbes, David Hume, John Stuart Mill and Emile Durkheim (Hughes and Shamrock, 1997:25-27). Many of these figures looked upon natural science as a model for human sciences, in the process seeking to unearth a unitary methodology of the social and natural science. The tendency of this school of thought is to lay greater emphasis on fact than value (Hughes and Sharrock, 28). A close look at this school shows that a researcher seeks objectivity and not subjectivity. The school does not recognize what Anthony Giddens has termed "the double hermeneutic." This term refers to the act of interpretation of his situation in a particular context (Hollis, 1999:146). Having examined the premises of this perspective, it can be argued that it falls short of the study's requirements. The option for this paradigm is therefore not welcome. Similarly in the modernism is the structuralism which could be used as an approach.

2.4 Structuralism

Structuralism is a school of thought which stresses that human action or behaviour is determined by the social structures. In a way people' behaviours are controlled by the laid down structures of the community. One such proponent of this theory is Parson. He is well known for "structural functionalism" a functionalism that suggests that social systems poses a structure that confronts them with a set of "core problems" that have to be overcome if they are to survive(Ritzier and Smart,2003:446). This paradigm is not

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appropriate for the intended study because it does not have room for individual responsibility. Its epistemology is not socially constructed. The general provisions of the whole paradigm fail to meet the assumptions of the study, therefore it cannot be used. The implication is that the epistemology of this study does not lie within the modern framework but in the postmodern.

2.5 Postmodern

This system of theory shares some fundamental assumptions of language, meaning and subjectivity (Walshaw, 2012:50). For it, language is fragile problematic and constitutes social reality rather than reflect on an already given reality. This system argues that reality is in a constant process of construction. What is warranted at one moment of time may not be warranted at another time (ibid, 50). Under this framework are two theories of knowledge namely emancipatory and hermeneutic.

2.6 Emancipatory

This paradigm is self- explanatory. Its main premises included defining and explaining social structures which are oppressive. It is the sole purpose of the paradigm to make a society a better place for its inhabitants. It is also concerned about reformation of the present society and emancipates subjects from social structures which are strenuous to them. Emancipatory theory is an extension of interpretivism hence works in harmony with it (Walshaw, 2012:49). The focus of the study is on assumed factors which precipitate suffering of Tonga females in the context of HIV and AIDS. It is still the aim of this study to substantiate the assumptions of its theories pertaining to the spread of AIDS among the Tonga females. Arguably, this epistemology seems to be conclusive. In this approach the position is clear, the problem is ascertained and the solution is already fixed. This theory has no room for individual assessment. The phenomenon cannot be observed and understood by way of interpretation. However, the approach makes sense to some extent. The study may encroach on some of its premises. This then leaves hermeneutic approach as the only possible option for the undertaken study.

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2.7 Hermeneutical approach

This paradigm derives its origins from "Hermes," the Greek god who served as messenger for gods, transmitting and interpreting their communications to their fortunate or unfortunate recipients (Virkler and Ayayo, 2007:79). From the first century, the verb form *hermeneuno* was used to mean "explain," "interpret," or translate. The term stresses translation of language from one to the other (Ibid, 79). Hermeneutic is therefore considered as both science and art. It is Science in that it has rules and these rules can be classified in an orderly system. Art in that communication of these rules is flexible. A mechanical rigid application of rules will sometimes distort the true meaning of a communication. To be a good interpreter one must learn the rules of hermeneutics as well as the art of applying these rules (ibid, 79). This means that in order for one to explain, interpret, or translate an observed phenomenon, one should use rules of hermeneutics. Of importance in hermeneutics is not only the truth of one's interpretation but also the effects interpretation and interpretative strategies have on the ways in which human beings shape their goals and their actions (Lundin et al, 1985: xi). To apply this epistemological paradigm, Wikler and Ayayo, (2007:11) suggest four identifiable but overlapping developmental stages:

1. The first involves the recognition of the area that is important and relevant but unexplored. Initial exploration involves identifying what is there. In the area of hermeneutics, the primary question is how one's words are understood.

2. In the second stage, attempts are made to articulate certain broad principles characterizing the area of investigation. For an example meaning of a text may not reflect intention of the author but may depend on what it means to the reader or hearer.

3. In the third stage the focus shifts from elucidation of broad principles to the investigation of more specific principles. Investigators with various theoretical orientations pursue the study of specific principles although they may start with different presuppositions and may disagree about which set of broad principles yields the most accurate conceptual system.

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The second and third stages are translated into specific skills that can be easily taught and applied to the field being studied (Virkler and Ayayo, 2007:11).

Looking at the requirements and assumptions of the study against the provisions of hermeneutics, it may not be doubted that hermeneutics offers the best service to the intended study. The study has therefore employed the hermeneutical perspective. Virkler and Ayayo have provided smooth stages to follow as one pursues this study. In light of Virkler's contributions, the Tonga worldview can be explored by applying these four hermeneutical stages. It is the concern of the study to explore the Tonga worldview in light of the impact of HIV and AIDS on women. It is still the business of the study to identify the phenomena of concern. However, this Tonga worldview can be interpreted differently by different people. The phenomena may also be interpreted differently by different people at different intervals. However, the process and procedure of the study have been made less complicated by employing hermeneutical principles. The area of study has been defined. Certain specific principles of investigation have been identified and theories interpreted.

Having identified the relevant paradigm of study next is the effort to tabulate data collecting methods. In essence, no one method can suffice. The study has used interviews as well as structured questionnaires which are qualitative. The use of more than one method to get information is called triangulation (Mukherji and Albon, 2011: 30). The strengths of one method compensate the weakness of the other. The purpose of triangulation is meant to confirm findings through the convergence of different perspectives. The point at which different perspectives meet is seen to represent reality (Ibid, 30). Hermeneutics as an approach was then used to interpret phenomena of the study.

2.8 The importance of Triangulation as a method of study

Contextually, unless otherwise stated, the term triangulation refers to a deliberate move to apply more than one research method so as to maximize the intended research findings. This combination of research methods is sometimes referred to as methodological pluralism (Haralambos, 2008: 664). In any study, one and same phenomenon can be

perceived differently by using different approaches. The expression impresses that no one method may be adequate to ascertain the assumption of the study. Since the undertaken study involves human beings as subjects, it should be noted from the outset that human behaviour is not the same ever but that it changes. There are factors which influence change in human behaviour. At times it is difficult to understand human beings. The subjects may respond differently to different research approaches depending on their willingness and comfort to cooperate (Holloway, 1997:55). There is great sensitivity of ethics issues to note when dealing with human respondents. Respondents may be comfortable with one kind of approach but may not be comfortable with the other. Be that as it may, methodological pluralism or triangulation may minimize bias in research findings.

The subjects in this study comprise illiterate old women who had no opportunity to go to school and the literate young and middle aged women who went to school. To access meaningful information from such a composition of informants, caution was necessary so that all participants contributed. The study used multiple methods so as to reach out to all informants. The following are some of the used methods.

2.9 Historical approach

This method basically deals with human past or present life experience which can either be in written or oral form. The method is geared toward using past events to examine the current situation. It does not directly study current causes of effects. Data is gathered from both primary and secondary sources (Goddard and Melville, 2011:10). There is a school of thought which maintains that this life experience is documented in different forms such as letters, scripts and many others. This perception is buttressed by Haralambos who says that life experience documents are created by individuals and record details of that person's experiences and social actions (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000:1019). Haralambos goes further by stressing that the documents are predominantly qualitative and may offer insights into people's subjective states. They can be historical or contemporary and can take a wide variety of forms. Ken Plummer who agrees with Haralambos illustrates this diversity when he says; people keep diaries, send letters, take photos, write memos, tell biographies, and scrawl graffiti, publish memoirs,

write letters to the papers, leave suicide notes, inscribe memorials on tomb stones, shoot films, paint pictures, make music and try to record their own dreams (ibid,1019). This array of elements of life experience suggests that to understand a human being's worldview, one has to take into account a number of factors.

Jones, (1983: 153-154) offers five criteria for life histories. The first one is that the individual should be viewed as a member of a culture; the life history describes and interprets the actor's account of her development in the common-sense world. Secondly, the method should capture the significant role that others play in "transmitting socially defined stocks of knowledge". Thirdly, the assumption of the cultural world under study should be described and analysed as they are revealed in rules and codes for conduct as well as in myths and rituals. Fourthly, life histories should focus on experience of an individual over time so that the "processual development of the person" can be captured. The fifth and last one is that the cultural world under study should be continuously related to the individual's unfolding story (Marshal and Rossman, 2011:152).

2.9.1 The purpose of the Historical method

The Historical research method may not be unique from any other methods. It can either be qualitative or quantitative depending on research questions (Mash et al, 2009:139). It is one of the purposes of historical method to corroborate the evidence produced by other methods, thereby producing a more valid account (Ibid, 139). It can be argued that the sole purpose of the method is complimenting other research methods. One method may not be adequate for any study. the same phenomenon could require more than one approach. This can be true when considered against the study in question, "HIV and AIDS in the Tonga culture". The complexity of human behaviour and life experience would suggest different approaches though it is one and same phenomenon. The Historical research method makes the life of a researcher not very difficult. Once the researcher acknowledges the possible challenges with the method, however, he can address them, perhaps by supplementing in-depth interviews with other sources (Marshal and Rossman, 2011: 152). For an example the official records may provide corroborating information or may illuminate aspects of a culture absent from an individual's account. The study may also substantiate meaning presented in a history by interviewing others in

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a participant's life. The concern of the method is to offer complementary services to any method which seems not adequately meeting its research standards and requirements. In a way the method provides a bridge in research methods so that the study may enjoy crossing over and reaching its intended destination with little difficulty. Contextually this illustration makes sense. Undertaking a study on HIV and AIDS in a community of people whose worldview is different from others is a hurdle-race. For the race to be completed the athlete will have to consider more than one technique. Possibly he will use the jumping and running techniques so as to complete the race. In this case, the investigator could consider language and literacy of the participants. All these fears are cleared by employing a variety of research methods. However, the historical research method like other methods has strengths and weaknesses.

2.9.2 Strength of historical research method

Contextually the term strength may refer to the ability of any research method to meet the expected requirements as measured by their applicability in a designed study. Some methods completely meet the requirements while others partially do so. Marshal and Rossman (2011:152) have expressed the strengths of life histories as follows:

> The first strength of life history methodology is that because it pictures a substantial position of a   person's life, the reader can enter into those experiences. The second is that it provides a fertile source of intriguing research questions that may be generative for focusing subsequent studies. Thirdly life histories depict actions and perspectives across a social group that may be analysed for comparative study (Marshal and Rossman, 2011: 152).

This kind of research is seen as sensitive by Cole and Knowles (2001). They say care and empathy should be exercised by the researcher for the study. These life histories are often used in feminist research as a way of understanding, relatively free of androcentric bias, how women's lives and career evolve (Cole and Knowles, 2001). Partially this approach shades light on the Tonga world under study. A particular concern is the women's experience in a culture predominantly male dominated. However, this method has its limitations or challenges.

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2.9.3 Limitations of the Historical method

The Historical approach basically involves utilising some documents about past experiences of the phenomenon under study. Accuracy of findings based on such sources of information may question dependability because of the following: the documents and other evidence may have been lost. A good example is Peter Laslett's experience. Laslett made extensive use of Parish records in order to discover how common nuclear and extended families were in pre- industrial England (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000:1019). Such data has been most useful in correcting the assumption that extended family households were the norm in pre-industrial Britain. However, findings based upon such secondary sources need to be used with caution. Many parish records have not survived, and the documents that Laslett used relate only to particular villages which happened to have complete records. It may therefore be dangerous to accept generalizations based upon such findings (ibid, 2000:1019). It is also possible that available evidence may represent a sample biased toward more newsworthy figures.

Sometimes written records will be biased toward those who were more prone to writing. It is also possible that feelings of individuals involved in the past events may be hard, if not impossible, to reconstruct (Schutt, 2012:388). Before considering historical social science research as credible, one should look for evidence that each of these challenges has been addressed. The possible solution to the cited problems of depending on documents as sources can be the way of triangulation. In the study in question, oral tradition was used to compliment the documents form of source.

2.10 Oral tradition research method

Oral tradition can be referred to as a means of accessing information of the past experience of individuals or community by way of storytelling. Here the study depends on the memory of informants. How good those memories are, is another question. History that is not written down is mostly lost to posterity (Ibid, 392). However, oral histories can be useful for understanding historical events that occurred within the life times of living individuals. Sometimes oral history results in a written record that can be analysed by the study at a later point in time. Whether oral histories are collected during the study or

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obtained from an earlier project, the stories they tell can be no more reliable than the memories that are called. Unfortunately memories of the past attitudes are "notoriously subject to modifications over times". The use of corroborating data from documents or other sources should be used when possible to increase the credibility of descriptions based on oral histories (Banks: 1972, 67).

In the undertaken study, the use of oral tradition has been of great significance in that it addresses the problem of illiteracy. The study has capitalized on oral tradition so as to penetrate the world of the old Tonga women respondents. However, this has not been absolute relief from challenges of a secondary source. There are still challenges inherent in oral tradition such as reliability of source, memories of the past and or period between event and research. This suggests consideration of other methods such as ethnography.

2.11 Ethnographic research method

The word ethnography derives from a Greek "ethnos" which means folk, so ethnography is the study of folk (Gary Thomas, 2011:38). It may also be defined as a description of people or culture (Denscombe, 2003: 84). In addition, ethnography can be described as the study of people as they go about their everyday lives (Buchbinder et al., 2006:47). These descriptions of ethnography show that it relates to research about people going about their everyday activities, but more than this, ethnography is also associated with "thick description" and the interpretations made of this (Grix, 2012: 122). Ethnographic design represents procedures for writing about people. This study design requires the ethnographer to directly involve himself with a group of people he is studying in its natural setting. The focus here is on understanding the complex and dynamic cultural world. The interest is on how people interpret and use their everyday worlds (Walshaw, 2012: 64).

2.11.1 Historicity of ethnography

When tracing the history of ethnography, it can be seen that it evolved as a result of colonialism when the British administration wished to find out information about indigenous people they had colonized. In social anthropological research, ethnography was used to study indigenous people and cultural practices in a wide range of places

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around the world (Muchkerji and Albon, 2011: 70). Marsh who agrees with Muchkerji and Albon attributes participant observation to anthropology and the study of non-western societies by anthropologists such as Bromislaw Malinowski, Edward Evans-Pritchard and Margaret Mead in the first half of twentieth century. These researchers lived with people they studied, learned their languages and cultures, and provided fascinating accounts of such societies. More recently this approach to sociological research has been used to study groups and cultures within western societies (Marsh, 2009: 133). The undertaken study involves the Tonga whose worldview can be best understood by them alone.

The Tonga way of life is peculiar to them alone. Their core values may not be other people's core values. Studying individuals or group of such ethnic peoples calls for due courtesy and cultural boundaries should be maintained. Different people have different cultural beliefs. What may seem normal for one culture may on the contrary seem puzzling for others. This point is stressed by John J. Macionis (2012) who stresses the difference of culture when he says that in some countries such as western culture, childhood means time of innocence and freedom from regular work (Macionis, 2012: 69). He goes further by saying that in some poor countries throughout the world; however, families depend on income earned by children. So what people in one society think as right and natural, people elsewhere find it puzzling and even immoral (Ibid, 69). In simple terms, a study should be carried out in a social and cultural context. When studying human beings, it is imperative to know that human behaviour changes and that there are many factors which influence these changes. What it means is that human behaviour is not the same always but that it is regulated by political, economical and religious factors obtaining at a particular time. In view of this, an ethnographical approach may not be easily as assumed.

To penetrate and understand the Tonga worldview, the study had to first consider that it is all about understanding the Tonga culture as it relates to the world in the context of HIV and AIDS. The understanding of the Tonga people's behaviour has to be achieved by first hand contact in its natural context. It should also be noted that human actors do not consist of fixed or learned responses. To explain such actors, it is necessary to understand

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the cultural perspectives on which they are based (Marsh et al, 2009:133). These assumptions indicate why ethnography is linked with qualitative research and explains why ethnography uses methods of research which are less structured and do not follow the traditional scientific model. A good example of this is when collecting data in the field; taking notes, talking naturally with others and observing unstructured methods. Since the thrust of the undertaken study is on the impact of HIV and AIDS on a group of people, it follows that observing the people's behaviour and or action may not be a once off thing. Note- taking is good for close follow up of the events. Even if the informants do not stick to their true and same behaviour, the noted information remains the same. However, writing notes may at times be detractive. HIV and AIDS is a very sensitive issue, participants may feel uncomfortable with note-taking. They may deliberately choose to give false information. To avoid this assumption, the idea of the study opening a free dialogue with the respondents may augment note taking (Thomas, 2011:39). This method suggests talking naturally with the people one is studying. From such interaction, a lot can be learned. This method is closely linked to the narrative method in that it deals with close dialogue between the researcher and the respondents. This method can be complimented by phenomenological method. The two methods seem to have some commonalities.

2.12 Phenomenological approach

Phenomenology is a philosophical movement attributed to the German philosopher Edmund Hussel. Rather than offering descriptions of the nature of reality itself, it provides a method for knowing and investigating the way reality can be known (James Cox, 2000: 15). This method is relevant in this study because it calls for epoche and performing empathetic interpolation. Here the researcher enters in the field of study with all his preconceived ideas suspended. The whole idea of exercising epoche is to avoid prejudgment. Although it may not be possible to completely suspend ideas about the phenomenon under study, the study exercised caution and allowed the phenomena speak.

The method requires the researcher to enter into the community under study and view the world the way that community views it. More often than not, most studies turn to be armchair studies where those undertaking the study would sit at a table with a pile of

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books for research. This kind of approach may not apply to a qualitative kind of study. Even where one gets on the ground or field, still some people fail to get the desired information because of preconceived ideas about the subject under study. In essence, the one conducting the study should enter into the world of the subjects and see things from within.

Pollard's theory of positive deconstruction may be used so as to assess what Tonga women hold as the truth about their worldview. If the worldview points to some inadequacies, prevalent in it, then the process of positive deconstructive may be undertaken (Pollard, 1997:48). This process calls for one undertaking the study to identify the worldview of the participants. One also had to analyse this worldview and affirm it. Lastly the study had to find errors of this worldview. To avoid prejudice when trying to describe the phenomenon in the study, the respondents will be the main player in generating information. Story telling by the community will lessen the possibility of misinterpretation. So, narrative is also important in a qualitative research such as the one under study.

2.13 Narrative

Narrative can be either a study on its own or a method of study. As a method of inquiry narrative focuses on experiences (Walshaw, 2012: 67). Informed by qualitative purpose, narrative research design provides the researcher with reason to write about experiences and life styles of individuals or groups over a period of time through the stories narrated to them. This method focuses on personal experience of the informants and researcher. The experiences are recorded systematically using both traditional and contemporary methods such as artefacts, videos, diaries, interviews, journals, letters and many others (Ibid, 2012: 67). The personal narrative will be edited an adjusted to reflect a "performed preferred self" in which the speaker narrates with a purpose, that is to tell the story (of self or others) with a purpose and that is what the analyst wishes to capture (Henning, 2013 : 123). In Henning, Catherine Riesman provides a narrative structure in which the following leading questions can be asked:

I.   In what kind of story does the narrator place himself and those whom he narrates?

II.   How is the story a part of a larger societal narrative?

III.   What discourses are evident in the story?

IV.   How are the coherence and cohesion of the story maintained?

V.   Why is the teller sharing this story?

VI.   How is the story plotted and how is conflict presented?

VII.   Are there epiphanies in the story?

VIII.   What is the significant about the beginning and end of the story?

These questions help to tap knowledge from the subjects of study. It is a guide in trying to make sense of stories told by the narrator. This method was used to establish more about the informant's beliefs, life style and even emotions. The method was important in trying to gather as much data as possible about Tonga women in the context of HIV and AIDS. The idea of story narration answered the question of illiteracy among some respondents who could neither read nor write. Most of the elderly people in Binga were underprivileged in as far as education is concerned. To this day, quite a significant number of women in Binga can hardly read and write. However, this is not to suggest that a study cannot be carried out in such a situation. Data collection by this method included interview. The diversity of interview comprised face to face or one on one interviews, structured interviews and semi structured interviews, unstructured interview, group interview, and or focus group interview. The whole idea of pluralism of methodology is to maximize chances of penetrating and understanding the Tonga worldview with little or without bias.

2.14 Interview

Interview can be defined as a series of questions, or a discussion on a selected topic, asked face-to-face between two or more people, the interviewer and the respondent/s (More, 2001: 27). For More (2001), it is any form of oral question made to obtain information. Grix, (2010:126) sees interview as a very popular method among students, especially elite interviewing. Interview data can be collected either quantitatively (except

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for unstructured interview) or qualitatively (Grix, 2010:126). Interview is a concept in the field of study which has won the consensus of numerous scholars. Not many of these scholars will differ about the meaning, purpose and importance of interview in a study. The frame of this method is wide and encompassing. In view of this, the undertaken study predominantly depended on this method when collecting data. Like all methods of study, interview may not be the absolute means of data gathering. The method only compliments other methods. It is a combined effort of these methods which give a better result in the engaged study. The impression is that interview as a method, has both strengths and weaknesses.

2.14.1 Strengths of interview in the study

Whatever format is used, interviews are seen as useful research methods by many different types of studies. Although they represent something of a compromise between more structured research methods such as questionnaires and the more in-depth methods such as participant observation, they can be adapted to suit both the practical needs and the theoretical preferences of different sociologists (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004:828). Those who support the use of more quantitative methods, tend to prefer interviews to participant observation. Compared to participant observation, interview can utilize larger samples, so generalizations are more justified. It is possible to produce statistical data from interview and it is easier to replicate the research and check the results. Because there is some degree of structure in an interview, it is easier to make direct comparison than it is by using data from participant observation.

To those who prefer more qualitative methods, interviews have clear advantages over questionnaires. Haralambos arrays them as follows: concepts and words used by interviewer and interviewee alike can be clarified; the interviewer's concepts are less likely to be imposed on the social world; issues can be explored in greater depth; and the interviewer does not limit the responses to fixed choices. A good example is where and when the respondent does not seem to understand the one carrying the study. Terms and issues are clarified so as to bring the interviewee into the picture. For these reasons interviews can be useful for generating new hypotheses and theories which the interviewer would not otherwise have thought of (Ibid, 828).

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From Stephen Moore's view point, interviews have advantages of size. An interview can be conducted for a small area of research (Moore, 2001: 29). The other advantage of interviews is flexibility. Interviews are more flexible than any other research methods. They can be used to extract factual information from people. They can be used to ask people about their attitudes, their past, present or future behaviour, and their motives, feelings and other emotions that cannot be observed directly (Haralambos, 2004: 829). On this point of flexibility, Moore says that interviews can be used when and where the research involves informants who cannot read. A good example is the case of the study in question where some of the Tonga women can hardly read. The only way of accessing information is through interview. The interviewer can compare the answers of the interviewee and his own to see if there is any truth. There is higher response rate with interviews than with questionnaires as the process is so much more personal and it is difficult to refuse one conducting the study if approached politely (Moore, 2001: 29). Interviews allow the opportunity for critical reflection by all those involved; so that they can examine and sometimes challenge the perspective through which they see the world. This is critical to studies whose objective is to change the social world. Some sociologists have gone as far as arguing that the interviewing process itself creates new knowledge rather than just revealing data that was previously present in the interviewee's head (Haralambos, 2004: 829). However, this method has its own limitations or challenges.

2.14.2 Limitations of interviews as a method of study

Many scholars who have used interviews as a method of study would agree to say interviews are not as easy as thought. Marsh has this to say about interviews:

> Interviews may appear like conversation while in fact requires a lot of planning. Researchers will have developed research questions so will have topics that they are interested in, and many will develop an interview guide as a starting point to explore these topics. The interview guide will help to clarify the researchers thinking about the research; it helps them to remember, especially in the first few interviews, what the key topics are. In qualitative interviewing, the emphasis is on responding to what the participant is saying and thinking. This is a challenge and when doing so, one should try to avoid the following: using terminology; using leading questions, for an example asking, "Were you furious when he said that?"

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Rather than, "How did you react when he said that?" One should also avoid using emotionally charged words or concepts; asking questions that would make people defensive; for an example, when asking about child-care arrangements, you might want to ask about the amount of time parents spend with their child. Asking, "Do you spend enough time with your child?" may elicit a defensive response; instead, you could ask "Do you have any difficulties in managing your time between work and home (Marsh, 2009: 129)?"

In other words the impression of this expression is that there is need for the interviewer to know and understand his field of study very well before he can embark on it. The title should be well formulated and the objectives well defined. This can only be of significance when a good interview plan is drawn. This guide should include the following; sampling, scope of study, nature of respondents, stating age of subjects, sex, and many more. Failure to do so would result in compromised study findings. In the case of the study in question, it should be considered that some of the Tonga females cannot read and write. Questionnaires in this instance may achieve insignificant or no results at all. An alternative would be to use face to face interview. It should also be known that most of these women are very shy, especially to strangers. This challenging exercise is also acknowledged by Marsh. He says that, "Carrying out interviews can be very challenging and requires a range of intellectual, social and or practical skills (Marsh, 2009: 129)" as the interviewer, one needs to be:

I. Knowledgeable about the subject area of the study.

II. Interaction with others is recommended listening and responding with appropriate questions; and

III. One needs to be organized in arranging and recording interviews.

It is still a package of challenges in information gathering. Informants may give masses of information. The only problem with this is that these masses of information may be neither valid nor reliable. When talking about HIV and AIDS, a few people can willingly give correct information. Others can give information which may not be true. Interviews have many of the same drawbacks as questionnaires: the responses given may not be accurate and may not reflect real behaviour (Haralambos, 2004: 829). Respondents may lie, forget,

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or lack the information required. It is wondered if interviews capture daily life, conditions, opinions, values, attitudes, and knowledge base of those studied as expressed in their natural habitat (Ibid, 129). There are other challenges apart from the ones cited above.

2.15 Geographical challenges of the study area

The area under study is predominantly rural. It is a remote area with some scattered traces of developments which are in the form of growth points. As already alluded to in the study Pashu area has been underdeveloped since the time of the white settlers in Zimbabwe. When these visitors first arrived in Zimbabwe, they settled around Bulawayo in Matabeleland South and in Mashonaland. Factors influencing these settlements were mainly climate, mining, missionary expedition and farming. Unfortunately none of the mentioned factors were found in the area under study. Pashu still has an unfavourable climate to this day. It was too hot for white settlers such that they could not occupy it. The region was not suitable for commercial farming. There were no mines discovered there. There was nothing of interest that could entice white settlers to consider settling in the Binga District, Pashu in particular. The area was underdeveloped. This underdevelopment, which can be viewed under three basic considerations which follow, has a negative bearing on the nature of the study and data collection.

2.15.1 Underdevelopment

Pashu was and is still underdeveloped in terms of education, employment and technology. It was not that easy conducting a study in such an underdeveloped community like Pashu. The Tonga people were deprived of education due to scarcity of educational institutions such as schools and colleges. The few schools that were available were scattered such that it was very difficult for most children to get to them. It was only after independence in 1980 that a few more schools were constructed in the Binga District. However, the situation did not improve. Even to this day, there are only a few schools in the entire district of Binga. Most of the people in Binga cannot read and write. This affected information gathering by questionnaire (Schutt, 2012: 392). The second challenge which is a result of underdevelopment relates to unemployment. There is a high rate of unemployment in Zimbabwe in general and in Binga in particular. This

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has negatively impacted the community. Most of the people have left their homes in search of employment. Others have migrated to neighbouring places in search of good land for farming. Those that remained at home were old women and children who would look after the home. Those who received some education went to towns for employment. The current population comprises old men, women and children who did not attain secondary education due to some reasons. This gives a rough picture of the area of research and the nature of the expected respondents. There was therefore a negative impact on information gathering.

It is almost impossible to imagine a good road network in such a community. The poor road network made driving around difficult during data gathering by way of interviews. Roads are few, and those which exist are in bad state such that driving around was difficult. In view of this, sampling of subjects was in such a way that they could be easily reached. The size of the group was also relatively small to avoid unnecessary strain and stress. Other challenges which affected conducting interviews were the nature of the respondents and cultural background.

2.15.2 Respondents

It is pertinent to know that the study is all about the consequences of HIV and AIDS on a culture of a particular people, the Tonga. It is equally important to know that the study involves human beings as subjects. The age range chosen for the subjects is 20 to 50 years. The reason for this range is that at 20, a Tonga female is already considered mature and can be married. At this age Tonga females are called women. This is also why the study addressed, the issue of early marriage. The age range is believed to be the sexually active. These are the people who are also very vulnerable to the AIDS pandemic because they are sexually active. This group is very loyal and submissive to their male counterparts, their husbands. It is the same age group which is also the custodian of cultural values.

One challenge regarding age was to get the young females for interview. Most of these females are now married and are in urban areas with their husbands. The life style of these informants is western biased. These young people have now adopted a western

way of life. Their culture is no longer pure Tonga culture but something else. The culture is lost because these people no longer go to their rural homes in Binga. They have gradually forsaken their pure culture. This can be evidenced by their way of dressing. It is a taboo for a Tonga woman to dress indecently. Putting on miniskirts and long trousers is not Tonga culture. The one who dresses like this is considered a social misfit. It is an abomination for a Tonga female to put on such clothes in the community, worse in the presence of people of the opposite sex (Bourdillon, 1997:1). There seems to be a conflict here. There is an assumption that those who live in cities view those who live in rural area as backward or primitive. Those who live in rural consider the town dwellers as people without culture or uncultured. In view of this, the Tonga people who live in town cannot be the best people to interview. Doing so could compromise the intention of the whole project. For this reason, this set of informants was not approached for information.

The challenge now is which group to interview. It has been alluded to in the above paragraph that the Tonga people who live in town no longer observe their cultural values as do those in rural area. It has also been intimated in the same paragraph that interviewing such people would not meet the intention of the study. On the other hand, to interview the rural people you have the challenge of unavailability. If the assumption is true that most of these females have moved into towns with their husbands, then it may be reasonable enough to think that the only available subjects are children and women who are above 60 years of age. Maybe only a few can be said to have remained in rural areas. The problem with this group is unavailability. They may not be readily available for interview because they are bread winners who are always away in search of food for their families. These people work hard for the sustainability of their families. Some of them are engaged in the formal economy while others are engaged in informal trade. Some of them cross boarders into neighbouring countries such as South Africa and or Botswana for trade. It may be puzzling to find that in Tonga culture women and children are the ones responsible for the day-to-day bread issue while in other cultures this bread issue maybe the men's responsibility only (Macionis, 2012: 69). This is a cultural issue. It relates to one of the alleged problem, polygamy. A man with more than five wives will not be able to sustain his family. He then leaves it to each woman and her children. This

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problem affected the time frames set for data gathering. It was difficult to easily access subjects for interview.

Another problem which is associated with respondents relates to mixed culture-is that after Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, there followed a massive movement of the Ndebele speaking people. These people moved from places such as Tsholotsho, Lupane and Nkayi. They all headed for Binga in Matabeleland north. This movement was not in search for pastures but it was to flee from the wrath of the government. This era of terror was commonly called (Gukura Hundi) which means carrying everything and leaving out nothing. It derives from Flood Rivers which carry logs and gather debris as they flow. Literally this meant to completely wipe out people who were called dissidents. The suspected people were the Ndebele speaking people. The government intentionally decreed to go and kill all the Ndebele speaking people as a means of eradicating the dissident movement. A special militia group called the fifth brigade was assigned to do this. Some of these Ndebele people fled to Binga for their lives. These people permanently settled there among Tonga people.

This is not to shift the focus into politics but to show how the Tonga culture became affected. These people who settled in Binga mingled with the Tonga people and there was intermarriage. What this meant, is that it was difficult to find pure Tonga culture surviving in Binga today. What used to be true Tonga society is now a society of mixed ethnic groups. This supposes even a mixed culture. If so, then, pure Tonga culture may be difficult to identify and define. Those who have permanently settled in Binga have adapted and adopted some of the Tonga culture and can speak the local language perfectly well. This could be misleading in identifying subjects for sampling.

The Tonga people, who have remained loyal to their culture, have also succumbed to modern ways of life. Some of them have adopted a town life style like their fellow folks who live in towns although to some lesser extent. There is also tension between the young and the old people. There are those who cling tenaciously to the values of traditional culture, while others see themselves as belonging to the wider world and wish to integrate themselves into the ways of this wider society (Bourdillon, 1997: 3). Bourdillon's expression has some connotations when referring to the area under study. It

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suggests that the Tonga society of Pashu has expanded in population because of the Ndebele who have settled there. On the other hand, it suggests that Tonga culture has been affected such that pure cultural representation has also been reduced. This then defined the size of the exploration during interviews. The implication is that the area of study was made very narrow while increasing the difficulty of identifying and defining the subjects of study. This unforeseen scenario called for due caution during interview planning. Certain factors such as old age among informants; level of education and the nature of the subjects was taken into consideration. Tonga females are naturally shy when speaking to strangers. It will be even worse for them to be willing to talk about HIV and AIDS.

The gravity of the above enumerated challenges may not suggest that it is impossible to carry a study among the Tonga people of Binga. These challenges are not unique but normal. Any study is exposed to some challenges. It is therefore incumbent upon the researcher to expect such challenges when dealing with human beings as subjects of study. Unlike animals and other objects of study, human beings are complicated. They think; they reason; they know and can react to situations. Human beings have freedom of choice. In the case of the subjects under study, people may choose not to respond to the interviewer. They may also deliberately choose to give misleading information. All this package of challenges goes with one's intelligence and professionalism in handling interviews. In spite of all this, interviews still remained option number one in this study.

There is a continuum of interviews which ranges from informal and conversational interaction, which flows with the thoughts and feelings of both interviewer and interviewee, and the much tighter, more structured interview. There are pluses and minuses to all kinds of interviews along the continuum (Wisker, 2008: 1994).

2.15.3 Structured interview

The structured interview, as its name suggests, is the most rigorous and the least flexible in the way it is set up. Predetermined questions are put to the interviewee in a specific order and the responses are logged either by recording electronically or by note taking (Grix, 2010: 127). The same process is repeated with a number of other interviewees and

the results or findings can be compared with one another, categorized according to specific questions, and aggregated statistically. Usually interviews are carried out by the researcher face-to-face with his interviewee. However, the structured technique can also be carried out via E-mail or telephone (Kumar, 1999: 109). In this situation, interviewees receive the same prompt from the interviewer and there is not a great deal of digression from the script or interview schedule. In this case, the interviewee has only a fixed number of answers and data resulting from the answers can be coded and processed easily (Bryman, 2001: 107-8). This method is more like a questionnaire in that the researcher relies upon a set of structured questions. These questions are multiple choice questions (Wisker, 2008: 194). Although this method was used in the study, it was less popular as compared to other methods.

2.15.3.1 Importance of structured interview

This method worked well in the proposed study about the Tonga females because of the following reasons: In Tonga culture it is a taboo for a child or woman to freely talk of sex and or sexuality. It is a shameful thing to talk about and it is not allowed. It is also not within Tonga culture for females to just talk to strangers. If there is any need, the woman will call the husband to attend to this stranger. If there is no male person, then there is no entertainment of strangers. Thirdly, HIV and AIDS have been wrongly associated with promiscuity. The belief is that those who are positive are suffering God's punishment. This has torn the community apart. Those living positively with HIV and AIDS have felt discriminated against and isolated. Those who are believed to be AIDS free have also stigmatized the victims, creating a gulf between people.

This is a field of study where the interviewer gains entrance and access to information. It can be imagined how difficult if not impossible it can be. Tonga females can literally close doors behind themselves. If by any chance, room is open for a dialogue between the interviewer and the respondent, freedom of expression may not be prevalent. It appears as if the respondent is the one who has formulated the interview questions because the type of answers will be a yes, or a no. So a structured kind of interview is befitting in this community. It is to the advantage of the investigator that the informant wants short answers. This point is elaborated by Goddard and Melville when they say

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that a structured interview is more like a questionnaire. The format is called a four-point scale (Goddard and Melville, 2012: 48). This structured interview has predetermined answers expressed as follows; "Bart Simpson is a good role model" Strongly disagree, disagree, strongly agree, agree. This method was applicable in the undertaken study. It avoided a situation whereby the respondent lengthens his talk by trying to impress the one carrying out the study. In most cases, over expression may not mean truth telling. It could be that the interviewee deliberately wants to mislead the inquirer from the truth. The truth may not be told by the interviewee. This is possible with Tonga females. Just talking to strangers is not cultural for them. Structured interviews therefore help to avoid intentional deviation by the respondents from the posed questions. Short directed questions were relevant in this case. The way they are formulated should meet the demands of the study. The Yes, No, kind of responding was probing so that the respondent's response was still the investigator's expectation. In this kind of information gathering, the investigator drives home his point. It is easy to manage the whole interview exercise using guided questions than other forms of information gathering.

There is still added value and precision in a structured interview method. This method calls for specific and detailed information that can facilitate comparison of the reactions of different participants. In this case, the interviewer has a much more precise goal and the types of questions to be answered by all interviewees are fixed. A list of issues for investigation is drawn up prior to the interview. The list contains some precise questions and their alternatives or sub questions, depending on the answers to the main questions (Bless et al., 2013: 194).

What Bless is advocating here is precision. More often than not, interviews which are not structured tend to lose focus. One might find oneself deviating from the pertinent and focal issues. In this study, a good example would be a sensitive HIV and AIDS question. The reaction and facial expression by the informants may lead to a change of focus. The interviewer may switch to unnecessary dialogue trying to avoid annoying the subject. In this way the intended goal may not be reached. The only way to avoid this is where questions are clearly stipulated and the interviewer sticks to them. In the structured interview, the questions are in the form of multiple choices and this makes it easy for

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both the interviewer and the interviewee. Questioning and responding becomes guided and easy. This makes analysis simpler (Wisker, 2008:195). Another advantage of structured interviews is that data resulting from the answers can be coded and processed easily (Bryman, 2001:107-8). Using structured interview aims at achieving a high degree of standardization or uniformity and hence ease of comparability, in the format of the answers (Grix, 2010:128).

Seemingly Grix points out that when using structured questionnaires; the expectations of the enquirer are likely to be met. If the formulated questions are structured in such a way that they are leading then the interviewee will respond accordingly. This makes the interviewer get closer to the intended goal. However, over emphasizing this method of data gathering might be inhibiting. It should be remembered that knowledge is socially constructed and that the whole idea is to access it through targeted phenomena. In as much as this method had strengths it also had its limitations.

2.15.3.2 Limitations of structured interview

It should be mentioned from the outset that the main aim of this study is to acquire the knowledge of the Tonga worldview from a qualitative method which advocates interaction and not just observation. Here the suggestion is that knowledge is situational and construct. The key player in this case is the person on the ground, the informant. The study itself is a search for knowledge and the method can be seen to be a study in itself following that it reveals more than just what a method does. In this study, the main aim is to explore and examine as much as possible the Tonga worldview with the view to discovering as much as possible the truth about the phenomena before making any recommendations either for further study or to the practitioner. In view of this, the best way possible to do it would be to engage the subjects, the Tonga people themselves rather than be a chair researcher sitting on a chair exhausting library books. A good mutual relationship initiated by the one conducting the study should be developed between him and his informants.

However, it is unfortunate that structured interviews do not have room for interactive dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee (Henning, 2013:67). While it

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might be important and necessary for the interviewer to control the interview process, mutual ownership of the discussion between the two should not be optional. The right notion should be a two-way communication in which not only the interviewer asks the questions. If a participant gets to ask some questions, the very nature of his questions and returning comments and analyses may reveal discursively rich data (-ibid, 2013: 67). Rigidity of relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee may be short sighted of what the latter is capable of contributing in the study. The knowledge sought by the enquirer should be both intrinsically good and instrumentally good, meaning to say both parties should benefit from the one and same project. The attitude should not be that of a knowledge expedition where the one carrying out a study only wants to obtain that knowledge even at the expense of subjects without considering them as co-partners in the exercise. The participant should feel that he or she has immensely contributed to the project.

The relationship between the inquirer and the subject is buttressed by Henning as follows:

> If the participant feels that she is simply answering questions posed by an authority, there is no true sharing of knowledge making but clear and unequivocal supplying of information. I have to say, I have felt slightly used in some of the interviews in which I have been a respondent. Even highly qualified colleges who are sensitive to these issues are capable of making you feel like a particle on an information production line for the benefit of the researcher's work. On occasion I have even felt somewhat violated when my "responses" were summarized with a different focus and therefore given a meaning other than what I had intended with my different worldview and knowledge base. Having participated in a number of studies, I have concluded the dialogic form of interviewing that I am arguing for in this chapter yields a more honest version of interviewee's reality because she feels that she is co-owner of the processes. I have also felt on these occasions that there was not sufficient transparency about how the findings would be written up and disseminated (Henning, 2013:67).

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While realizing the place of structured interviews in a study, Henning seems not to be comfortable with it. As both a researcher and professor of educational linguistics in the faculty of Education at Rand Afrikaans University she is well acquainted with these research methods and their challenges. Experience is a good teacher. From experience, Henning has enumerated the pitfalls of relying heavily on predetermined questions as a means of data generating. What Henning says about structured interviews seems to make sense for this study. Applying the kind of method in this study, should be done so cautiously. While the yes- no kind of response by informants is good, it is too rigid and unaccommodating. The Tonga people may take advantage of this method by not speaking at length during the interview sessions. The information which is not contained in the formulated questions might not be known and obtained by the one carrying out the study. Information obtained from a strictly structured interview might not be a true reflection of the subject's worldview.

However, to completely discredit this data gathering method at this time would be to be too judgmental. The fact that the study is dealing with human beings as subjects, it might be too early to be so selective in method and methodology. It might also be predetermining the attitudes of the subjects of study. The method might be useful in a situation where the respondents are not willing to open up for a discursive interaction. A good example would be the subjects of this study, the Tonga people. These people are unpredictable. With them anything is possible. Most Tonga females might deliberately refrain from entertaining anyone they suspected to be a stranger. If a little chance avails, then this method might be the most appropriate to use.

When considering Tonga males who are freer to interact with anyone, even strangers, the method might face some challenges. In this case, it would be prudent to consider the structured interview method as part of a pluralism of methods. Even if it might not yield the best expected results, it will still contribute immensely to the intended project. Since a structured interview is only part of the larger body of interviews, it is worth at this point in time to try to examine the applicability and the validity of other forms of interview such as semi-structured and unstructured interviews. The main purpose here is not to

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choose a particular approach but to examine them all in the context of the undertaken study and see how each method can contribute in data generating.

2.15.4 Semi-structured interview

One step down from a structured interview is the semi-structured, or in-depth interview in which the interviewer, has in mind a number of questions which of course should not exceed 10, for manageability but which has not to follow a predetermined order (Grix, 2012: 128). What Grix seems to suggest here, is that between two extremes, the structured and unstructured interviews lies the semi-structured interview.

Like any other form of interviews, the semi-structured interview includes the art of asking or listening (O'Leary, 2012:194). There is no doubt; asking and listening are both crucial to the interview process, but more often than not, most people tend to spend more time or a much greater portion of time working on getting their questions and questioning right. Hemingway says that most people miss the point by failing to listen (- Ibid, 2012:194). The researcher's job is to talk only enough to facilitate someone else's ability to answer. It should be the interviewee's voice that the interviewer is seeking and it is this voice that has to be drawn out.

Most people always think of an interview in a job interview set up where the interviewee has to prepare for the interview; gets his file and sits in a room ready for the interview. Everything here is formal. This is what some researchers take into their world of study. They think this is how research interviews should unfold. But this should not be the case. Of course, research interviews can be formal but there are only a few questions that can suit one's agenda. These are discussed bellow.

In a semi-structured interview, questions or topics for use are developed in an interview guide. The interview guide is intended to initiate discussion from the participants, which will then lead to many further unplanned questions arising from their particular initial responses. This flexibility also means that the questions will not necessarily be asked in a pre-set order (Marsh, 2009:129). Robert-Holmes shares the same sentiments with Marsh

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when he says that the purpose of the guide is to list the points which the interviewer wants to cover but unlike the interview schedule, the guide is not scheduled or predetermined (Robert-Holmes, 2011: 149). The guide is simply a few questions 5 or 10 open-ended questions to guide the interview rather than to dictate the structure and content. Such an open ended research guide allows the researcher to keep the interview focused upon the research subject and at the same time be sufficiently flexible to allow the interview to change direction. The semi-structured interview stresses two points, namely few questions to guide the interviewer and flexibility. These two points therefore govern the flow and direction of the interview. The impotency of the first provision is that there is at least a starting point, the set questions. These will guide the interaction between the interviewer and the subjects. Basically this is the view of the inquirer who wishes to probe the informant so as to kick start the discussion. The second provision is the flexibility of the guide. This means that when the discussion has started between the interviewer and the interviewee, both parties are not bound by the guide questions. They can change the direction of the exercise with the subject initiating that change. The interviewer will have to be flexible and listen to the subject. The undertaken study will benefit quite a lot from this method in that the mode of inquiry is more user-friendly.

2.15.5 Advantages of semi-structured interview

Each and every research method has its advantages and disadvantages or strengths and weaknesses. It could be tantamount to ingratitude failing to appreciate any method. A method depends on how it is used and where and when it is used. It is also important to consider the context from which it is used. Most acceptable of this, is to say either advantages or disadvantages overweighs the other. In semi-structured interview, there seems to be more advantages than disadvantages. Mason gives what she calls characteristic of qualitative or semi-structured interviewing. For Mason, the interactional exchange of dialogue, qualitative interview may involve one-to one interactions, larger group interviews or the internet, gives three examples of these characteristics of qualitative interviews as follows:

(1).A relatively informal style, for an example, with the appearance in face-to face interviewing or a conversation or a discussion rather than a formal question and answer format, is the character of semi-structured interview.

(2).A thematic, topic centred, biographical or narrative approach, for an example, where a researcher has a number of points for discussion, or specific "stories" which they wish to cover, or a set of starting points for discussion, or a specific story they wish the interviewee to tell. The researcher is likely to have a complete and sequenced script of questions, and most qualitative interviews are designed to have a fluid and flexible structure and to allow the interviewer and interviewee to develop unexpected themes(Mason 2002:63).

(3).Most qualitative research operates from the perspective that knowledge is situated and contextual, and therefore the job of the interviewer is to ensure that the relevant contexts are brought into focus so that situated knowledge can be produced. For some that extends into assumption that data and knowledge are constructed through dialogic interaction during the interview. Most people would agree that knowledge is at the very least reconstructed, rather than facts simply being reported in interview setting. According to this setting, meanings and understandings are created in an interaction which is effectively a co-production, involving researcher and interviewee. Qualitative interviewing therefore tends to be seen as involving the construction or reconstruction of knowledge more than excavation of it (Ibid, 2002: 63).

In this academic jargon, Mason only emphasizes one point that interviews is all about a search for unearthed knowledge. This knowledge is situational and is socially constructed. To socially construct the assumed knowledge, the inquirer has to engage the person on the ground, the subject. The key element in this adventure is the understanding that this knowledge is basically a product of mutual relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. Important also is for the two, the interviewer and the interviewee to journey together as the search for this hidden knowledge begins. In this study, it would be otherwise difficult to imagine a situation where a subject willingly reveals his HIV status. A relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is no option. Trust has to be built so that the interviewee does not suspect betrayal by the interviewer. HIV and AIDS is not like most of the phenomena in any field of study, it is associated with a lot of stigmatization and discrimination. This makes interview not obvious. Only when assurance of mutuality is provided, can the respondent consider divulging information about his status. So gathering information about HIV depends on one's expertise to

interact with the interviewee. Writing on the same note, Henning has this to say concerning semi-structured interviews:

> Various authors have addressed a "non standard" way of interviewing in which "talk as a social action" (Baker, 1997:130) is investigated. In this perspective on interviewing, the respondents are seen as social actors who are interacting with an interviewer and who are at the same time involved in the discursive practice. This means that the interviewer as speech or communication genre in itself yields information of a specific type. Although researchers usually judge the content of interviews as believable, fewer inquire into the actions involved in making the communicative event of interviewing happen by both interviewer and interviewee that Kvale writes about (1996:15). The discourse of interviewing, as a part of information gathering and also an act of knowledge making, consists of a set of its own conversations (Holiday,2001:124); (Mishler1984 in Gubrium an Holstein, 2002:17). These conversations can be explored in discourse analytic mode, in which the language patterns and their relation to social structures are used as ways of making sense out of the data. They can also be interpreted or analyzed ethno methodologically, which means that the turn taking, the beginnings and ends of the interview "sense" (Psathas 1995), episodes or turns or the sequencing of communication, the way membership of the group impacts on the participation, and the type of language and imagery all play a part in the meaning making process (Henning, 2013: 57).

In the above quotation, Henning's feelings are that those who interview participants are also co-constructors of the meaning (the data) whether they intend to be or not. A good example is the encouraging "Hmmm" uttered by the interviewer who wishes the respondent to continue after a pause is more than just a "word of encouragement" or a prompt to continue. It also means the interviewer is interested in the line of thought and wants to pursue it (Ibid, 2013:57).

The implication of Henning's inference is indicative of the importance of rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee. Both of them immensely contribute to the meaning making through discursive discourses and this is characteristic of semi-structured interview. Applying this method in this study would yield meaningful results. The way Henning portrays this method appears to be triangulation in itself. It is a twofold restoration, a structured and unstructured method. It is structured in that the questions are formulated to guide the discourse and unstructured in that the questions are

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not binding or compelling. There is a reasonable degree of flexibility (Grix, 2010:28). In a way, although the interviewer is in control of the interview, he is also conversant with the importance of maximizing the frequency of the respondent's voice which is the source of data gathering. In spite of the fact that the method seems to be more appropriate, it is still prone to some limitations.

2.15.6 Disadvantages of semi-structured interviews

Under normal circumstance, a method will have both strengths and limitations. This applies even to semi-structured interviews. In this study, the method had a challenge of time. It has been already alluded to in the previous paragraphs that the area under study is predominantly rural and remote. It was a challenge conducting interviews in such a set up. To calculate time needed for the discussion during the interview and time to move from one point to the other, may suggest that the method is time consuming. To cover much ground, one has to spend little time on one interviewee, shorten the discussion and quickly leave. This in its own may compromise the quality of the interview. A lot of information is omitted because the one conducting the interview has to meet with another interviewee. This method is different from a group discussion which has the entire participants at one place.

Semi-structured interview requires the interviewer to meet with the interviewees separately at the appointed venues. This suggests that the interviewer has little time with one interviewee. It also suggests that he will spend much of his time moving from place to place meeting with other interviewees. The whole process becomes very expensive. It is expensive in terms of time as well as financially. If it were a focus group or a group discussion, it would be better. The entire participants would be met at one point and the relative cost would be reasonable. In the case of semi-interviews, travelling has to be budgeted for. Travelling in Binga is a big challenge because of poor the transport system. This means that a car has to be arranged specifically for this exercise (Bless, 2013: 261). This method was not favoured in the study.

The second challenge associated with the semi-structured interviews, was the problem of standardization and analysis. A highly structured interview would make life easy

because of its standardization. Its interview questions are predetermined and are also one and same for all interviewees.

 In the semi-structured, it is different because there are no predetermined questions. Therefore it may not be that easy to analyze data (Ibid, 2013:216). This problem links yet to a third challenge which Moore (2001:27) calls an interview bias. For Moore, interview bias is possible in a semi-structured interview. This is because of its nature which allows a great degree of flexibility (Moore, 2001:27). In this method, interviewees are given the freedom of choice as well as choice of expression. They may at their free will choose what to say and what not say. The onus is theirs, to narrate relevantly to the interviewer or to divert. This is due to social desirability.

A fourth challenge is like the third one. In semi structured interviews, only particular areas of interest to the interviewee will be explained by him or her and consequently other areas will receive less coverage (Ibid, 2001:27). A good example is the aspect of HIV and AIDS. It will be difficult to discuss such an embarrassing subject like HIV and AIDS, worse between a male researcher and female respondents. The subjects may refrain from talking about their AIDS status and talk generally about the disease. This requires the expertise of the interviewer to tell when the deviation occurs; else the intended goal may not be realized.   These among possible others, makes the method not absolute. However, one would still appreciate its relevance to the study. An augment method to semi-structured would be the unstructured method.

2.15.7 Unstructured interview

Unstructured and structured interviews are the most common extremes found in qualitative research methods. Between them is the semi-structured interview which has a bit of each of these methods' characteristics. The unstructured interview is a form of conversation where the interviewer has no predetermined questions (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008:826). An interview of a more structured type may allow the interviewer to probe the respondents' answer so that they can, if necessary, be clarified.   The interviewer may also be allowed to prompt the interviewee, that is, give them extra guidance to help them answer the question.   In the context of this study, a befitting

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example could be, "What is the impact of HIV and AIDS on your culture?" this question may be broad and ambiguous for the interviewee. The question should then be rephrased as, "What do you think are the consequences of a married man having an extra marital affair in this era of HIV and AIDS?" Another question could also be asked, "Are women in your community more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS than their male counterparts?" The interviewer's intention here is to help the respondent to be precise.

Unstructured interviewing is a very important research method because of its flexibility, both in terms of content and time, and can be tailored to suit one's research questions, respondents, and the researcher's own life style much more effectively than many other qualitative methods (Lee and Lings,2008: 218). The aim of this method is to tap deeply into the respondent's own experience, feelings and opinions. The confusion between unstructured and semi-structured interviews is cleared by Lee and Ling as follows:

> While unstructured and semi-structured are the essentially two ends of continuum, they provide a useful contrast. In a totally unstructured interview, the interviewer will at the most use a few brief topics, sometimes just one to prompt the interviewee, who is then allowed to respond however they want. Probing by interviewer is only done to follow up points of interest or to keep things going on smoothly. Conversantly, the semi-structured interview is guided by a more detailed topic guide which will contain some fairly specific questions to ask, and likely ways of probing, examples to ask for and so on. There remains a lot flexibility to follow up individual points, but in general the same questions will be asked of each interviewee (Lee and Lings, 2008:218).

This expression impresses that the two methods are not the same. Unstructured interviews are usually used when the interviewer feels that even a basic structure will impose a particular worldview on interviewees, and prejudice access to their internal views, feelings and experiences. Semi-structured interviews are used when the interviewer wants to allow the freewill of the interviewee but at the same time wishes to limit this same freewill.

In more unstructured interviews the conversation develops naturally, unless the respondent fails to cover an area in which the researcher is interested. Eventually the interviewer will direct the conversation to come back to the area he wishes to cover (op. cit. Haralambos and Holborn, 2008:826). Some interviewers have a schedule of topics

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they wish to cover and they make sure that at some point the conversation comes back to these topics. Some feminist researchers, such as Ann Oakley are advocates of unstructured interviews in which the interviewer and person being interviewed become collaborators in the research and sometimes friends. Critical social researchers also usually prefer unstructured interviewing (-Ibid, 2008:826). Haralambos appreciates how Ann Oakley portrays and defends the use of unstructured interview as follows:

> Perhaps the best known and most influential argument that there should be distinctive feminist research methods is advanced by Ann Oakley (1981). In particular, she argues that there is a feminist way of conducting interviews which is superior to a more dominant masculine model of such research. Through examination of methodology books, Oakley is able to discover the main features of the masculine approach to interviewing. She says the paradigm of the "proper" interview appeals to such values as objectively, detachment, hierarchy and "science" as an important cultural activity which takes precedence over people's more individualized concerns.

> Although they can be friendly in order to establish minimum rapport, interviewers must maintain their distance. They should not allow interviewees ask them questions. The interviewees must be manipulated as "objects of study or source of data". They must have a passive role, and must never become active in shaping the interview.

> Interview of this type emphasizes the importance of producing reliable data that can be repeated and checked. Interviewers should not express opinions of their own. To do so will influence the answers of the respondents and lead to bias in the research.

> Having outlined the masculine approach to interviewing, Oakley proceeds to suggest a feminist alternative. She once consulted women on about becoming mothers. At times she was even there when a child was born. On average, most women would want to ask her questions.

> These women would ask Oakley questions about her research and some of them about children, others even about child care. Instead of avoiding them, Oakley would let them ask questions. She later decided to make the research more collaborative. Instead of her looking at women as passive respondents, she wanted them become her collaborators and friends. Indeed, it was after the interviewees who took the initiative in developing the relationship further. Many

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expressed the interest in the research and wanted to become more involved (Haralambos and Holborn, 2008: 809).

To comment on Oakley's approach to unstructured interview, one could read between the lines that she was writing from a feministic bias. It appears that Oakley was emotional and even went to some extreme. This could be evidenced by the way she viewed the masculine approach to unstructured interviews. If not careful, one would even think that she was actually referring to the highly structured interview and not unstructured. Fine, she made a distinction between masculine and feminist approaches, but her position seems to be a radical feminist approach. She frantically opposed the use of even a short guide or even schedule for the interviewer to refer to during the interviews, saying that this could prejudice the interviewees.

However, examining Oakley's perception with positive lenses, one could appreciate the philosophical perspective of a totally unstructured interview. She made sure not to exploit her female respondents. She did not only avoid exploitation of these females but also wanted to come even closer to them and even wanted to help them understand what it meant to be mothers.

The relationship between Oakley and her interviewees is a twofold restoration. They are both beneficiaries of the study. The inquirer does not only aim at and end by getting the knowledge she wants, but goes further and renders the interviewees the necessary assistance they want. In ethics, this is what Paul Oliver would call "intrinsic and instrumental good" (Oliver, 2011:11). By this inference, Oliver means that it is not proper for the interviewer to only aim at getting the sought truth about his study. The interviewer should also consider reciprocating the interviewee's resourcefulness. In simple terms, both of them should benefit from the one and same discourse. In spite of strengths, there are still weaknesses inherent in this method.

2.15.7.1 Limitations of method

The validity of a method is measured against its applicability; user-friendliness and results orientation. The method should be easy to use by the interviewer. The main aim of any study interview is to realize maximum results. If therefore a method fails to meet

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these expectations, it cannot be absolute and one should use it cautiously. Equally so, unstructured interviews have some weaknesses inherent in them. Although Oakley feels that even a small guide would prejudice the interviewees, it might be even more difficult to conduct a research interview simply without this guide. Doing so may suggest that the interviewer is illogical and the whole exercise may lack consistency. It should be remembered well that interviews are not carried cout aimlessly but they help the interviewer to respond to his research questions. By virtue this implies that the interviewer ought to have some form of guide or schedule which would assist in formulating interview questions, verbal or written (Lee and Lings, 2008:218). Without a guide, the interview can quickly descend into either chaos, when the interviewee goes off on completely irrelevant tangents such as relating stories of their birthday party, which had happened to them or awkward silence when one has no idea what to say next (Ibid,2008:218). The interview should flow well. It should start with broad topics and be followed by more detailed probing. With unstructured interviews, it may be difficult to remember all the questions one intends to ask the interviewees. Important questions may even be forgotten during the interviewing period. Furthermore, data analysis may not be easy because there is no guarantee that questions will be the same to different interviewees, and as such the responses from these interviewees. However, these limitations may not overshadow the strengths of the method.

2.16 Other forms of interviews

Apart from the commonly known and widely used modes of interviews; unstructured; semi-structured and structured, are other forms, such as telephone, e-mail and mail which are also considered by researchers. Coming at the end of the continuum is not pushing them to the periphery of application but is to categorize them.

The first set in the array, the unstructured, and semi-structured and the structured interviews have one commonality namely, the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee is facially done. The interviewer is practically present face to face with the respondents. However, in the second set, the telephone; the mail and the e-mail, the interaction is remote. The two participants, the interviewer and the interviewee are distant from each other. In the study, this method was not used.

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The conventional interview, whether individual or group, involves the interviewer sitting down face- to face with participants asking questions and responding to their answers. However, not all qualitative research takes place in such a setting. The telephone interview has been used in social scientific research for many years, and more recently there has been a rapid growth in the use of online interviewing (King and Horrocks,2010:79). Not surprisingly, the use of such remote interviewing techniques raises some issues that are not apparent in the face-to- face interviews. Equally, different challenges arise for different forms of remote interview, associated with the time frame of data collection and data collected (-Ibid, 2010:79). King and Horrocks give a luminary general provision of three reasons for remote interviews as follows:

> Qualitative researchers tend to use remote interviews for one (or more) of three reasons: Physical distance from participants, availability of participants, and the nature of the interview topic. Perhaps the most obvious advantages of remote interviewing is that it can facilitate the inclusion of the participants who are geographically distant from the interviewer, without the need for time consuming and expensive travel or the recruitment of local interviewers. International research becomes viable for even modest resourced projects especially where online methods are to be used.

> In some studies, access difficulties are not due to distance so much as the ability and willingness of participants to make time to take part in a face to face interview. In such cases, the use of the remote technique may be an acceptable alternative for them, as it enables them to schedule telephone interview at a time that suits them, or respond to e-mailed questions at their own convenience. Sometimes, the reason for the use of remote interviews is not the location or the availability of participants but the nature of the topic. Remote interviewing may also be preferred for some sensitive topics because the greater sense anonymity felt by the participants may help them feel more willing to disclose their personal stories than they would face-to-face (Joinson,2001; Opdenakket,2006). A good example is Egan, Chenoweth and McAuliffe's (2006) use of e-mail interview with traumatic brain injury survivors. These participants would struggle with the demands of immediate response in a face-to-face interview, due to the cognitive-linguistic impairments caused by their injury. The written and asynchronous nature of e-mail interaction enabled them to take the time they needed to reflect on the questions and respond effectively (King and Horrocks, 2010:80).

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This long quote by King and Horrocks lays bare the multiple interview methods at the exposal of any study. Each nature of interview mode has its own advantages and disadvantages. All these methods can be applied to any study depending on suitability. The nature of the study title and research questions determines the suitability of a research method. A method may seem to be good but fail to sustain the expectations of research question. Using such a method may then mean doing so with due caution. However, the study still considered using some if not all of these remote interviews.

2.16.1 Telephone interviews

This is one of the most common modes of remote interviewing. It can be used before the official interview as a means of initiating an appointment. The interviewer can first identify his respondents and make interview arrangements by telephone. It can also be used as a follow up after the interview. After the first contact, the interviewer may consider making a follow up for more information and telephoning may be less expensive. This method requires searching for telephone numbers of the interviewees ahead of call time (Zororo, 2004:58). Telephone interviews are particularly useful when dealing with a sample that normally would have telephones in their homes or interviewees who are geographically scattered. It is also relatively less expensive making a follow up using a telephone than considering driving to the field of study.

However, this method was not very popular in Binga because of some scarcity of facilities such as cell phones. Its applicability is only limited to making follow ups to few individuals with cell phones. The community in which the study was conducted is less privileged in as far as technological gadgets are concerned. The composition of the subjects includes old women who might not value the access of these telephone gadgets. To those who value them, affordability may be restrictive due to high prices. This is evidenced by a group interview conducted on the 2nd of August 2014 in Tinde under chief Pashu. The sample was nineteen (19) in number. After interviewing them, a deliberate move to request cell phone numbers was made so that follow ups could be made. It was not a surprise to learn that only seven people out of nineteen had cell phones. This is

how difficult it could be trying to conduct interviews in Binga using remote modes such as telephones. It means that only a few subjects can be interviewed through telephones.

What King sees as advantages concerning sensitivity may not be true for all cases. King and Horrocks feel that telephone interviews are convenient when dealing with sensitive topics such as cancer. They say that because of the great possibility of anonymity, interviewees can relate their personal stories comfortably (King and Horrocks, 2010:79). In this study, King and Horrocks' assumptions may not yield fruitful result. The study is about culture and HIV and AIDS. Both culture and HIV are sensitive phenomena. Culture concerns norms and values, rites and rituals which might not be ethical to relate over the phone. People in Binga need particular care when dealing with them. The interviewer should make sure that he creates a good relationship with his subjects so as to provide a more conducive interview atmosphere. Equally, HIV and AIDS is a highly sensitive topic. For someone to talk freely about his or her HIV status there should be some sense of confidentiality and trust between him or her and the inquirer.

In view of this, telephone interviews can offer limited practical relevance, depending on the nature of the community and topic of study. However, in this study cell phone services were necessary for follow ups. Interviews such as face-to-face, group interviews were conducted first, then follow ups would be made by phone.

2.16.2 Mail or e-mail interviews

This remote mode of data gathering is usually in the form of a questionnaire which the researcher sends the interviewee by mail (Zororo, 2004:60). Usually a cover letter which has full details of the interviewer and the purpose of the study is enclosed. Like many other research methods, it has some advantages and disadvantages. Selecting it for use in a study, all depends on its merits.

2.16.3 Advantages of mailed interview

This method was used in the study to access information from a white community in South Africa. Five questionnaires were e-mailed. The most important advantage of using posted questionnaires is that a large coverage of population can be realized with little

time or cost. It is relatively easy to select a large number of people in different areas of a country and send them questionnaires by mail (Bless, 2013:199). Also, since respondents are asked to mail back the filled out questionnaires without indicating their names, anonymity is assured and this will make it easy for them to answer honestly (King and Horrocks, 2010:80). At the same time, bias due to the personal characteristics of interviewers is avoided. Questions which might require reflection on or consultation before answering, may also be more appropriately dealt with when the respondent has more time in which to answer and is not under pressure from an interviewer waiting for a response (op cit,2013:199). Although these advantages seem to be considerable, self-administered questionnaires in general, and mail questionnaires in particular, have many disadvantages, especially when used in developing countries.

2.16.4 Disadvantages of mailed or e-mailed questionnaires

The main prerequisites for the use of mail questionnaires are a sufficient level of literacy and familiarity with the language used. These are usually satisfied by a large proportion of the population of less industrialized countries (Bless, Ibid, 2013: 199). In countries where different languages are spoken, one may be obliged to participate using a language other than one's home language. A related issue is when sending out questionnaires; it is not usually possible to asses in advance whether or not the respondent has this minimum level of literacy (Ibid, 2010:199). Here, writing from an African context, Bless' perception and assumptions seem to be a true reflection of what the study encountered. Although the language used in interviews was Tonga, the local language, the aspect of the relevant literacy remains uncertain. This is obviously different from the face-to-face interview experience where the interviewer is physically present with the interviewee. Interaction can be in the local language and then translated into English by the researcher later on. In the case of a sent mail, it remains uncertain whether or not the incumbent informant can read and write. For this reason and because of social constraints, people other than the chosen participant may fill out questionnaires. In particular, many heads of household consider it their prerogative to answer for their wives, daughters or their dependents. Similarly, managers may ask their secretary or other subordinates to fill in the questionnaire for them (Ibid, 2013:199).

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Moreover, the response rate for mailed questionnaires tends to be very low. Very often out of the total number of questionnaires sent out, only 20 to 40% are returned (Zororo, 2004:58). Bless' conceptualizes poor returns and other demerits of mailed questionnaires as follows:

> Poor returns of mailed questionnaires owes to a number of factors. The respondent may have not received the questionnaire due to poor mail service in rural areas, or, in the case of women, they may have married and changed their name and residence, or the questionnaire may have been confiscated by their husband. It could also be that the participant lacks interest and has misplaced the questionnaire or cannot be bothered to fill it in. To these unreturned questionnaires, must be added the high number of incorrectly or incompletely filled- out ones that will have to be discarded. It is very common for respondents of self-administered questionnaires to skip over difficult or embarrassing questions, thereby spoiling the whole questionnaire.

> This low response rate has negative consequences for the quality of the study. The representativeness of the sample may be undermined since non-respondents are usually quite different from respondents. They may have particular features such as being poorly educated, old, and female with no stable residence, or be suspicious of the research. Their absence from the sample will constitute an important bias. It is possible to increase the response rate by using a cover letter convincing the respondents of the relevance of research, by adding a self-addressed stamped envelope to the questionnaire, and by keeping the questionnaire short and well formulated. Nevertheless, low response rate remains a source of bias in the mail questionnaire method (Bless, 2013:199).

Bless has touched on pertinent issues here. He has outlined what is practical and this is what was experienced in the pursued study. The aspect of attitude is pertinent. The attitude of respondents towards the questionnaire might be unfriendly. HIV and AIDS has been perceived negatively by many people. It has been associated with discrimination and stigmatization. More often than not, people who are HIV positive have been labelled promiscuous and this has made them feel unwelcomed in the society (Igo, 2009:3). There is a gulf between those who are HIV positive and those who are not. Acceptance of one another is not obvious. It can be imagined how difficult it could be for someone to openly read and answer a questionnaire with HIV and AIDS related issues. This sends a wrong signal to other members of the family. A wrong conclusion is

based on a wrong assumption made. For this reason, it might be a bit difficult for respondents to fill in the questionnaire. They can also not fill it in private, in case they want to consult, although consultation might also be another problem in itself.

In a Tonga culture, females might not be courageous enough to fill the questionnaire on their own without consulting their husbands. On the other hand, they may also not consult their husbands for fear of suspicion and victimization. In most areas of Binga, Tonga females have maintained their culture of loyalty and faithfulness to their marriage. It is mostly men who have abandoned this culture and adopted the western culture which seems to have no hard and fast rule for extra marital relations (Haddad, 2011:258). Since the main aim of the study is to maximize the voice of the female subjects, cultural constraints might hinder progress. Males might not want to see their wives in possession of papers like these questionnaires, let alone completing them. For men, it is an accusation. They might feel otherwise threatened. Culturally this will yield no good result.

Another aspect cited by Bless is access to the internet. It has already been alluded to in previous paragraphs that Binga is underdeveloped. To imagine old women having access to facilities such as internets is wishful thinking. Internets can only be found in some parts of Binga and affordability is a restriction. This would lead to poor representativeness which would in turn result in a biased study. Internet services cannot be hired to fill in issues of confidentiality and personal life experience. This means that even those people who are privileged to access computers and internets may not be willing to lend them for use. One can also factor in the question of literacy. Very few people may be computer literate; hence filling in a questionnaire on an e-mail may be a big challenge.

In view of the above examined possible challenges, remote e-mailed interviews such as mailed and e-mailed questionnaires was only used to get a wide perspective on the issue of culture and how it influences HIV and AIDS. Otherwise, the method was of little effect in the study.

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2.16.5 Recording interviews

Recording is not an interview in itself but is an interview tool or aid. It is used to record interviews which can either be face-to-face or via the telephone. Of course, gaining access to social situation, or individual, or group, is not the final piece in the data collection.. Once this is done, one should have some way of recording his data. Recording devices such as tape recorder, video recorder, or in today's high-tech world, some kind of digital recording device can be used (King and Lings, 2008:227). Recording an interview should be done in a meticulous manner. One way to do that is by writing down answers that can be time consuming and may become distracting. Perhaps, a tape recorder should be used to record the interview, but permission should be sought before recording is started. Even if the tape is used to record the interview, it is often helpful to take notes so that one can review the answers and ask additional questions at the end of the interview (Maree, 2013:89). The tape should be played and listened to the end of the interview. This helps to review the notes, and reflect on the interview to identify gaps that should be explored in a follow-up interview. Written record is also important for the purpose of data analysis. Although not tabled here, Maree has provided a simple shortened transcript of an interview which following it, would make a good dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee (-Ibid, 2013:89). On the other hand recording makes the interviewer mindless about time consuming in note taking. It frees one's mind to concentrate on the progress of interview, enhancing one's ability to build rapport, and react to interesting information. During the study findings, little of this method was used. The Tonga females did not easily want to be recorded.

Devices such as audio tapes are helpful facilities in research verbal discourse such as ethnography and other forms of interviews other than mailed questionnaires. Tapes of naturally occurring interaction are usually transcribed prior (and as part of) data analysis (Silverman, 2004:43). In this study, both audio and video recording were considered. This aimed to augment note-taking and maximize data gathering. Audiotapes made in other research meetings can also be transcribed if they render valid information needed for the study. These can be a helpful aid to data gathering. Even videos of different settings can be considered so long as they have the needed information. It will be better

and easier listening to Tonga people telling their stories than trying to make sense of illegible written questionnaires. Some old people may have unclear handwriting which might be difficult to read. However, the method was not very popular as expected before.

On the other hand, audio and videotapes have some limitations to note. Audio recording is done in the local language of the interviewees. Therefore, the interviewer should be conversant with the local language in which the study is conducted; else the objectives of the study might not be fulfilled. Although Tonga language may not be an issue in this study, it remains incumbent upon the interviewer to carry out all the research in Tonga and then translate everything into English.

Tonga has some dialects which should be mastered so as to remain on the right track. If not careful, same words may have different meanings altogether. A good example is a Tonga word, 'Lila'. This word is used differently in Binga. In some parts of Bing the word means, "Cry" while in other areas it means "stand up." It can be appreciated the possibility of serious distortion of information if the word is understood from a different context. This implies that knowing Tonga or staying in Binga may not suffice for Tonga interpretation.

Secondly, the recording device has to be pre-tested prior to usage. If not tested, it may be discovered later that the tape did not produce a quality recording. This could have been either due to poor background or something else. This might compromise the quality of the data obtained in this way. Another challenge of data collected using tapes relates to a possibility of the tape getting lost or mixing up the session sequence. This means that the tape should be played and transcription done immediately after the interview. Video tapes can be equally a challenge as an aid to information gathering. Transcribing audio information is better than transcribing video information. With audiotapes, what the informant narrates as his story can be heard loud and clear. In this way, interpretation and transcription of data may not be difficult. On the other hand, videotapes are different from audiotapes.

There are challenges associated with this device of data gathering. Videos may not be that easy to interpret. Picture information needs expertise to transcribe. The study is

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about culture and HIV and AIDS. To access and assess information on HIV using what is seen and not told may be deceiving. The study aims at optimum accuracy of the Tonga worldview in the context of HIV and AIDS. Videos may not be as interactive as other devices. This remained a big challenge for the undertaken study, because confidentiality remained the great expectation of the project.

However, the above methods should not be just dismissed as void. Each method depends on how and where it is applied. The relevance of a method varies with the situation and context in which it is applied. In view of this, the study considered both devices, audio and video recording, but to a lesser extent. The video was a reminder while the audio enhanced the undertaking.

2.16.6 Organizing an interview

This study considered interviews as the main method of information gathering. This is due to unavailability of Tonga literature. During a literature survey, it was difficult to come across Tonga literature. This could be because of the nature of this ethnic group. Seemingly the colonial government and even the post-colonial government did not invest significant interest in developing Binga educationally. For this reason, there was just a trace of Tonga literature available. What there is for this study is literature from other circles and it was used in a Tonga context. Therefore interviews should be well organized and managed. This planning of interviews included formulation of a study guide in the case of semi-structured and completely structured interviews. Some few guiding questions were included in the guide. Planning also included sampling of respondents from the available study population. It also considered venue and time of contact.

2.16.7 Formulation of a study guide

Planning an interview involves the consideration of the formulation of a study guide which includes a few pertinent questions which serves as a guide in the actual conducting of an interview. Warren (2002: 86) explores the metaphor of (travelling with the interviewer). This metaphor captures some of the epistemological and discourse issues which Henning argues for (Henning, 2013: 70). Here the one conducting the study plans

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to travel or wander with the respondent who has agreed to respond. The study should implement a design that will afford a companionable journey. Accessing knowledge from research subjects means creating a relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee and the two should journey together to an intended destination. Unlike in the ethnography, this guide is meant to guide the interview as such. Five to seven questions should be included in the guide. The purpose of these questions is to help the interview flow smoothly by constantly referring to the set questions. However, this schedule may not be of significance to completely unstructured interviews. The guide only applies to the semi-structured and completely structured interviews.

2.16.8 Sampling of respondents for interviews

Having formulated questions and the interview guide next is the consideration of study subjects. A selection of the representatives has to be done before interviews are conducted. The sample size of this study has been already mentioned in chapter one. In this chapter sampling is given as a general selection method. Sampling unless otherwise, indicated, refers to the process used to select a portion of the population for study. Qualitative research is generally based on non-probability and purposive sampling rather than probability or random sampling approaches (Maree, 2013:79). Purposive sampling simply means that participants are selected because of some defining characteristic that makes them the holders of the data needed for the study (ibid, 2013:79). Sampling decision are therefore made for the explicit purpose of obtaining the richest possible source of information to answer the research questions. Qualitative research usually involves smaller sizes than quantitative research studies. Sampling in a qualitative study is flexible and often continues until no new themes emerge from the data collection process (Ibid, 2013:79).

There are quite a number of sampling methods at the exposal of any study. However, this study considered the most commonly used methods such as purposive sampling, random and criterion sampling.

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2.16.8.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling means selecting participants according to pre-selected criteria relevant to a particular research question. In this study sample size may exceed the suggested ten in chapter one. This is necessitated by what Maree (2013) calls saturation of themes which may not be predetermined in the study. Proper sizing depends on the resource and time available for the study (Maree, 2013:79). It may be difficult to determine the size of sampling because of the dynamics of the phenomena under study. HIV and AIDS have some characteristics which may not be extensively exhausted in a single study. Therefore data saturation in this case can only be determined after the study itself.

2.16.8.2 Criterion sampling

Criterion sampling often overlaps with some of the other sampling strategies identified by Patton (1990). Criterion sampling implies that the one carrying a study decides at the design stage of a study the typical characteristics of the participants to be included (criteria to be met) and the number of participants. Criteria might include age, place of residence, gender, class, profession, marital status, use of a particular strategy, a specific learning barrier and many more (Maree, 2013:80). The criteria chosen should assist in the selection of participants most likely to possess the experience or know about, or have insight into the research topic. The one conducting a study therefore goes into the community and finds people who fit these criteria, until he has met the required number or has saturated the data.

In this study, this method of sampling was of much relevance following that it provides a wide range of selection criterion. Concerning age, a range has been given that informants aged between 20 and 50 years was considered. It has also been alluded to that the respondents were predominantly rural folk. This implies that those residents in rural homes and some growth points were both considered as rural respondents. However, flexibility concerning the type of these respondents with regard to their residence may be considered. Restriction to selection might not give the optimum expected coverage. To

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strike a balance, the respondents comprised of non-professional and professional in their diversity.

2.16.8.3 Snowball sampling

Snowball also known as chain sampling is a method whereby participants with whom contact has already been made are used to penetrate their social networks to refer the one conducting the study to other participants who could potentially take part in or contribute to the study. This method is often used to find "hidden population", that is, groups not easily accessible to those conducting studies through other sampling strategies (Ibid, 2013: 80). Snowball sampling is an extension of the other two methods mentioned above. These forms of sampling are all related, with one common denominator: the people most suitable to "wander with" on the research journey are selected at the time that they are needed (Henning, 2013:71). They represent a theoretical 'population' in that they are spokespersons for the topic of inquiry, hence the notion of "theoretical" sampling. Although some elements of findings may be transferable to other settings, the methods are not representative of a population and the findings from the interview cannot be generalized to a population (Ibid, 2013:71).

2.16.9 Challenges of sampling

Each and every method selected for any study has its own challenges. In the case of this study, sampling was not very easy due to the sensitivity of some of the phenomena involved. Silverman buttresses the point as follows:

> At a recent meeting of social scientists working on HIV and AIDS, much concern was expressed about the difficulty of recruiting a sample of population prepared to answer researcher's questions about their sexual behaviour. As a result, it was suggested that a subsequent meeting should be convened at which we could swap tips about how to recruit such sample.

> Now, of course this issue of recruiting a sample is basic to survey research. And for potentially 'delicate' matters, like the elicitation of accounts of sexual behaviour, survey researchers are quite properly concerned about finding willing respondents (Silverman, 2004: 95).

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Silverman's point is plain. Although it is important for people to discuss and talk about HIV and AIDS, as a means of trying to stop its spread, it is equally important to know that only a few individuals will be willing to talk about it. Sampling in this case may not be that easy. The quotation therefore aims at demonstrating the potential challenges a study can experience. People might not be willing to offer their services as respondents. After sampling of respondents and interviews, the study findings are therefore analysed. The next step is therefore data analysis.

2.17 Data Analysis

To analyse literally means to take apart words, sentences and paragraphs, which is an important act in research projects in order to make sense of, interpret and theories that data. Henning (2013) refers to analysing as to break into bits and pieces, or to break down the data which Miles and Huberman (1994) label as 'coding' and Day (1993) refers to as "categorizing". Day (1993:30) describes data analysis as a process of resolving data into its constituents, parts-or components, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure. This data analysis was contained in chapter four.

Data analysis is an ongoing process in research. This is because as the study, will probably have far too much data to incorporate fully into a thesis it could ask questions of it for several years to come (Wisker, 2008:313). In the interpretive paradigm, inductive data analysis is preferred to deductive data analysis which is used by the positivist paradigm. Interpretivism is based on the assumption that there is no one reality but many, and researchers therefore carry out their studies in natural contexts to reach the best possible understanding.

2.17.1 Purpose of data analysis in the study

Once the data have been collected, it will need to be processed and analysed. The methods used for gathering and analysing the data are, taken together, known as the research methods (Walshaw, 2012:73). The importance of data analysis should not be understated. It forms the key link between the study findings and conclusion. Systematic analytical methods lead to sound results and findings, which then form the basis of the drawn conclusion.

Importantly, data collected in form of interviews, survey sheets, field notes, journals, video and audio files, photo copies, and any other modes of information, needs to be transcribed before actually sorting takes place.

In open-ended interviews, the aim is to treat the respondent's answers as describing some external reality such as facts and events or internal experience such as feelings and meanings. Tape recorded interviews like text and tapes of natural occurring interaction, allows the researcher to return to his data in its original forms as often as he wishes. In qualitative research, small numbers of texts and documents may be analysed for a very different purpose. Here the aim is to understand the participant's categories and to see how these are used in concrete activities like telling stories, Propp (1968) or describing family life Sacks, (1974). All this is done gradually as a process. As a guideline, some authors have identified some principles for data analysis. Silverman has stressed this point as follows:

> Qualitative analysis takes place throughout the data collection process. As such, the researcher will constantly reflect on impressions, relationships and connections while collecting data. The search for similarities and differences, categories, themes, concepts and ideas form part of the continuous process.

> An analysis concerns with reading all the data and then dividing the data into smaller and more meaningful units.

> Data segments or units are organized into a system that is predominantly derived from the data, which implies that the analysis is inductive.

> The researcher uses comparison to build and refine categories, to define conceptual similarities and to discover partners.

> Importantly, the analysis should truly reflect the respondent's perceptions (Silverman, 2004:122).

What Silverman (2004:122) has done here, is a clear demonstration of the importance of data analysis and the process and methods involved. This study derived and benefited the principles and procedures from Silverman and others. Data analysis is a process and it should be stated from the outset that there was not necessarily a chapter on analysis although a section was considered in chapter 4.

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2.18 Ethical Considerations

The word 'ethics' is derived from word 'ethos' meaning one's character or disposition. It is related to the term 'morality', derived from Latin term moralist, meaning one's manners or character (Bless, 2013:28). A moral issue is concerned with whether behaviour is right or wrong, whereas an ethical issue is concerned with whether the behaviour conforms to a code or set of principles (Ibid, 2013:28).

The idea of codes of good practices for different professionals has been very well established since the Middle Ages and even before. The ethical code governing medicine originates with the Hippocratic Oath that dates back to 5th century BC. Today, the ethical code of medical professionals who deal with life and death is understood by ordinary people all over the world (Ibid, 2013: 28). The puzzling question to many people is where do these ethical rules come from and who decides what is and what is not ethical. These ethical codes of science are not based on either values or rules of any particular society or religion. Instead, they are based upon the principle of reciprocity. Stated very simple, the principle of reciprocity is that one should treat others as he would like to be treated by others (Ibid, 2013: 28). At its heart this principle recognizes that all individual human beings should enjoy the same rights and protections. As a result the ethics of science are closely connected to the philosophy of human rights, as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (UDHR) (Ibid, 2013:28).

It is pertinent to mention here that in this study, ethical concerns are not referring to principles and procedures pertaining to interviews only but to the whole principles guiding the study as a whole. At times ethical considerations are taken to refer to some sensitive topics and or situations only. Ethical issues are not optional in any study which involves humanity. Ethical considerations are applied through the whole study, from the research ideas to the final part of the project.

2.18.1 Ethics and research terminologies.

Research in the social sciences is often concerned with collecting data from people. Almost inevitably this raises questions about the way in which people who provide data should be treated by researchers, and as such questions are often ethical in nature (Oliver,

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2011:3). Social science research data may exist in a variety of forms. The data may be collected directly as during interview, or while observing a group of people. Alternatively the data may consist of artefacts produced by people such as diaries or perhaps more unconventionally, the contents of a waste bin in an office. In research literature there are a number of terms which are used to describe people who provide data, such as research subjects, participants, respondents, informants or terms such as interviewee to reflect data collection method which has been employed (Ibid, 2011: 4). At first sight, the terms which are used to describe people who provide data may seem relatively unimportant. For instance, the word "subject" perhaps carries the implication that something is being done to them, while the term "participant" implies that something is being carried out in conjunction with them. During the research process, the distinction could be quite important (Ibid, 2011:4).

An ethical challenge is that the term "subject" seems to suggest non active participation of the data provider during information gathering. It appears as if they have no role to play in the research programme other than to be used by the researcher (Ibid, 2011: 4). This bears a negative implication on the participants. As such ethically it is wrong to view data provided in this manner. In this study, it is important to remember that dealing with data providers is dealing with humanity and dealing with humanity is dealing with ethical implication which calls for human dignity. The study considered treading with due caution considering that the data providers may be HIV positive. Terms referring to data providers should be sensitive of human rights. They should not be harmful to people who provide data. In short, it is important to consider ethical factors right from the beginning of the study to the end.

2.18.2 Ethical consideration before data gathering

It is easy to imagine that a study is a completely sequential process, which involves one stage leading logically on to the next, and so on. Life would be lot simpler if that were the case. In fact research is much more likely to be an activity which considers diverse issues simultaneously (Ibid, 2011:26). The thought about selecting prospective respondents and the method of selecting these respondents are some of the considerations to make in the process. Here one would also think of the principle of informed consent.

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A central feature of social science research ethics is the principle that participants should be fully informed about a research project before they assent to taking part. This principle is usually known as informed consent. This means that the participant is fully informed about the research and he willingly, agrees to participate in the project. The participants need to know that their privacy and sensitivity are protected and what is going to happen with their information thereafter (Ibid, 2011: 26). It may sound easy to do but a lot is involved in the process. The consent should be accompanied by a letter in which organizations also consent to the use of their sites and name (Henning, 2013:73). In this study, the constituent of participants included Methodist Church groups such as the Women's Fellowship. The study does not make Methodist Church a particular consideration, but that it is easily accessible in the geographical area of study. Be that as it may, two consent letters were considered. The one was from the head of the Methodist Church In Zimbabwe. This was for permission to use the church institutions site and name. It was also for permission to talk to the women during their gatherings. The other was for permission from the participants themselves. These women were approached for permission to engage them by way of interviews. Importantly both letters have to be signed by the addresses (Wisker, 2008: 89).

2.18.3 Ethical consideration during the research

It is during data collection phase of research that there is arguably closest interaction between researcher and the respondent. Such interaction inevitably generates situations involving ethical issues. Some of these issues can be predicted while others arise spontaneously during the data gathering process (Oliver, 2011:47). It is arguably part of the principles of freedom and autonomy inherent in taking part in research that the participants should feel free to withdraw at any time should they feel so. Participants can withdraw participation if they feel they are no longer comfortable or no longer want to participate. It is also important for the researcher to be cautious of sensitive material. The study in question is dealing with sensitive issues of human health in the context of HIV and AIDS. It is also dealing with a people's culture which is equally sensitive in as far as it concerns some taboos and religious factors (Haddad, 2011:258). Such a course of action would be a clear breach of any promises of confidentiality, and could be

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contemplated only in exceptional circumstances. Sometimes researchers provide inducement to participants. Yes, there could be no problem in doing that, but inducement, say in monetary form, may have a problem of attitude. This may expose the respondents to abuse because of promised incentives. On the other hand, the respondents may do it for a fee and not as equal participants in the project (op cit, 2011: 47). This would affect the quality of the findings and the study at large. More and more research considerations are still considered even after data has been collected.

2.18.4 Ethical considerations after data collection

More often than not, it is easy to imagine that the major ethical issues in the study have been dealt with once the data collection phase has been completed. However, there are many areas in which the ethical responsibilities of the researcher continue, and where problematic issues can arise, for an example when the participants ask if they can check the occurrence of data after they have been collected (Oliver, 2011: 64). Some respondents will be sufficiently interested in the research to wish to see some of the results. While this is a reasonable request, it is important to clarify exactly what the respondents would like to see. The challenge may arise where the results were intended for the sponsors (Ibid, 2011: 65). Although in a normal situation, the Tonga women would not raise these questions, it remains unguaranteed. If an unfortunate scenario unfolds, the one conducting the study is guided by the principle of utmost good faith and must fully explain the situation.

2.18.5 Other specific ethical considerations

In ethical considerations, themes such as confidentiality; privacy and anonymity are pertinent. A close examination of these terms shows how they relate to each other. Their usage and meaning are dovetailed.

It can be helpful in the discussion of confidentiality if one begins with a brief analysis of the conceptual territory covered by the term, and of the way in which it relates to anonymity (Ibid, 2011: 82). Perhaps the starting point of the discussion of confidentiality is the idea of privacy. Respondents have a right of privacy. Information provided by them should not just circulate without their knowledge and consent. Similarly, it may be

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that confidentiality is something promised and at the same time as part of that promise it may be informed of the key methods by which that confidentiality is ensured (Ibid, 2011: 82). Anonymity is normally one of those methods.

To sum up Oliver's (2011) inference above, research respondents are entitled to their right of privacy which should be kept confidentially by way of anonymity. In a way, the whole idea is to consider maximum security when carrying a study which involves humanity as research subjects. This part of study method, was key to the study which was not only involving humans as subjects but also as the sensitivity of the topic. A study on HIV and AIDS is quite a delicate undertaking which call for ethical considerations. If not properly handled, it may result in a total violation of human rights by ignoring ethical issues. The aspect of culture is another area which equally calls for ethical consideration. Tonga culture like many other cultures is the people's identity. A careless thought about it may result in distortion and distraction of this ethnic group. What this implies is that from the very beginning, ethical issues were observed throughout the study.

The methods and methodologies chosen and explained in this chapter are basically theoretical. After the study was conducted practically, the validity and relevance of these methods were then determined. However, it is far from suggesting that there was a turnaround of these methods. However there were some noticeable adjustments made to suit the conditions and situations of the study.

2.19 Conclusions

The chapter examined a number of available methods and methodologies. Different paradigms were also explained. A good example is the choice of the qualitative method in preference to the quantitative. The Hermeneutics paradigm was selected instead of other paradigms such as structuralism and emancipatory. Reasons for any preference made were given. The chapter also examined forms of interviews and data collection methods. The relevance of method was determined by the nature of the study. This method is enhanced or supported by the literature in chapter three.

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Chapter 3

Tonga culture and HIV in the context of this study

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore and explode various pieces of literature which may have sufficient relevance to this study. Since meaning and reality in a discursive approach is socially constructed, a social constructionist approach is therefore considered here. This theory contextually suggests that it is the popping themes during the expedition of reality and truth finding which should engage the selected literature. A good example is when asking the participants their views about cultural practices such as polygamy. The truth or reality is socially constructed. The truth is not from the picked literature but from the participants themselves. The selected literature is therefore only meant to buttress the point. A linear progressive historical background of the Tonga culture is a sustainable format. This means that the Tonga culture is viewed from pre-colonial era in Zimbabwe to the present time. Selected literature should be of relevance to the definition of culture before and after the western influence such as the missionaries and administrators. This means that the selected literature should show what Tonga culture was previously and what it is now. The literature in this chapter also supports and enhances the method of study talked about in the previous chapter. The chapter has also confined itself to the concept of culture and HIV and AIDS which are the key terms in the study.

3.2 Theories as used in the context of this study

Definition of theory

The term theory has been variably defined by a number of scholars in their different areas of specialty. In this study, a few definitions are considered so as to give a broader perception of the term.

Seale (2012)

Theories for Seale are means by which phenomena might be defined. They arrange sets of concepts to define and explain some phenomena, for an example the nature of 'tribes'

and families, or the conditions under which a phenomenon such as a tribe emerges. Without theories, phenomenon under study cannot be understood. Theories are also developed and modified by good study. These theories give good impetus for study (Seale, 2012:36).

Blaikie (2000)

Blaikie defines theory as a scheme or system of ideas or statements held as an explanation or account of a group of facts or phenomena. It is a statement of what is held to be general laws, principles, or causes of something known or observed (Blaikie, 2000:141).

Walshaw (2012)

For Walshaw, theories are a fundamental to the fabric of human life. They enable human beings to understand the world more acutely. They guess at the way things are and offer ideas about how things in the world might be connected. Without them it would not be easy to determine which aspects of reality are critical to humanity and which are not (Walshaw, 2012: 44) are.

Bless (2013)

Bless defines theory in comparison with fact. He says that a fact is an indisputable set of statements about reality. For an example it is a fact that the sun rises in the East and sets in the West. One does not need to embark on a research process to validate this fact. For him a theory may be defined as a set of ideas or statements that explain a particular social phenomenon. For an example, learning theory may be used to explain anti-social and maladaptive behaviour at school. Social learning theory maintains that behaviour is learned and therefore a child may have learned antisocial and maladaptive behaviour from his family (Bless, 2013:13).

Based on the view of natural science, theories can either be explanatory asking questions as, why or descriptive, with questions as to how? However, it cannot be both. Theories can be applied contextually different from the original. In this study, a few theories were used to make the phenomena, culture and HIV more understandable. Also theories which

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pertain to data gathering and analysis; culture; rape; anti-social behaviour and feminists were considered to explain episodes and situations in the study.

Grounded theory

This theory stresses that hypothesis does not come at the beginning of the study but is a product of data collection. This means that they come at the end of ideas and data collection. This theory is helpful in the study because of its emphasis on the cultural context. The study is dealing with a worldview of Tonga people which can only be understood contextually. The theory therefore helps to describe and interpret the worldview through the collected data. The theory is a general method of developing theory that is grounded in the data which is systematically gathered and analysed (Grix, 2013:113. Ground theory research begins with an area of interest, collected data and allows relevant ideas develop. This approach is mainly useful to a situation where little is known about the topic or the problem area or where a new exciting outlook is needed in a familiar setting (Holloway, 1997:80-87). The aim of this method in the study is to help explain the Tonga worldview and what is going on in the holistic way (Walshaw, 2013:68). The study has emphasized the contextualization of approach. From this kind of approach some new theories can develop such as those that explain data and even situations. In this study, culture is key and is therefore important to show a theory that explains it.

Theories on culture as they are used in this study

Marxist theory recognizes diversity and complexity of culture. This allows continuity within change. The theory also allows for chance and certain limited autonomies as the guiding strings on which culture is woven (Hughes, 1984:7). The purpose of this theory in this study is to explain the complexity of Tonga culture. The cultural perception of the Tonga worldview can only be better understood through theories such as this. The way individuals, groups and or community relate to each other can be understood through Marxist theory (Ibid., 1984:7). Weber goes further by expounding a theory on class. His theory explains the relationship between unequal groups in the society, with class only representing one form. The theory refers to 'power' as "the ability of an individual or

group to get what they want even against the opposition of the others (Ibid. 7). In the study this theory explains the Tonga cultural setup which discriminates females from males. In this age of HIV and AIDS, this discrimination has put these Tonga females at risk. In a way this theory explains the capability of power to corrupt. Power corrupts. The theory can be used to show the vulnerability of Tonga females to HIV and AIDS because of patriarchal attitude towards these people. This culture has also been found wanting in as far as sexual abuse among Tonga females is concerned. The concept of rape comes in various forms. There is acquaintance rape; spouse rape and stranger rape. All these are prevalent in the rural community of chief Pashu which is the area of study. However, it may not be that easy to understand the concept of rape among the Tonga people unless viewed from a context. In view of this, relevant theories were considered in this study.

Rape theories as used in this study

Burns (2005)

For Burns, rape is gender blind assault. The harm of rape is to an individual-whether male or female. It is therefore a violation of individual rights such as of body integrity and or autonomy (Burns, 2005:69). Purdy (2004) has argued that rape takes place when women are sexually violated by another man other than their husbands and this is a conservative theory. Strikwerda (1994, 140) sums his theory by saying that no one is responsible for rape. These fragments of statements try to explain what rape is. These theories were used to describe and explain the concept of rape in the study. Among the Tonga females, it was discovered that spouse rape is not known. This is far from suggesting that this form of rape does not exist. What it means is that Tonga females believe that conjugal rights pertain to males alone and that females should not question that. From a global view, this kind of female treatment by their male counterparts is what has sparked emotional reaction amongst some women theologians and feminists. These apologists and defenders of women human rights have posed many questions relating to relations between men and women.

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Classical feminist's social theory in the context of this study

As it shall be seen later in the study, this theory has its intellectual origins in the Western political theory which developed in the 18th century of a faith that social amelioration was possible through a science of society, but above all in the age-old record of women's protest against their subordination, particularly as protest coalesced in the 19th and 20th centuries in both America and Europe in a social movement centring on women's struggle for political rights "the so called the 'first wave' of the feminist movement mobilization" (Elliott, 2001:125). The central concern in this theory is the socially produced pain and the social conditions as they produce happiness or joy. This sociological theory is to see how various peoples develop culturally diverse systems of morals and manners around the great end of all social life (Ibid. 2001:129).

This theory is a demonstration of feminists' position in response to issues of women rights in a society. In the context of the study, the theory is an important tool to conceptualize the abuse and oppression prevalent among Tonga females. This kind of sexual abuse has in turn posed these females to HIV and AIDS. Apart from showing the ills of patriarchal attitude towards females in the society, the theory also advocates condemnation of oppression of women in any given situation. Pain has been central in this theory.

The pain that has been caused by some of the Tonga oppressive cultural practices has led to the consideration of some pastoral oversight for the afflicted females. To understand and adequately help these women, explore and discover their identity in the community, a theory has been crafted. Carl Rogers' 19 propositions has been advanced by Grobler (2013:4-6). Rogers's theory helps a counsellor to understand and appreciate human behaviour. There are many reasons which influence human behaviour. People behave differently according to situations and times. Roger's 19 propositions therefore explain what makes people behave the way they do and why they do that. These theories among others were found to be important and necessary for this study.

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3.3 Historical background of Tonga Culture

The purpose and importance of this historical background is to show the diversity and context of culture. Secondly, it purports to show that the study is not against Tonga Culture per se, but that it seeks to address selected cultural practices which pose as root cause to the vulnerability of Tonga women to HIV and AIDS. The sustainability of this argument is illustrated by the diagram below:
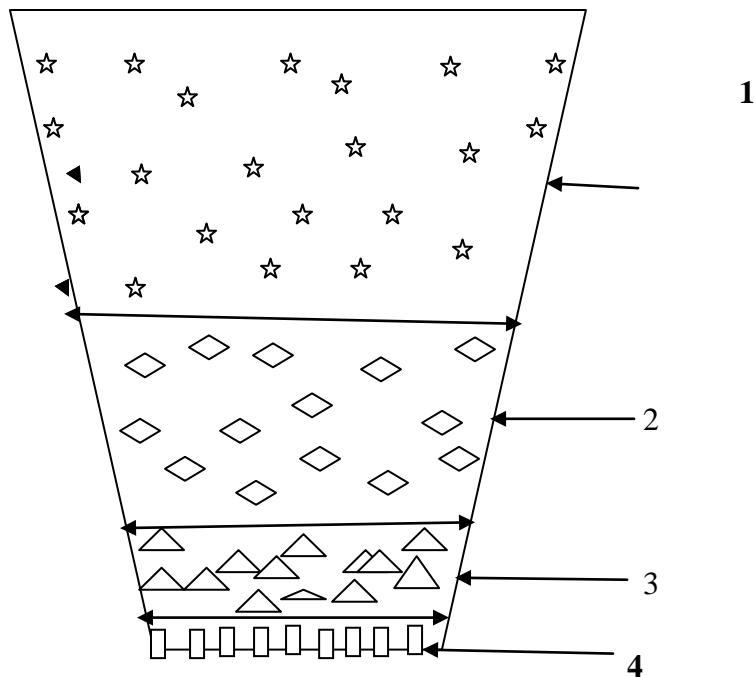
NUMBER	EXPLANATION
1	Culture as globally perceived

2	Culture as perceived by Africans in Africa
3	Culture as perceived by Zimbabweans in Zimbabwe
4	Culture as perceived by Tonga people in their own context

The diagram above shows how culture can be minimized from a global perception to a local ethnic group such as the Tonga. Opposed to the conception of global culture, Haralambos (2008) advocates a contextual culture. He defines culture as the whole way of life of people. It is the way of life of its members: the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation (Haralambos, 2008:664). If Haralambos was writing from a Western perspective, then he could be suggesting that even Western culture is not the same as other cultures. If Western culture is different from other ethnic cultures, then Haralambos' contention holds water. Hence the idea of global culture is not sustainable.

Some African scholars and prolific writers whose agenda is an apologia for African culture have strained their muscles trying to demonstrate the diversity of this culture. John S Mbiti (2002) and others is one such scholar who has written extensively on African culture. His apologia is a rebuttal of Western perception of the African way of life. While he could be registering a valid concern, there seems to be some elements of defensiveness. Such writers as Mbiti were trying to free themselves and other Africans from the yoke of Western mentality which seemed against African's way of life (Mbiti, 2002:194). However, these African apologists seem to be over emotional at times.

They have so much defended African perceptions and notions to the extent of disillusioning even what they are trying to protect. They have seen Africa as one and everything African as one too. This is to over emphasize. There are as many different African cultures as there are many different ethnic groups.

In Zimbabwe there is not one culture but cultures. There are multiple cultures in one and the same Country. A good example can be expressed in the number of tribes there are in

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Zimbabwe, the Ndebele, the Shona, the Venda, the Sotho, the Kalanga, the Nambya and Tonga to name but a few. Their different ways of life cannot be underestimated. Their religious beliefs and affiliations may be totally different from each other.

In his PhD thesis titled, "*Evangelical Christianity and African Culture. A critical Assessment of the Salvific Significance of the Cross of Jesus Christ in Shona Culture*", Reverend Nakah (March 2007) has precisely delineated the Shona ethnicity. For many people other than the Shona themselves, Shona as a tribe does not exist. The term Shona is a collective name which refers to a people of different dialects such as the Zezuru, the Karanga, the Manyika, the Ndau, and the Korekore. This suggests that even among the "Shona people", cultures are not the same. These different dialects have culture boundaries which distinguish them from other Shona groups. Tonga culture as expressed by the Zimbabwean historian Aenias Chigwedere (1985) in his book "*The Karanga Empire*" is believed to be the most preserved culture. History has it that the Tonga people of Binga in spite of their small number numerically, were the first group of people to arrive in Zimbabwe during the Bantu migration. The Shona group which arrived in 1450 could have been followed by the Ndebele people who arrived in Zimbabwe in 1837. What is fascinating about these groups is that the Shona and the Ndebele have now settled in most parts of Zimbabwe, but the first comers the Tonga have to this day confined to the Zambezi valley. What this means, is that Tonga culture has not experienced rigorous change. Hence the Tonga culture is different from other cultures and is unique to them alone.

The purpose of this brief analysis of culture was an effort to try to qualify and sustain a point that the Tonga culture is unique to Tonga people alone just as good as any ethnic group can be.

3.4 Factors influencing cultural change in Zimbabwe

For Musimbi Kanyoro culture is not natural but a product of human beings. If this definition is anything to go by, then culture is bound to change as society changes (Dube, 2003: 89). The changing of societies also means the changing of culture. However, this change cannot be the same for every society. Different factors will influence this change in different ways. Some societies will experience a vigorous and tremendous change

while in other societies this change may be slow and minimal. In Zimbabwe, factors influencing cultural change can be arranged in the following spheres: Political, educational, economic, religious, natural change, local migration and immigration, lack of preservation of local culture, and documented information to mention but a few .

3.4.1. Political influence

The political struggle or conflict at any level such as at community, at national or at international levels has some immense socio-cultural implications, especially on the immediately affected people. These effects may be in form of physical displacement of some affected individuals, groups or parts of the nation .Here the focus is on how these political struggles affect culture.

In Zimbabwe, political strife's such as the Ndebele uprising- war between the Ndebele and British in 1883, the Shona *Chimurenga* of between March 1896 to October 1896 (Mukanya, 1995:90) and the Zimbabwe liberation struggle which ended in 1980, have their own peculiar aftermaths different from other contexts. These human struggles affected the community of Zimbabwe negatively. Some ethnic groups were more affected than the others. Some of them even left their regions of origins voluntarily or were forced to do so. A good example is the (Gukurahundi) as mentioned in chapter two. This means that they had to be accommodated by other people somewhere. This motive has a cultural effect. It means somewhat that there has to be a cultural dilution and destruction to some extent.

This background explains how Tonga culture got affected by infiltration by other ethnic groups such as the Ndebele and Shona. Prior to this, Tonga culture was not very bad in as far as character and behaviour is concerned. There were no cross boarders or migrant workers. The practice of girlfriends and extra marital affairs is a later concept. On the other hand, the Tonga problem remained that of polygamy and inheritance of property and spouse of the deceased, which is what this study is addressing. Had it not been for infiltration and the local disturbance by the dam (Kariba) construction in 1957, the Tonga could have preserved their culture. Fr. Tremmel (1997) wrote about this episode in Tonga history. Tremmel wrote about this Tonga experience .The construction of the Dam in

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1957 displaced the Tonga people and also separated them from their own relatives living on the Zambian side, however, this had very little or no cultural implication. Tremmel also mentioned in the same book how this ethnic group cherished their culture which the study is determined to revisit and review in the context of HIV and AIDS. Previously, this culture was a pride to the Tonga people. The question is whether or not it still means the same today (Tremmel, 1997:5). In view of this, it is now necessary to analyse the following factor and see how it influenced cultural change in Zimbabwe in general and in Binga in particular.

The issue of the construction of the dam means that the Tonga people were displaced. This exposed some of them who moved away to other cultures. There was a danger of cultural pollution. Those who remained preserved their culture. The study which is about culture and how it has influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females is only concerned about the cultural practices which are oppressive. What this means is that the rest of the culture is appreciated because they give value to a group of people. In other words, the study is not bedevilling the Tonga culture. It is all about a particular cultural practices which has posed danger to the lives of the Tonga females in the context of HIV and AIDS.

3.4.2 Education as a factor influencing cultural change.

A number of writers have variably defined education. The whole idea is not to lay emphasis on the various definitions of education, but to view education from two perspectives, the African and Western. Arguably the idea is to show how the African concept of education existed even before the preliterate age. The purpose is to correct the misconception that Western education and culture represent civilization. It is also to show that the African system of education is not primitive and inferior but that it has been wrongly perceived by Westerners.

On the other hand, the impression is to show how this Western education has influenced change in the African culture. This Western education and or culture have negatively impacted on the African culture thereby exposing it to danger of vulnerability. The

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vulnerable African culture has succumbed to the Western culture. In the process, it has defied its identity. It is also this kind of culture which has influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe, Binga in particular though to a small degree. The array of definitions below explains what has been said above concerning African and the Western perceptions of education.

3.4.2.1. Definition of education

Nasimiyu-Wasike in his book titled, *Mission in African Christianity,* has given the definition of education as follows:

> Education may be considered in two senses, one broad the other technical. In the broad sense, education refers to any act of experience that has a formative effect on the mind, character, or physical ability of an individual. Education in this sense never ends; we truly "learn from experience" throughout our lives. In its technical sense, education is the process by which society through schools, colleges, universities and other institutions deliberately transmit its cultural heritage, its accumulated knowledge, values and skills from one generation to another (Nasimiyu-Wasike, 2000: 133).

Nasimiyu-Wasike has further viewed it in two perspectives, the African and the Western. He shows their divergence and convergence as well. The impression here is to show how the African culture has been influenced by the Western culture which claims superiority over the former. It is also to show how the latter has become a factor which has influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe.

Going by this broad and technical definition, Nasimiyu-Wasike says that every traditional African society has its system of education. The only difference is that traditional African societies did not establish or construct schools and facilities strictly meant for the currying out of the formal education. African education did not also rely on elaborate written symbols as a means of communicating ideas but this did not mean that ideas were not in existence or not communicated at all (Nasimiyu-Wasike, 2000: 133). What Nasimiyu-Wasike is saying above, may not be argued against. An African who is born under strict African cultural condition would agree with this.

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Before the advent of the Western Colonial rule, Africa had a way of knowledge dissemination from generation to generation. This was known as Oral tradition, (Kunhiyop 2008). This format of information or knowledge dissemination was rich and effective although some would doubt it. Kunhiyop an African writer has expressed that oral tradition was a major source of African information .Many stories and legends were orally told. Africans told their stories in such a way that what they narrated would not be forgotten (Kunhiyop, 2008: 9).

In an abstract of a journal of Pan African Studies, Vol. 3. No. 9. Titled *"Education and Emancipation"* of June to July 2010, Sharon Adetutu, rather gives a background which has prompted the coining of the term education. Adetutu has viewed education from a holistic point. She says that African and Western perspectives should be mutually considered so as to bring about complete emancipation control to the contemporary despise and neglect of indigenous system with other plausible forms of education in the contemporary African quest for emancipation. She also agrees with other writers who say this preliterate form of communication was passed from generation to generation (The journal of Pan African Studies, vol.3. No. 9. June - July 2010).

Akinpelu (1969:184) describes education as an initiation into a worthwhile activity while William Frankena (1973: 21) states that education takes place when "X" is fostering or seeking to foster "D" by method "M". By this Frankena posits that education involves two sets of people, the teacher and the learner. Education is formal when teachers instruct students in courses of study in an organized institution and informal when a learner is exposed to a general social process of obtaining the knowledge and skills needed to operate in a particular culture or society. However, Rodney (2000: 262) and Sophie Oluwole (2000: 98) have rebutted the school of thought which advances that the African system of education was once informal (Journal of Pan African Studies, Vol. 3. No. 9. June-July 2010). The aim here is to show how African culture was affected by the Western way of education. People, who accepted what the white man (sic) called change, had their culture change. It therefore becomes difficult to find a pure African culture in other ethnical groups.

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However, with the infiltration of the Westerners and with the introduction of their conventional education, the African way of education was slowly submerged by the new system of education. "Rhodes believed that the British people had a duty to spread that civilization partly for the benefit of the world and partly to enhance British prestige (Mukanya, ibid. 90). This Western concept of education was associated with development and civilization as expressed by Mukanya above. Anybody who received this kind of education was said to be civilized. Civilization was defined in terms of western culture, religion and language-English. In short, it was measured against the Western way of life. The Western way of denigrating the African way of life, and their way of promoting their culture which they call superior, has been expressed by Babs Fafunwa of Nigeria, as quoted by Cox (1993) as follows:

> A good citizen in Nigeria and elsewhere between 1850 and 1960 meant one who was African by Blood, Christian by religion and British or French in culture and intellect. All others who were Muslims, Animistic and many more, were only tolerated or accommodated (Cox, 1993: 125).

A close analysis of Fafunwa's remarks shows nothing but exposes the colonial mentality in its true colours at work. The White man's thinking that everything black or African was bad and that everything white or European was superior, is a clear demonstration that African way of education and civilization were demonized and viewed as primitive, hence received a second class recognition. This new civilization brought some packages for Africans such as white collar jobs, Western code of dressing and life and an urban kind of life style. It can be appreciated how the African life style was gradually side-lined. There was now a paradigm shift. There was now a wave of local migration into towns by Africans. Once they settled in towns, their life style began to change. They began to shun their way of life and gradually adopted Western way of life. The fate which befell Africans elsewhere did not spare Zimbabwe.

With the advent of the colonial era in Zimbabwe, the same situation experienced elsewhere was also experienced in Zimbabwe. The colonial rule was felt by most people who could not help but to succumb. Zimbabweans, who received Western education,

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went into towns to seek employment. A number of them later took their families with them and did not want to go back to their rural homes. Their life style changed as well. They adopted the western style of life.   The two Zimbabwean lecturers, James Cox (1993) and M.F.C. Bourdillon (1997), share the same sentiments concerning the influence of the western civilization. Cox's *Changing beliefs and An Enduring Faith* (1993) and Bourdillon's *changing culture in Zimbabwe* (1997), are congruent in view. The synopsis of their view is as follows: Cox (1993) acknowledges the impact of Western culture on Zimbabwe when he says:

> The impact of Western culture, however, is being felt in Zimbabwe through education, government, medical institutions, economic programmes, and religious organizations thus raising issues for Zimbabweans which are not altogether different from those faced by people in Europe or America (Cox, 1993; 1X).

The meaning of this paragraph is that the Western education or civilization has negatively impacted on African culture. This in turn has influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS.

On the other hand, Bourdillon expresses almost the same view concerning the effects of Western culture on Zimbabwean people. In his book, *"Changing culture in Zimbabwe"* Bourdillon depicts a scenario where the young people's dressing code leaves a lot to be desired. The wearing of a long pair of trousers by women, the wearing of short or mini-skirts or even transparent clothes by women is not African culture Bourdillon (1997:2). Bourdillon's research was predominantly on Shona culture in Zimbabwe; however, some of these points made by him concerning cultural change apply to other ethnic groups and even to the Tonga people to some extent (Ibid.3).

In view of the above nexus, Bourdillon (1997) is trying to show the difference between Western culture and African culture. For Western people, this dress code which is mentioned above by Bourdillon is not an issue. The Western community allows this kind of dressing. People dress according to the occasions. However, in Zimbabwe, Binga in particular, culture does not allow that.   It is a taboo for a Tonga woman to dress like that. The whole Tonga society would not accept such a thing. Suffice it to say, Tonga people

were least affected by Western culture. The reason why the Tonga people were least affected by the Western culture is simply because there was not much interaction between the Tonga people and the agents of this Western culture such as White settlers. The reason why there was not much interaction is because the Europeans who occupied Zimbabwe were either Missionaries; traders; miners; hunters or administrators. These people had different reasons for occupation. The unfortunate part was that Binga District could not attract them because none of the mentioned interests was found in Binga. The settlers preferred places such as areas around Bulawayo for gold mining. They also settled in parts of Mashonaland for farming because of the favourable climate. In view of this, the Western culture had little influence on Tonga culture. In spite of poor education in Binga, Tonga people like other Zimbabweans still moved into towns for employment. It is then that they were introduced to this Western influence like anybody else who went to town. These people also adopted the same Western life style as other ethnic groups.

The issue of dress code has raised a concern in Zimbabwe, Binga in particular. Those living in towns see no offence in dressing the way they want. For them, it is coping with time. They are moving with time, so they see nothing wrong with women putting on long pair of trousers or short skirts. On the other hand, people who live in rural areas who are traditionalists, feel offended when a woman puts on clothes they do not approve as a community. It is one of their taboos for women to dress like that. Such a person is considered a social misfit. The community looks at such a person with contempt.

It is this change which is believed to be influenced by the level of education in Zimbabwe which has also become one of the major factors influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS. The assumption is that the moral behaviour of people has been influenced by this Western life style. However, it may not be sufficient to blame the spread of the AIDS pandemic on sexual behaviour of the AIDS groups, but to examine the root cause of this behaviour. Culture is a way of life which is believed to have influenced people to behave the way they do. HIV prevalence in towns may not be the same as in rural. In Binga, the Tonga people have observed their cultural structures which promote moral uprightness. The other factors which makes the Tonga people refrain from sexual indulgence refers to

their belief in African medicine or concoction. There is a Tonga myth which is called (lunyoka). Some of the Tonga people believe in this myth. The belief is that if a man had sexual relations with a married woman who is not his wife, he is bound to be found in the act by the husband of this woman. It is traditionally alleged that a remote device such as pen knife is kept opened by each suspicious Tonga married man, especially those who believe in this myth. When the knife closes on its own, then the man knows something has happened to his wife .This may be dismissed as pure superstition by westerners, but for Tonga people, who believe in it, is a reality (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 200:1180).

In spite of the above narrated deterring proverb, Tonga people have of late suffered from this pandemic disease. The culture which should have been protective to the people seems to have failed to do so. A close analysis will suggest that there is a certain pattern followed by events. The pattern follows this sequence, Tonga culture of polygamy as mentioned by Magezi (2002:26), migrant workers by Weinreich (2004:22), the Tonga culture of loyalty by Fr. Trammel (1997:10).

The problem of polygamy among the Tonga people is similar to what Magezi's piece of work titled, *"HIV and AIDS, Poverty and Pastoral Care and Counselling"* is contending with. He gives a general list of factors influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS (Magezi 2007:26). Although his findings are mainly based on secondary sources, the aspect of polygamy among the Tonga people is a constructed reality. This was confirmed by field findings in the next chapter where interview results were analysed. In spite of the modern ways of living, quite a number of Tonga men still practice polygamy. A few of these men have migrated either into towns or have even crossed the Limpopo River to South Africa for employment. In Weinreich's book titled *"AIDS Meeting, the challenge, Data, Facts, Background"* this concept of mobility can be metaphorically be likened to transporting or fishing AIDS (Weinreich, 2004:21).

It is common place for these men who move away from their rural homes or country to other places or countries in search of greener pastures, that when they are away from their

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homes, their behaviour also changes (lbid. 21). The attitude of such men is that of one who feels that he is independent and can live according to the pleasure of his heart. When time comes for these people to go or visit their homes, some of them, the unfortunate ones who would have contracted AIDS, go back home with groceries for joyous welcome and with a disease for sorrowful welcome. An innocent poor Tonga woman then gets the AIDS pandemic and falls sick.

Unlike in western culture, in African culture, the concept of sickness is perceived in the context of traditional beliefs such as witchcraft. Even when it may appear clear from the signs and symptoms that someone is suffering from a terminal disease such as HIV and AIDS, people still believe that it is not natural. This belief applies to the Tonga people as well. The common worldview coupled with the culture of silence, a Tonga female becomes more vulnerable to this terminal disease. Magezi (2007), Helen Jackson (2002), Tremmel (1997) Weinreich (2004) and others address this concept of sickness variably.

3.4.3 Culture and worldview as it relates to sickness

Magezi has a befitting co-ordination of culture, worldview and sickness. His first link is between culture and world view and the second between culture and worldview in relation to sickness. Magezi (2007) views culture as the 'superglue that binds people together and gives them a sense of identity and continuity, which is almost impenetrable '(Magezi 2007: 31). It can be depicted as a concentric circle with behaviour on the outer layer and worldview at the centre .Hesselgrave (1991:197) likened worldview to a colour glass through which people see themselves and the universe around them. Michael Kearney, cited by Hesselgrave (1991:198) aptly sees the meaning of the world view as follows, 'the worldview of a people is their way of looking at reality .It consists of basic assumptions and images that provide a more or less coherent, though with necessarily accurate way of thinking about the world' (Hesselgrave, 1991:198).

Understanding world view as the core of every culture explains the confusion that some people have at the level of beliefs. One's worldview provides a system of beliefs, which are reflected in one's actual values and behaviour. Sometimes a new or competing

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system of beliefs is introduced like Christianity (to African culture), but the worldview remains unchanged and unchanged, so values and behaviour reflect the old belief system. Then this scenario has caused much disappointment to many missionaries and Christians in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular. They fail to break through the roots of African values and beliefs, for an example their perception of sickness and suffering, including HIV and AIDS. People's worldview provides reason, interpretation , meaning , explanation , relations to others, adapting to or making decisions with regards to issues of sickness , HIV and AIDS , nature , death , God (Kraft 1999) in Magezi(2007).

What Magezi (2007) is saying concerning the worldview, is that an African is born a religious person and his religion is not a mission religion but African Traditional Religion. By that virtue, his worldview or beliefs are in that context. Any kind of sickness or death is understood or viewed in that context. Sickness among Tonga people is therefore treated as man caused and not natural. The belief is that sickness or death is caused by something or someone. This is the angle from which Magezi buttresses other scholars' view on African concept of worldview and culture.

This notion of sickness is personal (Berinyuu, 1988: 49-50). A personality medical system, as mentioned earlier, is one in which disease is explained as being due to the active purposeful intervention of an agent who may be human (a witch or sorcerer), non-human (a ghost, an ancestor, or an evil spirit), or supernatural (a deity or other very powerful being). The sick person is viewed as a victim, the object of aggression or punishment directed specifically against him or her. This view of sickness is in contrast to the Western naturalistic system that explains the sickness in the impersonal, systemic terms (Magezi, 2007:32). Disease is thought to stem, not from the vice of any angry being, but rather from such natural forces or conditions as cold, or an upset in the balance of basic body elements. Thus supernatural causes are perceived as the cause of sickness in Africa, while in the West it is caused by non-supernatural causes (Ibid, 32).

Although Magezi's explanation of the African worldview is not referring to a particular ethnic group, its potential representation cannot be underestimated. It is actually this

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concept of Tonga worldview in the context of HIV and AIDS which the study is grappled with. Magezi has generalized the African worldview and culture, but this study is narrowing the general view to a particular worldview, that of Tonga people.

It is the combination of this culture and worldview and the Tonga culture of silence which is feared to endanger the lives of Tonga females of Binga in the context of HIV and AIDS. A Tonga woman is very submissive and loyal to her husband. It is Tonga culture for a female not to question her husband about issues relating to sex. This culture of silence endangers females. It means that even when the male contracts HIV and AIDS and is aware of it, he will infect his wife taking advantage of her loyalty. The problem of men abusing women in Binga stems from the hegemonic masculinity. Togarasei in his article, *"Reading Paul for constructive Masculinities in the times of HIV and AIDS",* explains hegemonic masculinity as masculinity which has resulted from a predominant culture in any given society (Kalengyo et al., 2013: 129). It is achieved through culture, institutions and persuasions (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832) and therefore gives power and privilege to those who own the predominant culture putting pressure on all other masculinities to adopt it in order to be considered real men. This is the scenario prevailing in Binga and Tonga culture. The behaviour and attitude of men as individuals or community towards women leaves a lot to be desired. When these men contract the disease, there are two challenges to married women in Binga. The first one is that they will in turn be infected with this AIDS, and secondly, they will have to care for both themselves as well as their husbands. The ultimate outcome is that both will die. Since this takes place in either a nuclear, extended family or community, the effect is at all these social levels.

3.5 Death vis- avis Tonga Culture

Having looked at the Tonga worldview of sickness next is the concept of death. This notion has been viewed from a tripartite angle as follows: It is defined and explained from a sacrilegious point of view – the Christian view in particular, It has also been viewed from a secular point, that is from Western perspective and from African perspectives

3.5.1 The Christian perspective

Although not to impress that this conclusively represents the Christian' position about death, John Dunlop's article *"Death and Dying"* gives a sufficient representation. Dunlop first gives a prelude to a definition as follows:

> A strong stand for life is biblical , based squarely on the fact that all human life bears the image of God and receives God's protection .Whosoever sheds the blood of a human , by a human shall that person's blood be shed ; for in the image of God has God made humanity (Kilner , 1996:35).

For the definition of death, he says that death is a central theme to Scripture. Death was not a feature of the original creation; it came only as a result of Adam. For Christians death has really become the enemy of life. Quoting from scriptures, Dunlop shows the Christian belief of life after death (1Corinthians, 15:54-57). This passage says, "When the perishable has been clothed with the imperishable, and the mortal with the immortality, then the saying that is written will come true." "Death has been swallowed in victory." Going further, it talks of death as life and its sting (Kilner, lbid; 35).

The rationale in this article is that since life is a God given right, no one under what circumstance should terminate it by whatever means. What this study is grappling with, are issues of suffering of the Tonga females which have culminated into death. It is this death which has brought about suffering among the people of Binga. Because of the andocentric type of society, this suffering and death or dying, is believed to have been influenced by some of the practices of the society. HIV/AIDS among the Tonga people of Binga has brought about fear. It is this fear which this study should mitigate. Dunlop's distinctive contribution in this study is the aspect of life as a God given right which no one should be deprived of. Any such cause of HIV and AIDS should be condemned even at its face value. Any perpetrator of this kind of suffering should be opposed. Any system or societal structure which promotes this suffering among Tonga females in particular should be revisited and challenged by all peace lovers, patriarchs included.

On the other hand, Dunlop's (1996) approach to death is not palatable. He talks of life as a God given right. He also speaks against any form of termination to this gift of life. Though not vivid, whether his own feeling or quoting the scriptures, he even prescribes

the kind of reprimand to anyone who sheds blood (Kilner, 1996:35). He however changes goal posts when he talks of defeat and victory in death. Dunlop speaks of a Christian perception of life after death. The problem now is that his position is not very clear. He poses as someone who condemns death and yet at the same time seems to be saying, "do not worry, there is no more suffering at the end of this suffering" (Kilner, Ibid, 35). In spite of this confusion, his attribute of life as a God given right and that no one should tamper with it, remains his contribution to this study. The brief description of a Christian approach to death leaves another option, the secular approach. This secular approach is from two perspectives, the Western and the African.

3.5.2 Western perspective of death

There are a considerable number of scholars who have written about death and suffering. They have defined and explained the concept of death. However, in this study, the emphasis is not on the extensive expression of these different perspectives. These different approaches to the phenomenon of death are only used to strengthen a point, hence the reason why only one or few examples are selected. In this case, Kubler Ross's perception of death suffices as a Western perspective. It is only the similarities from a variety of approaches which have been derived for contextual usage in the study. What is common cross culture, has been considered and used in the Tonga context

For Ross, death is inevitable for human beings and an inseparable element of life course. Death is difficult, to identify and define. Causes of death vary considerably across different cultures and throughout history. He argues further that death can be defined biologically as the cessation of breath and confirmed by medical doctor as dead. Death can also be described philosophically, as the disability to interact with other human beings (Ross 2014:306).

Death for Ross is real and natural. It is an unavoidable and inevitable feature of human existence. As corporeal biological and embodied beings, humans are locked into an inescapable sequence of birth, life and death-Cells wear out, core vital organs shut down, and the biological ceases to function. Regardless of all humanity's achievements in altering and controlling for its own benefit many of the challenges posed by nature, death

still remains as a place and part of existence beyond our complete control (Ross, online 12 November 2014:306). Dealing with HIV and AIDS is dealing with issues of death. Ross is therefore giving a perspective of death.

3.5.3 An analysis of the two reviewed perspective of death.

Kilner (1996), in his book, *Dignity and Dying*, a Christian appraisal has an article by Dunlop which is titled, *"Death and Dying."* Death in this article is perceived from a Christian perspective. In this view, humanity has two sets of life, the life here on earth and the life somewhere else after death. But death does not contend life forever. There is a fracture at this life. Even suffering comes to an end at the death of a human being. The question is, "death, where is your sting?" (Kilner 1996:35) sounds as if death has no power over life. Life in this cause does not end but rather transforms into another state, the spiritual. If this is what Danlop in this article is saying, then he affirms loyalty with the African concept of death, as it is seen in the following examples. Here, the concept of life is similar to that of Africans, Tonga included.

The aim here is to show that death in a Western or Christian context is different from an African context or perspective. This helps the understanding of death from a Tonga perspective. When the aspect of HIV and AIDS is elaborated in the following chapters, it will be understood even better.

Examining Ross' (12 November 2014) down loaded paper titled, *Death-Dying awareness*, not much of significance can be derived for the study. Arguably; Ross has provided a scientific explanation of death. One may therefore pose a question of purpose of this in relation to the study. As previously said above, this is to provide a variety of perspectives which in turn will support the argument that death from a Tonga worldview is contextually different from other philosophies. With this explanation, it is therefore necessary to come closer to the Tonga view of life and death. This has been explained from two Zimbabwean cultures, the Shona and the Ndebele culture. The reason is not that these are more close to Tonga culture, no, far from that. It is simply because the two

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cultures are readily available for contact and scrutinizing during the time of field work. These two, Shona and Ndebele represent the Zimbabwean perspectives.

3.5.4 African Perspective of death

The African worldview is very different from the western worldview. This African worldview is cushioned in their cultural values and perceptions. Aschuiandeni (1989) gives a brief view of humanity, life and deaths. He attempts to show how Africans understand life and its aspects such as, birth, marriage and even death. This he does on his books, Karanga Mythology which was published in 1989 by Mambo Press in Gweru in Zimbabwe. He wrote two other books prior to the "Karanga Mythology". These are "Symbols of life" and "Symbol of death". Aschwanden explains the African perception of life and death in the context of myths. In an African community, myths are real (Aschwanden, 1989:126). An African, Tonga included, is surrounded by myths. These beliefs which may be dismissed by westerners as pure superstition make sense to an African as they constitute his worldview. Removing these beliefs, is removing his identify as an African.

Aschwanden shows how God created males (sic) and the institutions he gave to these males which were guides to life. He goes on to say man would be as happy as before so long as he obeyed God's instruction. However, males' (sic) happiness was conditional. The condition was that none of males, animal, water or earth should ever-over-step the set boundaries of their power without being punished severely (Aschwanden, 1989:126).

In view of the above, it can be argued that Africans have a way of perceiving life myths of various lands such as myth of creation, myths of birth, myths of sickness and even myths of death. Aschwanden introduces a new concept, that of death as a God's punishment. He may have not specifically pointed out that death is a result of God's punishment. But reading through the lines, this is what the thought culminates to. Although some Africans, Tonga people included, do agree with Aschwanden that death may be a result of punishment from the angry gods (Baleza) in Tonga; they go further to perceiving it as caused by various misadventures.

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This study finding with regard to the African perception of life and death has been carefully scrutinized. This is to say that the study findings which gave a general overview of the concept of death and has some commonalities with the Tonga understanding of death. The study findings have encroaching cultural traits. These practices have crossed cultural boundaries to represent an African worldview such as African mythology. As has been alluded to earlier on in this chapter, Tonga life can be understood in myths.

Still on African mythology of life and death, John S. Mbiti (2003) offers yet another myth. This one is more close to the Tonga myth of death. In this myth, Mbiti gives a general view of life and death as understood by many Africans of Western, East, and even Southern Africa. However, these myths may differ from ethnic group to ethnic group and from community to community. A good example of Tonga myth of death is contained in Mbiti's myth as follows:

> God sent a message to the first men that they would either live forever or rise again if they had died. This message was given to one of the animals to take to the men. The animal is often said to have been a chameleon. But the chameleon lingered on the way and delayed the message. Meanwhile God sent yet another but faster animal, usually said to have been a bird, lizard or hare, with another message that people would die. The later message reached men before that of the chameleon which was about immortality, and since then death has remained in the world (Mbiti, 2003:116).

This myth is not scientific it is an African scientific metaphor. It is a false story that points to a truth. It may even be dismissed as worthless and rendering no contribution to the study. However, it should be understood that the study is about an African community which is deeply rooted in cultural beliefs. In order for the study to be meaningful, it considered the worldview of this people. Life and death are perceived in many ways which include these folk stories. Of course the study is scientific in standard and form but the community under study may understand it as pointing to the truth. However, failure to consider these cultural beliefs such as myths and folk tales would be as good as carrying out a study in a community which does not have a culture at all. After all, these myths and folktales are meant to explain some truth hidden in some African myths.

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In view of the above, the sole purpose of Mbiti (2003) and Aschwanden (1989) myths, is to give basic understanding of death in an African context. This also helps to understand various causes of illness and deaths, with HIV and AIDS included. From the myth above, the Tonga people believe that God allowed death. The only problem as it shall be seen later is when they attribute death to evil. Maybe HIV and AIDS in the folk tales above fall under natural death or evil. The following paragraphs try to show various causes of death.

3.5.5 Causes of death according to Tonga perspective in the context of HIV and AIDS

From a Tonga point of view, although death was seen to be natural according to the folk tale given above, it is believed to be a product of evil. It is believed to be caused either by living people or spirits. Mugambi (1976) and Mbiti (2003) offer what is sustainable as a Tonga perspective. The reason for such a sustainable argument by these two African writers could be because of their prolific writing. Their works in African context could have given them a general overview of an African understanding of death. The two view death as caused by the following; witchcraft, sorcery, curse, natural death and spirits.

3.5.6 Witchcraft as a cause of death.

Like many other African ethnic groups, the Tonga people believe in witchcraft. The study is about HIV and AIDS in a cultural context. This cultural belief in witchcraft therefore purports to link a Tonga understanding of death and HIV and AIDS.

Witchcraft by definition variably refers to evil or harm caused by a human being to another human being. Perception of witchcraft varies from community to community (Mugambi, 1976: 96). In some cases, magic is used to cause death. As a form of witchcraft, poisoning is also used to end human life (Mbiti, 2003:117). This belief is prevalent in Tonga cosmology. For Tonga people death is not natural but is caused by human beings.

In this era of HIV and AIDS, the people of Binga still believe in witchcraft. For most of them HIV and AIDS is interpreted as an incurable disease (bulwazi butasilikiki). A

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similar traditional belief among Zimbabweans is that of Shona people. An abstract from Tabona Shoko's article titled, "Traditional Religion and HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe, portrays mystical beliefs that relates to issues of health. Some of the Traditional Shona believes that there are beliefs that help spread HIV and AIDS. This is understood as some form of serious or abnormal illness which is difficult to cure (Shoko, 2013: 149). This illness or disease is different from the common ones. Illness and disease that originates from the earth (pasi), that disappear after a short while and require simple or no medication at all are regarded as having natural causes. Such illnesses are coughs, colds and slight fever and headaches. But when such illnesses resist treatment or persist, the Shona search for causal explanation: "Why to this particular person and why at this time and place?"(Bourdillon, 1976: 176). For the Shona people HIV and AIDs is seen in this light.

Here the Tonga and Shona people share a similar cultural perception. The Tonga people have a unique culture, that of respect. They do not speak openly about issues of concern such as their health. They use a language which shows some kind of respect. For instance, they call HIV and AIDS "endless disease (bulwazi butamani)", "incurable disease (bulwazi butasilikiki)" or "today's illness (bulwazi bwamazuaano)" (Shoko, ibid. 153).

In view of the above, it therefore becomes difficult to talk of HIV and AIDS as a natural disease though of course it is caused by sexual intercourse. The aged Tonga people will attribute this illness to either witchcraft or any evil spell. The challenge or problem is that this perception is deviant from a scientific causal explanation and that it hides the real cause of the disease. Arguably it also promotes oppression and brings about melancholy to the individual or community. Men who are mostly the culprits easily get away with it because they are not suspected. Witchcraft is seen to be the cause of this pandemic. Sorcery and magic are also form of witchcraft (Bourdillon, ibid. 115). A witch can use sorcery and or magic to bring about misadventure or any form of evil to the targeted person or family. In essence, witchcraft entails quite a lot. Bourdillon (1997) writing from a Zimbabwean context has this to say about witchcraft:

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> Witchcraft is not a precise term. It covers a variety of practices from gruesome rituals, through the secrete use of physical or magical poisons, to bizarre behaviour that goes against the social norms of society without necessarily doing physical harm to anyone. Because witchcraft does not respect the rules of the society, it is unpredictable and frightening (Bourdillon, 1997: 115).

From what Bourdillon (1997) says, witchcraft can also be used to explain why things in a community go wrong. Sometimes it is easy to understand why things go wrong. A lazy person gets poor crops because he has not done sufficient in preparing the soil and weeding. People can acquire venereal disease and HIV and ADIS through breaking sexual taboos by indulging in indiscriminate sex. Sometimes it is clear why spirits, who are believed to control the health of people and the elements of nature, should be displaced. But sometimes things go wrong when everyone has done their best, and this is a puzzle. If explanation has to be found, it has to be outside the moral norm (Bourdillon, Ibid 115).

Whether or not people personally believe in witchcraft, these beliefs are not irrational. Take for an example a granary (katula) being eaten by white ants (munanze) and collapsing while people were sitting under its shade. Everyone knows that it collapsed because it was weakened by termites. The question is but why did it collapse when people were sitting under it. Different people brought up differently would interpret it differently. Some would say it is God's will while those who believe in witchcraft will answer it from a witchcraft point of view (Bourdillon, ibid. 116). Similarly, if a person fell sick and eventually died of HIV and AIDS, only a few people in the society may associate this illness and death to normal disease. Normally, this sickness and or death will be attributed to human cause such as witchcraft. The problem is then big. From the time of illness, instead of seeking medical aid, relatives of the sick will opt for traditional intervention and assistance. Secondly, instead of helping the affected couple in the case of married people, a witch is sought. If the male is the one who is sick and dies, then the wife is believed to be the witch. For Dachs, these witches are believed to be anti-social and to have no inhibition about attacking kinsmen, even their own children or spouses (Dachs, 1973).

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The worst scenario in the context of HIV and AIDS is that this belief in witchcraft has influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS. The reason is that instead of seeing that this is HIV and AIDS, more often than not, most people wrongly concentrate on trivial issues such as who is responsible for the death. This is in line with Rev. Canaan Banana's line of thought. In his book, *A Century of Methodism In Zimbabwe 1891-1991*, Banana shows how African societies perceive issues about life and health. For him, every illness has a causal explanation. Someone is held responsible for that misfortune. A man would not just fall ill or just die like that without a reason. In Tonga society, illness and death are associated with witchcraft. This is what makes it difficult to control the spread of HIV and AIDS (Banana, 1991: 67).

Arguably, it is also difficult to curb the spread of the disease in some societies because of some people's double standards. From Banana's input, it can be learned that Africans have strong beliefs in their African Traditional Religion. They are born within this kind of religion. Unlike westerns, Africans and their religion are not separate entities. Africans are not converted into traditional religion but are born in it.

With the advent of Missionary faith, which claimed superiority over the indigenous faith, many Africans were converted to Christianity. Africans would still maintain their faith in their traditional perception of the deity. On Sundays they could go to church where they could sing hymns and worship together with others. But when things did not go well with them, they resorted to their faith of ancestral consultation. This is what Banana (1991) referred to as double standards (Ibid. 68).

The other reason for double standards was caused by this western faith. It came condemning everything African as evil and or backward. Africans who became Christians were not comfortable to practice their cultural faith in broad daylight. Hence they did it privately and at night. From what Banana (1991) has said, it can be seen that African Traditional Religion has retained its converts in times of crisis. This was a dual membership or faith for them. This perspective applies even in the Tonga community. When things are going well, the Tonga people will attribute everything to God as viewed by missionaries. When things go wrong the Tonga people will think of God in their

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traditional ways such as consulting traditional leaders or spirit mediums. When the problem gets bigger, the Tonga people will consult their ancestors (imizimu).

The above perspective helps to explain why HIV and AIDS in Binga are still prevalent in spite of the awareness campaigns as well as educative programmes. People still hold fast their traditional beliefs. When a person falls sick he or she will be taken to hospital, but when he or she gets very serious, he or she is taken to traditional healers (Banana, Ibid). Banana (1991)'s experience of this dual membership stems from his exposure as a minister of religion in the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe. As a minister in the Methodist church, one can serve both in urban and in rural areas where communities still believe in traditional practices.

Witchcraft is the most dreaded aspect of life. If the family suspects any witchcraft in the home, whether Christians or not, people quickly resort to traditional solutions such as consultation of the spirit media. It matters the less, a Christian or not, the fear of death has no exception, it grips all people. The fear of witchcraft is also a result of mistrust in the community. The feeling is that an African can do anything without feeling remorseful. For this reason, any antisocial activity is associated with witchcraft. HIV and AIDS is a new phenomenon on African soil, worse it cannot be cured, hence it is suspected to be caused by evil men or spirits. Belief in witchcraft among the Tonga people has impacted the lives of the community negatively. Besides the fear of witchcraft, people have suffered from HIV and AIDS. Still on causes of suffering and death, a number of literary references can be tapped.

Shoko's *Shona Traditional Religion and Medical Practice: Methodological Approaches to Religions Phenomena*, article offers a few more perspectives on illness and death. The first abstract is Gelfand (1965)'s contribution.

Having lived for a considerable long time among the Shona and possessing the advantage of his medical background, Gelfand seems to demonstrate ample knowledge of Shona problems of disease causation and health restoration mechanism. In this belief system, it is the spirit that causes sickness and ends sickness. Witches are also involved as causal agents. As a result, (n'anga), a traditional medical practitioner seeks the cause and heals

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disorders. In addition to his several other duties among the Shona people, for instance, he advises the people or patients on the methods or procedures of propitiation and offer rituals in order to cure the cause (Gelfand, 1965: 25). Gelfand goes on and says, the traditional practitioner prescribes the right herbs for the disorders suffered by the patient. Thus a n'anga, a traditional practitioner is partly spiritual and partly homeopathic (Gelfand, ibid. 25). Gelfand (1965) goes on to say that, people can seek help from (n'anga), the traditional healer. This suggests that Gelfand was in agreement with traditional Shona people concerning sickness, its causes and healing. He however, disagrees with this later on saying that the belief and method do not promote the western technological approach to natural sickness. Although Gelfand cannot completely subscribe to an African perception of sickness, suffering and death, he at least acknowledges and respects the practice.

The above paragraph helps to appreciate how deeply rooted the Africans are in their traditional beliefs. Although Gelfand was writing from a Shona experience, his contribution to the study is remarkable. The emphasis here is on the cultural practices. The study is trying to explore as much as possible cultural practices which tend to oppress vulnerable people in Binga, such as women in this era of HIV and AIDS. There are elements in this African community which are common. Of course there may be a danger of insensitivity in their application. There is always need to consider the type of community in which they develop, the ethnicity, and the context in which they are used. The problem stems from the common assumption by a number of people who argue that an African worldview is the same across the board. This is a misnomer and misrepresentation which does not give a true reflection of African communities and their values. Even if cultural practices may be similar in some instances, the aspect of context may not be under emphasized. Context changes everything. It may change meaning, it may change emphasis or it may even change value. However, his sociological approach to his investigation makes his piece of work meaningful to the study. The ontological assumption in the undertaken study is a social construction. The truth is socially constructed. Hence Gelfand' abstract is very relevant and stresses a point in the study. There is still another opinion on witchcraft as a cause of suffering and death. This is by none other than the person of Hubert Bucher.

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A Roman Catholic Bishop in Southern Africa adopts a sociological approach in assessing the Shona cosmology. Though like Gelfand, Bucher slightly differs in approach. Bucher (1980) goes further by arguing that the whole traditional cosmology has been seen to be a "philosophy of power." He contends that the Shona believe that the spirits live, act and share their feelings towards life, well-being and sorrow. "As such, spirits are symbolic representations or conceptualizations of those manifestations of power which are looming large in their daily lives" (Ibid. 13). Shona chiefs, spirit mediums, ancestral spirits and stranger spirits, witches and diviners-healer as well as independent churches are according to Bucher, subject to one basic notion of "power." The significance of this philosophy in the study is its closeness to Tonga tradition. It also strengthens the argument that some of these traditional beliefs have played a part in the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga people of Binga and have brought untold suffering to the innocent souls.

In his assessment of The Shona people, Bucher identifies spirits and witchcraft which he believes are central to understanding matters of health. He shows that spirit possession and witch craft represent different strategies of attacks, the first being a mild and less disruptive type than the second. In contrast, witchcraft accusations tend to operate in a wider sphere of interaction and can be utilized as a strategy of attack in the general context of hostility, particularly between equals (Ibid. 105-115). This perspective is also upheld by the Tonga people. Witchcraft is perceived as a paradigm of all evil and anti-social behaviour and they readily suspect it to work whenever something unpleasant or very much out of the ordinary occurs as such serious illness, ailments, misfortune or death.

The article from which the above argument derives, reviewed a selected principal literature on traditional religion and medical practices in Zimbabwe with a view to demonstrating how this subject has been dealt with through the contributions of scholars from various disciplines such as sociology and philosophy. The article explored the relationship between anthropology and sociology as used by previous scholars to study religion and medicine in the context of the Shona people in Zimbabwe on one hand and phenomenology on the other. Therefore the place of this insight in the study in question

is to assess if there are any different methodologies which can be explored to enhance the value of the study in question. The various perspectives assessed above, have shown a common perception of witchcraft as an anti-social behaviour in African communities on one hand, and on the other hand, they have showed how witchcraft has been associated to illness such as HIV and AIDS. In Binga, witchcraft has been used as a scapegoat for HIV and AIDS. The second popular African traditional belief which has brought confusion and commotion in this era of HIV and AIDS is the belief in ancestors.

3.6 The Tonga perception of ancestors in the context of HIV and AIDS.

Definition of ancestors

A number of scholars have defined the ancestors synoptically, meaning to say that they view the phenomenon from a similar perspective. Some have given short definition while others have rather chosen descriptive definitions. Here are some of the few selected scholars who have also written about ancestors.

Mbiti (1970), prefers calling the ancestors the living-dead (Mbiti, 1970:223). In African understanding, he feels that, ancestors are believed to be related to their family members; their communities and or their nations as it shall be explained later in the chapter .These ancestors are also connected to leaders such as headmen, chiefs and other traditional leaders who are responsible for communication. These leaders or elders become ancestors when they die. In this way, it then means ancestors can be said to be people of good standing who died a natural death and are now in the spirit world. Mbiti (1970) goes further and explains that ancestors are the departed of up to four or five generations who then come back and occupy the intermediate positions between men and the spirits and God. They "speak" a bilingual language of human beings whom they recently left through physical death, and of God to whom they are now nearer than when they were physically men. Because of this ontological position, the living –dead now constitute the largest group of intermediaries in African societies (Mbiti, 1970: Ibid).

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The purpose and importance of this definition and description of ancestors, is to provide a background which explains an African world view .An African world view may not be the same as the western world view .A good example is given by Walshaw (2012) as follows:

> 'If a tourist from the United States were to visit a remote Papua New Guinea community, it is likely that his or her Western world view would be at odds with the local community. The tourist's understanding of what constitutes the community is likely to comprise the countable numbers of people within that community. On the other hand, a member of the Papua New Guinea community might understand the community as comprising the people readily identifiable 'on the ground; together with those who have moved to other community sites as well as members of the community who have died. These ontological assumptions that relate to the nature of reality might be matched with epistemological assumptions that relate to the nature of valid knowledge of that reality. The community member might take it for granted, and possibly may not be able to articulate, that he or she knows all those people are "there" because their presence is felt in everything the community does. The tourist might defer to the seeing, touching or hearing aspects relating to the presence of community members' (Walshaw, 2012:47).

This piece of Walshaw's ideology shows that to understand the Tonga culture, one should view it from an African context and not from a Western one. Understanding this world view and culture will then facilitate understanding as to how it has been held responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS among the people of Binga, women in particular. More information about the influence of ancestors to the spread of HIV and AIDS is provided in the next paragraphs.

3.6.1 Different ethnic communities, different conceptions of ancestors.

From the Journal of Pan African studies, Vol .3, no.4, December 2009, downloaded on 26/01/15, throughout his writing, Solomon Mutsvairo shows an obsession with Zimbabwean past. His protagonists are Zezuru mythical and legendary figures whom he alleges to be the real makers of Zimbabwean history. Nehanda, Kaguvi, Mapondera and Chaminuka are the key figures who are viewed as Zimbabwean ancestors by the Zezuru and the ZANU-PF. ZANU –PF which has been in power since 1980 is predominantly Zezuru. These ancestors are believed to be the national ancestors who guard, guide and

protect the nation. As a responsibility, the two mentioned figures, Nehanda and Kaguvi are believed to have led the liberation struggle against the white colonialists (http:www;panafrican.com/does/v13, no 45).

Similarly, the Tonga people of Binga have an ethnical representative ancestor which they sometimes call a god. This peculiarity of ancestors is derived from an article, the '*Baobab Takes*', downloaded on the 10/01/15.

The abstract of the posted article shows that totems are used in Zimbabwean culture to identify the different clan that make up the ancient civilizations of the dynasties .The symbols are usually associated with animal names and provide the social identity of the clan .They are also meant to guard against incestuous behaviour.

There are at least 25 identifiable totems and 60 principal names (online, 10/01/15). Every clan is identified by a particular totem and principal praise name, which distinguish people who have the same totem but are from different clans. These totems and praise names are meant to group people who are descendants of one common ancestor and totem. Unity is recognized even across tribal boundary lines.

Concerning the common Tonga ancestor, the African mythology of the local Tonga tribe of the Zambezi valley states that Nyaminyami the river God who lives in Lake Kariba is believed to be a serpent –like creature. He is said to be about –three metres wide, but nobody dares to guess at his length.

Legends have it that water stains red when he swims past. The god was seen twice by a certain chief but since the arrival of the white men in the country; the god has been in hide out (https//baobab tales .worldpress.om).

The place of this mythological narrative in the study is to shed light on the Tonga cultural beliefs. This myth is valid in the sense that the study is dealing with an African who is deeply rooted in ancestral belief. In the myth, Nyaminyami the Tonga common ancestor

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caused the rise of the Kariba waters when he was angry (https//baobabtales.wordpress.com). During this time, people situated near the Lake died animals included. This shows how misfortunes are at times attributed to ancestors. In the context of HIV and AIDS, anybody who is positive maybe said to be reprimanded by the gods or ancestors for failing to observe certain cultural obligations (Ray, 1976:146).

The above nexus constitute the Tonga cultural structures. Even if the phenomenon, culture, ancestral belief in particular has an effect on it, HIV and AIDS is not understood from the context of a natural disease but someone is behind it.. The belief is that the spirit of the dead has a strong influence on the living, to bring suffering or to promote life; another perspective from the Nguni people buttresses the Tonga perception.

Nguni people believe that the ancestors cult was the main feature of Nguni religion in AD1700 (Ncozana, 2002:87).They believe that their ancestors were the owners of the land. It was the ancestors who passed on the land to the current generation. For this reason, the spirits of the departed,(amadlozi) had a great influence over the living. When a person died the Nguni believed that his spirit separated from the body, and floated around the grave where the body was buried .Later the spirit joined the council of the ancestors in the underworld [2002:88 Ibid] .The point stressed here is the influence the ancestors have on their descendants. The ancestors have the privileged and authority to bring or cause suffering to their kin or to protect them as the case might be. The Tonga people like the Nguni's believe in ancestors and their prerogative to enjoy their status over their kin. Their method of communication is basically through dreams (2002:88 lbid).They reveal themselves to their descendants to "warn them of danger, or to disclose new medicines to a magician of their line". It is an ancestor's prerogative to either reward or reproach. Sickness such as HIV and AIDS and or death, accidents and other form of misadventure have a causal explanation for them .Similar to Nguni culture, is the Zimbabwean Ndebele culture.

It should be emphasized here that these selected   cultural perspectives are neither in competition nor agreement with Tonga perspective. They purport to buttress the Tonga

perception of life, sickness, death and ancestral worship or veneration. These different views on ancestors' portrays that an African behaviour is different in situations such as in joy or in crisis. The Tonga concept of ancestor is almost the same as these given above.

An abstract from Bozongwana's book, *Ndebele Religion and Customs,* (Bozongwana, 1983:26-30), summarises the whole concept of life and especially life after death. In Ndebele culture, death should not be sudden .Sudden death raises questions which might lead to suspicion and revenge .A relative is suspected of foul play which in Ndebele is sometimes expressed as "UTshaka usekhaya '' meaning to say the witch could be a family member .So the Ndebele like Tonga do not believe in sudden or natural death (Bozongwana, 1983:26).

 Bozongwana also tries to connect sickness; accidents, suffering and death with the belief in ancestors .The argument is that the dead who are now ancestors have a role to play in the family of the living .To this effect there are procedures to follow when a person dies (lbid 26). Some rituals, such as burial rituals are performed .There are things to note here. The rituals are meant to prepare the dead for the transitional period .The other reason is to make sure that he becomes a good and fruitful ancestor in future (Gehman,2000:140).When the descendants are in trouble or face challenges, HIV and AIDS can be viewed in a twofold restoration. If the ancestors are suspected to be angry with the family, then HIV and AIDS could be feared to be caused by the ancestors. On the other hand, if the ancestors are assumed to be happy with their descendants, then HIV and AIDS can be cured by the ancestors. If not done by them directly, communication is done through dreams, where a medicine man can be identified and recommended for consultation (Ncozana, 2002:88).

The Ndebele rituals are performed at the home of the deceased- Those done at the grave and those done a year after burial, are all meant to prepare the deceased's journey to the Land of ancestors as well as to make them better ancestors .In turn, these ancestors fulfil a responsibility such as defending the kin when they are in trouble. Every misadventure experienced by the ancestors descendants such as sickness, AIDS included are addressed

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.The ancestor is normally regarded as a good spirit which can protect the kin from harmful spirits (Gehman, 2000:29).

Although the study is not about the different ethnic communities, it is equally important to get some different perspectives. These perspectives are important in that they buttress the point of the African concept of life, sickness and death. They also show how an African is important as a member of the family, especially elderly people. The rites and rituals performed in the above examples and the constant addressing of the dead signifies that an African does not die but only changes form and worlds.

In the context of HIV and AIDS, it should now be understood why some Africans – Tonga included could not understand the AIDS pandemic. For them illness is not natural but caused by humans. It is caused either by angry gods, evil spirits or witches. This death can be stopped not by good health or Western medicine, but by ancestral consultation. HIV and AIDS is in this context classified under the enemy's vice and can only be cured by medicine man who is recommended by ancestors through dreams. The issue of ancestors is also expressed by Gehman.

Gehman (1999), has extensively written alongside his contemporaries concerning the role of ancestors in various ethnic groups .Gehman has been quoted by other scholars such as E.B Taylor (1924) and Hebert Spencer (1877), Taylor (1924) and Spencer (1877) as quoted in Gehman (1999), impress that religion stems from ancestors Gehman (1999:44) in his book, *The Primitive Culture,* feels that religion began when a "primitive man "thought about dreams. Gehman believed that bodies remained in bed while the spirit travelled elsewhere in dreams. Their ancestors also visited at night. This way religion was formed.

Sharing the same view with Gehman, Spencer impresses that religion started with ancestor worship (lbid 44). Spencer's view concerning ancestors is that great people such as medicine doctors, warriors and chiefs received respect when they died. This could be because of what they are capable of doing. To make them happy, offerings were made.. Continuing such offering constituted cult worship .By this, it can be suggested that ancestor worship is the root of every religion (Crook 1909:427).

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However, this philosophy was rebutted by Smith (1966:39) when he argued thus, the term, "ancestor worship is highly misleading ". Jomo Kenyatta (1938:255) also dismissed the claim that ancestors worship makes any contribution to the communities of the living. It is most likely that people or scholars who write about ancestors worship are anthropologists who are unbelievers who even doubt Christianity, falsifying it.

This study's finding seems to render little or no contribution to the study in question. One may conclude that the information is invalid in as far as the study is concerned. However, this maybe a misguided conclusion .The study is about a community of people with a culture. This makes the ethnic group under study a unique people because culture is not global or universal. The importance of considering the Tonga culture is also meant to understand the worldview of the people. The validity of exploring Tonga culture in the context of HIV and AIDS is basically designed to assess how far the theory is true that HIV and AIDS are spread by some of the Tonga cultural practices.

In light of the above, Pollard (1998)'s theory of positive deconstruction is of great importance. The theory and its method explain how different worldviews can be approached. An abstract from Pollard's, "*Evangelism made slightly less difficult*", reading from page 48 to 56, Pollard provides a methodology of ontological and epistemology assumptions. The method he argues is a process.

Not delving into the details of the whole theory, the key terms such as identifying the worldview, affirming it and discovering the errors, is equally important. The worldview of the Tonga people is meaningless without culture. This worldview may have some element of truths in it (Pollard, 1998:48). Subjecting the theme of ancestral cult to Pollards theory, may show the importance of the study and value the place of ancestors in it.

However, this aspect of ancestor when analysing it, it needs a particular care so as to draw a distinctive line between their relevance to the study and otherwise. The relevance of ancestors in the study can be expressed in terms of their influence on human life

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including even descendants' health, sickness and death. *African Traditional Religion* by Gehman (2000) stipulates plainly the roles of ancestors in any community.

In the Tonga community ancestors play a vital role. It is important to distinguish ancestors from evil spirits. Spirits which are not ancestors do not belong or represent any ethnic group. They do not originate from any human descendants. They do not have names but just spirits (Gehman 2000: 139).Whereas the living –dead or ancestors are held in both fear and affection. The spirits can cause serious illness such as HIV and AIDS while ancestors can heal such sickness.

Following the relation of spirits and ancestors alluded to in the points above, it can therefore be seen that the spirit may not be good to the Tonga community. On the other hand, the ancestors may be of some value to them.

Gehman (2000) has expressed the role of ancestors as follows:

> Ancestors are seen as guardians of the family tradition and life.
> These ancestors are therefore very senior in community hence they are consultants.
> When the living fail to uphold the customs of the fathers, then it is the duty of the ancestors to correct the errors .Virtually every crisis that develops whether it is drought or pestilence, sickness, (HIV) or death, may be attributed to the displeasure of the ancestors .By these means, the living –dead make known their will and seek correction of the wrong.
> As elders, ancestors serve as owners of the land, fertility of the earth and causing the food to grow. The land becomes 'sacred' in the sense that it builds together the living with their ancestors.
> Ancestors receive requests from the living .In their relation, the living may implore, beg, request or ask their ancestors for assistance. Fertility is the greatest interest to the living –dead, since without a continual reproduction of children, they will lack descendants who can continue to remember them and supply necessary sustenance .Thus people often request the ancestors for bearing and preserving children .Since the ancestral spirits may be the cause of trouble among the living because of some, requests and offerings which are often made up to the living –dead. The medicine man frequently identifies a particular ancestor who

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has been offended and who needs to be propitiated in order to lessen peace and prosperity.

Ancestors are intermediaries between man and God. Being close to God, they have full access to the channel of communication with God directly. A skilful hunter among the Tonga in Zambia found that his fortunes in hunting began to ware .Upon seeking the advice of the diviner; he was advised to sacrifice to the living –dead. Not satisfied, he enquired.

"How is it that we folks are always worshiping ''mizimu" (ancestors)? Why not approach Leza (Supreme Being) direct? To which the diviner replied "because ancestral spirits are subdominant Chiefs under God, the supreme chief. Just as in our human courts of justice you first take your affairs to subdominant official , and he is able to take them to the higher chief, so also the ancestors play a similar part in relation to Leza .We approach them first and then lay our affairs before God (Gehman,2000:142).

However, most people approach ancestors without the knowledge that they are merely intermediaries between God and gender (sic). Mbiti goes beyond the boundaries of reasonableness when he contends, "God is the ultimate recipient whether or not worshippers are aware of it (Mbiti, 1969:58). It is also the ancestors 'duty to communicate to their descendants in times of crisis. The ancestors can warn them about the looming danger. When some crisis occurs, whether it is personal illness, tribal disaster or death, the diviner is consulted to ascertain whether some ancestors are seeking to make known their displeasures (Gehman, opcit. 142).

The purpose of the examined different scholars was to get a variety of perspectives on ancestors. It was also to test the Tonga worldview and ancestors to see if there are elements of some truths which can be derived for the study. Using Pollards method of positive deconstructions, it can be noted that elements of truths and errors are prevalent in this literature (Pollard, 1998, 48-50).

From the selected views, it can be noted that emphasis was placed on the role of ancestors as mediators between God and man sic (Gehman, lbid 142).The study findings also frequently show ancestors as protective to their descendants. They can protect anyone who seems to be in danger. They can equally punish the disobedient (Parrinder,

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1976:59). Any form of suffering such as illness, HIV and AIDS in our days are all attributed to the works of the ancestors.

The elements of truth therefore can derive from the contention that sickness or illness may be caused by either ancestors or other harmful spirits (Gehman, 2000:139-141). In the context of HIV and AIDS, the enemy is a witch or an angry ancestor. If HIV and AIDS are caused by a witch, then the ancestor plays a protective role. The ancestor through dreams can advise relatives of the sick person (Smith, 1966:68). On the other hand, if someone is sick and that sickness is believed to be caused by ancestors themselves, then there is a paradigm shift. The ancestors are no longer protective to their kin. They are the ones causing suffering. In this case, no medicine man can be of any help to the patient .All what can be done, is that the feared ancestors are approached, or placated. The belief is that the ancestors are angry and that they want to be paid in form, as mitigation.

The errors according to Pollard stem from the evil spirits and ancestors as the cause of HIV and AIDS in our days. These cultural practices are examined in the context of HIV and AIDS, meaning to say that previously ancestors were viewed in a contemporary context which is different from todays.

Because the study is examined how possible ancestors could be said to be a vehicle of the spread of HIV and AIDS, it becomes quick to learn that even today, some Tonga people still believe in ancestors. Their belief in ancestors may not be the issue. The issue is when they attribute suffering from a terminable disease such as AIDS to the evil spirits or ancestors (Ray, 1976:150). The sick person is already in pain from the ailment and the Tonga worsens it when they see the causer to be a human being. It is worse when they spend time trying to consult medicine men for solutions. In this way, AIDS among Tonga people of Binga will go unchallenged. This is all due to the lack of knowledge concerning the disease. Most Tonga people still cling to the old philosophy that what is caused by people can only be treated by people, (izintu zyabantu ziyanda bantu).

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The power and influence of culture on humanity was stressed in the above passages. There is yet another issue which needs to be addressed if Tonga people are to be helped in this era of HIV and AIDS. Sad to mention, this is their worldview. The Tonga mentality concerning mythology and superstition should be deconstructed and reconstructed .Anyway ,this is far from suggesting that they should have no value of their culture .Culture is good always simply because it is for identity and also distinguishes different ethnic groups from other ethnic groups. Culture should be relevant to the present times. Culture should also serve the interests of the people and not oppress people. Apart from ancestors, there are other cultural beliefs which have been suspected of causing sickness and or death.

A good summary of an African perception of death and what causes it has been expressed by Mugambi (1976:93) as follows: The curse of a senior person who has recently died may cause death (Mugambi, 1976:93). African communities have high respect of elderly people such as fathers, mothers and grandmothers. Disrespect to such people by a young person in the community leads to reprimand by them when they die. This reprimand may be in form of sickness, suffering or even death (Mugambi, lbid 93). In this case, HIV and AIDS can fit very well in predominant assumption of everything that causes suffering and death. Seeing an HIV patient is therefore seeing a cursed person. A curse in this regard, is treated with contempt. People shun people who are believed to be under a curse. One would understand why AIDS patients are isolated and shunned because they are believed to have disrespected elderly people. The challenge now is who hears this person's plight? Instead of helping, people see the one who is serving a punishment.

Mugambi (1976) goes further and says that insulting a deity man causes suffering and or death (Mugambi, lbid), for him, another cause of suffering or death according to African traditional beliefs maybe dishonouring the deity through words and deeds. A person who makes a derogatory statement about God as understood by the community is believed to be inviting trouble and suffering to his life. If such a person suffers or dies of HIV and AIDS, then the community may maintain that the person suffers because of dishonouring the one who gives and sustains life (Mugambi, lbid).

Taboos broken by living relatives or neighbours' are yet another cause of suffering and death. This one is common among the Tonga people of Binga. In Shona and Tonga cultures, it is a taboo for someone to say ill words to an elderly person in the community. One, who does so, may fall sick or suffer (Mugambi, lbid).

In view of the above, Mugambi has arrayed the African beliefs concerning life and death. Although Mugambi wrote years back, his careful craft of African cultural beliefs still have influence even today. Suffering for an African has a causal explanation. People do not just die. It is strongly believed that serious illness such as AIDS and cancer are caused by human beings or spirits or angry ancestors.

A close analysis of the study findings on culture and HIV and AIDS, reveals two ontological assumptions. The first one is about the value of culture to an African – a Tonga in particular. Secondly, the findings have also shown the negative side of some of these cultural practices. There are good and bad things about one and the same culture.

3.7 The Positive elements of Tonga culture

All African people agree that the tribal or ethnic community is the paramount social reality apart from which humanity cannot exist (Paris, 1984:51). Similarly, all agree that the community is a sacred phenomenon created by the supreme God, protected by ancestral spirits (Paris, 1984: lbid). These and other African values such as taboos and the place of elders and their respect in the community were good yesterday. These made a typical Tonga society which was characterized by, respect of elders, women and humanity in general. The social norms and values were upheld till recently. These values preserved life in its abundance. This was arguably good. However, some of the Tonga cultural practices only come under fire in the context of HIV and AIDS.

3.7.1 Some of the negative elements of the Tonga culture in the context of HIV and AIDS

In essence, this is what the study is set to unfold. The study is trying to examine a few selected cultural values such as polygamy inheritance and such beliefs as promoters of

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the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga people. However this is not to suggest that all Tonga assumed fears have negative effects on the people.

A good example of some of the negative practice is polygamy, which is prevalent among the Tonga people. Monogamous matrimonial affiliation in Binga was not very common. Even today, polygamy is still prevalent.

According to Tonga culture, polygamy was good. Tonga people conceived polygamy as a means of status for men in the community. It was also meant for economic purposes. A big family was believed to be readily available to work in the fields and that this big family would produce enough food for the whole family .Gelfand (1984) in his book, *'The Genuine Shona'* shows how the Shona culture understood polygamy. His concept of polygamy shares similarities with that of Tonga. As previously mentioned above, the traditional Tonga saw polygamy as an achievement in many respects. The enumerated reasons for marrying many women included the idea of morality in terms of sexual wants. (Gelfand, 1984:176). For the Tonga people, this practice was justified by what Gelfand (1984:176) has given as the reason for polygamy among the Shona people of Zimbabwe.

Looking critically at Gelfand's view of polygamy, it can be seen that this culture went unchallenged. If it worked for good to the people of old, it needs to be re –examined today to see whether it is still valid. The first thing to note is that true love cannot be shared. Sharing it means either the man is not satisfied with his sexual wants (lbid .176) or that he is not confident in any of his spouses. The challenge is when he is not satisfied sexually he will go out for extra sexual relationships with other women .If not him, any one of his wives if not satisfied by the husband, she can equally look for someone to satisfy her. Anyone can guess the outcome. In this era of HIV and AIDS, this practice is to fuel the spread of AIDS pandemic. Although Gelfand was not writing in this context of HIV and AIDS it shows how negative the practice is.

In the light of the above revelation by Gelfand, AIDS is not the only problem with polygamy. Suffering which stems from a polygamous home may include putting children

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at risk. If parents are HIV positive, the whole family becomes vulnerable, a thing which may lead to other members contracting it (Phiri etal, 2003:134). The chances of contracting the disease are high. It is the Tonga culture for members of the family to assist the sick person in any way possible. This includes washing the sick person who can no longer wash himself. Women and children are the most vulnerable members of the family in Isabel Apawo Phiri (2003) a young girl was put at risk when she was requested to look after the sick brother- in- law and was was not using any protective facilities such as gloves when washing the sick (Phiri, lbid). This example by Chauke is only a confirmation of a practical life in the combination of ignorance and innocence males will always attribute the pandemic disease to witch craft or a bad spell as seen above. To convince them that the suffering is caused by an infectious disease will only be to raise suspicion. In this case women will always be the victim of the circumstances.

A terrible testimony by a Moroccan girl Leila in the book, "*Married by Force*", emotionally exposes an African tradition which can be described as insensitive of human rights. The tradition is so oppressive and inhuman. Although not representing all women, the narration of Leila's ordeal shows how bad and negative Africans sometimes can be, especially as experienced by women. In the testimony, Leila was forced to marry a man she did not love. The marriage was said to have been the fathers own arrangement. According to the Moroccan tradition, the Muslim in particular, it would be to dishonour one's parents if a girl refused to accept in marriage the given man (Leila, 2007:3).This particular tradition shares commonality with Tonga tradition. The only different is that with the Tonga people, it is a welcome tradition .The parents as well as the affected party are all comfortable about the custom .However, whether or not the tradition is common and acceptable in Binga, Leila's experience sets the tone of an oppressed and hurt woman (2007:3, lbid).

Something is amiss here; the meaning of marriage is not well defined and thought of, for an example as mentioned before. From the shared testimony, the Moroccan young woman put her wishes as a dream in which she could marry her Mr Right. She could imagine loving someone to marry and enjoy marriage life. She could have modern

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procedures such as a white wedding and all formalities accompanying the marriage process. But she lamented, her marriage procedure took only ten minutes (Leila, lbid: 4). The aspect of harassment and beating was also prevalent in the narration. This is loud and clear that beating of woman is an African traditional practice. Any peace loving African should not only shun advocating human rights. It is actually males who should take the initiative and repent of their ill behaviour.

A similar hurting experience of sexual harassment is told by Dortzbach and Meredith in their Book, "*The AIDS crisis*" written in 1984 and published by Intervarsity Press. Arguably, the book's thrust is the male dominancy in society. In the context of HIV and AIDS this piece of literature purports to unearth the suffering caused by males in society. Males are seen as sole perpetrators of domestic violence in some communities. The Tonga community cannot be exempted. Violence and oppression stems from male dominance in any given society.

To strengthen the supposed sexual violence, Dortzbach and Meredith {1984}, cite the story of Tamar and Amnon. Running through, the story, one is able to deduce a number of antisocial and unethical traits.

In this narrative, evil at its worst is exposed. David represents males' egocentricity in a community. The plot to rape someone's wife is traumatic to the victim. The Tonga culture previously used to uphold a high sense of honour and respect for women. But in the example of David, (Dortzbach and Meredith, 1984:78), males are courageous to inflict –emotional pain and suffering to the innocent females. In the context of HIV and AIDS, the end result is not only emotional but also physical. The second derived pathetic experience is violence even within family members when Amnon brews a plot to rape his sister .Here, the acts of violence, violation and incest cannot be doubted. Males at times are so violent that they can do anything even if it tarnishes the image (Dortzbach and Meredith, 1984:80) .Raping is unethical and tarnishes the image of the perpetrator as well as of the victim. In Tonga culture, the rapist is considered a social misfit. He loses credit as a male and is laughed at by individuals and the community at large. The victim

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at times receives sympathy from the community. People feel sorry for such a person. However people can also make her feel very ashamed when they accuse her of consenting and boo her. There is also the act of violation of tradition in the narrative; the act of incest among Tonga people was received with great contempt. Even to this day, incest is a great taboo in Tonga community. It is also an unpardoned offence.

In view of the above nexus, Dortzbach and Meredith's narrative immensely contribute to the study in question. The narrative is a vivid example of the problem grappled with in the study. The story of David and Amnon cannot be said to be cultural practice. It is simply antisocial and should be just condemned by all peace loving members of the community. The story of Tamar in the study, portrays two issues, firstly, it shows how incestuous relationships can be common in families. This kind of behaviour can cause and spread HIV and AIDS. Secondly, the story is a lesson not only for the Tonga female but for all victims, that acts of this nature should be reported. The narrative also shows how HIV and AIDS can be contracted and spread. Unlike in the story where Tamar reported the incident, the Tonga women will not do so. This is a serious culture of silence. All in all, this shows how culture can at times be questionable in times of this AIDS pandemic .If it was good in the past, one would doubt its credibility nowadays. What should be protective is now oppressive. What should be held as norms and values of a community? Tonga as a people has gradually lost their heritage. They are no longer the Tonga who used to serve the interests of everybody in their community irrespective of sex and age. However some good elements of culture can be used to stop the spread of AIDS.

A good example is where traditionalists of Botswana have used traditional circumcision to reduce the prevalence of HIV and AIDS. This is shown in Amanze's article in, *"Our Burning Issue at Pan African Response"* (Katengo et al, 2013:91-97).

Botswana has not been spared from the HIV and AIDS pandemic. From Amanze's abstract and introduction, there are two methods derived for responding to HIV and AIDS, this cultural practice was prevalent among the Tswana of the Mochundi Village in Southern Botswana. Formally this practice was meant to enhance the Tswana's identity.

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This was no more than just to perpetuate their tradition. However, it later was seen as a means to protect people from HIV and AIDS.

This culture may seem to have nothing to offer to the study. The culture itself is not Tonga Culture. The tradition is alien to them. It should also be noted that the study is not focusing on how to curb the spread of HIV and AIDS through such means as male circumcision.

However, the relevance of Amanze's article is to show ways which can be used to stop the spread of the AIDS pandemic. Important to note, is the initiation by the chief Kgafela to use the same cultural traditions to wage war against the pandemic. The introduction of male circumcision by Botswana's traditional leaders reduced the spread of HIV and AIDS in the country.

Chief Kgafela is hailed to be an ardent supporter of Bakgata traditions culture. According to Sunday Standard immediately after this installation, Kgosi Kgafela reintroduced initiation schools that were stopped by his father more than twenty years earlier. The chief's move touched the minds and hearts of many people who responded overwhelmingly to their chief's appeal. In the words of Gontse – Bass, "In their great numbers, men and women, young and old, fat and slim, tall and short, married and unmarried came forward and engaged with pride in the teachings and lessons of the old traditions".

In the same vein, the Sunday Standard reported that thousands of people men and women, young and old, educated and illiterate, rich and poor responded to the chief's call and enrolled themselves into the initiation schools. This overwhelming response became a demonstration of how Bakgata cherish their culture and traditions. As a result, a mass circumcision of initiatives in the Kgatlang district took place in August 2009 at Debora Relief Memorial Hospital.

From Amanze's abstract, the study can benefit quite a lot. Firstly, the study is not against the Tonga culture per se. The role of culture in any given society is important. The study is also not against the role of traditional leaders. Further on, the study is not advocating replacement of Tonga culture. However, the study's purpose is to examine the Tonga

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cultural practices, one by one to see if they are still relevant, especially in this era of HIV and AIDS. Amanze's contribution therefore is the idea of tribal leaders such as chiefs taking initiatives in trying to curb the spread of the disease. If only Tonga traditional leaders, using their traditions would be positive in dealing with HIV and AIDS just like Chief Kgafela, then a way forward would be mapped.

In a community, traditional leaders such as chiefs, kraal heads and or religious leaders are usually respected. If there is anything to communicate or teach the community, such involvement by these leaders, makes the idea easily acceptable. When dealing with issues that pertain to cultural perception, the above mentioned leaders are the right people to engage since they are the custodians of community traditional values. From the example cited in this article, Amanze stresses the point of engaging. The point is raised from Amanze as quoted by Gontse-Bass as follows:

> "In their great numbers, men and women, young and old, fat and slim, tall and short, married and unmarried came forward and engaged with pride in the teachings and lessons of the old tradition (Katengo al, 2013: 92)".

In this narrative, the chief had a magnetic influence to make the people see the need to map a way forward. In his heart he had a magnet and in his head he had a compass to guide his community concerning a solution to the problem of HIV and AIDS. When the people saw the initiative by Kgatleng, they bought this idea and engaged. This they did by upholding their traditions. Interesting enough, these people did not abandon or dismiss their tradition, but rather used it in a context which prioritized the needs of the community. It was the tradition which served the interest of the people and not the other way round. The issue of HIV and AIDS in Binga needs this kind of approach. The theory of engaging also means that the social constructed meaning and truth depends on community involvement.

In view of the above paragraph, the community together with its leader Kgatleng, identified the community worldview and analysed a tradition which was observed by the local community. Circumcision for the Mochundi people was a cultural one (Ibid, 92). The importance of this cultural tradition as alluded to earlier on, was also for identity. However, the chief and his people in a bid to save lives of the people applied Pollard's

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theory of positive deconstruction. According to positive deconstruction, the element of truth here is that it has been scientifically proved that circumcision reduces the spread of HIV and AIDS.

However, the old method of circumcision used here is what has to be improved. People should be advised to visit clinics for the modern type circumcision. The idea of circumcision beside from being a mark of identity, it was also meant for health reasons. However, the method of circumcision is the one which had a health problem. It was done traditionally by using sharp stones or metal to remove the fore skin. But once Chief Kgatleng revived the circumcision institutions, a new technological method was introduced and administered in clinics and hospitals.

The idea of institutions where the community should be enlightened of on HIV and AIDS should be considered in Binga. This HIV and AIDS issue has some consequences on the lives of people in Binga, females in particular. A Kenyan situation given below is a good example of how females can be vulnerable to HIV and AIDS due to poor livelihood of people. The article also shows the subsequent consequences of AIDS in females. The article: Africa Challenge: ACC Africa Journal of Theology, January 2001 Vol 1 No 1 – Nairobi: Ed Arnold C. Temple, AACC, and Violence against women: Implications of social and religio-cultural Practices on HIV and AIDS Infections among women in Kenya by Constance R.A Shisanya.

Globally, HIV and AIDS are emerging as one of the greatest destroyers of life. This destruction has tremendous implications on the general welfare of all people regardless of their socio-economic status. Women, however, are more vulnerable to HIV and Aids infections due to power imbalance between genders, in most communities, that result from patriarchal structures (Shisanya, 2001:52).

Patriarchy enables males on one hand, to rule in the domestic and public spheres of life. On the other hand, females are marginalized in all spheres of life through direct force, rituals, laws and division of labour, among others. Unfortunately, females' dependency on males in all spheres of life reduces their capacity for decision making in matters

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related to sexuality and own life, forcing them into practices which expose them to HIV and AIDS infections (Shisanya, Ibid: 92).

This introductory remark though from a Kenyan scenario, sheds light on the Tonga situation in Zimbabwe. The trend remains the same that in this era of HIV and AIDS, females are the most vulnerable to the disease. This could be due to what Shisanya (2001) has given as gender imbalances however; these female's- fates may differ from community to community. In some cases women are more vulnerable than in other cases. This may be due to different social structures or cultures. Nevertheless, the damage these social structures have caused on women is what concerns this study. The consequences of HIV and AIDS on these females are loud and clear. They can be arrayed as follows:

Apart from the social and religio-cultural violence females experience that subjects them to HIV and AIDS infections, additional violence is underscored by the nature of life they lead as a result of infection or association with persons with HIV and AIDS (Ibid, 57). In Kenya, many females are marginalized at their place of work, in social gatherings such as the church and could even be denied access to social amenities like drawing water from the common well (Ibid: 57). Those who are married face greater problems at the demise of their husbands since they are blamed for the death of their husbands. In case the husband's family is aware of the actual cause of death, the widow is accused of having sexually gratified her spouse to the extent of driving him to promiscuous behaviour (Ibid: 58). This corroborates the Women's Desk Survey (WCC, 1997: 40) that in some communities women are blamed for their husband's infidelities and HIV and AIDS.

Consequently, many men who die of HIV and AIDS related cases are highly educated and trained. They leave behind widows with lower incomes. This creates many financial problems to widows who already have spent a lot of money on their husband's medication. In such cases, widows could spend more time on their jobs so as to raise some substantial money for their families. Unfortunately, the children are left to spend most of their time without parental guidance (Ibid: 58). The danger here is a possibility of such children to have delinquent behaviour or engage in early sexual activities. Sometimes the widow can engage her children in wage employment so as to raise money

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for their education. Such children lack basic necessities such as food and educational material which could easily make them drop out of school. Subsequently, they lose an opportunity to advance their education which could have enabled them to get good jobs in future (Ibid, 59).

This Kenyan example fits the Zimbabwean situation. It explains the Tonga situation which can be said to be worse when compared to the Kenyan scenario. In Binga, there are only a handful people who are formally employed. Many of them are out of employment not by choice but because naturally there are no jobs or job opportunities in Binga. There are no industries which could provide employment.

The little source of employment that there is, cannot sustain the community. This economic situation was already unbearable for the Tonga community even before the loss of bread winners. It is then worsened by the death of one parent or both. The stress is already there even before this death. The stress doubles with the calamity which befalls the family.

Secondly, it was already mentioned in the previous chapter concerning the challenges faced by this ethnic group, the Tonga. Education in terms of schools and institutions of high learning is a challenge. There are few schools in the District. By virtue of this, this translates to say that there are a few children who have opportunities to attain even a primary level of education. Even those who attempt to go to school, at some point; they also find it difficult to raise fees for their education. This is because of economic challenges which have been a result of unemployment. The HIV and AIDS pandemic which so far has not been adequately addressed has even worsened the situation.

Many HIV seropositive mothers worry about the future of their children as orphans. It so happens that the victims in Kenya are of the reproductive age and they leave behind very young children. Yet the extended family in Kenya is not as supportive as it used to be (Forsythe and Raw, 1996: 45). Some of the orphaned children develop health problems due to stress and lack of parental love. Others get malnourished due to an unbalanced

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diet. This Kenyan situation helps to explain some Tonga situation in the study. Of course situations may not be the same but there are common elements found in more than one group of people or country.

Many HIV seropositive mothers in Kenya learn about the cause of their husband's deaths and by extension their own health status through gossip and hearsay (Shisanya 2000). This practice underscores the violence women face in their communities. Most females conceal their health status because of the stigma that is attached to HIV and AIDS in this country. Femnet (1994:1) says the stigmatization of women AIDS suffers is more pronounced than their male counterparts (Femnet, 1994:1). This explains why females conceal the information so as to secure their marriages. Sadly, the health of such females deteriorates very fast the moment they conceive (Mati, 1997).

In fact, these females can easily die since many health workers are reluctant to attend to them in fear of exposing themselves to HIV and AIDS. According to Mati (1997: 60) the HIV seropositive pregnant females that could have undergone caesarean section and operative virginal deliveries could fail to be attended to in hospitals where protective equipment is in short supply. In the Zimbabwean scenario, health issues are pertinent. The delivery systems are facing a lot of challenges. Due to economic hardships in Zimbabwe, many qualified health personnel left the country in search of greener pastures in neighbouring countries and even in far places such as the United Kingdom. This move has created and exposed a serious gap in the health sector. In places such as Binga, the area under study, it is even worse. Firstly, there is only one hospital and a few clinics. The staffing is in a serious shortage. Secondly, those that are sent to go and work there may not be willing. Accommodation is a challenge. This then explains why many Tonga females who are HIV positive die both at home and at medical institutions. At home, there is no-one who can attend to them because of cultural beliefs where such illness would be said to be caused by witches.

Semprini (1995: 135) reports that the HIV seropositive females who undergo caesarean sections develop serious post-operative complications. Generally, HIV induces many

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health complications in such females such as cervical cancer, infertility and uterus fibroids. The severe complications experienced by HIV seropositive females can lead to many maternal deaths in Africa (Bulterys, 1996). Besides, they put other people at risk if they refuse to accept their status since they could easily pass the virus to their babies, sexual partners and health workers. In Binga only a small percentage of people can subscribe the AIDS pandemic to a natural cause, otherwise, the rest still believe that it is a disease caused by human beings. Here human being is seen in the sense of evil spells such as witchcraft and sorcery. The double tragedy here is that the infected female will suffer from the disease before she eventually dies. She will also spread it either to sex partners or to those who attend to her in the course of time. There are many more disentangled family relationships in the community than good relations.

Writing from a female perspective, Shisanya observations of women's experience in the era of HIV and AIDS, relate to the attitude of males towards females. She explains very well how traditional structures can sometimes be oppressive to the 'less equal' – the women, in the society. Although Shisanya (2001) as quoted in the Journal of 2001 volume 1 edited by Temple, writes from a Kenyan background and context, her article offers significant relevance to the study in question. It is a true reflection of male oppressive mentality. It also addresses the issues of great suspicion such as the act of witchcraft. It gives a summary of people in a community who are reluctant to see women as equals with men in the society. This narrative buttresses the point grappled with in the study, in respect of the need to hear the female voice in the Tonga community in this era of HIV and AIDS. Chitando's views on Traditional Religion as a means of the spread of HIV and AIDS are important here.

Professor Chitando, the Zimbabwean African Traditional Religion scholar who is currently a lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe, has written quite a number of articles and books in the area of ATR. He has also written quite substantially on HIV and AIDS. In the article, "*African Religion and HIV and AIDS*", he battles with whether not ATR is responsible for the spread of HIV or is a solution to it.

In his introductory remarks, Chitando in Beverly Haddad (2011: 237), says that the role of religion in response to the HIV epidemic has come under increasing scrutiny (Haddad,

2011: 237). Chitando and other theologians, scholars and even anthropologists have tried to examine the impact of religious beliefs as a response to the effects of HIV and AIDS. The Common trend however, is that religion such as Christianity can offer meaningful contribution to the issues pertaining to HIV and AIDS.

The article is trying to analyse the literature on ATRs by examining the views of different scholars regarding their response to HIV (Haddad, 2011: 237). However, the interest of the study is not the whole article. It is rather focused on Chitando's discourse on harmful cultural practices. This is what is relevant to this study.

It is the study findings that Chitando and other ATR scholars feel that females and children are exposed to AIDS through some religious beliefs (Ibid: 237). The blame is on rigid gender roles which he says were supposed to be handed down by God or the ancestors. Chitando feels these roles have disadvantaged women. Chitando quoting Musa W. Dube a scholar from Botswana, say that the female's vulnerability to HIV is due to the roles that the societies have assigned to them (Ibid: 327). Dube argues:

> "Due to their ascribed gender roles, women are highly vulnerable to infection; they bear the burden of caring for the infected; they carry the HIV and AIDs stigma and when infected they are less likely to have access to quality care. In all the four concerns of the HIV and AIDS epidemic (prevention, care, stigma and confronting social injustice) women are the hardest hit due to their gendered role" (Haddad, 2011: 239).

Musa Dube here shares the same sentiments with Shisanya. The two scholars have a sympathetic tone which could be influenced by their gender. The four salient features mentioned by Dube, namely care; prevention; stigma and confronting social injustice are common across Africa. They only differ in their context depending on their milieu.

One of the cultural practices which has earned its popularity in scholarly debates by many scholars' male and female is polygamy. Polygamy is a cultural practice whereby a man marries more than one woman (Ibid, 239). It is the study's findings that polygamy is the common factor which has influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS among females. Musimbi Kanyoro once raised her misgivings concerning the practice of polygamy. Kanyoro believes that the reality of HIV and AIDS has made the opposition to the institution even stronger (Ibid, 240).

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Another cultural practice which has come under fire is the practice of wife inheritance (levirate). This practice is very common among the Tonga people of Binga in Zimbabwe. It is a cultural practice which in its own even before the advent of the new phenomenon, HIV and AIDS, was already an oppressive tradition. In this practice, a male relative of the deceased is expected to inherit the surviving spouse of the brother. Some rituals to that effect are performed after which the female becomes another wife to this man officially. The male who engages into this cultural practice has now a bigger responsibility to satisfy the needs of the family. He has also to increase his capacity to satisfy the increased number of wives sexually. This also increases the possibility of an increased AIDS pandemic in the family. The newly married woman could have been infected by her late husband, if the man is believed to have died of HIV and AIDS. Now by sexual intercourse, the inheritor of this woman also gets infected and in turn infects the other wives.

Chitando cites yet another harmful cultural practice which has been under scrutiny by many scholars such as Kanyoro and others. The practice is that of widow cleansing. In this practice, a man is ordered to sleep or have sex with the widow in a bid to cleanse her of the evil spirits of her late husband. The consequence here is the failure to observe and promote human rights. In this case, the woman is not given an opportunity to exercise her rights to remain free. Although cited by a Zimbabwean scholar, this practice is not very common among the Tonga people of Binga. For an example when a Tonga married man dies, after a period of one year, there is a ceremony called (makande) explained as a ceremony made in memory of the deceased. It is also the time when the deceased man's property is shared amongst close relatives. It is also here when inheritance of the widow takes place. The process is the one which involves rituals such as having sex with the widow. It is the brother of the deceased who has sex with the brother's widow. This is an initiation which begins a lifetime relation of married couples. This is common and is known by all Tonga people.

Chitando gives yet another harmful cultural practice, the female circumcision it is also referred to as genital cutting or mutilation in the study (Ibid, 240). Although this is a Zimbabwean practice, it is not part of the Tonga culture. It could be a Shona practice.

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However, the importance of its inclusion here is to explain what females experience in an androcentric community. These harmful practices expose a model of African community which is gender insensitive. The males dominate their female counterparts to the extent of dehumanizing them by assigning some oppressive roles to them. These roles perpetuate HIV and AIDS and females are expected to comply.

However, there are other practices which are found to be common in many Zimbabwean ethnic groups. Giving to marriage of young girls is one of these practices. In Binga, this cultural practice is very common. It is not necessarily giving them to marriage but rather the marrying of young girls. The two practices are distinct. The giving to marriage is a situation whereby a girl is given to a man as his wife. More often than not, this practice occurs where and when appeasing of avenging spirits is concerned. This is typically a Shona practice. What is common among the Tonga people is the idea of marrying at a young age of even sixteen for boys and fourteen for girls. A man can also marry a girl far younger than himself. This practice exposes these girls to AIDS.

The "trokosi" practice in some Ghanaian communities has been cited as a further example:

> "The trokosi is a young virgin given up by her family in propitiation for the sins committed against the god's by her ancestors. The young, innocent virgin becomes a slave-wife of a forties priest, who is usually old enough to be her grandparent. He has children with her in a loveless relationship (Haddad, 2011: 240).

In the above example, of importance is the way the African community can be cruel even to young girls. The implication is that females in some African societies are treated as being of lesser value right from early times. The danger here is that if such a young girl contracts HIV and AIDS, she can easily spread it to many young men. If her old husband fails to satisfy her sexually, she is left with little or no option but to go out looking for males of her age who would satisfy her sexually. By this means, HIV and AIDS can be spread. The effect is that the young girl is denied an opportunity to exercise her right of choice.

As already alluded to, the idea of giving virgin girls as appeasement is common among the Shona ethnic group. As a Shona speaking man, Chitando could not miss this one. In this reflection, Chitando says that in this practice, a belief is that the spirit of a murdered man can only be compensated by the extended family of the perpetrator giving up a virgin to be married into the family of the deceased (Ibid, 241). Children's rights advocates and gender activists have highlighted the vulnerability of the girl child to HIV and AIDS due to this 'kuripa ngozi' (placating the avenging spirit) practice. Such a practice has led critics to regard ATRs retrogressive in the time of HIV and AIDS (Ibid 241).

In the above cited examples of harmful cultural practices, Chitando meant to show how ATRs and culture at some point have promoted the spread of AIDS in some societies. In the Binga scenario, this array of examples is assumed to be what has raised the study questions. The article by Chitando is therefore important in the study in that it identifies crucial common harmful practices which affect not only the Tonga people of Binga in Zimbabwe but many other ethnic groups. It also draws a distinctive line between roles assigned to a female; that is girls and women and the males; that is boys and men. Chitando and other scholars in the cited examples above have expressed how African androcentric societies have treated women. In the era of HIV and AIDS, women and girls have been seen as victims of circumstance.

What Chitando and other scholars have done, is to identify and examine each cultural practice which is assumed to be harmful to the community. The gross suffering by women; the ignorance in some cases or communities and the societal set up, have necessitated a response by concerned individuals and institutions. These scholars were responding to the gross suffering experienced by females in the era of HIV and AIDS.

The Third World Feminist Theology is a communion of global women voices especially from Asia, South Africa and small groups in the USA. The emphasis is not about feminist theology but rather about its response to the oppression of women. This oppression and female voices is what the study is extracting from King (1994). The purpose of this information is also to pose a challenge to perpetrators of domestic violence in various forms. Also addressed by King are issues of psychological and physical violence;

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political violence and inequality; economically and even political. King's research shows women as less privileged. They are also used as sex tools by their male counterparts. All this puts a woman at risk. Although this expression is generalized, in the study, it is derived to be applied in a particular context, the Tonga community and culture.

Though first originated in the West, Feminist Theology is now even found in the third world where it has sunk its roots (King, 1994:3). The Third World Feminist Theology is different from the First World Feminist Theology. The Feminist Theology has been called an advocacy theology caused by the liberation of females from oppression, guided by the principle of seeking to achieve the full humanity of females. Again, this should not be to suppose that the study is about liberation theology. The point stressed here is the advocacy by women to hear more from the women's voice. In the context of the undertaken study, the point is also to hear from the female respondents. This is dealt with extensively in the next chapter, which is on interviews. The feminist view is thematic in this study because it gives a feeling of women being oppressed. In the context of HIV and AIDS and the assumed women vulnerability, Feminist theology is a response though not a solution.

In the first world context, feminist theology expresses itself as a liberation theology in a much stronger sense, as it develops within situations where the oppression of women and the denial of their full humanity often occurs on a much larger scale and to a much greater degree in the first world. If the HIV phenomenon was contemporary with this theology, then AIDS issues would be addressed directly. If used in the context of HIV and AIDS, the feminist theology is a relevant response. The issue at stake calls for such institutions such as the feminist theology to respond to the long silence especially among the Tonga women of Binga in Zimbabwe.

What King emphasizes is a concern for the female's experience, the suffering, voices and reflection and unanswered questions females raise about in life (Ibid 4). In other ways, the feminist theologians are set out to challenge the patriarchal society. These feel that patriarchal, which androcentric is, is oppressive and exploits females in cross cultural dimensions. Suffice it to say, the Tonga scenario can be a typical example. Even if the paradigm of the study is not emancipatory, the essence stems from the need to respond;

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which in this case means liberating the individuals, the community and also revisiting the oppressive structures such as roles assigned to females.

To express violence against females, King has this to say:

> The kind of violence evident in countries such as Sri Lanka, gain its satisfaction in the raping and killing of women and children. Domestic violence in the forms of death and bride burning are other expressions of this form of violence. Dignity and the right to sovereignty do not seem to be valid for women. So gently, caring women become victims of violent societies that have grown to accept violence as the term. Physical, economic and psychological violence continues to form the fabric of our society. At a series of violence and the community held in Kambeira, Australia, and Asia women talked of the pain of academic violence. She described the pain women suffered in the name of academic advancement. Husbands pursue academic goals and academic advancements at the cost of the family life and sometimes at the cost of a wife's career. Another form of this violence against women is evident in the fast growing trade of prostitution. Most societies still consider sexuality and women as synonymous. Sexuality is still linked to temptation and sin and female sexuality has always been the property of men. A woman has no right to enjoy her sexuality; it is something she offers to the man. With this kind of imagery embedded in our psyche, it is not difficult to see how and why women are easy victims of prostitution. It is often the only way in which they can earn a living. When society closes a door to economic survival in the work force, a woman's body and her sexuality become the only tools of trade left. In countries like Sri Lanka and Indonesia, prostitution has been encouraged. In Thailand, prostitution is the second highest income earner of the country, next to the export of rice. Yet the woman who plies this trade is exploited at every step. Not only does she expose herself to venereal diseases, unwanted pregnancies and illegal abortions but today she runs the very risk of contracting AIDS (King 1994: 106-107).

King has touched a number of issues which portray females as not equals with their male counterparts in the community. It is overwhelmingly saddening to learn that females are oppressed by the same community which hails them as sacred. In the same vein as King, one can appreciate how African societies can segregate and be abusive; exploiting and oppressive to females. The fierce examples given by King regarding prostitution does not represent the Tonga community. The effects of oppressive societies cut across cultures and ethnic groups. This is the evil the feminists contend with. The extraction is therefore relevant in the study. It is relevant in that it is an expression of women's voices. It, therefore, represents women's voices even in the Zimbabwean context. It is also relevant and important in that it is an advocate of liberation of the oppressed women.

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However it should be noted that the study is not about Feminist Theology. But this theology provides thematic issues which are cited by the study. It is these examples of women suffering which the study extracts from King and assimilates to its concerns.

Another reaction to women suffering is from Natalie K. Watson (2003). It is an extract from *Feminist Theology* published by William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company in Michigan in 2003.

In this abstract, the study is responding to some unorthodox terminologies such as androcentric, sex and gender (Watson, 2003: 25). Feminist theologians argue that sex, gender, bodies and experience, matter and are in fact important for doing theology. For Watson, "sex" describes the biological existence of human beings as men and women, while "gender" refers to the denotations made to these biological categories by culture and theology (Ibid:25).

Watson goes further by saying among the most common or prominent of these cultural connotations, is the description of women as the other, the one who does not fit the male norm and therefore has to be secondary. It is responsible for promoting vulnerability of women to HIV. Women in this case are viewed as subjects and or objects of oppression. In Binga, the Tonga women are a good example of such reflection by Watson. Women oppression can vary in form depending on communities and context. In Binga, women are denied the right to expression, the right to choose, the right to participation and even the right to decision making. In issues of sex and sexuality, they cannot consent.

For Watson, women are described as weak and feminine; as emotional and belonging to the realm of nature, while masculinity and maleness are denoted with strength, rational thinking and culture (Ibid 2003:25).

This response by feminists is a reaction to an oppressive culture which has no place for females. These theologians are concerned about the way females are treated in different societies. Their cry is to be heard and considered as equals with their male counterparts across cultural boundaries. Since females are females and oppression is also oppression, females in Binga are no exception. The way the Tonga community treat the females is no different from situations addressed by the feminist theologians. For Watson (2003),

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females are at risk in any given society. Their vulnerability stems from their nature. It is actually an issue of virtue. In Binga, a small boy is at times assigned a man's roles and responsibilities, such as to take care of the home, participate in some decision making while girls are assigned the kitchen duties only. This alone is evidence enough that females are second class in some African societies. This could be partly due to lack of human rights. This challenge needs to be addressed by all stakeholders.

Musa W. Dube, a woman theologian in Botswana from an abstract of the book, *"Talita Cum",* Theologians of African women published by Cluster Publications in 2001, has this to say:

> He took her by the hand and said to her, 'Talita Cum', which means, 'little girl get up'. And immediately the girl got up and began to walk about. She was 12 years (Mark 5.42). I believe the muse all work together to transform the patriarchal model into one of the shared power that lifts up and strengthens others (Njoronge and Dube, 2001:3).

From the quotation, it is loud and clear the central theme addressed by most feminist theologians is the oppression of females. These females are only using their voices to be heard in the community in which they live. For Dube, it is not only the issue of females being given a platform to speak out but rather an initiative to transform the whole society which is patriarchal. Dube appeals to all and sundry to adopt an engaging methodology. She is calling all to participate in transforming the oppressive society. In another way, Dube is saying males and females should stand up against the culture which is insensitive to the presence and importance of females.

Musa (2001) goes on to show how Jesus is concerned about the reaching out to the needy and disadvantaged by telling the story of a woman who had had a haemorrhage disease for two years (Njoronge, Ibid, 2003:3).

From Dube's perspective, the issue of female oppression is concern. The tone here is not that of radical feminist, but rather an appealing, gentle female voice. To reach out to the needy and disadvantaged, is very polite. In this example, the Tonga female are both needy and disadvantaged. The Tonga Culture which to some extent is inconsiderate of female's place in the society should be revised. The only disadvantage faced by these

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females is the platform to address their concerns. It also becomes a big challenge for them to initiate the talk. The culture of silence has of late put these Tonga females at a very big disadvantage. This is even what has promoted the spread of HIV and AIDS. In view of this, the issue of Tonga women in an oppressive culture will take long to solve.

In almost the same vein with Dube, Maimela (1994: viii) suggests a paradigm shift in theology. A good example is when Dube shifts the focus from male dominance to a society which sees males as equals with females. He feels that it is no longer the time to talk of reconstruction theology. The argument here is that liberation theology refers to the time of oppression by white colonialists. Most Africans were trying to voice and shake the yoke of their colonial masters. It cannot be underestimated; the era was a thorn in the flesh for most Africans. But to remain focused on the past is also to overemphasize the issue. What Maimela is saying is that oppression in today's African societies is no longer by the White colonialists but by fellow Africans.

 In the study it was alluded to that the Western influence in Binga was not much, following that the settlers had nothing attractive which would make them settle. In a way, the nature of oppression, the people of Binga experienced is not that of Colonialism per se. It is mostly against a culture which has closed its ears; shut its eyes and its doors to the wailing daughters of Binga, the females. This kind of experience, points to the patriarchal society of Tonga as sole respondent to the call for justice. This oppression in other words, is perpetrated by the same Africans. This is what Maimela is trying to put across. Musa (1994) says transformation, Maimela says reconstruction. The two ideas put together make a way forward. The way is to advocate transformation of the Tonga society which has been dragging behind in terms of social concerns. Borrowing from Maimela (1994)'s words, the Tonga culture should be revised. The culture should be to promote gender sensitivity.

The idea of addressing cultural issues is all encompassing and is a gradual process. Although referring to liberation, Omari quoted in Maimela says, "liberation is a process which involves struggles of all kinds" (Maimela, 1994:141). A reaction to the injustice posed by some harmful Tonga cultural practices is welcome. It is a process where the Tonga females should be enlightened. To save this community where oppression of

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females is the norm, the methodology of engaging has no substitute. All stakeholders should be called on board to re-examine these cultural practices and see if they are still worth holding to. Chiefs who are believed to be the custodians of traditional values should be the first consultants in this issue.

There are two key factors to consider here. The first one is the oppressed females. The second one is the culture which perpetrates this oppression. The two should be critically examined so as to determine the process and procedures of decolonization (Ibid, 1994: 142). Colonization here is referring to the oppressive institutions. The process of correcting the error or liberation, as Maimela would call it, has three stages.

The first stage is all about realization of oppression. Those that are affected need to realize that they are victims of circumstance. However, the awareness must be created among the masses (Ibid, 142). In the context of the Tonga females of Binga, it cannot be taken for granted that all of them are aware of oppression by some of the harmful cultural practices. There could be some who are aware. A good example is of the young generation who has received their secondary education. It could also be those who are employed by institutions and those working in organizations which deal with issues of social concerns, such as welfare, health institutions, and Non-Governmental Organizations which deal with gender issues. For those who are typically rural oriented such knowledge of oppression systems does not exist. It may not be surprising to find that they are comfortable with the situation. Maimela calls these people "sleeping" people (Maimela, 1994, 142).

The aim here is to show how Tonga females are oppressed by some of the cultural and traditional practices. These practices are also responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS. A good example is that when these women are oppressed and they are silenced. Silence means that they should not challenge males when they abuse them sexually.

The above statement by Maimela, that people who do not react to these oppressive systems are called, "sleeping" simply means that these people are not aware and will hardly be aware of such experience. Such people have to be made imaginatively aware of how they have been compromised by an oppressive system (Maimela, Ibid, 142).

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The best way to create awareness is through participatory development. Maimela (1994), would call it a process whereby the disadvantaged or oppressed learn together by analysing the situation carefully so as to situate the issue in its context (Maimela, Ibid, 142).

In the light of HIV and culture, the process should engage all the stakeholders such as the male perpetrators of gender violence, leaders such as religious and headmen who are custodians of cultural values. The females too should partake in this noble cause. In a way, both the oppressor and the oppressed should participate in the awareness exercise.

The second stage in the process of reacting against oppressive cultural practices is for both the negatively affected and those that are not affected to escape from the situation. The process requires unity of purpose. The Tonga females, who are a little enlightened, should join hands with other females of the same community and work together to free themselves (Ibid: 1994 143). They must see themselves as one group fighting a common enemy. The enemies here are not males per se. The enemy is the system or the societal structure. Men too should join hands with their female counterparts and correct the error. The error in this case is the way females are considered in the community. Females are sexually abused. At times these people are physically beaten by either male counterparts or husbands in the case of married women. They are denied equal opportunities as males to exercise their rights as human beings. Using Pollard's theory of positive deconstruction this worldview should be corrected.

Thirdly the process involves taking concrete actions for the purpose of achieving actual liberation. The process takes place when the old and oppressive culture is replaced by a new and better culture (Ibid: 1994 143). To effect change, selected non-material factors and other attitudes are instilled into people. To build up awareness, education is necessary. Carefully selected materials have to be prepared and distributed to the masses so that the process of creation of awareness can take place. The establishment of supporting institutions like documentation centres is necessary for this purpose. Researches and publications should be widely utilized if they are literate. If they are illiterate, television and radio should be used (Ibid 1994: 143). In other words, well

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informed modern modes of transformation should be introduced at grassroots. In simple terms, the people should be well informed about these cultural practices and their effects.

Although Maimela's publication is specifically about oppression and liberation, the study has benefited. In the context of this study, Maimela's extract has not only been a model and method of reaction. It has also identified topical issues such as the state of the oppressed. In these, he says that people should be made aware of issues of oppression. This ideology applies to the Tonga scenario. What it means, is that the Tonga women should be made aware of the current situation. Furthermore, they should also be participants in fighting these oppressive cultural structures. He also suggests the possible methods to apply. In view of all this, Maimela has immensely contributed to the study. This information is useful in chapter five which deals with pastoral oversight. It will be expatiated so as to find ways and means of correcting the error. In this case, a method of caring is sought.

The only problem with Maimela is that the extract was a general concern. It was a struggle between cultures, the dominant one and the dominated (Ibid 1994:140). He was addressing social structures such as classes which are corrupt. By this token, the study has not taken everything as a vantage point. Secondly, Maimela was not addressing gender issues per se. The subject is grappling with gender issues and cultural practices as they influence the spread of HIV and AIDS. The study is not even generalizing these issues, but it is focusing on a particular ethnic group. However, the contribution by Maimela is the awareness of the existence of oppression in some community. The other part of importance in Maimela is the procedure and method of eradication of suffering in any given society. Of importance also is the idea that transformation is a process and that it should involve the oppressed and the oppressor. In the context of the study, Maimela's example should be applied to make the Tonga females cautious of the society they live in. Not only to make them aware of their suffering, but also to intellectually instil in them a desire to voice out. The Tonga females and males should together transform their culture.

Max Weber's theory of "class" helps to understand Maimela's views on "oppressing and oppressed cultures". This theory helps to explain relations between unequal groups in society, with class only representing one form. Power for Weber, is the ability of an

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individual or groups to get what they want even against the opposition of the others (Hughes, 1984:7). This explains the oppressive culture of the Tonga people. Another dimension of reaction response to Tonga women's experience in the androcentric society derives from an African American example. This perspective comes from Edward Wimberley (2003).

In his book, '*Claiming God Reclaiming Dignity*' Wimberley's intent was to focus on the conversations contained in the Book of Job as a model of developing a cross cultural perspective on God's conversation. Basic questions posed by the book of Job are, why do innocents suffer? Where is God in the midst of tragedy? How can God's presence be discerned in the midst of carnage, pain and suffering (Wimberley, 2003: 7).

The book also attempts to ensure two perennial questions; what does it mean to be persons of worth and value in the African American Contemporary Culture and how can a relationship with God give a renewed sense of his audience's worth and value (Ibid, 2003: 8).

In this extract, Wimberley (2003) condenses his argument from a point of racism. The format is in the context of slave trade and racism. This is an African American's experience in a culture of discrimination and oppression. Here the suffering is not a gender issue; rather it is the issue of a people against a people. Wimberley raises a number of questions which address the fate of the African Americans. The African American scenario portrayed by Wimberley (2003), is a reflection of what oppression and suffering is all about. Although Wimberley's case does not refer to gender, it shares some similar experience of suffering with the question concerning the Tonga females' experience. Wimberly (2003) is writing as an affected part. He is writing from a historical background which depicts the experience of his progenitors. As a new generation, he still feels the ills of slavery and oppression.

On the other hand, the study is focusing on discrimination, oppression and suffering of women of a particular ethnic group. Unlike in the African American's case, the suffering stems from some of the society's cultural practices which are assumed to be unethical. In the context of HIV and AIDS these assumed cultural practices are believed to have

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inflicted pain and suffering to the females of Binga. However, the aspect of person's worth and value as derived from Wimberly (2003), remains topical in the undertaken study.

In Wimberly's story, the African Americans identify themselves with the plight of Job. Job's experience of suffering and theirs share some commonality although from a different source (Ibid, 2003:9). Job's suffering is not from man (sic), but the African Americans suffering if from man. The Tonga females of Binga suffering is from both males and structure. The Tonga Society which has seemingly promoted gender discrimination, have defined distinctive roles of males which have assumed superiority over females. Males are beneficiaries of such laws of the society. Females on the other hand have been subjected to these same laws of the society. It can be appreciated how difficult their worth and value can be defined. Wimberly expresses the African American as follows:

> We who are in the African American Community know what it means to be a commodity in the market place. Our history is full of its tragedy. Our society even today still harbours the consequences of being bought and sold on the block. We should be the first to say that living by the will of market place leads to destruction. But how can we break free from these market values which are in the air we breathe? And many of us are so vulnerable (Wimberly, 2003: 11).

The scenario contained in the quotation above is very disturbing. The market place for African American is a reminder of worth and value. They identify this market place with the ring in which buying and selling of their ancestors took place. This is where the voice of freedom derives. It can also be seen that the pain is emotional and psychological. In view of this, Wimberly's publication offers an important theology of pastoral care in chapter five which deals with therapeutic interventions. The findings have been examined and applied in the chapter. In view of this, Wimberly's argument necessitates a Pastoral theology which deals with pastoral issues. He argues further by saying that the images of what they market human beings as commodities lead to many forms of human bondages, including addictions to substance, racial profiling and other in group or out of group distinctions that drive wedges between people (Ibid, 12-13). The history of racism in America is rooted in the total commodification of human worth. Here again the African

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American community have something important to say about the distortion of human worth brought about by the wholesale adoption of market values (Ibid:13). African Americans still feel that the gift of personhood comes from God. This gift transcends race, gender, creed, national origin, ethnic background and sexual orientation (Ibid, 13).

Once again, this American scenario is only to offer the study another dimension of human experience in cultures which are oppressive. The African American race is offering a particular context just as Tonga women in the study. The painful experience by the Tonga people can be likened to the African experience. The yearn for freedom remains common to both situations. The call to transform the oppressive culture is also a common struggle both in African American experience and in the Tonga experience. For this reason, the works of Wimberly (2003) do not only serve the African American situation but rather cuts across all cultures, ethnicities and time and space. In the Zimbabwean situation, this is one such factor which has been the vehicle for the spread of HIV and AIDS. Other factors such as domestic violence have also influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS.

3.8 Domestic violence as it has influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS in the Pashu Community

The aim here is to show and explain how domestic violence such as the beating of females by their male counterparts has consequently influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS. Barnish (2004), has explained domestic violence below. He has also responded to this culture of violence by males. This violence is also used to explain the Pashu situation in which women are vulnerable to abuse. Direct or indirect this violence has resulted in the infection and spread of AIDS among the Tonga females in Pashu.

When considering domestic violence, Barnish (2004) says, 'definitions of domestic violence are socially constructed, have developed over time and reflect prevailing understandings, interests and procure distributions (Muchleuhar and Kimes 1999). Feminist understandings shaped by the lived experiences of abused women and by supporting research evidence have helped to expand conceptualization of domestic violence as physical injuries caused by assault by highlighting the interrelated range of

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coercive, controlling behaviour causing psychological, sexual or physical harm which often accompany or precede the use or threat of physical force (Barnish,2004:5-6). However, researchers have paid considerably less attention to sexual, psychological and other forms of abuse (Bergen 1999, O' Leary 1999, Dekeseredy 2000, Sanders 2002). Some issues of terminology remain actively contested, such as whether domestic violence should be a gender specific or neutral referent and or encompass all forms and incidence of abuse in all types of intimate relationships (Muehlenhard and Kimes 1999, Mullender 1996).

Barnish (2004)'s perception of violence is long and general. It has earned criticism from some scholars or researches that have even showed less interest in visiting domestic violence in the light of sexuality. From the definition, there is also a question of whether domestic violence should refer to specific or neutral referent (Barnish, 2004: 6).

However, the interest of the study is gender based violence as it influences the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga people. It is not generalized but is a particular interest. This violence is assumed to be perpetrated by androcentric cultures. The undertaken study is therefore concerned about a particular kind of violence. Furthermore, the study is examining the extent to which this kind of violence has exposed Tonga females to HIV infection. It is still the study's business to identify the cultural practices which are harmful and which pose danger or threaten the lives of females. Of course Barnish (2004)'s definition has provided a range of pertinent issues such as human rights (Barnish, Ibid, 2004:6). By human rights, it then means that the issue of Tonga females' oppression should also be viewed as a public concern even by the international related bodies of law and justice. Barnish (2004: 58), further gives an account of women's response to domestic violence which should of course be viewed in the context of the study.

Barnish (2004), shows how females endure in response to domestic violence. She has this to say:

> "Qualitative studies of the accounts of diverse samples of abused women (Bergen, 1995, Kelly et al, 1999, Kearney 2001, Burk et al, 2001, WITO 2002) have identified common threads and themes in their descriptions of the processes and

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coping strategies involved in surviving abusive relationships, including periods of denial, self-blame, disengagement and recovery. Abused women move through and between various stages, which differ in their duration and intensity according to the psychological, social, cultural and economic resources available to them, and to the behaviour of their abuser. They commonly include discounting early violence for the sake of the relationship, enduring by stifling of self and careful monitoring of the partner's behaviour, immobilization and demoralization in the face of increasing, unpredictable violence, defining the abuse as unacceptable and intolerable, resistance, moving out of the relationship, and recovering from the trauma (Bergen 1995, Kearney 2001) (Barnish, 2004: 58)".

When referring to Tonga females of Zimbabwe, the above operation may not be very relevant to the study. Females in Binga, especially the old and rural folk, may not draw a line between issues of loyalty and oppression. As already alluded to in the previous paragraphs, sometimes Tonga females are so loyal to their patriarchal society such that their loyalty overshadows oppression. Both loyalty and oppression have somehow put these females into danger. A female whose husband is HIV positive can easily be infected with HIV. Both oppression and loyalty have an element of silence. A female who gets infected with HIV, would suffer and die in silence. Of course a handful, especially those with basic education and or the young generation, may discern between a culture of silence and oppression. It is actually the external awakening which realizes the negative situation females are in. In their quandary, the Tonga females have less endured than they have accepted the society's norms.

In response to violence, Barnish (2004) contends that most female victims of violence sometimes have mixed feelings. They can leave, stay or return to violent relationships (Barnish, Ibid, 2004:59). Reasons for this behaviour originate from fear. At times these females fear that if they leave, this will fuel violence and make the situation even worse. In the context of HIV and AIDS, this would promote infection as well as the spread of the disease. Because of their culture of fear, the Tonga females will not speak out even when they are hurt by circumstance. They cannot tell a male in his face that they are hurt. This puts them in a risky situation. The other reason why females opt to endure violence is because of economic support. Although not many people are in formal employment in Binga, the aspect of economic support is viewed primarily as the responsibility of males. Now if the males are taken away from the family, the future of this family will be in

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disarray (Barnish, Ibid, 59). These factors then make Tonga female succumb. Their succumbing to this situation is what puts them at great risk in this era of HIV and AIDS. In a pure Tonga culture it is mostly the males who initiate a divorce and not females. Again this is a promotion of HIV and AIDS and its spread. Even if the female suspects the act of immorality, she cannot question the male. The fear is either she will be divorced from family economic support which will stop forthwith. There is yet another dimension of violence. This dimension views HIV and violence as issues of health.

Hove and Gwaze have highlighted that, HIV and AIDS and Domestic violence are the major health problems affecting the lives of people the world over (Hove and Gwaze, www.ijhssnet.com – 02/03/15). It is in the study findings that Hove and Gwaze have addressed the problem of HIV and AIDS. The aim of their paper was to investigate factors associated with domestic violence amongst four couple groups, namely: concordant negative, concordant positive, discordant male positive and discordant female positive.

The methods employed here by Hove and Gwaze refers: Data from the Zimbabwe Demographic Health Survey was used to run a Chi-square test to compare couples on demographic factors, economic factors and decision making (Ibid, 156). A logistic regression model which helps to control for confounding was fitted to identify factors associated with domestic violence for different couple groupings (Hove and Gwaze, Ibid, 156).

The results to these findings were as follows: Domestic violence prevalence ranged from 39.4% to 53.5% for the four couple groupings. Concordant positive couples experienced the most domestic violence with 53.5% reporting that they experienced domestic violence and discordant female positive couples experienced the least domestic violence with 39.4% of them reporting that they experienced domestic violence.

The above extraction from Hove and Gwaze's abstract shades light on the prevalence of violence obtaining in Zimbabwe. It has also shown the need to empower families economically so as to eradicate poverty. In a poverty stricken society chances of HIV and AIDS are high. At times poverty makes people compromise their lifestyle. Females are

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more vulnerable to economic hardship and this exposes them to sexual abuse. This makes them more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. However, it is not all women who fall prey to this. However, this narrative may not be absolute in the case of the Tonga women in Binga.

The Tonga women's problems is violence and HIV and AIDS as Hove wrote in his paper, but the issue of wealth as a factor influencing suffering is not primary. The issue of concern is the perpetrated violence through cultural practices such as polygamy and many others. It is also the issue or culture of silence characterizes by many taboos.

From Hove and Gwaze's article, a Zimbabwean situation of domestic violence stems from a cultural pattern where 51% of women in Zimbabwe believe that men are justified to beat them (Hove and Gwaze, 156). This belief makes it difficult for them to negotiate for safe sex since they have a feeling that men can do whatever they want with their bodies. Durojaye E. (2002) noted that women in Africa continue to be vulnerable to the HIV and AIDS pandemic because of violence which they experience on a daily basis. For many women, the experience of violence is a daily reality, and so is AIDS. Studies done in Sub-Saharan Africa have revealed that high rates of HIV and AIDS occur in marriages (Hove and Gwaze, 156).

In the context of the undertaken study, the argument that there is a higher prevalence of HIV and AIDS than in other relations is sustainable. The single women are not bound to have sexual relations if they do not want. It is easy for them to refuse, but it is difficult for the Tonga married women to object when their husbands advance to have sex with them.

In an African context, Tonga in particular, the belief is that a male is entitled to have sex with his wife any time and anyhow. This behaviour presupposes that males are the initiators in sexual matters. The concept of rape in some of the African communities is not African but Western. For many Africans, even in this late century, the only definition and conscience of rape is when a male physically grabs a female who is not his wife and has sex with her. Even in this unethical behaviour, it is the female who carries the blame. The female both carries the blame and bears the shame of victimization in their

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community. Quoted by Chitando in her thesis, Me Fadden has this to say concerning rape:

> "Sex is a weapon men use against women-and rape is the most blatant expression of violence. Men rape for a myriad of reasons during times of war as well as during times of so-called peace, all of which are essentially linked to their reach for male realization through the sexual act. Raping not only confirms that male is in control, it also satisfies the desire to dominate. Which is inculcated into the male child through a sexist socialization process that defines the male as strong and female as weak (Me Fadden, 1992: 184)"?

Me Fadden's expression supposes male's position of imposition in the community. The justification of rape for them is their culture. In this study, this is where culture has come under serious scrutiny. The study is trying to re-examine the society structure as well as redefining some of its terms such as rape and many more. A close examination clearly shows that the root cause of all patriarchal problems stems from the type or nature of cultural beliefs. In this age of HIV and AIDS, this kind of cultural belief has perpetuated untold suffering for most females in Binga. This is where the study picks a gap.

While in some parts of Zimbabwe, the spread of HIV and AIDS may be attributed to sexual behaviour, in Binga, it is not sexual behaviour which factors in, but is cultural perception which condones the ill behaviour by males in the society. This factor has caused the rise of AIDS prevalence among Tonga females. The culture of the Tonga people does not consider married people to talk of rape. It is unheard of for a female in the Tonga culture to refuse the husbands sexual advancements. There is no way she can be said to be raped. The woman will hardly consent in this kind of community.

For the Tonga people, sex is believed to be God given and natural. For this reason, the male wrongly claim that it is their prerogative to initiate the sexual matters. It is a societal problem that male dominance should not be challenged. However, a number of females both from Western and African perspectives have reacted differently in response diverse forms of female abuse.

An analysis of the concept of rape given by Glanville and Dreyer (2013: 1), is a relevant contribution to this study. The understanding of the concept of rape by Glanville and

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Dreyer is an extraction from their article titled, *'Spouse Rape: A challenge for pastoral councillors'*. This article was published in 2013 at Pretoria in South Africa.

Glanville and Dreyer's analysis of rape shows how the concept of rape has changed over the years. Quoted in this article, Purdy (2004: 122) believes that rape, "was used to define the act where in one male damaged the property of another". However, Glanville and Dreyer, feel that this definition is not useful and adequate as it violates the rights and personhood of females (Glanville and Dreyer, 2013:1). Following this inadequate conception of definition, Glanville and Dreyer pose a question of what then constitutes rape. There were some challenges and a possibility of confusion in trying to define rape. Such cited possible challenges such as the female's compliancy and the age of the rape victim.

Glanville and Dreyer (2013) go further by providing a general understanding of rape. Quoting from Tasman and Mohr (2011: 409) and Van Niekerk (2006:1), Glanville and Dreyer, perceive rape as a forceful and violent act involving a perpetrator and the victim. This study confirms loyalty to the second proposition of rape. There are diverse forms of rape such as spouse; stranger involved rape and acquaintance rape. The acquaintance rape refers to sexual violence perpetuated by a known offender. This can be a member of the victim's family or a person known in the community. If the perpetrator is a close relative to the rape victim, the rape is also incestuous. It is what the study is confronted with. A biblical narrative of 'Tamar and Amnon' best explains both the act of incestuous and the nature of the acquaintance rape.

3.9 Acquaintance rape as viewed in the context of this study

The focus of this study is the oppression and suffering of the Tonga women viewed from a cultural perspective. In the same vein, the study also examines the issues of sexual violence. In chapter one, the story of an abused young woman by her uncle introduces the act of incest. The context, in which incest is used in this study, refers to the act of sexual violence involving a girl or woman and a perpetrator who is a close relative of the rape victim. The story of Tamar and Amnon is derived by this study to illustrate the kind of rape which should be a taboo in Tonga culture.

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An extraction from Musa Muneja's article titled, "Cakes, Rape and Power Games: A Feminist Reading of the story of Tamar (2 Samuel 13: 119) (2006:1) depicts a gender based violence, incestuous act as well as a culture of male dominancy. On the other hand the story shows how females are taken for granted. They are not sex partners but sex objects. The factor of consent is absent. This study finds the story of Tamar very relevant in that it informs the study of the vulnerability of women to HIV and AIDS. It also shows how the seemingly good cultural taboos are violated. It is a taboo in Tonga culture for people of close relations to marry or have sexual affairs. It is only disturbing that these days; this norm is violated by many Tonga males. These are consequences associated with this kind of social ill. In Muneja (2006: 1), the helplessness of a female was expressed by Tamar, when she helplessly cried out trying to plead with Amnon her brother. Tamar tried even to reason with her perpetrator that the behaviour was not allowed in Israel. She lamented further by saying she would be disgraced. The whole story portrays the place of females in a society which is not gender sensitive.

In this century, the characters of Tamar and Amnon in Muneja's article (2006: 1) represent males and females in African societies. The male character is that of masculinity, androcentric, dominancy and violence. On the other hand, the character of women or female is that of dependency, weak, loyalty, submission and subordination. The subsequent consequences of this character are suffering and oppression which stems from the male character. Quoting from Muneja (2006: 85), Njoronge (2005: 1-19) views males as thieves who steal females' God given dignity and integrity to participate fully in the arena of life (Njoronge, 2005: 85). It is surprising to learn that the condition expressed by Njoronge is accepted by most females in Africa. Subsequently, the consequences of this conformity by females to these oppressive cultural beliefs is what this study fears to be the factor influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females of Binga in Zimbabwe.

Reading from an article by the Human Rights Watch titled, "Suffering in Silence", London, 2002, it can be appreciated how the Zambian community is also battling with the same AIDS issues. Of interest are the issues of sexual abuses which stem from multiple agencies of oppression. The article informs this study that sexual abuse by family

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members or close relatives is alarming in Zambia, Zimbabwe's neighbouring country. In Zambia, the Tonga population is bigger than in Zimbabwe. If the referred situation in Zambia has anything to do with the Tonga people, then the similarity could be influenced by geographical location of these two countries. Some of the Tonga people share the gift of the Zambezi River. Time before the construction of the Lake Kariba, the Zambian Tonga and the Zimbabwean Tonga shared the banks of the Zambezi River (Tremmel, 1997: 5).

With the construction of the Dam in 1957, this ethnic group was separated forever. However, their culture remains the same to a great extent. What this means is that the problem of acquaintance rape is common among the people of these neighbouring countries. It also means that since the Tonga in Zambia and those in Zimbabwe once belonged together, it could be that their cultural factors remains the same. This study is informed by the similarity of the kind of perpetration of crime in both countries. Also this study observes the common trend of child and female rape in both countries (Human Rights Watch, 2002: 25).

Another fascinating similarity of acquaintance rape stems from the two stories of incestuous acts. The one involved an uncle perpetrator and a woman twenty years of age given in the introductory chapter in the study. The other story which involves a twelve year girl and a brother perpetrator is found in the Human Rights Watch (Human Rights Watch, Ibid, 2002:25). The synopsis of these narratives, show the peculiarity of the characters involved. In this study, the abused females suffered in silence because of fear of being labelled immoral, see chapter one of the study. The twelve year girl in the Human Rights Watch article also depicts a girl's ordeal and how she suffered in silence because the perpetrator was a member of the family.

In the story of the twelve year old girl, the brotherhood of the perpetrator is not clear. He could be a real brother or half-brother. There is also a mention of a big sister's mother with whom the victim stayed when the alleged brother used to take her to the bush for abuse. Again it is not very clear the relationship between this female, referred to as the mother in the study. However, it cannot be denied that the implicated figures are close relatives of the girl. This informs this study of a gross irresponsibility displayed by those

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who should be protectors of the helpless and innocent souls such as the victims in both stories. The range of these perpetrators is also learnt with concern. The mention of perpetrators such as the uncle, brother, father, stepfather and many other close kin in the Human Rights Watch,(2002: 25) suggests beyond doubt the difficulty of placing a rape charge against such acquaintances. These cases of rape which go unreported have the capacity to fuel the infection as well as the spread of HIV and AIDS among women in the Pashu area. To avoid this leeway of contracting and spreading HIV and AIDS, all cases of rape should be made police cases. If these crimes go unreported, there are two problems generated. The first is that it becomes difficult to measure the crime rate. The statistics pertaining to committed crimes can only be accessible from police criminal records. These records only have the reported offences. The second problem of unreported crimes is that perpetrators of such crimes can repeatedly commit the same crimes.

In view of the definition given by Glanville and Dreyer (2013) and expanded by others such as Musa Muneja (2006), it can be appreciated how rape is inhuman and unlawful. From the definition quoted and from other references, rape has been seen to be inconsiderate of social class, age and gender boundaries (Glanville and Dreyer 2013, Ibid). This study also concerned itself about incest. In this study, the context of incestuousness referred to, is whereby the perpetuator of this sexual violence is a close kin of the victim. The study is however, aware of the difference between incestuous and non-incestuous incestuous in the context of rape. The two related male and female can agree to have sexual intimacy that is not rape. It becomes rape only when the sexual advancements are made without permission by one party, males in particular. This kind of sexual offence has also become common to Zimbabwe's neighbouring countries.

In South Africa the rate of rape crimes are incredible. In a police statistical report titled 'rape crisis' retrieved from the internet from rape crisis.org.za/rape-in-south-Africa, which relates to Crime statistics of September 2012, it is clear that rape in South Africa is serious. As have been already alluded to in the above paragraphs, the challenge of these records refer to the unreported cases (Rape crisis in South Africa Police Report). The reasons why many cases go unreported have also been given above.

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Suffice it to say, it is the study findings that such acquaintance issues go unpunished. The reasons for failure to report such crimes have already been mentioned by Glanville and Dreyer (2013). The consequence is the infection of HIV and AIDS. In this age of HIV and AIDS, it is unlikely that such conduct of acquaintance and spouse rape can be free of the disease. As Glanville and Dreyer have shown in their paper, rape cases which involve strangers have low prevalence than acquaintance rape (Glanville and Dreyer 2013: 1). By the same taken, HIV infection by strangers is therefore relatively low as compared to HIV infection by family members or known people. This study is therefore not only obliged to question the character of the perpetrators of gender-based violence, but is equally interested in bringing sanity to the community by advocating peace and harmony. Another form of rape among Tonga people which has gone for a long time without being challenged is acquaintance rape in the form of spousal rape.

3.10 Spousal rape and how it relates to HIV and AIDS among the Tonga people

In academic circles, it may not be possible to have an absolute definition. Some definitions are preferably known as working definitions, while in other instances, they are given in context. To come up with at least a relevant definition, definitions which can clearly inform the reader about spousal or marital rape, this study examines a few definitions coined by others and then tries to coin a better and common definition from there.

Marital Rape as defined by Bergen (1999) refers to an unwanted intercourse or penetration (vaginal, anal or oral) obtained by force when the wife is unable to consent (Bergen, 1996; Pagelow, 1984; Russel, 1990). The range of this definition includes the couples who are legally married, separated, divorced or cohabiting with the understanding that the dynamics of the sexual violence in a long term cohabiting relationship are similar to those of a married couple (Mahoney and William, 1998).

The second selected example of marital rape definition comes from an African Population and Health Research Centre No 13, 2010. It is from a report for Parliament in Kenya. The title of the report is *"Marital Rape and its impacts"*. Marital rape in this study is used interchangeably with spousal rape.

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Marital rape is viewed as any case where someone uses violence or the threat of violence to force their wife or husband to have sex with them. Although rape is a punishable offence in Kenya, there is no legal protection from within marriage. Rape in its legal definition can refer to either a male or female who is sexually violated (African Population and Health Research Centre, 2010). This argument is substantiated by Burns (2005:69) theory of rape. Burns argues that rape is "gender blind assault". He feels that the harm of rape is to an individual whether male or female. It is therefore a violation of individual right such as body integrity or autonomy (Burns, 2005:69).

The third example of a definition of marital rape comes from Margeretha van Niekerk's, "Bodies in the Body of Christ: in search of theological response to rape. It is an extraction from a thesis submitted on the New Testament in the faculty of Theology at Stellenbosch University – April 2014.

Niekerk defines rape from a South African perspective. She says rape is any act of sexual penetration of another person without their consent. When someone inserts their genital organs, any other parts of their body such as a finger, any object (like a stick or a bottle), or the genital of an animal into the mouth, anus or genital organs of another person without consent, it is rape. When someone forces others to penetrate each other against their will, this is compelled rape. When any one of the above happens within marriage it is still considered as rape (Niekerk, 2014: 6).

From the three randomly selected examples of marital rape, it can be appreciated how difficult it can be to think of an absolute definition. Quoting Rachel Jeiukes and Naeema Abrahams (2002: 1232), Niekerk (2014) says, a non-consensual sex will be interpreted differently depending on many factors, such as the relationship of the survivor to the perpetrator, the ages of those involved, the social notion of gender roles, the circumstances in which the rape occurred as well as who is discussing the incident with whom and in what context (Niekerk 2014: 6).

In view of the above, it can be noted that in all the three definitions given above, there have been some common words and phraseology such as violence, consent, penetration, act of, threat and force. In the three definitions, almost all of these words appeared.

However, they were used differently, with some of the words more emphasized than the other.

For the benefit of this study, the following definition will suffice. Spouse rape can therefore be defined as, "an act of coercion perpetuated by the perpetrator against the victim of circumstance". More often than that, this act is driven by selfish motives such as to satisfy one's sexual desires. The definition is coined in neuter form so as to avoid any conclusion which points to certain gender as either perpetrator or victim. However, the definition can be clear in as far as who the perpetrator is when used contextually. In this study, the terms perpetrator and victim refer to a man and woman respectively. The dynamics of the definition remain the same as those given in the selected examples. In this study, the perpetrator of violence shall be any male the married, divorced or stranger who has in the absence of consent used the act of force to gain access by penetrating the victim. Victim in this case is any female married, divorced or any acquaintance. It is the study's assumption that this kind of sexual harassment has led to contraction of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga women. This all stem from cultural beliefs which have put women under duress. This marital rape in the Western Culture has a long history.

3.11 Historicity of marital rape as it relates to this study

Much of the scholarly attention that has been given to marital rape has emerged from the legal community. This has occurred because throughout the history of most societies, it has been acceptable for males to force their wives to have sex against their will. The traditional definition of rape in the United States most commonly was "sexual intercourse with a female not his wife without her consent (Barshis, 1983: 383). What it means is that spousal rape in the United States was legalized. In this context, marital rape and spousal rape are used interchangeably. As Finkelhor and Yilo (1985) have argued, this provided husbands with an exemption from prosecution for raping their wives – a "license to rape" (Druker, 1979, Eskow, 1996 and Sitton, 1993).

The history is traced back to the statements made by Sir Mathew Hale, Chief Justice in the 17th century England. Hale wrote "the husband cannot be guilty of a rape committed by himself against his lawful wife, for by their mutual matrimonial consent and contract,

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the wife has given herself in kind unto the husband whom she cannot retract" (quoted in Russel, 1990: 17). This established the notion that once married; a female does not have rights to refuse sex with her husband. From this statement by Hale, it can be learned that the Tonga culture has much in common with the American culture in marital issues. The problem is that whether or not this western culture is representative of all Western societies. Equally so, it may suggest that the Tonga culture of females submitting to their husbands is representative of all African cultures. This study will not confine itself to many assumptions of cultural commonalities. The study is aware of the diversity of culture. What this study is interested in, is what followed in the historicity of marital rape.

The law of exemption was challenged in the 1970s when some members of the women's movement argued for elimination of the spousal exemption because it failed to provide equal protection from rape to all women (Bidwell and White, 1986, Finkelhor and Yilo, 1985). Since that time, scholars started to write on the subject of spousal rape. However, there is only limited information on spousal rape. There are a number of reasons why not much interest has been unvested by many stakeholders in spousal rape. Firstly, some people believe that cultural definition of marriage afford them the right to sexual activities (Heise, Moore and Toubia 1995).In other words, these people agree with the cultural settling that once married, a female cannot say no to sexual advancement by their husbands no matter what condition. Females do not consider this as rape. This makes it difficult for sympathizers to challenge the behaviour. Secondly, marital rape is considered less important than stronger rape by a number of people. This type of rape may be considered as taboo in American and Tonga Communities (Whatley, 2005). The question of definition also factors in. is it rape or acquiescence (Basite, 1999). There is also ambiguity concerning terms such as 'concern'. Personal opinions will result in different definitions (Kirkwood and Cecil, 2001). These are few studies where marital rape is taken as the main topic.

In view of the above mentioned challenges, the study relied on interviews as its source of information. The trend is almost the same. Concerning literature on marital rape, Binga is even worse. In general, there are only a few Zimbabwean writers who have taken an interest in marital issues. In particular, so little of an interest has been invested in Tonga

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literature. Scarcity in Tonga information has posed a serious challenge to this study. Depending on interviews, may not provide quality desired results because of the nature of the respondents. Tonga women are very reserved. They cannot just open up to strangers and give information of their lives. If necessary, they might request the presence of their husbands. This then compromises the quality of the information. This culture of being secretive has not only made it difficult for this study to access the correct information, it is also the root cause of the feared spread of HIV and AIDS among the people understudy. It can also be noted with concern how the community of Binga failed to consider marriage as a God sanctified institution. Prolific writers such as Mbiti (1959) and others have at least tried to show how marriage has to be understood.

3.12 Understanding of sexuality in the context of the African Marriage as seen in light of this study

Writing on one and same issue, different scholars will have different opinions, and this could be for a number of reasons such as perceptions, sex or gender, purpose of writing, what one is set to discover and unfold just to mention a few. On marital issue, Mbiti (1959) has this to say:

> We have tried to emphasize the sanctity of marriage as experienced in the traditional settling. But in marriage, the place of sexuality is paramount because it is geared towards procreation; however, in African society sex is not used for biological purpose alone. It has also religious and social uses. For procreation and pleasure, sex plays an important and obvious role in any normal marriage and in any society of the world. There are African people among whom rituals are solemnly opened or concluded with actual or symbolic sexual intercourse between husband and wife or other officiating persons. This is like a solemn seal or signature in which sex is used and as sacred action as a 'sacrament' signifying inward spiritual values (Mbiti; 1959: 146).

A synopsis by Shorter (1999) buttresses Mbiti's contribution to issues of sexuality in an African context. The two have viewed marriage from a religious point. Shorter has even shown what is acceptable and what societal taboos are. All this is contained in the quotation as follows:

> Fornication; incest rape, seduction, homosexual relations, sleeping with forbidden 'relative' or domestic animals, intimacy between relatives, children watching the genitals of the parents (in the wide usage of the term) all constituted

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sexual offences in a given community. Society deal variously with these offences and African people are very sensitive to any departure from the accepted concerning all aspects of sex. This is a fundamentally religious attitude, since any offence upsets the smooth relationships of the community, which includes those who have already departed. From this reason, the offences must be followed by a ritual cleansing whether or not the offenders are physically punished, otherwise misfortunes may ensure (Shorter, 1999: 95).

Reflecting on the two synopses, some commonalities can be deduced. The first common aspect that features in both quotations has to do with the validity of marriage in African Culture. Both Mbiti (1959: 146) and Shorter (1999: 95) have shown how marriage was perceived by traditional Africans. Marriage was to be understood in the context of God's institution. Being God's institution, it was supposed to be hailed respectively. The second commonality prevalent in the two quotations refers to the taboos associated with marriage. What is happening now only means that times are not the same. Yesterday or in the past, marriage in an African context was a gift from God and very respected. But today, the opposite is true.

What the two accounts from Mbiti (1959) and Shorter (1999) suggest is that culture in itself is not bad, but there are factors which themselves are not culture but which have adversely affected culture. When Mbiti and Shorter Hail the African traditional marriage of the past, this means that there is something wrong with today's marriage. This is what this study defines and explodes. The purpose of Mbiti and Shorter's accounts of African marriage is to show a paradigm shift in marital issues. Secondly the aim of this account is to show marriage nowadays has lost its value in some cases. Males have made marriage to lose value by having extra marital relations, which has caused the spread of HIV and AIDS.

What Mbiti and Shorter say concerning marriage, may contradict the Zimbabwean situation. A summary of Mbiti and Shorter's understanding of marriage among Africans portrays what marriage should be and not what it is today. Virtually, these two African writers are lamenting the paradigm shift in African Traditional values. The statement such as "watching the genital of the parent was forbidden in any community" is pregnant with meaning. Mbiti (1959: 146) describes marriage or sexual intercourse as sacred and or a sacrament signifying inward spiritual values (Mbiti, 1959: 146). This can be

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interpreted in a way that marriage is a valuable institution in African communities. It shows how marriage should be perceived. It also shows how marriage should be treated. This means that marriage should be regarded as holy. It is Holy because it is by God and from Him. If from God, then it is true that marriage is sacred. It is by which means God fulfils his commandment that man should reproduce and fill the world.

However, the above nexus, suffer a serious limitation. Mbiti does not say what he has said is what the marriage is today. He only wishes that marriage should be as he views. Shorter's (1999: 95) condemn watching of the parent's genital suggests that his audience were children. These taboos mentioned here explain how female biological organs as well as marriage were treated in the past. There was a high respect for these phenomena in the past. If these taboos would be prevalent in the Tonga culture today, HIV and AIDS would be reduced. The only problem is that it cannot be concluded who those children are. It can be boys or girls. The age of this audience is also not supplied by Shorter. But what is true about his statement is that it was and is still a taboo for any young person to watch his or her parent's genitals. This is an African perception of marriage. Among the Tonga people of Zimbabwe, marriage was understood in the context of religious values as well as social values. Religious in the sense that it was God's institution designed for companionship and procreation. This made it to be scared and respectful. It was also viewed as a social entity by which a society was realized and valued. Families made up societies and communities. In this case, the synopsis of Mbiti and Shorter has something to contribute to this study. In particular, the sacredness of marriage by Mbiti, and the taboo of watching the wickedness of parents by shorter were prevalent in the Tonga culture though with some slight differences.

However, this study seeks to examine the factors influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga women. Assumptions have been that some cultural practices are held responsible for that. Among the assumed factors, marriage and forms of marriage among the Tonga people rank highest. Be that as it may, this study considered examining these forms of marriage so as to see how they become influential to the spread of HIV and AIDS and how this has brought suffering to the women of Binga.

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3.13 Forms of marriage among the Tonga as they influence the spread of HIV and AIDS and how they bring suffering among Tonga women.

Marriage should be understood in the context of God's given gift. It is an institution sanctioned by God himself to perpetuate his desired plan of creation by procreation. By this token, marriage is therefore good and should be enjoyed by anyone who enters into it. For it to be meaningful and enjoyed, it should have a mutual consent by men and women who come together in matrimony. However, some marriages were in the past and even today contracted differently. This could also determine the kind of life and meaning of such marriages. Solomon Mutetwa (2001: 2) and Liveson Tatira (2010) have enlisted different forms of marriage common in Zimbabwe as follows:

Kuzwarira (child pledge); kugaranhaka (wife inheritance); chimutsamafuna (sorority); kutizisa (elopement); kugarira (working for a wife); kusengabere (forcing a woman to come to the man's hut) and kukumbira (marriage by negotiation) are some forms of marriage common among Tonga people (Tatira, 2010; 39).

In view of the above, the study findings are that most of the enlisted forms of marriage are forced and not negotiated. Some of these traditional ways of contracting marriage are not Tonga but Shona. This study has however indicated which ones are from Tonga culture and from other cultures. Different cultural practices have enhanced the perspective anticipated by the study. It should also be noted that most of these practices were predominantly prior to the coming of the European settlers in Zimbabwe. Some of these practices still exist even today. In some cases, some have only changed form. The aim of the study here is to show how some forms of marriage were and are still oppressive to women. These are also cultural practices which have helped the spread of HIV and AIDS.

3.13.1 Child pledge (Kuzwarira) as a form of marriage among the Tonga that influences the spread of HIV and AIDS and how they bring suffering among Tonga females

Child pledge (Kuzwarira) was a system which allowed parents to give their daughter in marriage to a rich man in exchange for food, cattle or any other form of wealth. In this

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practice, adults decided the fate of the child without her consent. The system was bad in that a human being was used to bail out the family from a crisis. The logic was to use or sacrifice one and save the rest. What is worse about this system was that it was a girl child who was the victim (Tatira, 2013: 39). This culture is not a Tonga culture but Shona culture. However, this study derives something important from this scenario.

The study identifies a common trend of forced marriage. This trend is common in the Tonga culture. What is common is not the practice per se, but the end result of such forced marriage as the one picked from the story. In this system, the parents decide for their daughter. The daughter is not part of the decision making. Two things are absent here; consent is not there since the girl is not aware of the undergoing plans. It is actually the parents and the rich male who agree on behalf of this girl.

The aspect of love is also absent. The male could not claim to love the girl when instead of initiating proposal to her, he listens to the parents. The parents too may not be said to love their daughter. If they loved her, then they could introduce her to the male and let her exercise her right to choose. Consequentially, the girl will grow with a wrong perception that the male cannot be questioned. Even when she grows up in that forced marriage, she will not question the morals of her husband.

Among the Tonga females, this is what is feared as a factor influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS. It is the culture of fear. Fear to question the husband and the system. It is forced marriage, it is also oppression and it creates vulnerability for Tonga females in this era of HIV and AIDS. Besides putting females at a great risk in this age and time. Africa is hit hard by this pandemic; the practice is inconsiderate of human rights. The system does not consider girls and women as humans. They are like objects and property. This is evidenced by the absence of consent and participation in decision making.

3.13.2 Wife inheritance as another system of marriage among Tonga people that influences the spread of HIV and AIDS and how they bring suffering among Tonga females

This practice is not only common among the Tonga people but also among the Shona people. Although the system may be common among ethnic groups it may differ in some dynamics and context. The system is different from the first one in that, in the first

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example, the girl is involved or given in marriage for the first time. In the second scenario, the woman was once married but the husband is now late or dead. However, there is one thing common here; it is the element of consent. It is also were it differs between the Shona culture and the Tonga culture (Tatira, Ibid, 39).

The system is all about levirate. Among the Shona people, the system offers a limited opportunity for the females whose husband is late. A year after the husband's death, the deceased male's relatives together with the wife's relative performs a cleansing ceremony. The purpose of this ceremony is to share the deceased man's property. After the property is shared among the deceased man's relatives and the survived spouse, the next move is to see that the surviving spouse gets married to one of the brothers of the deceased. The tradition is that, the female will be given a dish with water inside and go round the circle of aspiring candidates. The little freedom here is that the female will give water to the male.

The only problem here is that it may not be true to say that since water has been given by the female; therefore she consents to marry this particular man. It could mean that the female has found none amongst the parades. She might have done this under duress. Among the Tonga people, it is slightly different. The female is not consulted. After the cleansing ceremony which comes a year after the death of a man, property is shared. The cocas are among family members of the deceased man to decide who marries this woman. If an interested family member, who might not necessarily be a brother to the deceased agrees then the woman is told that he is her new husband. A practice which is still common in some parts of Pashu, the area of study is that a ritual which involves sexual intercourse between the female and this new husband is conducted. The interpretation is that a marriage is contracted. Immediately the female becomes the wife of this man. She may go to live with him to his home or the man may come to the female's home.

The problem of this marriage is that it is still a forced marriage in spite of the fact that the female is old and matured. It is oppression at face value in that the female is not part of the decision making. It is even worse in the context of HIV and AIDS. Either the husband to this female would have died of HIV and AIDS, the new husband would contact it, or

the deceased would have died of any disease which is not terminal. If the new husband is HIV positive, the female will then be infected. If it is the female who is positive because of the deceased husband, then the new husband will transmit it to his other wife or wives in the case of polygamous matrimony. This is how bad it is.

3.13.3 Chimutsa Mapfuna as a form of marriage among the Tonga that influences the spread of HIV and AIDS and how they bring suffering among Tonga females

This form of marriage is not a Tonga culture. However, this study is mainly interested in the way females are subjected to risky roles and practices. This is typically of Shona tradition. According to Tatira (2013), this form was resorted to when a male lost his wife. The male would approach his in-laws and request their favour to give him a young sister to the late wife as his wife. In this case, the woman or girl may not necessarily be the daughter of the man's father-in-law. She can be the daughter of the man's brother-in-law. It applies to the situation were a male loses his wife. If the deceased females leave a child or children behind, then the man upon considering a second marriage will not just marry. He will approach the in-laws and ask for a young girl as his wife. The reason or belief is that, the children of the deceased female will easily relate to this new parent since she will be their mother's young sister (Tatira, Ibid, 39).

This practice is not within the Tonga culture. It is common among the Shona and Ndebele ethnic groups. The understanding is the same. The new wife comes to take care of the sister's husband and children. A similar story was told in Chapter one by Chauke (Phiri, 2003:134-136). The story told in chapter one, refers to a situation whereby an HIV positive man lost his wife. Then a young sister was "forced" to marry the man who had lost his wife that is the brother-in-law. From what Chauke said, the male was sick from HIV and AIDS. In spite of this, the parents of the deceased went to give this male their young daughter as his wife. Chauke's story and Tatira's perception of Shona traditional marriage have a similar conclusion that females are at times abused from their youthful stage (Tatira, 2000; Mukanganwi, 2000; Chigwedere, 1982; Killef and Killef, 1970; Bullock, 1927).

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What these cited writers are saying is that, in an African context, marriage was rarely contracted out of mutual consent. In Shona Culture, it means that marriage before the white settlers was mainly negotiated not by the concerned or prospective partners but by the parents. Although the practice is not Tonga practice, this informs the study that girls and women even in Tonga culture succumb to cultural practices. These cultural practices cannot be said to be good. The fact that it is in existence and continue to exist in some ethnic communities may not suggest its merit.

In the context of HIV and AIDS, this kind of marriage has associated consequences. The girl who is given to look after her sister's children as well as the husband is endangered by the decision. In Chauke's story, the first wife died. The husband was sick and he infected the newly married girl, it is also believed that the girl was still at school. This was a double tragedy. The girl did not consent. She was forced out of school; she was forced to take care of the sick man which is highly risky (Phiri, 2003: 129). Possibly she could not be allowed to use some gloves when she attended to the sick husband. The end result is that the man and the girl also succumbed to death, leaving children alone. It is also unseen reality that the children also died eventually.

In view of this, although (Chimutsa Mapfuna) is not a Tonga practice, the concept of oppression and suffering is similar and this is what the study in question is trying to address. The study's focus is not on the aspect of immorality as such. It is on oppressive cultural practices and how they influence the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga woman. Chauke's story is a good example of what this study is all about. In the story, the girl was still at school. She died because she got married to a sick person who infected her with HIV. From the story, it can be seem that the question of moral behaviour of the girl is out. She did not contract HIV and AIDS because of her moral behaviour. She contracted the disease because of the issue of culture. If it were not for this oppressive culture, she could have furthered her education. She could also choose her profession in life. Arguably, she could also marry a man of her choice.

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3.13.4 The fourth way of marriage as seen in this study is elopement.

This system is common among Shona and Tonga communities. In Tonga, the word for elopement is (Kutizya) which is interpreted as a form of marriage where a young man in company of his friends monitors the movements of the prospective lover. Upon finding her in the neighbourhood, maybe in company of her friends, the man approaches her and literally carries her or drags her. This is deliberately done in the eyes of both the young man's friends and those of the girl. The whole idea is to humiliate the girl so that she cannot go back to her home. The fear is that if she goes home with that kind of humiliation and the news gets home that she was dragged, she would be labelled a loose girl. The system has however died a natural death in some parts of Binga but still exists in other areas of same districts. Primitive or modern, this system is questionable. It is pure rape. It is rape in that it is an act of force. If the man or young woman is HIV positive, then the girl automatically will contract the disease. If the marriage breaks either by divorce or the death of either part, the one who remarries will be responsible for spreading HIV and AIDS (Tatira, Ibid, 2013: 39).

3.13.5 The last of the selected examples is negotiated marriage.

The term negotiated marriage refers to a system whereby the males and females mutually consent. These can be young people or old people coming together in matrimony. In Tonga, the system is called (kutumina) meaning to formally request the prospective in-laws for a marriage between their daughter and the son of those who request. In Shona the system is referred to as (kukumbira) which is similar to Tonga. This system is what is common among the Shona and the Tonga communities. It actually involves two parties, the male who advances proposal of love to a female who agrees or accepts this proposal. In Shona culture, the aunt of the marrying male plays a pivotal role in negotiations. She determines whether to accept or to reject the daughter-in-law. If she happens to like the daughter-in-law, she then makes sure that everything is made possible and the bride price is negotiated (Weinrich, 1967: 29). Among the Shona people, the place of aunt (tete) in marital issues is a serious consideration. This aunt can bind or loosen family ties. Although this method was commonly used long ago it had some dignity. At least there

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was involvement in some negotiation. If this form of marriage prevailed among Tonga people in this age of HIV and AIDS the casualties would be minimum.

There was however a paradigm shift in the system. This shift stems from the coming of missionary activities. The call by the missionary doctrine was to introduce a culture of role models, godparents as well as counsellors. The whole idea was to shadow the African practice of leaving sexual and marriage issues to aunties. However, the new orthodox only works to some certain extent. Most Zimbabwean females who are African traditionalists, have not subscribed to the new teaching citing some weaknesses of the approach. In the new systems, mothers are thought of as role models of their own daughters and hence they should teach them the good precepts. The only challenge here is that these Zimbabwean females who are deeply rooted in their culture, will consider it a taboo for a mother to openly talk to her own daughter about issues of sexuality (Gaitskell, 1982: 340; Gaitskell, 2005, Moss, 1999). The strength of this method of marriage is that at least it respects the choice made by the two parties. The female is also a participant in decision making. The only weakness of this method is where the aunt becomes the chief negotiator. The laid condition is that the daughter-in-law should be her choice. In the past, this could be the way to go by but nowadays such aunt would be the problem if the in-law does not bend or bow to her. Since she is traditionally invested with some power and authority either to bind or loosen, she can be tempted to destroy this marriage. Again, this kind of marriage cannot be said to be independent of some influences. If the man goes out with other females and eventually contracts HIV and AIDS, the wife to this man has no-one to support her since the only person who can do this is the aunt who is not in good books with her. However, this method is better than the other methods mentioned above.

In view of the above, it can be appreciated how culture can be oppressive. Of all the five and examined types of marriages among Shona and Tonga people of Zimbabwe, only the last example is a properly negotiated marriage (Gombe, 1986: 35). The first four selected examples pose some kind of abuse and oppression. The trend in these four methods of marriage is the same. Where negotiation is involved, the chief negotiators are the parents to the married girl or woman. A good example of this is the child pledging (Kuzwarira).

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Here the prospective husband who could be in his teens, goes to the mother of the newly born baby and negotiates marriage. This kind of marriage leaves a lot to be desired. How can a baby talk of marriage? The parents of the baby especially the mother, is the favourite in the whole issue. Negotiating a marriage in this case is being inconsiderate. It is child abuse (Sibanda, 2011: 14).

Culture is also oppressive in that these types of marriage have little room for participation of both male and female. Oppression is also in form of bride worth. What was paid, and how it was paid questions the value of humanity. The paying of roora (bride price) was as if the woman was property. The problem with these forms of marriage is that women are silent right from their youth to old age.

Culture has only considered males as free to chose. The question of human rights does not exist for women. The society only considers males as humans. The issue of gender equality is not in the vocabulary of African Societies. Even the churches which should bring light to these societies have also played a passive role. Some of them, such as the apostolic sects in Zimbabwe have also encouraged child marriage. The aim of the study here is to show how females among the Tonga people have succumbed to oppression. This oppression can be seen in the way marriages were and still are contracted. The voice of females is not out. The end result of this culture is females getting HIV and AIDS by infected dominant male perpetrators.

3.13.6 Apostolic sect and child marriage as a form of child oppression.

Oppression is oppression, whether it is done by an individual, family or society. But when oppression is perpetuated by institutions which should be vocal against it, it becomes a serious oppression. Institutions of faith should not be found wanting in the issue of child or women oppression. In Zimbabwe, cases of child abuse by some Indigenous churches or Independent churches such as the Zionist Church (ZC) and the apostolic sect (AS) are high. Women and girls who belong to these churches are at high risk of contracting HIV and AIDS. The vulnerability of these women and girls comes from different religious beliefs by both femininity and masculinity. Beliefs such as healing, prophecy and prosperity are among the strong beliefs which lure those who end

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up as victims of circumstance. Most African Initiative churches (AICs) are well known for the gift of healing, exorcism, prophesying and prosperity (Sibanda, 2011: 14).

Maureen Sibanda (2011: 14) who strongly argues against the idea of child marriage says that, "if a twelve year old girl is raped, it shall be considered as statutory rape, but if the girl of the same age group is married it shall be considered a customary law" (2011, Ibid:14). In this example, the twelve year old girl is the victim of the two contradicting laws, the civil and the customary. The one is against the sex indulgence of a minor and the other sanctions that cause. A twelve year old girl who is married is in essence not different from the twelve year who is raped. In both cases, the girl cannot be considered to have consented. In Sibanda's argument, reasons for this kind of marriage are many and vary in form and from community to community. Amongst the Tonga, the commonest reason is economic. The district of Binga, the area of study is poverty stricken area. The little food gathered is not sustainable. It is one of the reasons why girls 14-16 years would marry at an early age. Still from Sibanda's paper, some women and girls are victims because of some negative beliefs about the cure of HIV and AIDS. When HIV patients visit the Vapostori, they are told that sleeping or having sexual intercourse with a minor heals anyone who is HIV positive. Many people who are HIV positive quickly believe this. In the process, women are abused. Gideon, one of the Apostolic sect members says that males marry young females for easy control. Another member of the Apostolic sect accused the church leaders who have the gift of prophecy for abusing this gift (Ibid 4-17).

Garikai Machoko (2013), has also addressed the issue of child marriage and the apostolic sect in his article, "African Initiated Churches and Party Politics: Zimbabwe experience". From this article, Machoko feels that the African Initiated Churches (AICs) in Zimbabwe such as Johane Marange Apostolic Church (JMAC); and Johane Masowewe Chishanu Apostolic Church (JMAC) and African Apostolic Church (AAC) were co-opted by Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Fronts (ZANU P.F) political ideology of authoritarian nationalism and that made them an indispensable constituency for mining national election (Machoko, 2013: 2).

In view of the above two examples, this study is overwhelmed by the way some churches and law the of Zimbabwe can be "oppressive". In Sibanda (2011)'s article, the idea of

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marrying young girls by these Apostolic leaders is itself traumatic. These church men abuse women and girls. In these marriages, there is no consent by these women and girls. In some cases, the church leaders arrange these marriages. At times, the idea of dreams is used to convince the girls. Girls are vulnerable to these tricky vices used by their perpetrators. Such a marriage is traumatic through and through. A woman should not marry a man who rapes her. Such victim needs intensive therapy to get out of it. Some people marry out of insecurity and stigma that no-one would marry them. In Machoko (2013)'s article, it is felt that these Initiated Churches and the ruling party ZANU PF in Zimbabwe are working side by side in political issues. The problem is then, can the government of Zimbabwe voice against child abuse by these apostolic sects which pay such allegiance to it. It can be imagined how impossible it is for the government to assist these vulnerable citizens. In this view, both government and customary laws of Zimbabwe have put women at high risk of abuse as well as HIV and AIDS. This information buttresses the assumption that has played a pivotal role in the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females. Different perspectives drawn from both Western and African communities have sustained this argument.

3.14 The main themes derived from this chapter.

The study findings in this chapter have touched many areas of the undertaken study. However, not everything was of desired interest for this study. It is in the interest of the study to identify the thematic areas in the study and examine their relevance as they enhance methodology in chapter two and as it informs chapter four.

First and foremost, the literature was examined in the context of Tonga worldview as it relates to HIV and AIDS and culture. However, the examined literature revealed that there is very little information about the Tonga people. In short, there are limited resources on Tonga people. Due to this constraint, diverse perspectives and perceptions include Western, African communities and individuals. What this means is, if a point was raised in this study, limited Tonga literature was supported by those perspectives. A good example is on the phenomenon of witchcraft as it relates to the study. It is true that the concept of witchcraft is predominant among the Tonga people, but there is little or no documentation readily available to support this ideology. To rescue the scenario, different

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perspectives such as the Shona, the Ndebele and many others were used to buttress or sustain the point (Mugambi, 1976: 69).

The issue of ancestors is one of the central themes in the study which shows limitation of documentation among the Tonga people. Like in many African worldviews, a belief in ancestors in Tonga community is prevalent. The only challenge is that there is little information about this phenomenon. The reason for this is that of those who wrote about Tonga did not pay particular attention to this concept. If ever something was written on ancestors, it was in passing. To handle this phenomenon, different perspectives were drawn. Since ancestral belief is central ideology in African community, an African perspective was used to stress a point in a Tonga context. Used in the context of the study, HIV and AIDS have been blamed on ancestors. An extraction from Shoko (2008)'s article titled, "ashes to ashes, dust to dust" is a good example of beliefs is ancestors. Shoko portrays Shona belief in ancestors as responsible for the cause of either sickness or death (http//hdi handle net/10500/4510).

The study also considered the influence of religion in the context of HIV and AIDS. The focus of the study on religious sects was on those churches which perpetuated dehumanization of women in the era of HIV and AIDS. The Apostolic sect among others was cited as good examples of perpetrators of women of oppression (Sibanda, 2011: 14) and (Machoko, 2013: 2).

The last example of thematic areas in the chapter was the response by various scholars who included feminist apologists such as Ursula King, (1994). In her "Feminist Theology from the Third world", which was published in 1994, king was very vocal on issues of women violence. She challenged the patriarchal society (King, 1994: 105). Elizabeth S. Fiorenza in her article, "Feminist Theology as a Critical Theology of liberation" published in 1979, has expressed her views on how women are oppressed by culture. An expression which impresses her views is as follows:

> "Any situation in which 'A' objectively exploits 'B' or hinders his [sic] pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression. Such a situation in itself constitutes violence even when sweetened by false generosity because it inters with man's [sic] ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human (Fiorenza, 1979: 189)".

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She feels the way females are culturally oppressed, is as racism defines and oppresses black people because of their colour. Most women scholars have responded to the suffering of their fellow females with utmost fury. Their contention is the transformation of the current society which seems to be insensitive to gender equality. These few examples of the context of the explored literature take centre stage in this study.

However, the examined literature does not conclude the findings of the study. This literature remained but theory which was tested against the praxis of research interview and questionnaires in the following chapter. It is in the next chapter where all theories culminated into compatible study findings.

3.15 Summary

The chapter examined the available literature to find out its relevance in the study. The study findings were that, there is little literature on Tonga people. This made the study to depend on literature other than Tonga. This literature was then used in a Tonga context. It was also the study findings that the concepts such as polygamy, witchcraft and ancestor worship were factors influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females. The findings were verified by interviews in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

 Interviews and data analysis

4.1 Introductions

The focus of this study is on Tonga Culture as it relates to the spread of HIV and AIDS. HIV and AIDS and culture are the key words or terms in the title of the study. These terms have been used in the study with particular care following their sensitivity in the context they are used. HIV and AIDS is a phenomenon which has retained its sensitive nature. To this day, the pandemic disease has not been understood like other diseases. People are not yet courageous enough to talk of HIV and AIDS freely. On the other hand, Tonga culture is a bit difficult to conceptualize. The culture is very secretive. It is not easy to understand the Tonga culture. One reason which makes it a bit difficult to conceptualize is the type of community itself. Tonga people, females in particular, are not open. They cannot simply open up or talk freely about themselves or their culture.

In view of the above nexus, the study had to consider methodology and methods which could earn the desired results. The study used interviews and questionnaires as data collection. In short, the method of triangulation was used. The reason for this was also due to the paradigm, which is hermeneutic. In this approach, concepts, terms and symbols are the only tools available for communicating meaning. In this case, meaning and truth, are socially constructed (Maree, 23: 47). Although other means were useful in information gathering, interviews proved to be more appropriate in this study.

4.2 Data Collection Methods as used in the study

Let it be mentioned from the outset that the study's expectations as far as information gathering was concerned, turned out to be different after interviews were conducted. Previously, the schedule for interviews included the following:

One-on-one interviews would be conducted. This kind of interview would be either structured or unstructured. The idea here was to try and maximize the quality of

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information. It was also the plan of the study to interview females only so as to limit bias of enquiry. Thirdly, the study was meant to focus on rural respondents only. Since the area of study is the Pashu area, which is predominantly rural, the study also aimed at interviewing the rural people only. The reason for not considering the urban people was that these were influenced by urban life which might not be a true reflection and representation on Tonga culture.

However, once the field was conducted over a period of two years, from 2013 to 2014, the situation on the ground proved to be something else. About 85% of the conducted interviews, were rural and about 15% were urban. This 85% of rural interviews was done in the area of study Pashu. This means that the covering was within the designated domain of study. Of the 15% urban interviews, 5% were done in Bulawayo where most Tonga people are employed in the Bulawayo municipality and industries. The 10% of urban interviews were conducted in Hwange mining town which is 100km from Victoria Falls which is also a Tonga and Nambya region. Hwange is also 80km from Pashu, the area under study. In chapter one, the background showed that the geographical location of the Tonga people stretches from Victoria Falls to Kariba. This area is what is known as the Zambezi Valley. This is the land occupied by the Tonga people (Tremmel, 1997: 5).

Although previously the study meant to interview women only, practically it proved not possible. Of the carried interviews, 98% were female interviewees while 2% were male interviewees. The 2% male interviewees were HIV positive who volunteered to give testimonies. Apart from one-on-one interviews, group interviews were also conducted. This shows that theory and practice are not the same. Theory informs practice while practice corrects theory. These disparities were necessitated by a number of reasons. The first one stems from financial constraints. It was not easy travelling from Zimbabwe to Pretoria in South Africa for contact meetings and back again to Zimbabwe where the study was conducted. As already alluded to previously, the remote area of Pashu, does not have a constant flow of transport. The erratic transport in the area made it difficult to frequent the area of study. These among other factors contribute to the 15% urban interviews.

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However, it can be appreciated that in spite of these developments, it can be agreed that the study was conducted within the prescribed area. It can also be confirmed that the female interviewees overwhelmed that of males. This also means that the intended purpose to focus more on women than on men was achieved. It can be argued that interviews were conducted as planned except for a few which were carried elsewhere.

4.3 Interviews carried out in the Pashu rural area.

The interviews were conducted in the Tonga language. This was because of the fact that the targeted community was predominantly Tonga. Secondly, conducting these interviews in English would compromise the quality of response as well as the desired results. This is so because most of the identified respondents were either old females who only obtained a primary level of education or people who preferred using their local language. The information was then translated into English for data compilation. Where possible, the questions were done in Tonga but the notes were made in English straight away to avoid rewriting the same stories at a later time. The use of open ended rather than the closed questions proved to be the best approach (Bless, 2013: 14). Most of these interviews were conducted in 2014 at different times. Different questions were posed for each appointed interviewee. For interview questions see appendix A.

4.3.1 Interview 1.

In this interview, the name of the interviewee shall be represented by the initial so as to avoid using the full name which is against research ethical principles. Be that as it may, 'M' here represents the interviewee. The interview was carried out at Mr M's homestead in the afternoon of Thursday in the month of June 2014. Thursday was a convenient day for this meeting since many people do not work on this day. The appointment was made by sending word through neighbours. Upon accepting the appointment, the interview was then carried out the next day. After introductions, the interview then began. Two key issues discussed here were polygamy and HIV and AIDS. Mr 'M' was a polygamous man. This is what necessitated the kind of interview. The aim of the study here was to find out from a male respondent the merits and demerits of such a marriage in the context of HIV and AIDS. The use of a tape recorder was welcomed by this participant. During

the deliberations, Mr M raised the issue of faithfulness between married males and females; his argument was the issue of unfaithfulness as a serious challenge in this era of HIV and AIDS. In his narration, he did not blame the males or females. But he believed that both males and females were responsible for infection.

During the above interview, it was learned that the interviewee was not just responding to the question but had some kind of male representation. He was aware of the expectation of the study. The title of the study which seemed guiding to any respondent could have led him to be neutral on the question of polygamy as one factor which has influenced HIV and AIDS among Tonga females in Binga in the past years and even today. Although not to conclude, it can be seen that if more males were interviewed, the females' voice would be overshadowed by these male voices. On the other hand, it can also be appreciated that Mr M. subscribed to the assumption that males are responsible for perpetuating the spread of HIV and AIDS. By saying both males and females, suggests his admission that men are responsible for untold suffering inflicted upon women.

On the issue of polygamy in this era of HIV and AIDS, Mr 'M' professed partiality. He did not clearly pronounce his position. Reading between the lines one could see that he was reluctant to contradict his status as a polygamist. M did not shun the practice of polygamy nor did he hail it. He remained neutral and blaming unfaithfulness on any party in a marriage. What M was saying was polygamy is not bad but what happens in a polygamous marriage such as unfaithfulness is what should be addressed. What this means is that the culture or practice of polygamy among the Tonga people is very strong.

Even if M did not say much on the issue of polygamy, his blaming of unfaithfulness would refer to anyone of the women or the men in this kind of matrimony. If a woman in a polygamous marriage was not faithful, then the other woman and the husband would equally contract this disease. If it were the man, the husband who had some extra marital affairs, still the three of them would end up having HIV and AIDS. Using M's example, if one of his two wives is HIV positive then M would get affected and infected. The end of it all is that M's second wife would also be infected. If M was HIV positive, the two wives would also become positive. The culture of silence among the Tonga is very

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negative especially in this era of HIV and AIDS. This oppressive culture can be seen in Haralambos perception of culture. He says that, "culture to a large degree determines how members of the society think and feel. It directs their actions and defines their outlook on life (Haralambos, 2008: 2)". This statement by Haralambos buttresses the points that culture differs from society to society. This statement qualifies the statement that Tonga culture is different from other cultures. It is this culture of polygamy which has put the women in Binga at risk in the era of HIV and AIDS.

4.3.2 Interview 2

This interview involved an old female who is in her 70s and her in-law who was deserted by her husband who happened to be the son to this female. The real name will not be used here for convenience. The interview took place at her home in Pashu. A first visit to her home was used for appointment. After a couple of days a second visit was made and a 30 minutes face to face interview ensued. In this narrative, it was not the old 70 year woman who was directly affected, but the son. During the interview, the daughter-in-law was not at home. The question posed was, "Is it true that Tonga women are more vulnerable to HIV than their male counterparts?" The female did not generalize the answer but used her own experience to respond.

As a concerned parent, she painfully narrated her situation concerning her son and the daughter-in-law. Her son left his wife who had one child by then and went to South Africa for job seeking. A second child was born to this woman long after the husband had gone to South Africa. How the child was born, who was responsible for the pregnancy, no-one even kew. The long silence between her son and his wife raised a lot of suspicion. Well, after an interval of a couple of years, it was gathered that the young male was cohabiting in South Africa. The story narrated showed that the young male only went home after being deserted by the woman he stayed with in South Africa.

There are two issues to note in this story. The first one is the economic challenge in Zimbabwe. Due to the harsh economic situation in the country, this young man left the country as well as his newly married woman. This issue of migrant workers was addressed by Magezi in the previous chapter (Magezi, 2007: 26). Weinreich also

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subscribed to the same view as Magezi (Weinreich, 2004: 26). The high rate of migration from Zimbabwe into South Africa has immensely contributed to the spread of HIV and AIDS. The story of the 70 year woman's son who crossed over to South Africa confirms what Magezi and Weinreich postulated previously.

Magezi's theory of migrant workers, is here buttressed by Gary Thomas (2011:38-39)'s ethnographic method of information gathering. Ethnography is a term which derives from a Greek 'Ethnos' which means folk. Therefore ethnography means the study of people. This method was applied to observe a trend in the behaviour patterns of some of the people of foreign nationality in Pretoria in South Africa. The place of investigation was a hotel called Queen Victoria near Busman Station in Pretoria. This hotel is strategically located for travellers and visitors who might want accommodation. The place is frequently visited by both people of foreign nationality and local ones. Zimbabwean males are among the people who frequent The Queen Victoria Hotel.

The period of observation which was three years, from 2013 to 2015 was sufficient to observe some kind of behaviour. This method of observation was necessitated by the atmosphere which was not conducive for face-to-face interviews. The only possible alternative was to carry an observation method of data gathering. A meaningful observation was enabled by interactions with the people who visited this place. The findings were that the lifestyle observed questioned the moral behaviour of these Zimbabweans. The purpose and importance of this investigation was to test Magezi's theory of migrant workers. It also enhanced the second interviewee's opinion that the young man would be responsible for the infection of his wife with HIV and AIDS if he were positive.

The second challenge in this narrative is the culture of loyalty among the Tonga people (Fr Trammel, 1997: 10). When an interviewee's son came back from South Africa, after a long period, he still found his wife staying with his parents. This is loyalty. Loyalty coupled with a culture of silence put this woman in great danger. After some few days in Zimbabwe, he went back to South Africa where he is to this day. The sad part of it all is that when men migrate into towns or into neighbouring countries such as South Africa, Zambia and Botswana, the motive behind it is good. The understanding is that these men

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want to work for their families. It is only when they get there that they are caught up in a new environment and new life. They start living a careless life out there.

In the above story, the issue of cross borders has been confirmed by Magezi (2007: 22). The culture of loyalty was also addressed by Tremmel (1997: 10). The study findings have confirmed that culture and migrant workers are one of the factors which have fuelled the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga people. The claim of the findings sustains a true reflection of what is happening in Pashu, the area of study. The second story is only one out of a possible many others. There could be many other scenarios similar to this one. If this assumption is correct, then quite a number of women in Pashu area are being left by their husbands. These males live a life of married people and infect their wives with the pandemic disease. Alternatively, it could be the women who are left for so long who would have lived a compromised life. When the husbands return, then they would contract the disease.

The two interviews so far, confirmed what the previous chapter, the literature review assumed. This chapter is a checklist of assumptions made by chapter three. There is either confirmation or partial or total rejection of the assumption. The stories told by these two interviewees confirmed that culture is responsible for the spread of HIV among the Tonga women of Binga. The interviews used their own experience. The first interviewee could have been referring to his polygamous marriage while the second interviewee was referring to her own situation which involved her son and daughter-in-law.

4.3.3 Interview 3

The third interview involved a 56 year old female. The interview was carried out at the female's home where she lived with her mother. Although the initial intention was to interview E, her mother who was also with her would interject periodically to the posed question. During this fact finding, there was no use of a tape recorder. The approach used was to ask a leading question which opened a dialogue between the interviewer and interviewee. The question asked sought her views about the spread of HIV among the Tonga women. In response, the woman narrated a story of her brother and his wife. Both her brother and his wife had died of HIV and AIDS. In this story, a new dimension was

that of the accusation of witchcraft. The atmosphere was not calm, the narrator was furious. This kind of environment sent a message. The meaning of this could be that the interview opened a new wound. In the story, the chief narrator was the female while her mother could interject to emphasize a point raised by her daughter. In this interview, the blame was directed to the daughter-in-law, the wife to her brother. It was told that the in-law was responsible for the illness of the female brother who eventually died. The story is that the in-law had persuaded her husband to move out of the parent's home because of the persistent illness. The man did not object.

However, things did not change for the better, the two of them died after a long battle with the terminal disease. The female and other family members were very furious about the whole thing saying that they were accused of witchcraft. According to the female's in-law, the suffering and death which befell the two of them, was not natural but caused by witchcraft. In Binga, the belief in this antisocial practice called witchcraft is prevalent. It is used to answer questions of mysterious sickness and death (Mugambi, 1976: vi) (Bourdillon, 1997: 116). Asked what could be the cause of the illness and death of these two people, the mother to this interviewee who was accused as a witch did not hesitate to say, "What else if not AIDS".

She just shouted with anger, (mbulwazi bwamazuaano), meaning today's illness. By this, the Tonga people refer to HIV and AIDS. In view of this, HIV cannot be easily controlled among the people of Binga if the community still upholds to their cultural belief and practice of witchcraft. In such a scenario, there is misguided attention. Instead of people focusing their attention and resources on the reality of the matter, they concentrate on allegations which are almost always wrong. It is in an African context that such people who heavily believe in witchcraft also believe in (n'anga) witchdoctors. These witchdoctors use their skills to manipulate situations to suit the expectations of the victims (Gelfand, 1964: 24-25).

In this era of HIV and AIDS, the ignorance professed by a number of people has become one such factor which has increased the rate of vulnerability of many women to HIV and AIDS. In this interview, the HIV victims could have lived longer if only they had sought medical assistance. But now, they become a bitter couple because they believed that they

were bewitched by their kin. The surviving relatives also were fuming saying that they were innocently being accused. There are two issues here, those who died, died bitterly and those who survived, survived with some bitterness because of false accusations. The main cause of this is the cultural belief in witchcraft. This phenomenon does not unite people but rather divides them. The story at hand has showed how families can be disrupted by some kind of beliefs. In the third interviewee's story, both sets of couples suffered. The HIV positive suffered from the disease. They also died bitterly. The respondent and her mother suffered both emotionally and psychologically from the accusation. Both needed some kind of therapy. It is unfortunate that they both did not get the kind of assistance they deserved.

4.3.4 Interview 4

This interview involved a male whose first born son is a polygamist. The interviewee consented to share on HIV and polygamy. The male is in the 80s and is a father of five sons. His first born child who is in his 40s is married to two women. The interview was held at his home. The questions asked related to polygamy and HIV and AIDS among the Tonga women. The interview did not last long as the male did not seem to like the question on polygamy. This could be because he was once married to two women and later divorced one and remained with other. It could also be because his son is a polygamist. On HIV and AIDS, he commented that it was unfortunate that the disease was here to stay. He did not give much attention to the discussion. Although the short story he gave did not shed much light on the study questions, there was something to derive from what he said.

The respondent did not give a detailed report. This could be due to the fact that he was a respected figure in the community. Doing so would either be little him or jeopardize his status as an instrumental figure in the community. It could also be a sign of masculinity against feminism. It could be that he did not have to anything offer. Anyway, the man responded and something was noted from the short interview.

The above is the first set of interviews carried in the rural area of Chief Pashu. The four stories may have differed in different many ways, but they have responded to the study's

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assumption that females are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS than their male counterparts. The table below represents the number of interviews conducted and the frequency and nature of responses from the interviewees.

4.4 Interviews and findings

Number of Interview	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Thematic areas raised
I	M	70+	Married-polygamist	HIV is a result of unfaithfulness in the family among married people.
II	F	70+	Married-monogamy	HIV is as a result of migrant workers It is also a result of royalty
III	F	56	Widow	HIV sterns from cultural beliefs in witchcraft
IV	M	75+	Once polygamist Now monogamist	There is no more practice of polygamy in Pashu

The diagram is referring to face to face interviews carried out in the rural community of Chief Pashu. What is shown here is a true reflection of what was obtained during the interview exercise. The correctness of the information can be rated above 85%. The method of rating the correctness of information was twofold. The first method considered here is the length of story told. The long the narration was, may suggest that the story was true. There cannot be a short narration to a meaningful reality. Anyone who knows something would want to say it as it is. He or she would also want to emphasize a point. 3 out the 4 narrators fall into this methodology. The second method refers to the relation of the narrator to the told story. Although it may not be disputed, a story which is referring to a second party may have some limitations and may not show passion. On the other hand, a true story stems from a passionate narration; it is sometimes characterized with emotions and or a bitter facial expression. In the case of HIV and AIDS, if someone opens up, it may also be signified by a posture of regret, such as someone wanting to sob or cry. Again this was 3 out of 4. Only the fourth narrator gave a general comment and

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was very brief. The three of these interviewed participants or respondents as Henning (2013: 67) would call them, suggest that the shared knowledge was their own experience and was correct. The third consideration, although not a method is that two out of the four respondents were females. It is the females mainly who are addressed by the study question. Before the interview started, introductions were made in each case and the purpose of the interview was declared. It would be unlikely for the concerned party, the females to give false information. In such a situation, the interviewees would see the interviewer as their saviour. They would therefore take this opportunity to say all what harbours in their hearts. They could vent their anger as a therapy. So the stories told here was correct information. The method of storytelling was fruitful here.

A fourth criterion of determining the quality of information refers to the age of the interviewed respondents. The youngest of them all, was 56 years while the rest were well above this 56 years. The general range of HIV victims is 15 years to 49 years, the sexually active age. Anybody within the active age would not be very free to talk of the disease. The fear is that if they are HIV positive, would appear as confrontation. Secondly the fear of stigmatization and discrimination would grip the young interviewees. Information given by such interviewees might not be a true reflection of what is going on, on the ground. But what is given by the old people is 90% correct information. The age of 70 and above, have retired from active sexuality and sex. Of course they can contract HIV and AIDS, but the possibility is slim. This is the age group which is lamenting its youngsters who seem not to heed the call to abstinence. What these three interviewees shared, was a true knowledge. It can also be argued further that rural people especially old people are not fond of lying. A good culture hailed by most court magistrates who preside over court issues in Binga would testify that Tonga people do not lie. So what these three rural interviewees testified was a reality.

On the other hand the two males' interviewed can be said to have had a different experience. Although the first interviewee did not clearly show his position, he like his colleague seems not to be affirming loyalty with the two women. This is a denial defence mechanism. The first male interviewee who seemed to be referring to his wife blamed everything on unfaithfulness. It was not clear what this male meant by this unfaithfulness.

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Did he mean himself or his wives or was it a general statement? It cannot be concluded what he meant..

These are the one-on-one interviews which were conducted during fieldwork in Pashu area. The sampling method used here was a random method. Those indicated as interviewees, indicated their willingness when approached for interview appointments. There were also group interviews carried out which were still in the rural community of Chief Pashu. There were two groups of 16 and 4 respectively. The first group comprised the Methodist Women's Fellowship known as (Umanyano) which means fellowship. The second group comprised 3 women and 1 man. This group was sampled from the community. What is particular about this group is that four of these interviewees were HIV positive.

4.5 First group interview – Manyano females speak out

After permission was sought and granted by the minister in charge or the principal as they are called, the interview was conducted at the church premises. This venue was chosen on the basis of convenience. (Manyano) females in the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe, meet once a week on Thursdays for their fellowship. Coincidentally this day is also a day chosen by the community for resting. The interview was therefore scheduled for this day which would be convenient for many females since they do not work on this day. In order not to interfere with their church business, the interviews were done after their church meeting.

The age group for the members of this group ranged from 25 years to 70 years and above. More than 80% of this group were old women of 70 years and above. The reasons for this could be that young people preferably go to the Pentecostal churches. There are a few young women and men who remain in the mainline churches. The other possible reason could be that young women are either in towns with their husbands or could be working somewhere formally or informally. This leaves a great vacuum of young people in rural areas. The sampling method used here was of qualification. By virtue of being a member of the (Manyano) female's fellowship, the present respondents qualify as interviewees.

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HIV and AIDS status for this group was not sought and emphasized. The reason being that under such circumstance, the group would be divided. The affected people would shy out and refrain from active participation. This would compromise the desired and expected results at the end of the day. It is also the principle of the ethics to promote freedom of expression by the respondent (Oliver, 2011: 47). During this interview, the situation was made as conducive as possible, since through such interaction meaningful knowledge would be realised.

 The focus on this group was therefore not on the HIV status. It was rather on information which related to the cultural practices which put Tonga women at a high risk in this era of HIV and AIDS. If at all the group was vetted to see who was not HIV affected, only a few members of this women's fellowship would have remained. However confidentiality was maintained so as to avoid discrimination and stigmatization.

Since Tonga women are known for their silence, the only suitable kind of interview was the semi-structured interview. The advantages of this method are, the high percentage of people interviewed were almost of the same age group. Secondly, these people had a kind of relationship which derives from their organization, the Women's Fellowship. The HIV status was not emphasized; this was another reason which promoted a high level of interaction during data gathering.

Marsh, (2009: 129) emphasized the advantages of semi-structured interviews (Marsh, 2009: 129). For Marsh, a few guiding questions would be asked so as to open a free discussion. Indeed this method was used and it proved a reasonable means of excavating information. A few leading questions such as the following were raised: "Do you think women are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS than their male counterparts?" Do you think some of the cultural practices promote the spread of HIV and AIDS?" Do you advocate the re-examination of some of these practices to see whether or not they should still be upheld?"

The time allocated for this interview was 30 minutes. Oliver (2011) once said, "It is sometimes easy to imagine that research is a completely sequential process, which involves one stage leading logically on to the next, and so on. Life would be a lot simpler

if it were the case" (Oliver, 2011: 26). What Oliver is saying here is that what one plans in life may not necessarily be what happens. In this study, this is referring to the way this interview was scheduled. Time allocation was thought to be in line with the women's time. The 30 minutes was thought to be sufficient especially after a long church program. However, as Oliver says, things did not work out that way. Overwhelmed by the questions, the women showed a great enthusiasm as they stayed long.

4.6 The females speak out in this study

Although the interview questions were structured, the experience on the ground allowed the respondent spontaneity. People just asked questions, even ones which were not in line with the study. They even answered questions which were not asked. The interviewees broadened the scope of coverage. Below are some of their sentiments:

1. There was a mention of witchcraft as a factor responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS.
2. The issue of unfaithful husbands and men came again.
3. There was a lamentation of the conduct of young people, single or married.
4. Much was said on domestic violence.
5. Little was said on cultural practices as a factor influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS.
6. All this culminated into advocating the education of the community against the above mentioned factors.

4.7 The concept of witchcraft in the context of HIV and AIDS as perceived by the Tonga females

The interviewed group was split into two on the issue of witchcraft. One group blamed the spread of HIV on witchcraft while the other saw witchcraft as a scapegoat. Those who saw witchcraft as a cause of the spread of HIV and AIDS did so with the understanding that witchcraft is prevalent in Binga. This could have come from the fear of witchcraft. Those interviewees which blamed the spread of HIV and AIDS are aware of what

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witches are capable of doing. Being Africans, in an African community whose worldview is characterized with beliefs, fears, practices, rituals and religion, they saw it possible that HIV and AIDS were as a result of evil spirits. When asked to say more about their understanding about witchcraft, one member of the group said that HIV itself was not a natural disease but a thing caused by evil people out of sheer jealousy. She went on and said most jealous people are witches and can do anything evil to other people. This is buttressed by Bourdillon (1997) when he portrays witchcraft as anything evil. His understanding of it is that it covers a variety of practices from gruesome rituals, through the secret use of physical or magical poisons, to bizarre behaviour that goes against the social norms of society without necessarily doing physical harm to anyone (Bourdillon, 1997: 115).

In view of this strong feeling of witchcraft among the members of the group, it can be learned that the community is divided on the phenomenon. Secondly the narrators also believed that the immoral behaviour which leads to sexual misconduct stems from witchcraft. A wayward behaviour is the work of witchcraft. For them, the disease and these who are HIV positive are as a result of witchcraft. Perhaps the problem with this is how to make the community see the reality. Partially this is what part of the group tried to address.

On the other hand, the rest of the group had a different perception about witchcraft. Their lamentation was that people who contract HIV and AIDs falsely accuse other people, mainly their kin. This group has a different view from their co-partners. For them HIV and AIDS and subsequent death from HIV and AIDS has nothing to do with witchcraft. Their argument was that this belief in witchcraft has destroyed families and the communities. There has been a lot of suspicion and accusation going on in families and community at large (Ray, 1976: 140). In short what these interviewees were saying is that although they did not understand HIV and AIDS, they did not see it as caused by witches. Their problem was the consequence of the belief in witchcraft. The different opinions observed in this larger group could be a good starting point for enlightening the community. If not witchcraft, then something else was responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS. A question of unfaithfulness was raised by the group.

4.8 Unfaithfulness in marriages, seen as the cause of the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga females

In as far as the factor of unfaithfulness is concerned; the interview group shared same views with the first interviewee in the person to person or individual interviews. However, the question of who was unfaithful to the other, divided the panel. Just like in the issue of witchcraft above, different opinions were responsible for the division of the group. It should be remembered that the composition of this group included old women. Logically, these women are mothers-in-law in their own rights. There were also women who could be mothers, but who were not old enough to have either sons or daughters-in-law. There were different opinions raised by the group concerning issues of faithfulness.

The first thing to note here is that although these are some people who once perceived HIV and AIDS differently, they are the same people who now seem to understand it as a result of unfaithfulness. Here the group seemed to be in agreement that HIV was a caused phenomenon. They all understood it as caused by extra marital indulgence or immorality. Thus far, there was no hiccup, the problem arose where it was concerned with who was responsible. The young females blamed it on their husbands. The way they narrated their stories, seemed to suggest that some of them were HIV positive. Of course there was no mentioning of names in the discussion but the set tone revealed something. It appeared, this group was afraid of opening up to say what the real problem was. It could be that some of them were not afraid of the HIV status but with the presence of the old females who could be even their in-laws, it was difficult to disclose. The presence of these older females could have posed a threat to the young females. The atmosphere was not conducive enough for a free discussion. If a provision was made for two separate sessions, maybe, that could have persuaded the younger group to open up.

On the other hand, the group of the old females felt that unfaithfulness was on the part of the young females, their daughters-in-law. This group was not emotional. Again this was a sign of oversight in planning or arranging this interview. Ethical considerations by Oliver (2011) were not observed. Most young females in Zimbabwe, the Tonga in

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particular, cannot freely share in the presence of old females even who are not their in-laws. They have a kind of respect which an outsider would not conceptualize. This was a serious oversight. Nevertheless, the old women still aired their views concerning unfaithful young females. The old folk accused the young women as lazy and unwilling to work for their families. Earlier on, it was mentioned that Tonga women are known for working for their families. The entrepreneurship ranged from unprofessional to professional and also varied in nature. This is the women's point of argument, that HIV and AIDS is as a result of unfaithful young women who are also lazy and do not work.

In view of this, it can now be understood what Weinreich (2004) and Jackson (2007:8) said concerning the rational between HIV and population group. Weinreich (2004) describes a situation which is stated in the context of HIV and AIDS. He talks of a vulnerable population group, in agreement with Jackson (2007: 8). Weinreich says many poor countries have a number of people who migrate or are mobile. In his diversity of migrant population, he mentioned professions such as truck drivers, seasonal workers, traders, members of the military and many others. The idea of urbanization contributes to these motilities. Once these people are in other countries such as South Africa, their sexual behaviours change (Weinreich, 2004: 21).

The situation portrayed by these Manyano older females, is enhanced by what Weinreich (2004) and Jackson (2007) say. If this is the case, then both narrators had a point in as far as the spread of HIV and AIDS is concerned. Firstly, those of the Tonga young men who are employed, either in Zimbabwe, or in South Africa, left their wives at home either by themselves or with their in-law. This put them at high risk in terms of contracting HIV and AIDS. If the husbands stayed away for too long, some of these females compromised their lives and started to engage in sexual relations with other males who were not their husbands. The young females were actually saying it was not their fault but the fault of the sons to these females who could not come back home or support their families. Whenever they consider going home, they then import the disease for their wives. Alternatively, these females look for other males in order to raise some money to sustain the family. The study therefore grapples with this vulnerability of HIV and AIDS. As the discussion gained momentum more new revelations of factors which have influenced the

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contraction and spread of HIV and AIDS were coming in. These were the moral conduct of young people among others.

4.9 Moral conduct of young people in the context of HIV and AIDS as it relates to the study

This dimension was initially not the focus of the study. The focus of the study was mainly on culture vis-avis HIV among the Tonga females. The females however, brought the issue of morality among young people. However, the point was brought as a general concern. The female who brought it felt that the youth of today have lost their moral values. "There is a serious moral decay among our youth today", the females lamented. Asked to elaborate on her statement, she talked of young male's indulgences in drugs and sexual misconduct. Since it was a general concern, it contributed a little to the aim of the study. If drug addiction had nothing to do with abuse of girls, then it was not the issue. But if this drug addiction referred to male, a married or unmarried old male, then it was applicable to the context of study. In this context it would refer to women abuse by husbands or men who are drug addicts. It is a matter of clarity here. If drugs were used or mentioned as a general factor, then it would be something else. If they were mentioned in relation to the concerns of the study, then their mention was relevant. It was also not very clear what drugs young girls or women were accused of using. It was not specified in the argument the age of these community groups. Since everything was generalized, the sustainability of this view can only be given the benefit of the doubt. However, the Manyano lambasted the culture of violence in some families.

4.10 Abuse in its diversity among Tonga females in the context of HIV and AIDS.

It is important here to show what kind of people are said to be violated before even talking of violence itself. With all sincerity a meaningful description of Tonga females can only be through the following words or phrases: humble, simple, loyal, cultured, submissive, peace loving people, shy people and obedient, to mention but a few. This description is a true identity of the Tonga females of the Zambezi valley (Weinreich, 1997: 77).

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The purpose and importance of the above description is to see abuse in this context. It is also to understand how the narrators of this ordeal feel about abuse. In light of this, any infringement of human rights would be a serious human abuse to these Tonga females. Although these females did not speak emotionally, the seriousness of the matter remained unquestionable. The females did not mix their words.

Of concern, was the idea of males who take advantage of the female's simplicity. This simplicity for many males is mistaken for weakness. The females complained about the insults accompanied by some physical beating of females by their husbands. In their complaint, they said the unfairness stems from the fact that it is cultural that if a female was beaten by her husband, she should not fight back. If she went back and reported to her parents, she would be advised to go back to her husband. Again this is the power of culture. There is a lot of injustice in Tonga culture. There is oppression and rejection. The culture is oppressive in that it allows and gives the men authority to inflict pain to females without reprimand. Regarding the questions of right or wrong, males are always right. Secondly, injustice is also seen when the female tries to seek favour from her kin. Instead of backing or supporting her, she is driven back to the oppressor. The situation becomes traumatic for her. This is what the group narrated. They said that some men are very violent and are also fearsome. Females who live in such marriages do so because of culture which has less or no room for females to talk of or initiate divorce.

From the background outlined above, it was shown that Tonga females are submissive and loyal. It is this submissiveness or loyalty which has enslaved these females. They have lived a miserable live under inconsiderate males. This kind of life has influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females. Males of the Tonga community have taken advantage of this culture of silence.

In view of the above experiences, life for Tonga females is not God given but determined by males. Here life is not strictly referring to breath but to humanity. It refers historically to body, soul, spirit and the right to live. From what the Manyano females said, it brought to light some other inhuman experiences such as Black American experience during slavery and racism. It is like the South African experience during Apartheid. Such kinds

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of experience render life void and useless. Hope for such people are expressed in the words of James Cone (1997). Cone's experience of racism and discrimination when he grew up in such an environment where Whites ill-treated Blacks enhances what Tonga female experience under the roof of abusive men (Cone, 1977: 17).

For Cone, Black Theology has emerged out of the context of Black experience. Therefore, analogically feminist Theology in the context of this study should emerge from Tonga female's experience. This is not a general experience for African females. It is a particular experience for African females. It is a particular experience for particular females. For this reason, there should be coined a new contextual female theology. Since theology is experiential and contextual, this new theology will be contextual and will refer only to situations such as that of the Tonga females. Anyone who is not a Tonga would not understand this theology unless he or she shares a similar experience with the Tonga females. Even Tonga females would not qualify to talk of this theology unless they were liberated from their androcentric attitude.

This culture of oppressing women has been condemned by a number of females' theologians such as Watson (2003). Watson says females are described as weak and feminine (Watson, 2003: 25). King (1994) has also expressed her concern about the treatment of females globally. She feels that feminist theologians were out to challenge the patriarchal society.

The above sentiments echoed by the Tonga Manyano females are a clear indication of the actual situation on the ground. It is only the females who are being beaten. It shows also how vulnerable these females are to HIV and AIDS. It also shows how easily they can be infected. It shows also how difficult it can be to control HIV and AIDS under such conditions. This kind of situation is not the female's responsibility alone to handle, it involves everyone. To adequately address this problem, the first port of call would be the root of the problem. If it is males, as it is assumed or mentioned by females, then, attitude of males should change. The crux of the matter is the issue of mind-set which should be corrected. Liberation should begin with these males. When the oppressor is transformed, then the oppressed will automatically be set free.

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Taking into consideration the above discussion on oppression, it seems that culture could be viewed as the key root problem affecting females in Binga. All forms of suffering have pointed to culture. So culture, one way or the other is responsible for any kind of abuse directed to females by males. And these terms or words describing the identity of Tonga females only show how males have taken advantage of this. In this age of the AIDS pandemic there are, therefore, few chances of survival by these females. The worst scenario is when these females get infected; they normally do not go to hospital. The main reason for this is seen as witchcraft. As has already been alluded to, witchcraft has been accused by perpetrators of violence. HIV and AIDS has been said to be as a result of witchcraft. Females have been suffering in silence for a long time now. During the findings, a subsequent probing question was raised which sought to find out the females' reactions after they were physically abused. The response showed no reaction at all. To be specific, asked whether or not they still would go to bed with these abusive husbands, the females responded, "yes". A further probing question was whether or not the females consented to have sex with their husbands, the response was, "It was not their culture either to consent or refuse".

An analysis of this discourse clearly refers to culture as the main focus of the whole abuse and suffering of these women. As culture is diverse so is the abuse it creates. It is responsible for all kind of human suffering. Previously the argument was that, in order to free these Tonga females from oppression, the oppressor who in this case is male, should be the first target to be liberated from this mental slavery. Now that whatever kind of oppression seems, to stem from culture, it then means that the ultimate source of oppression is not males but culture. If this view is anything to go by, then the first port of call in this case is culture.

4.11 Females say little about culture as an influential factor to the spread of HIV and AIDS in Binga.

To say the interviewed females said little about culture as a factor influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS may seem confusing and contradicting. The posed question was, "Do you think culture is responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS?" These females said,

"Yes to some less extent". Seemingly the confusion would seem to come from what they called abuse and violence experienced in some families. Previously these females agreed that sometimes their husbands or males in general abuse them. For them now to say culture is not the main cause of HIV and AIDS and how it has spread among them raises two questions. The first one is do these females understand what culture is? And the second one is do these women understand how this culture factors in as far as the spread of HIV and AIDS is concerned?

As for the definition of culture, it can be appreciated that it entails quite a lot and is diverse. Culture cannot be said to be global (Haralambos, 2008: 664). For Taylor (1994: 80), culture is contextual. Musa Dube and Musimbi Kanyoro (2003: 89) say culture is not natural but a human product, hence it can change. Now, for a layman, this academic discourse about what culture is becomes jargon to him or her. This is trying to explain a possibility that perhaps these females might not conceptualize culture. If it is difficult for the academia to fully define culture, what more of an old Tonga female of the valley. However, following the way these females narrated their stories, shows that they know something about culture although they might not say what exactly culture is. On the other hand, these people shared on the consequences of abuse. They may have not fully understood the question. For this study, these females have said something about culture and its effects on the spread of the disease.

4.12 The necessity of advocating and educating the community about HIV and AIDS.

Every problem of communal magnitude has to be approached at the communal level. The issue of the Tonga experience in this era of HIV and AIDS is not an individual but a community challenge. The findings of the study were that the female interviewees who were questioned expressed concern about education. Education was cited as the main problem in a community with a high prevalence of HIV and AIDS. In this case, the suggested form of education has to be viewed in two ways: the first one is the creation of an awareness campaign. This is a process whereby the whole community is reached out to and informed about the disease. Programs to that effect can be drawn. Strategic

population such as the youth in schools and in homes; the church members in their congregations; males and females in their convenient locations would be a good target. Qualified or trained resource people would be the rightful ones to facilitate these awareness programs. Since most of the Tonga females in the study, were less privileged in as far as conventional education was concerned, these programs have to be in Tonga language. A contextual approach in executing these programs would be better than anything else.

On the other hand, education to those who are already HIV positive has to be in the form of counselling. Since any dealing with HIV and AIDS is a very sensitive engagement, ethical considerations have to be applied (Oliver, 2011: 9). People concerned would be grouped according to their age; their sex; individuals and families, the married ones and the single. The approach to these people has to take a caring method such as that provided by Gerkin in his book titled, *"An Introduction to Pastoral care"*. In this book, Gerkin (1997: 115) explains a situation whereby pastors, as he calls them have to create a pastoral church relationship. The point here is the kind of relationship between the counselee and the counsellor that has to be developed. Skilled counsellors would ease the prevailing situation. In short, what this means is that counselling with people who are already sick or HIV positive may not be that easy.

From the stories told by the females in the interview, it can be deduced that education is essential both as enlightenment and as emancipation. Enlightened communities would not abuse their citizens. Also an informed community is capable of solving its problems. Education in any community is a tool for emancipation. The findings of this study from the preceding interview are as follows:

1. Culture was cited as a factor which promoting the spread of a HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females.
2. Beliefs in witchcraft were also cited as a factor perpetuating the spread of the HIV pandemic.
3. Accusations between spouses were also prevalent in the group.
4. All this culminated into the need for education.

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The interpretation of this is that all these factors constitute the vulnerability of Tonga females to HIV and AIDS. This also explains how culture is at the centre of the context of the study. These findings were from the group interviews carried at the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe at Tinde in the Pashu area. This group was the first group interviewed. There was yet another group interview carried out in the Pashu area. The second group interview comprised a male and females who were HIV positive. This interview was held at the household of one of the interviewees.

4.13 A testimony from HIV positive people.

Interview planning included the following details:

Venue of interview – At one of the interviewee's home

Composition of interviewees - 4 people

Males   - 1

Females   - 3

Age range   - 30 to 45

HIV status   - all positive

Marital status   - 1 couple and 2 single females

Interview duration   - 1 h 45 m

Some of the questions asked to guide the interactions were as follows:

1. When did you discover that you were HIV positive?
2. How did you come to know about it?
3. How did you contract it?
4. How did you feel at first?
5. How do you feel now?
6. Are you on medical treatment?

See Appendix A for the rest of interview questions.

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After the above procedures, some of the leading questions were posed so as to facilitate the discussion. Ethical considerations were exercised taking into consideration that the study involves sensitive issues such as HIV and AIDS and female respondents. Consent was also sought and was granted by all the respondents. Ethics of recording of data as is common in many studies was not used. This was due to the culture factor. The group composition included one male which meant female interviewees not to open up. The other ethical reason was to try and avoid suspicion by the respondents. All these ethical considerations are what Oliver (2011) calls moral justification of research (Oliver, 2011: 10). Oliver expresses much concern on the relationship between the one conducting interviews and the respondents. His experience is a situation where respondents are only used to access the required information and nothing more. Two key words express Oliver's views, "Intrinsic good" which contextually means that the knowledge sought, benefits the study and, "instrumentally good" which expresses the outcome benefit to the respondent or community (Oliver, 2011: 11). As such, much care was maintained to avoid using terminologies such as, "subjects". This term suggests that there is no relationship between information providers and the knowledge seeker. Henning (2013: 67) further explains the term, "subjects" as mere instrument for information gathering. All this was taken care of during the investigation.

4.14 The purpose and importance of this interview in the study.

The interview was meant to fully engage and explore the community position on HIV and AIDS. It sought to hear the different views; feelings; opinions as experienced by various people. It also sought true knowledge about the study assumptions that Tonga females in Binga were more vulnerable to HIV than their male counterparts. The sought reality and truth would only be made possible by means of interview (Henning, Ibid, 2013: 54-55).

The first question which was to do with the time when the participants discovered that they were HIV positive was asked. There were different responses to this effect. The couple also differed regarding the time. The couple gave different periods saying that it was difficult to tell what really the problem was. However, they both testified that they were ill for a reasonable period. This led to the question of how they discovered that they were sick and that it was HIV and AIDS. The couple explained that it was when each of

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them went to a nearby clinic where HIV was diagnosed. Repeating the same questions to the rest of the group, different responses were inevitable. The same trend of no specific or known dates was observed. The possible reasons for these mixed responses might refer to the assumption that the disease was not very common in the area. People, who were HIV positive as well as those who are not in recent years, did not know anything about HIV and AIDS in Binga. Secondly, although an assumption, people in Pashu area believed in many myths about this AIDS pandemic. The belief in witchcraft and what it is capable of was obvious (Gelfand, 1964: 24). The issue of HIV and AIDS was associated with witchcraft. It was therefore not easy for these interviewees to distinguish sickness caused by witches and that caused by something else. All this stems from the influence of culture.

The next probing question sought the first experience of the panellists after they discovered that they were HIV positive. Some bits of emotions were expressed here, especially from the female spouse. The reaction might have been triggered by the presence of the male spouse. She might have not wanted either to accept her status or to forgive him or both. The facial expression was of a past painful recalled experience. However, after regaining her composure, she said, 'it was a bad experience'. Something of interest here was that the male spouse did not interject or interfere when his spouse narrated her life experience. Maybe the husband was caught unaware. It might have been that he was the one who had infected her with HIV and AIDS and would not treasure in reviving memories of the past. It is not within the Tonga culture for a man to remain silent while his wife or any other female made some utterances in public like that. The normal situation would be that the male (s) spoke on behalf of the female (s). In this case, this female participant might have come to a point where she wanted the truth revealed.

On the other hand, the rest of the remaining participants did not show remorseful expressions about their past or present experiences. This is the part of group which comprised females who were single. The study findings in this respect were that life was normal for these females. The assumption here would be that these females reflected a true Tonga culture of silence. This was contrary to the first respondent who would not keep quiet. It might also have been partly due to their marital status. It might have been

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not that easy for the single HIV positive females to openly share on how they contracted the disease. The notion of shame was expressed by Jesus in what Edward P. Wimberley (1999: 23) called the new world which was shame-based cultures. The expression implies that there are two sides of one and same community, a community which promotes equality and that which discriminates. Wimberley's theory of shame might have been coupled with the Tonga culture of silence to deny these females freedom to open up. Wimberley's theory of shame in this context addresses the issue of culture of silence. The portrayed behaviour led to the following observations:

4.15. Observations made during the interview

There were thematic areas observed during the interview. The first area noted is to do with power of gender. The observation made here was a reflection of a patriarchal society represented by the one male interviewee. The presence of this male respondent set the tone of discussion. The female respondents were very careful what and what not to say in the presence of this male participant. Secondly, there was also an aspect of culture. This is linked to the first observation. The Tonga culture of silence was predominant through and through the interviewing period. The way the other respondents expressed themselves was a true reflection of a Tonga society. Analogically it represented a Tonga polygamous family of one husband and three wives. It was a situation whereby the women would not freely talk in the presence of their husband. This influence of gender imbalance and cultural dominance is expressed by Haddad (2011: 258-259). Haddad expressed that the issue of HIV and AIDS is not only a health matter but it also involves cultural, religious, political, economic and gender problems. In other words, Haddad was saying that culture and gender have a key role in the context of HIV and AIDS. The third observation was to do with admittance. At the end of it all, the group displayed behaviour of acceptance. Prior to the interview, the expectancy was of an emotion and hostile group and unpredictable results. Only after engagement with the panellists was a discovery of a composed group evidenced. This could be that the group had received enough counselling from the bigger support group where they belonged. This small group was a random sample from a Tinde HIV and AIDS support group. It might also have been that the interviewees did not differentiate AIDS from any other disease. All in all, the findings

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were important for this study. The issue of androcentric culture among the Tonga people remained central in the study.

The above interviews represented the Pashu community. However, there were some interviews curried outside Pashu rural area. Previously, the plan was to conduct interviews from the area of investigation only. However, the situation necessitated the consideration of the latter investigation. The importance of these interviews to this study is that they offered a meaningful contribution. The one which was carried in Bulawayo was a testimony of a real situation in the Pashu area. The other two were from Hwange Magistrate's Court. These two were important to the study because some of the issues involved violation of women's' rights. Women are denied freedom to speak, to choose and to participate. Most of these cases are tried in Hwange Magistrate's Court which is near Binga. This area is also a Tonga area. For these reasons, the interviews were necessary and important for this study.

The female interviewed in Bulawayo raised some concerns about the consequences of AIDS. The raised concerns were the aspects of religious beliefs, witchcraft and divorce. To expatiate on her experience, she told a story involving a female of 25 years of age. When the female in the story discovered that she was HIV positive, she went to hospital seeking medical attention. But when the situation worsened, she thought of seeking spiritual attention. Circumstantially, the female suffered from indecision. This was an issue of crisis management. She was not feeling well, she also visited the hospital where she got some medical help, but this did not work for her. This was yet an alternative, a last resort for her, the faith healing organization, the Apostolic Church. On her visit to this institution, she was told to stop taking tablets and water was administered to her.

Faith Healing Churches are well known as alternatives in matters of health (Kalengyo, 2013:124). Some of these churches discourage western medicines saying that they are ineffective. In latest scholarly debates this ideology has come under serious scrutiny especially in this time of HIV and AIDS (Haddad, 2011: 237). The decision made by this female in the narrative is typical of African traditional belief. This can be evidenced by Bourdillon's experience of a group of University students who had made fun of the traditional healer who was requested to go and demonstrate his skills in order to illustrate

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an aspect of one of the courses taught. A number of students consulted the healer for fun or out of curiosity, and laughingly commented on how they have tricked him into making wrong announcements about themselves and their background. The impression they were trying to give was that they were educated and too sophisticated to believe in traditional healers. Interestingly enough, when examination time drew near, the same sophisticated boys and girls were not above going to the traditional healers for help (Boarditon, 1997: 97).

The expression and impression by Bourdillon is a suggestion that it is common tendency for most Africans to change goals in times of crisis. Explaining further, Bourdillon (1997) gave two scenarios of this practice. The first one refers to rural experience. In the event of someone falling sick, the first port of call is the traditional healer. When expected help is not rendered, the next option is either the faith healing churches such as Mapostoli in the case of the Zimbabwean situation. The other second option is the hospital where Western medicine is then considered although previously dismissed as ineffective. The second scenario refers to urban situation. The experience is that the sick person would firstly go to hospital for help. When the situation fails to improve, the last resort is the traditional practitioner. This might be the situation with the female narrated by the interviewee in Bulawayo.

In view of the above, it can be appreciated how sometimes these faith centred institutions can take advantage of helpless people. One can imagine the preference of water as a remedy to that of scientific and tested medicine. This questions the credentials of such churches as Christian institutions sanctioned by God. For this reason, help was neither here nor there. The hospital and the faith healer did not solve the problem faced by this sick person.

The second worry expressed by the interviewee, was that of witchcraft. Witchcraft has become a prominent theme in this study. In this context, witchcraft has come as the persistent suffering of this woman contained in the story. The hospital and the traditional healer have failed. There was a paradigm shift in belief systems. Because of coming from a society and culture which upholds beliefs in witchcraft, the implicated person in the story accused her mother of being a witch. Her problem was blamed on someone

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else's. This problem of transferring stems from denial mechanism as it is commonly called by psychologists. A quotation from Walter Houston Clark (1959: 142)'s book, *The Psychology of Religion,* will help expatiate this inference. He argues thus:

> Somewhat more obscure happenings lead to negative attitudes toward religion that maybe classed with what the psychologist calls defence mechanisms. One such means of defence involves violent antipathy toward something or someone, which obscures by its violence the real source of the difficulty. The real source may be known to the individual, but more characteristically it is not. For an example, the youth who unconsciously hate his father may grow up to reject the religion that his father represents (Clark, 142).

The above quotation psychologically explains why human behaviour changes as a means to bring about a solution to a problem. This explains why the female in the story shifted her focus from medical and spiritual attention to witchcraft. In this case, her mother was now a principal cause of suffering. In the quotation, it was learnt that this defence mechanism is usually accompanied with emotions. In the study, the traits of hate can be seen as she shifted the source of problem. The source was no longer the HIV although she once lived on HIV treatment. It was now her mother who she saw as a witch. This theory of the denial defence mechanism sometimes has negative consequences. In this study, the sick woman did not only hate her mother but that the hate culminated in divorce between her father and mother. From this point, the consequences of one unfairly handled situation ended up too far. The daughter and mother became victims of circumstance. Had the young woman resorted to medical treatment, the issue of divorce would not have been the end result. To some extent, the whole saga led to the destruction of the whole family. The young woman died eventually, while the parents divorced, bringing total ruin to the family. "This kind of experience is what has commonly disturbed the Tonga community of Chief Pashu" the interviewee expressed.

On the interview carried out on 17 April 2015 at the Magistrate's court, the findings of the study were not very elaborate following that the interviewed Magistrate was only a relief one. The one in charge of the Area, the Circuit, as it is commonly known, was on leave. The interview was carried on as per an arrangement which was previously made through a young female prosecutor. Names of the Magistrate and the prosecutor were withheld for ethical reasons. After all the interview protocols were made, the

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investigation started. The purpose of this interview was to find out whether or not there were cases of gender based violence registered or tried in the Hwange Court. The study also aimed at discovering whether or not such cases were linked to the phenomena of HIV and culture. The investigation was very short. It took less than 30 minutes and this was due to the deficit in information since the interviewee was only a month at the place. However, the study made the following findings: gender based violence and child abuse were common. Child abuse included those perpetrated against those aged between 2-10 years. There were issues of cultural beliefs such as that when an HIV positive person had sex with a minor, the disease would be cured. Another cultural belief was that women, who tried to divorce because of ill-treatment by their spouses, would be discouraged to do so by their own parents saying that they should get used to male behaviour. These cultural beliefs are accepted by the community and not by the state law.

Most of the mentioned factors have caused a conflict between culture and law. The bone of contention here is the code of reference. In human life, which should be determining the code of conduct? Is it the law or culture which should predetermine the behaviour of people? What culture might be deemed acceptable, law might condemn as a violation of law. A good example is cultural beliefs cited in the discussion with the magistrate. An HIV positive male adult, who rapes a minor on grounds of belief that the disease would be cured, may culturally go unpunished. On the other hand, the same rape case when reported to the police, the perpetrator would be slapped with a jail term of not less than ten years. The only problem here is the issue of culture which makes a number of these offences not reported to the police. People fear that if a case is reported, the perpetrator who mostly is a kin of the abused might, spend most of his life in prison. The community and its culture prefer prosecuting the offended rather than the offender. On the other hand, the law reprimands the perpetrator.

Common in the story were the concepts of culture, traditional beliefs and religious beliefs which shape the society. These factors also influence the behaviour of individual people as well as determining what they hold as their core values (Haddad, 2011: 257). Although in brief, what the Court Magistrate expressed, confirms loyalty with what many other interviewees said. These findings from individual interviewees as well as those

from the two group interviews, come under one method of data gathering interview. This method is characterized by the nature of interviews and relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. The types of interview questions used were open ended questions. This made the interviews conducted more interactive than would be the case with close-ended type of questions. Information obtained from the investigations was taken to be the reality of life experience. This was the first method used in the study to gather data. The method proved to be fruitful. The advantages of this method as expressed by (Bless, 2013:214) and (Henning, 2013: 67) were the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. On the other hand, the study also utilized the structured interviews in the form of questionnaires.

4.16 Administered questionnaires as a form of data gathering.

Questionnaires are a form of interview defined as a two-way conversation, verbal or written in which the interviewer asks the participant questions to collect data and to learn about the ideas, beliefs, views, opinions and behaviours of the participant (Maree, 2013: 87). The difference between other forms of interviews and questionnaires is that the questionnaire is completely structured and administered by giving the information written questions in advance. A follow up is made to collect the returns. Those that are posted can also be returned thorough postage. In this study, this method of data gathering was considered to augment the unstructured interviews which were primarily meant for rural people who might not be able to read and write.

The importance and purpose of this method was to gather as much as possible the necessary information. Arguably, the questionnaires distributed to other individuals and communities other than that of the area of study were meant to seek a wide perspetive which would in turn enhance the focal point of study. See Appendix B for details. As it is normal in information gathering, not hundred percent is realized in some questionnaire returns, this was the case in the administered questionnaires. There were three sets of questionnaires distributed to different communities. The first set of structured questions was distributed amongst the local people in Pashu area. Sampling in this case was determined by people who were prepared to journey with the interviewer in the study. In a way, this implies that sampling of the questionnaire respondents was not a random

sampling but stratified. Stratified sampling is a method of selecting informants from the population. In this method, the population is divided into a number of homogeneous, non-overlapping groups called strata (Maree, 2013: 175). It is then from each stratum that random sampling can then ensue. In this study, the strata were formed of the following subgroups: the teaching staff, the health personnel and the business people. It was then that random sampling was carried in each stratum. The reason for choosing this method was the accessibility of the population. Secondly, these professionals represented a wider community because they belonged to the same large society.

In view of the above, the questionnaire questions were distributed to individuals from the three categories of population mentioned above. The administered questionnaire information was as follows: Questionnaires sent out totalled 25=100%

The completed and returned questionnaires 19=76%

 Questions not returned totalled 6=24%

The table which follows clarifies this information.
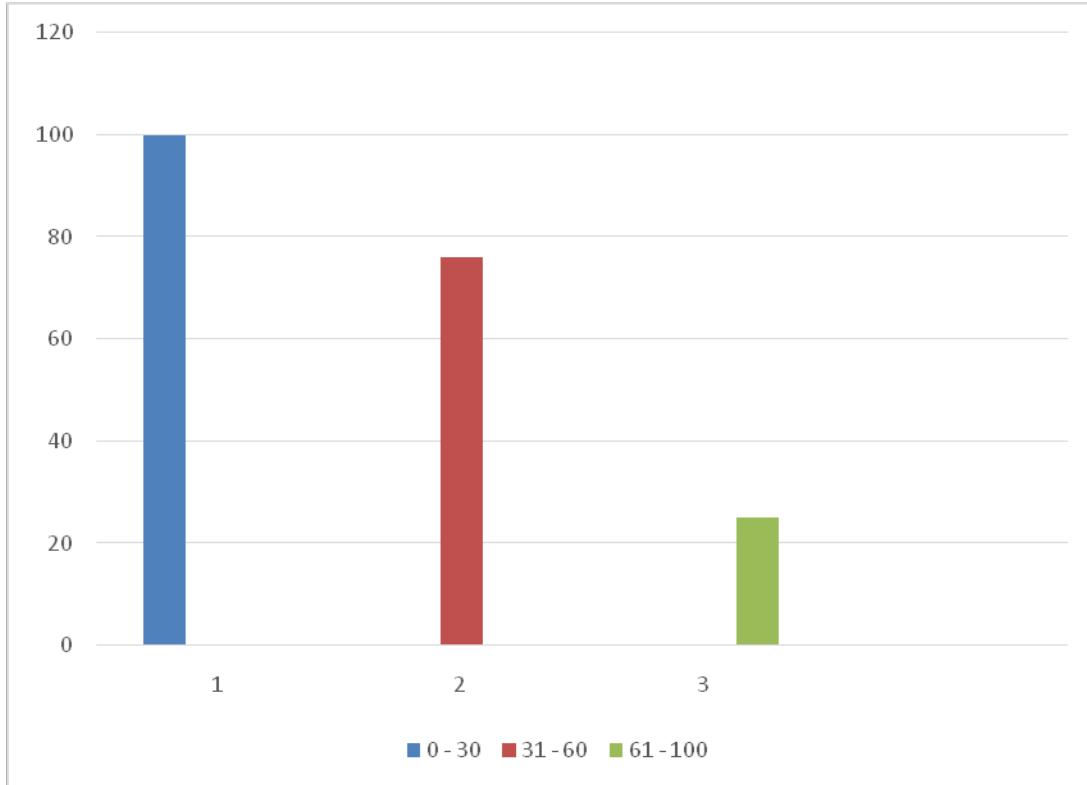
Table 1

 Distributed questionnaires

 Completed and returned questionnaires

 Questionnaires not returned

The composition of the total returned questionnaires was as follows, 16 respondents were females and 3 were males. Expressed in a pie chart, the information is as follows

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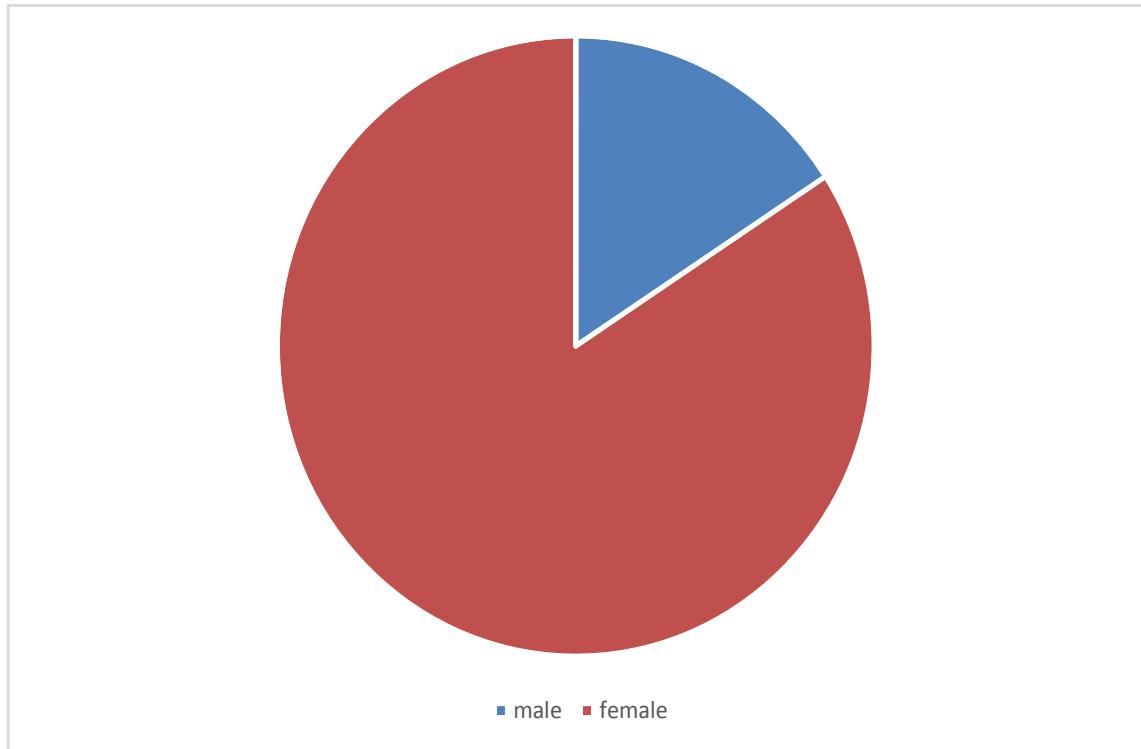
table 2

■	Male respondents (15,8%)
■	Female respondents (84.2%)

Table 3

Level of education
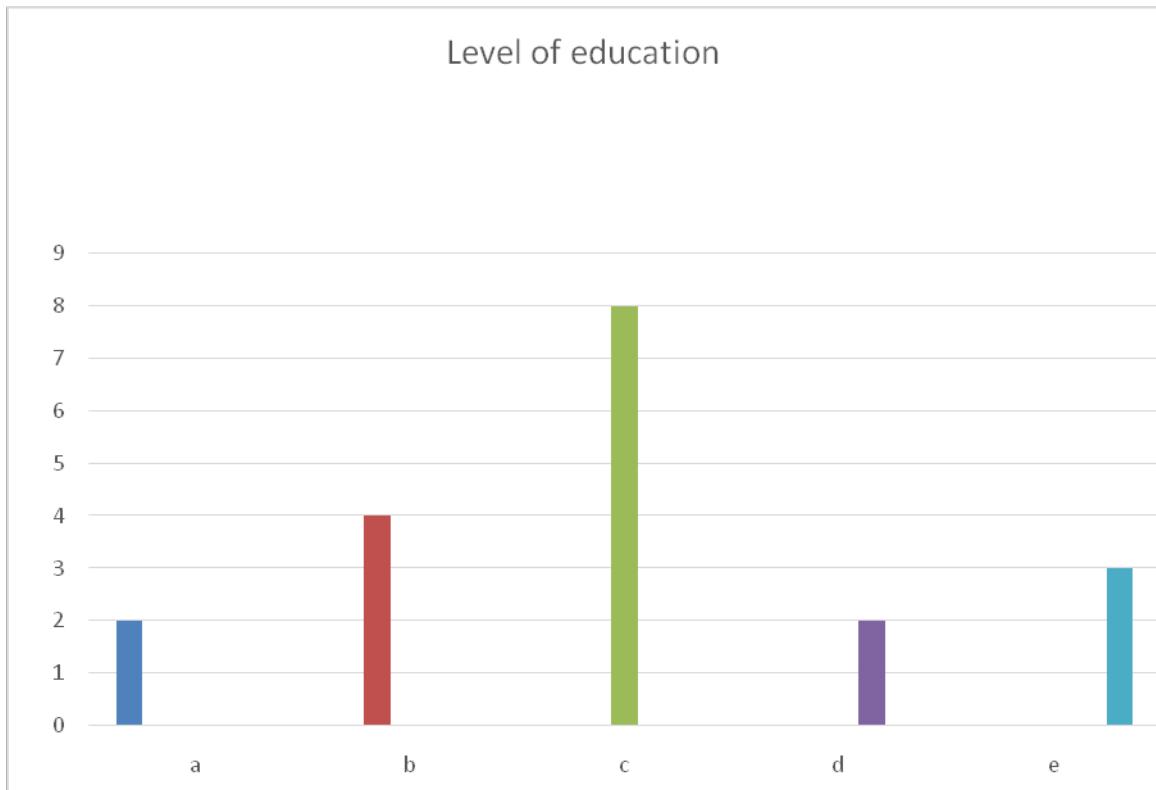
a. primary education

b. secondary education

c. college

d. university

e. no level of education indicated

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4.17. Analysis and interpretation of data presented by Tables 1, 2 and 3.

The distribution of questionnaires in table 1 was made not very difficult because the sampled community was a growth point in the rural area of Pashu. In this community, there are schools, both primary and secondary. Teaching staff and non-teaching staff employed here are mostly local people. Even where some of these respondents are not residents in the neighbourhood of these institutions, they still come from the same broader community of Chief Pashu. In view of this, questionnaire distribution was not very difficult. Another quantity of the questionnaires went to the health institution which is also in the same vicinity. Most of the nursing staff served with these questionnaires is Tonga people. The third category which was served with questionnaires was shop owners.

The above points explain why the returned questionnaires scored a high percentage. One reason was because of easy accessibility to the targeted population. The other reason was that a follow up was also made to see that the population was assisted to complete the questions. By this, it means that the sampled informants were requested to complete and return the questions. The third reason why most questionnaires were completed refers to table three. In table three, the education level shows that informants who attained college certificates had a high frequency. This suggests that such respondents might have not encountered any difficulty in responding to the questions in the questionnaire.

The questionnaires that were not returned, partly refers to table three again. On the level of uneducated, only a small percent was realized. The possibility here is that these questionnaires landed in the hands of people with little reading ability. Such scenarios are possible in some instances. In Binga, it is not a surprise, given that most people were less privileged in terms of education. It is also a probability that these were people who just took the papers but with little or no interest in the exercise. Others might have taken them, completed them, but for some reasons were unable to return them. Still the high rate of returns might be owed to the fact that the study mainly seeks to maximize the voice of females as it is the assumption of the study that they are the most vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. This is evidenced by the proportion of respondents in table two (2). Maybe females saw it as an opportunity to air their views.

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On the other hand, one can appreciate that a good percentage of sent questionnaires were completed and returned. This good percentage can be taken to represent a wide society. From a grounded theory point of view, the information contained in the questionnaires might be a true reflection of the Tonga worldview (Maree, 2013: 77). Grounded theory was first coined by Glaser and Strauss in 1967. It was an alternative approach in the positive tradition. Since then, multiple versions of grounded theory have been documented by Strauss and Corbin (1990). Strauss and Corbin (1990: 23), explain this theory as a discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to the phenomena it represents. Therefore data collection, analysis and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. In this study, it means that from the ideas of the study stems the method of data gathering which is by questionnaire, and from data to further ideas generated by data and then onto a Tonga worldview.

The marital questionnaire interviewees comprised of 11 married people; 6 single; 1 separated; 1 widowed and 0 divorced. This information explains the assumption made by the study. The two extreme marital statuses, that is the 11 married people and 0 divorced enhance the assumption that females are more vulnerable than their male counterparts. The high number of married females suggests a possibility that HIV and AIDS prevalence is also high amongst the group. This is supported by the 0 frequency in divorce. Unless a Tonga male initiated a divorce, Tonga females would not initiate it. This is typically Tonga culture for females to endure in marriage even when it hurts most. It is a situation expressed by the Hwange magistrate in the interview that most cases of gender based violence tried in the District of Binga, show that women remain loyal to their husbands in spite of the violence they experience in their marriages.

The other status such as the single, though quite a big number, and the separated also explain the Tonga culture. It is not a Tonga culture to have a person living in separation. This is a Western culture. Both the single and the separated are not Tonga cultures, but borrowed either from neighbouring ethnic groups such as the Ndebele or Shona or even from a Western influence. Moore (1996: 164-166), gives an example of a Western society where living as single, separated, divorced and cohabitating are common. Moore

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explains the Western Culture as follows: there is a common law family which exists among the less well-off and consists of unmarried partners with children of one or both partners. There is also a mother household, a matriarchal family in which there are no permanent males. The third example of such families is a lone parenthood family which is headed by a single parent. About 1 in 7 families are now headed by a single parent (usually the mother): this compares with only 1 in 12 only 12 years ago. Now 1 in 6 households with children under the age of 16 are headed by a single parent (Moore, 1996: 165). This is all to explain that the 6 people who were found to be single in the report, is a new development in Tonga culture. The same applies to the one person who lived in separation. The trend is not Tonga but a foreign influence. Therefore, the study findings are a true reflection of Tonga community.

4.18. HIV and AIDS status and health issues of interviewees.

This information about HIV and AIDS status refers to the informants themselves and or their relatives. Following that HIV and AIDS status is a sensitive issue, to just disclose it, would not be that easy. It might only be possible to do so where one has accepted and is willing to disclose his or her status. In view of this, only one out of 19 interviewees disclosed her status. The 18 people who claimed to be negative might not be a true reflection. It could be that they were not tested. It could be that they were afraid of stigmatization if they were to disclose their status. This explains the high frequency of those who were negative.

The next following probing question sought to find out whether or not these respondents had relatives who were HIV positive. Those who testified that they had relatives who were HIV positive were seventeen while those who had no relative who were positive were two. The table below helps to explain the relationship between question 3 and 4.

Table 4
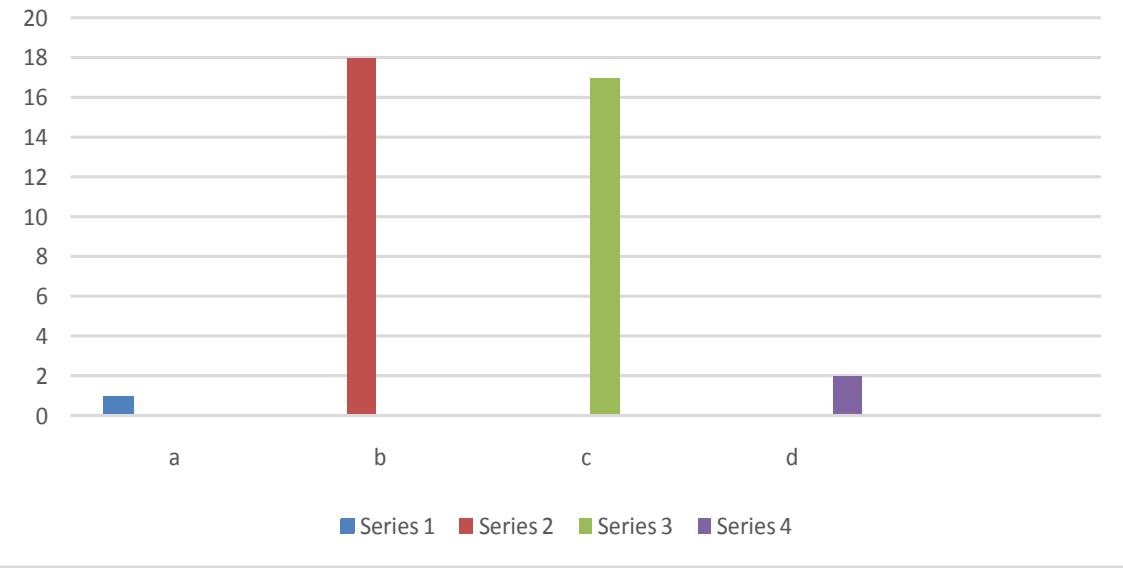
Series 1   Respondents who are HIV positive

Series 2   HIV Negative respondents

Series 3   Respondents with HIV positive relatives

Series 4   Respondents with HIV negative relatives

The prevalence of those who are positive is very low, but the prevalence of the respondents who are negative is very high. On the other hand, the prevalence of respondents whose relatives are HIV positive is very high, while that of respondents with relatives who are negative is very low. A close examination of the two scenarios tells a story here. HIV status for respondents is insignificant while that of their relatives is soaring. The explanation could be that the status which represents relatives is a true reflection of the situation on the ground. Logically it is easy to speak on behalf of someone else than to speak for oneself in such issues as HIV and AIDS. The respondents might not have told the truth about their HIV status. This shows that the respondents might have not wanted to reveal their HIV status, hence the reality might not have been represented by the respondents.

The health of the people who were reported to be HIV positive varied. Most of them have a good health according to the findings. 10 had a good health, 1 had a poor health state while 2 had a fair state; 4 had a very good state while 2 had excellent state. In the case of negative relatives, there was not supposed to be any recordings because these people were reported as negative. The 2 excellent states therefore may be referring to those people who were not infected. The big number, 10 may suggest that these people live on medical treatment. It could also suggest that these people have accepted their HIV status after receiving some counselling from councillors. This big number of people who were reported to be in good health could be representing females. The next posed question sought to find out whether or not females were more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS than their male counterparts. The findings were that there were 15 people who argued for females as being more vulnerable than males. The reasons for this high risk on the side of females refers to the assumed factors such as forced marriage; rape; polygamy; marrying a deceased person's spouse or early marriage. One way or the other, the arrayed factors were found to be responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga females (Mbiti, 2003: 117-118). Of these agents of HIV and AIDS, polygamy ranked highest according to the study findings. Mentioned also were factors such as early marriages and marrying of a deceased spouse.

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In view of the above HIV status and the prevalence, ages 20-30 years were found to be the most affected followed by a range of 31-40 years. Ages 41 years and above were found to be not affected. This could suggest that this age is no longer very active sexually. It could also suggest that these old people who are faithful to each other and are not going out with other sex partners. The highest possible age that was found to be vulnerable ranged from 20-30 years. If this range comprises both females and males, then there could be two possibilities here. The first possibility could be that Tonga females marry at an early stage. In such an age distribution, Tonga females could be said to marry between 20 and 24 years, the remaining age range is that females are too young to be family people. What it means is that male spouses take advantage of these young females. They cannot voice out in the event of ill-treatment by their male counterparts. Where a male spouse is not faithful to the wife, then abuse is possible.

4.19 Consequence of HIV and AIDS on Tonga social life.

From the study findings, it was learned that some children have lost their parents due to HIV and AIDS. Quite a significant number of females have died of HIV and AIDS. The problem of losing parents at a tender age may lead to a concept of child headed families which in-turn may increase the vulnerability of these children. The child headed homes are economically constrained. There is no formal breadwinner here, but that everyone has to work for survival. It is during this process where most vulnerable children get abused by their perpetrators. In the case of AIDS survivals, the issue may not be anything to do with death but that the care giver is now the cared for. It is also a difficult situation for children to look after their parents most of these sick females no longer work because of their illness.

Of the 19 people who completed the questionnaire and returned, 18 subscribed to the fact that family economy is adversely affected. Only one person had a different opinion on the issue. This poor economic situation was also a negative consequence of the children's education. Most children of people who are HIV positive have dropped from school; be it primary or secondary. The findings were that only a few orphans would still continue with their education even in a situation where one or both parents are deceased. Those

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children, who are fortunate to proceed with school, might have some sponsorship either from relatives or any well wishes.

The above scenario shows how human rights are sometimes infringed by male dominancy in Binga. These rights also pertain to sexual issues such as consenting and decision making. In this study, the findings were taken for granted in family roles and duties. These females have been on the spotlight in terms of risks because of their place in the community which is gender insensitive. Extra marital issues as well as unprotected sex for even married couples have all fuelled the spread of HIV and AIDS in Binga. The end result of such behaviour is the loss of souls in many families. This was revealed by the questionnaire interviews which were distributed, that most females are victims of circumstance in this HIV and AIDS era. Of the 19 interviewed people, 15 subscribed to this preposition. The reason for this according to the study finding refers to some of the cultural practices such as polygamy with 11; early marriage with 5; forced marriage with 5 and ritual marriage with 2 cases.

The conducted interviews so far indicated that there was a problem which called for attention. The formulated questions which were part of the distributed questionnaires were used to seek the possible solutions to the challenges faced by females in Pashu community.

4.20. The Tonga views on raised questions about HIV and AIDS.

The study findings from the administered questionnaires show a range of mixed views or response from the Tonga population. Viewed as a pastoral challenge, 12 people against 7 felt that Pastoral care to the people who are HIV positive, is a redefinition of life. Pastoral care giving as elaborated in Chapter five helped these people redefine life. By redefinition of life the study is trying to contextualize the life of the infected people. The whole idea is to help these people see and explain their life experience in the context of HIV. This also means accepting themselves as they are. These are psychologically wounded souls, just like wounded sheep which need the service of the shepherd.

The concept of care giving according to Gherkin is fashioned in the context of Pastor and the individual, family and community in which he serves (Gherkin, 1997: 11). The same

concept of care giving is viewed in the context of shepherd and the sheep by Taylor in his book, *Tend my sheep* (1994, 7-10). The interviewed respondents saw their lives explained in the context of this relationship as a combination of one who yearns for pastoral services and one who gives these services. As already alluded to, a much more detailed account on pastoral care giving is given in the next following chapter.

The above testimony was followed by a further consideration by the interviewees to formulate educative programs as a means to mitigate the consequences of HIV and AIDS. The 19 respondents suggested programs which could be aimed at educating the affected community with this AIDS pandemic. Such a response was a reflection of what is believed to be lacking in most rural communities today. Giving the necessary medical aid would be not sufficient for them. The medical attention would only deal with the canal body whereas the pastoral oversight would holistically address the problem. The emphasis of such programs is not on the infected alone, but on both the infected and affected. The respondents felt that the health of the mind is better than the health of the body. This implies that HIV and AIDS is a disease which affects both, the systems of the body and the mental faculty. Addressing such a problem therefore calls for complete attention to the whole personality. This was evidenced by a response whereby 16 respondents against 3 advocated the issue of health as a fundamental depending on their experience. Although referring to slavery of his time, John Wesley reproached the slavery of humanity (Wimberley, 2011: 78). In the context of this study, this concept of oppression is in the form of the healthy body. The body is a result of oppression of females by their sex-maniac male counterparts. For this reason, Tonga females advocate freedom from mental slavery.

Asked, "What would be done to curb the spread of HIV and AIDS among females?" the response varied. The 19 respondents called for attention and revisiting of some of the oppressive cultural practices such as, forced marriage; early marriage; polygamy and spouse inheritance and (marrying a deceased person's spouse). Although with some challenges of inconsistency in responses, the generated reality was that the female respondents were not comfortable with some of these Tonga cultural practices.

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To gain more and more perspectives, a cross cultural dimension was considered by distributing some questionnaires to an English speaking community in Benoni, in South Africa. The reason for this consideration was to see how Western culture relates to African culture. The idea was to see whether there were similar trends in both cultures; the Western and the African. The homogenous method of sampling was used, whereby the smaller group was randomly selected from a bigger Methodist congregation. 5 females were selected from the White congregation of Benon Methodist Church of Southern Africa. The ages ranged from 24 to 62 years. The education level was as follows: 1 respondent attained standard 10 level of education, 2 people attained secondary level of education and at least 2 interviewees attained University level of education. This was the nature of the composition of the sampled population. For detailed information of the questionnaire, see appendix B.

4.21. The concept of culture in the context of this study from a Western perspective.

Here culture is not a general conceptualization but it is a culture viewed in relation to the study questions. It was through the study findings that the concept of polygamy in the Western community was established as not being a common practice. The 5 interviewees testified that polygamy was not common in their community. In this case, Haralambos' definition of culture explains the cultural difference between African society and the Western community. He explains culture as, "a whole way of life" which can be learned and shared by members of the society (Haralambos, 2008: 663). According to the data gathered, it can be appreciated that culturally Western society is different from the African society. This enhances the study gap pertaining to the concept of culture. Many other cultural concepts were examined by the set of questionnaires administered to this community.

On such cultural practices prevalent in Tonga society which were examined in the Western society, is the concept of inheritance of the surviving spouse of the deceased. From the set of questions distributed to the sampled respondents, this concept was a common phenomenon. Now contrary to this, the study findings show that, marrying of the deceased spouse by any relative of the deceased was not a Western practice. All the interviewed females testified that the concept was not a Western cultural practice. This

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means that unlike in Tonga culture, HIV and AIDS might not be contracted through this factor.

Still under the theme of culture, two more questions were raised seeking clarity on issues of human rights. The questions sought to know whether or not early marriage or marriage of young girls and the freedom of choice were issues of significant difference in a Western community. In the study, the assumptions were that some Tonga young girls were given to marriage by their parents out of free will (Tatira, 2010: 39). This Tonga culture contextually derives from the Marxist theory of culture which holds that culture is a product of the ruling class which serves to maintain domination over the powerless. The theory goes further that culture is therefore an ideology that is formulated by those in power for their own ends-It does not serve all members of the society (Dube, 2003: 89). This Marxist theory helps to explain the kind of oppression as expressed in the study in light of marital issues. The theory explains why some members of one and some community have influence over others. The young girls in this case are abused by the powerful in the same society. This is the absence of human rights in the community.

On the other hand, the Western culture has a different perception on issues of sex and sexuality. The study findings were that the 5 interviewees maintained that in Western culture, females have the right of choice. Those that are married can determine where and when to have sex. Those that are widowed by the death of their spouses, still have freedom of choice. They can choose whether or not to marry. In the event of one considering remarrying, it is not anyone's determination who she marries but hers. The Western culture is characterized by such concepts as divorce; care for freedom; individualism and selfishness. This stems from the human rights inherent in their culture (Donavan, 1984: 13). This explains why the 5 respondents argued that in their culture no one is a slave of cultural practices. This concept of human rights is not Zimbabwean. There are no human rights in Zimbabwe. To a great degree, human rights in Zimbabwe are only theories and wishes and not praxis.

In view of the above nexus, Haralambos' concept of culture is explicitly divergent. The idea that culture is global has been Haralambos contention. He explained that because of a multiple peculiar traditional concepts, language, beliefs and practices, culture is

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therefore unique to a particular group of people in any one given society (Haralambos, 2008: 663). The Western culture is therefore significantly different from the African culture, the Tonga culture in particular. There was a paradigm shift in terms of cultural practices. The Tonga culture revealed some of the cultural practices which the interviewees considered oppressive and called for serious consideration. The Tonga informants advocated the abolishment of some of these practices. On the other hand, no such response was made by the 5 White selected populations. This shows the diversity of culture. From this perception, the prevalence of HIV and AIDS in a Western community does not stem from the alluded patterns of culture. Contrary to the Western scenario, in Binga HIV and AIDS is to a great extent a causal concept.

4.22. HIV and AIDS as viewed from a Western perspective.

Table5
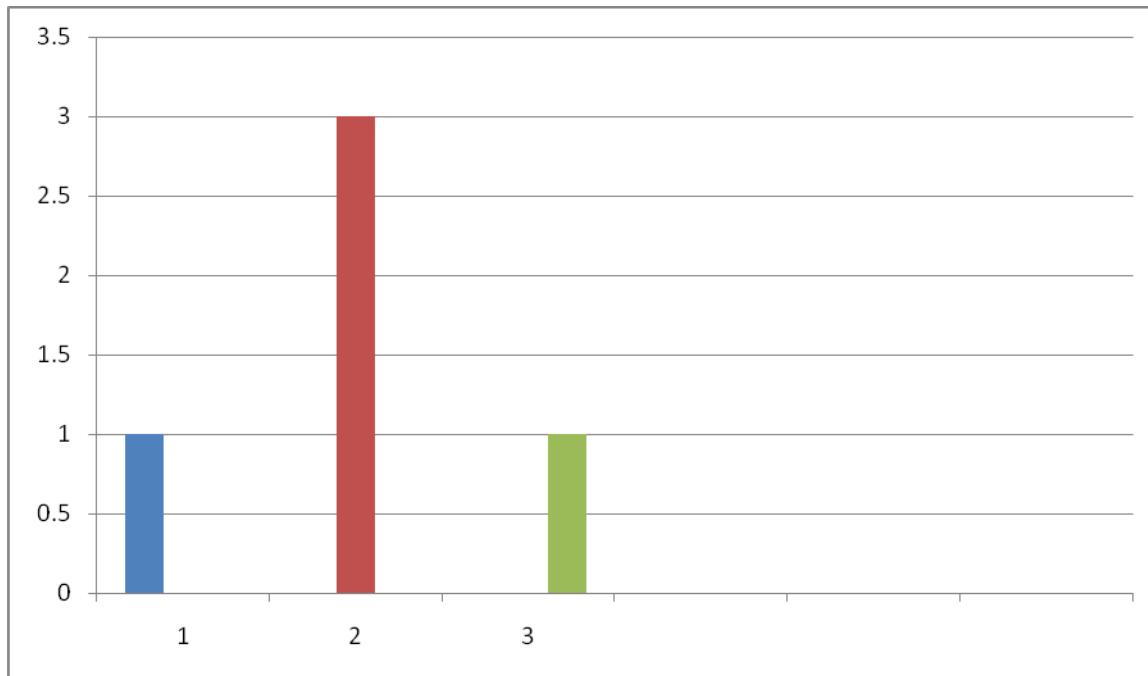
Below 5% = 1

Above 5% but below 10 = 3

Above 10% = 1

The diagram gives the frequency of the HIV prevalence in a Benon White Community. The diagram shows that there is equal representation of prevalence that is below 5% and that which is above 10%. The highest prevalence however, is the one above 5% but below 10%.

An analysis from the grounded theory as a methodology shows how this collected data generates more theories by recurrence. This means that the data gathered shows the variances in prevalence. Using this information, the reflection of this information shows that HIV and AIDS in this community are not caused by some cultural practices. This was confirmed by the 5 respondents. 4 respondents out of 5 argued that AIDS in their community was not spread by cultural practices.

 On the other hand, 1 respondent said that AIDS was as a result of cultural practices in their community. Asked whether or not females in their community were more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS than their male counterparts, the "yes" answer received 3 votes while 1 person declined and the other one felt that it was the same. But a close examination would show that the trend of HIV prevalence is the same in a Western community and in the African community. By this token, females regardless of race are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDs than their male counterparts.

The findings were that even though females in a White community were not affected by factors such as polygamy, spouse inheritance and or child marriage, still the rate of HIV and AIDS is high in them. It was discovered that the Tonga community shares little commonalities with the White community with regards to cultural practices. In view of this, the spread of HIV and AIDS in the white community is not necessarily caused by factors cited in the Tonga case. The reason for the high prevalence among females in a White community could be due to something else other than the factors affecting the Tonga community.

A question in the questionnaire was probing a further discussion. It sought to know whether or not the respondents would want to challenge the cited cultural practices in the

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study. All the respondents felt that they would advocate challenge to such oppressive practices. This is characteristic of feminism where females felt that a patriarchal society is oppressive. They then wish to challenge all the systems of such a society (King, 1994: 105). King, a feminist theologian draws an emphasis on doing theology from a liberation perspective. This theology is feminist theology which is concerned about female experiences, voices, and reflection, suffering of, listening and questioning (Ibid, 4). The concept of oppression was also a popular and common vocabulary in Gustavo Gutierrez's *A Theology of liberation.* Key in this theology is terms such as oppression and exploitation (Gutierrez, 1986: IX). Females responding to questions of oppression derive their position from such proposition as feminist theology. Their response is influenced partly by this awakening theology which has viewed liberation in the context of female oppression. The responses from the five Benon interviewees could have been influenced by a general experience of women in a community which has denied certain rights to its citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or tribe. The findings were that although cultures differed, the Western and the Tongs issues of female oppression, remained paramount in both communities.

A third set of questionnaires was dispatched to other African countries such as Kenya, Nigeria and Burundi. The purpose of this third set was to enhance the study by a popular perspective. The whole idea was to examine perspectives other than the Tonga which is the case under study. An African perspective would then be used to narrow the gap conceptually. The Western perspective would be used to compare the two communities, the African culture and the Western culture. The sampling method used for this set of questionnaires was a random sampling method (Bless, 2013: 146). This method means that selection of participants is done randomly. Of course a bigger group of prospective participants would be identified, and then smaller groups would constitute the sampling population in which each person had an equal opportunity of being elected. This is what was done to identify and select participants in the third set of questionnaires.

The sampling was done at a church meeting in Nairobi in Kenya in 2014, in May. The meeting was AACC (All Africa Conference of Churches). This meeting was attended by countries from Central Africa and Southern Africa with Zimbabwe included. Some

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prospective respondents were picked randomly from the representative delegates. It was not the distribution of questionnaires but the selection of individual respondents only. The questionnaires were then sent by E-mail later in the year. This method was necessitated by the consideration of distance. The study is done in Zimbabwe while questionnaires were dispatched to countries such as Nigeria and Kenya. Fifteen copies of questionnaires were e-mailed to the identified individuals.

After a certain period of expectation, there was no response realised. A follow-up was made by e-mail. Surprisingly, there was no response still. The 15 selected individuals did not respond. The 100% of non-returns in the distributed questionnaires could mean the following: the respondents could have not received the questionnaires due to some reasons. It could also be that the participants lacked interest and misplaced the questionnaires or could not be bothered to fill them or too busy to fill them. Some could have been suspicious about the study. Others could have not have wanted to expose the HIV status of their countries. In simple terms, there could be many reasons which influenced non return of the administered questionnaires (Bless, 2013: 199-200).

The non-returns of questionnaires experienced in the study may not be seen as abnormal. This only shows a true reflection of human behaviour in different circumstances. The only consequence in this kind of situation is the bias in the intended results. The aim was to get the perspective of other Africans other than the Tonga from which the study is undertaken. Nevertheless, this had little impact following that the study was not a comparative one. The data collected from the field work by means of interviews and questionnaires were further scrutinized by means of data analysis.

4.23. Data analysis and interpretation.

Data analysis in qualitative research is an ongoing, emerging and interactive non-linear process. Before the process of analysing, data collected through interviews, questionnaires and or observation are transcribed, making it easy to analyse. To analyse literally means to take apart words, sentences and paragraphs, which is an important act in the research project in order to make sense of, interpret and theorise that data. This is done by organizing, reducing and describing the data (Henning, 2013:127). In this regard,

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Schuiandt (2001:7) maintains that an analysis ought to be rigorous, systematic, disciplined and carefully methodologically documented. Data analysis may therefore be defined as a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming and modelling data with the goal of discovering useful information, suggesting conclusions and supporting decision making. Data analysis begins and ends with the study. This means that data analysis is done from the beginning of the study, through the study up to the end of it. It is also possible to have a section of a comprehensive data analysis.

In this chapter, the analysed data are specific data collected during field work through interviews, focus groups and questionnaires. The purpose of this analysis was therefore to synchronize the study findings from these sources. Further on, the purpose for this analysis was to check if the findings are in agreement or not with the study questions.

To analyse this data, the method was not one particular method. Three methods were considered. These were content analysis, global analysis, grounded theory and narrative analysis. The content analysis emphasises coding of data and categorizing of such coded data. Global analysis is not interested in the coding per se, but rather seeks to identify the overview of the range of analytic procedures. It seeks the range of the themes. In this study, this method was applicable in identifying a range of common themes between face to face interviews, group interviews and even questionnaires. The grounded theory offered ground for social construction of information. This method was used because of its emphasis that truth is socially constructed (Henning, 2013: 114-116). The theory emphasises that reality of the world is constructed data and analysis from a shared relationship between researcher and respondent. This means that the study findings are based on the created relationship during interviews or field work (Charmaz, 2002: 677). This was necessary for interpretation of what was happening in the data. The narrative analysis was also necessary since it emphasises story telling as a means of constructing a knowledge of reality. A good example is when face-to-face interviews were conducted. In the study, two interviewees narrated their experiences. As Riesman (2002: 705) explains, these stories were not in their original forms.

Examining these four methods, it is interesting to see how they relate to each other. There are common elements in each method. A good example is "coding" of data which is both

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in "content" analysis and in Global analysis although not to a greater extent. The element of themes runs through content to Grounded theory. What this means is that a single method would not suffice to produce desirable study findings or results. In view of this a method of triangulation was considered. This method means the interaction of more than one method. This is necessitated by the nature of the study. Social sciences are not as good as natural sciences which emphasise on objectives of findings. In natural science, a single problem can be solved by using hypothesis and testing it using a single deductive methodology. On the other hand, social sciences deal with human experience and behaviour. Such experiences or problems may not be possible to solve using one method.

4.24. Common themes extracted from face-to-face interviews, group and focus group as well as from questionnaires.

Running down the study investigations, the following findings were prominent in all the sources of information: vulnerability of females to HIV and AIDS was an issue for most interviews. This phenomenon was influenced by such factors as cultural values some of which were found to be oppressive. A good example is practices such as polygamy, marrying a deceased man's spouse, early marriage and rape to a lesser extent. It was found that amongst the Tonga people, the concept of spouse rape was not common. It was because females always believed that a husband had all the rights and conjugal rights over his wife.

The cultural beliefs such as "witchcraft and ancestral veneration" were also thematic areas during interviews. From content analysis, the findings of the study were that the Tonga society is founded on beliefs and traditional norms and values. Belief system makes a Tonga female who she is. In view of this, belief in witchcraft is of diverse social conceptualization meaning to say that, it is viewed differently by different individuals and societies (Mugambi and Kirima, 1976:96). From the interview narratives, this concept of witchcraft was seen to formulate a "theory of struggling family cohesion" which proposes that the conflict between different values – the traditional community values and the values of consumer suburbia is fracturing the concept of family life as held by the older generation (Henning, 2013: 117). By this Henning shows how such beliefs in an African society divide the community. Concepts such as witchcraft and ancestors

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divide societies. The rural people's belief in the existence and practice of these cultural values and norms reflect what kind of a society they make. The Tonga society is one such community which holds fast to these values. These practices have in turn posed danger to the lives of the Tonga females in this age of HIV and AIDS.

Still from the analysis, the study learned how Tonga culture is different from the Western culture. The questionnaires administered to a White community, in Benon; in South Africa show how certain cultural values were racial and not universal. The Western perspective of individual, family and even religion was found to be totally different from the African perspective. The spread of HIV and AIDS in such scenario was not based on the arrayed factors in a Tonga kind of society. The study findings were that African culture was for Africans only and the Western culture was only meaningful to Westerns only (Haralambos, 2008: 663). The word "particular" is key in defining culture. As a way of life in a "particular" society", culture is therefore not global. This enhances the study gap that HIV and AIDS from a Tonga perspective is unique to Tonga people alone. This means that the study was carried out from such a view point and conceptualizations were made from this understanding.

HIV and AIDS were therefore found to be caused by some of the cultural practices alluded to in the above paragraphs. However, not all cultural practices as assumed before were found to be fuelling the spread of HIV and AIDS. The data showed a range of causes of HIV and AIDS. Of interest to note, was the high prevalence of HIV and AIDS amongst females. Although not in participants themselves, the data analysis revealed a higher HIV prevalence amongst females than males. The subsequent consequences of such a high prevalence of HIV and AIDS among Tonga females have negatively affected the socio-economic; political; educational and the health sectors of the Tonga people of Zimbabwe. Using "content" analysis method (Henning, 2013: 104), the study findings were that the end result of this pandemic influence were poverty, illness and eventually death of the infected. The gross consequence of HIV and AIDS was the untold suffering of Tonga women and children.

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4.25. Conclusion

This chapter, which was figuratively the "heart" of the study, focused on the examination and interpretation of the collected data. The study findings in this chapter revealed that HIV and AIDS among the Tonga women were caused by some cultural practices such as polygamy, early marriage and marrying a deceased person's spouse. Belief in witchcraft and ancestors was also found to be a factor influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS. This was revealed by interviews and questionnaires conducted in Pashu as well as in an English speaking community in Benon in South Africa. These among others were a cause for concern which is the focus of chapter five.

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Chapter 5

Pastoral Perspective on Culture and HIV and AIDS

5.1. Introduction

The chapter examines the enumerated phenomena in the study with a view to create a pastoral methodology. The following concepts form the constituents of this chapter; the cultural values and norms; beliefs and practices. These key concepts are the premise upon which Pastoral Care methodology is formulated. To understand this methodology, an analogy of the concepts of the shepherd and the flock are developed. Here the shepherd represents the care givers; the Pastors; the church leaders and any relevant individual or institution which provides pastoral oversight. The sheep on the other hand represent people who yearn for pastoral attention. These are individuals, family and the Tonga community at large. To do that, two models are considered. Harold Taylor (1994) is picked for pastoral oversight. His book titled *Tend my sheep* was found to be a relevant source for pastoral oversight. On the other hand, Nick Pollard (1998) is considered for his, "positive deconstruction" approach. The chapter also considered numerous healing methods and processes in the light of individuals, family and the community at large.

A breakdown of the thematic areas constituting pastoral oversight included: the definition of culture in light of HIV and AIDS; the nature of society in relation to HIV infected and affected. These among others are what this chapter tries to respond to. The chapter also considers examining the identified institutions such as religious faith. It also considers belief in witchcraft as it influences the spread of HIV and AIDS and also the concept of ancestor veneration. The importance of this chapter is that, Africans are by nature religious people. The Africans and their religion are inseparable. They are not converted like in Christianity. It is important to note that this study refers to such a community. Although now introduced to a mission religion, Tonga people like most Africans believe in ancestors. Overlooking this reality is to miss the point. The third segment of the categories of finding refers to the singled practices. These are polygamy; marrying of spouse of the deceased, (spouse inheritance); early marriage and child marriage.

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The above enlisted themes among others include those raised in the introductory chapter as assumptions of the study. In Chapter 4, some of these themes were confirmed as reality by the study findings obtained through interviews. Chapter 5 therefore examines possible ways of responding to them from a pastoral perspective. Using the selected models, theories and methods, the study addresses the problem of Tonga culture as it relates to HIV and AIDS. This chapter is therefore divided into three categories, preferably called "social orders". In the context of the study, social order is referring to the Tonga cultural society. The first order therefore refers to the Tonga culture before the colonial era. The second social order refers to Tonga culture the Post-colonial era. The last social order is the ideal culture which is an idea. This order is what the study seeks to actualise. The whole idea here is to trace the Tonga culture from the first order through the second to the third, the study aims at identifying those traits which are transferred from the old culture and which have exposed Tonga females to vulnerability in terms of terminal pandemic diseases such as HIV and AIDS.

5.2 The first social order of Tonga culture

The cultural set up was characterized by the following concepts and beliefs: myths and mythology; taboos; traditional religions, beliefs; to mention a few. These among others, shaped Tonga Society and Culture. This period, is a period before the Europeans set foot in Zimbabwe. Hence the western influence at this time was not heard of. The culture was pure Tonga culture which represented the Tonga people of the Zambezi River. This kind of society or culture may be described as the proto-type of Tonga community. Charles Darwin's theory of evolution in this context is the appropriate theory to explain the first social order of the Tonga community (Hunt, 1966:5-7). Evolution in its broadest sense refers to any process of progressive change. However, when used without qualifications, ordinarily it means organic change or the theory that all the complex life-forms of today have descendant from simpler ones that existed long ago. Darwin's theory then helps explain how this Tonga culture started and the process it went through and the change which took place. The focus so far revolves on the first order which is the older Tonga culture. This culture recognised and emphasised myths.

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5.2.1 Myths and mythologies as they relate to Tonga culture

Myth in some other disciplines such as Theology is conceived differently. For Paul Tillich, neither symbols nor myth means untruth. Empirically of course, a myth is untrue, but nevertheless has the truth if it adequately expresses the revelatory event to which it points. Moreover, for Tillich there is no possible way, existential or otherwise, to speak of the divine other than through symbols and myths. Tillich defended symbols and myths when he argued thus, "there is no substitute for the use of symbols and myths". Tillich sees myths as not replaced by science. Although referring to the New Testament, Tillich feels that myths might not be abandoned but maintained. Still on the question of symbols and myths, Buttmann counters Tillich when he says "symbols" and "myths" mean that which is not true-at least not true in any way applicable to modern consciousness (Mckelway, 1965:24). From an African perspective, myths and symbols explain the origin of existence of everything including man, plants and even culture and religion. Mbiti (2002) says that there are a number of myths in the African worldview. Different myths are meant to explain different situations, origins and or existence (Mbiti 2002:92-95).

Darwin's "evolution" theory is a myth of creation while Mbiti talks of the similar myths of existence. Although writing from a social science perspective, the study is about Tonga people who are typical Africans therefore, myths are important to explain and help understand the culture of this people. It can also be appreciated that although myths may differ from culture to culture, they are cross-cultural. The Western society has its type of myths which makes sense to their culture and community. It is the same thing in African societies; these myths are numerous and help to explain certain concepts from an African perspective. In this study, the mentioned myths and many others which were not mentioned, help to understand the Tonga society from which the study is being undertaken. The purpose and importance of these myths is to make Tonga culture more understandable. To understand African worldview, myths are part of that African philosophy which makes sense of African life, experience and reality. These myths of existence therefore explain the first order of Tonga culture. It is clear that this culture is pure and not polluted by any cultural interaction. What therefore is good or bad about this

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culture, is based on the foundations and nature of the myth surrounding existence. These are historical stories which explain the existence and reality of a people. This is not common for all existence; different communities have different myths which explain such kinds of developments.

In this social order, both males and females are of mutual standing, meaning that the concept of gender inequality; masculinity and femininity are a late development. In this society, both males and females resembled God the creator. The theory sees God as the creator, the source and one who values all being. Here all being is referred to as human nature, not human beings as in gender. God is of a qualitatively different order in creation. Yet this same creator, God, affirms the goodness of creation, bestowing worth and dignity on all forms of life. In human communities, it leads to acknowledgement that all human beings are created in the image of God and are to be created with respect in personal relationship and with justice in the social order (Niebuhr, 1bid.146).

This theory of divine and humanity is important in the first order of Tonga society. It explains the relationship between God and humanity and between Tonga males and females. The concept on spot-light is "respect". Therefore both males and females were respectful. With terminal diseases, such as HIV and AIDS, the concept of "respect" is alien. In the current Tonga culture, the concept of respect is absent. Respect which is God's gift for humanity is missing. It is this missing aspect of human nature which has facilitated cultural change. The pre-colonial era was an epoch in Tonga history of existence which has a high respect for humanity, females, children, parents and even plants and animals. What this translates to is that in a society love and respect were mandatory. This kind of society did not cause pain to the citizens, males or females. Niebuhr's theory which focuses on God as the source of all life, subscribes to this argument that the first Tonga society was free of concepts such as violence; abuse; rape; pain and oppression. Apart from the nature of society as God's creation, the society was also moulded by taboos.

5.2.2 The meaning and purpose of taboos in the Tonga ethnicity

The Oxford advanced learners dictionary defines "taboo" as a cultural or religious custom that does not allow people to do, use or talk about a particular thing as people find it offensive or embarrassing: an incest taboo, a taboo on working on Sunday; a general agreement not to do something or talk about something (Oxford University Press, 2010:1518). Taboos vary according to different cultures. These taboos are not global hence, what might be a taboo to a certain ethnic group might not be a taboo to the other. The range of their applicability also varies according to different societies. From an African perspective, taboos explain why certain things are not done or talked about in the community. A good example of this is an expression by John S. Mbiti who uses taboos to explain human character and behaviour in a particular society. For him these are regulations and rules for good morals and as such, they are upheld (Mbiti, 2002:111).

These regulations are on the man to man level, rather than the God to man. One could draw up a long list of them: don't kill another man except in war, don't steal, don't show disrespect to people of higher status, don't have sexual intercourse with a wide variety of persons, such as another man's wife, your sister or other close relative or children, don't use bad words especially to someone of a higher status, don't back bite, don't tell lies, don't despise or laugh at a cripple, don't take away someone's piece of land (Ibid.,2002:215).

The long list of taboos by Mbiti are inherent in Tonga culture. There are taboos against words, food, and behaviour; for individuals; families and even the community as such. In general, these taboos are meant to bind a community together. They also make a distinction between societies of various ethnicities. In Tonga ethnicity, these taboos range from taboos of sexuality such as mentioned by Mbiti (2002:215). In the past, it was a taboo for a male to have sex with a female who is not his wife. The worst scenario was an act of incest- where a person was a close relative or kin. The belief was when such a thing happened; a child of such people would have some kind of physical or mental challenges. These and many others permeated the Tonga culture.

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The importance of taboos therefore in the first social order was to make Tonga culture, a culture which promoted morality. A Tonga male respected his wife. The wife also reciprocated this honour and respect by her husband. The concept of sexual violence and unfaithfulness were not phenomena to talk about among the Tonga people. There were other norms and values which Tonga people upheld, which made their society, a unique domain for the citizens. In the study, these taboos were supposed to define and preserve the Tonga culture as a culture which promotes cultural ethics. In a way the survived Tonga culture, lacks the taboos which well-defined the Tonga community in the past. If these taboos were prevalent in the present Tonga culture, then there would be no abuse of females. Females would be well respected and honoured. In that case, HIV and AIDS, the terminal disease would be minimised. Anyone who breached the societal rules and regulations was dealt with as a social misfit and could face excommunication. Of course not all Tonga taboos were good. There were taboos relating to birth of children which were questionable. A good example is where by a woman gave birth to twins. According to the Tonga culture, both babies would be thrown into the river or one of them would be spared, depending on the discretion of the father or relatives. These among others were the pillars upon which the Tonga society was founded. People, both females and males walked, talked, worked or lived according to these social orders.

However, this society was a patriarchal society, in which male dominancy was a common phenomenon. This society was characterised by such practices as polygamy, spouse inheritance at the death of one of the spouses. Marriage or giving to marriage of young girls was a common practice among Tonga people. These among others are the concerns of the study. These practices and beliefs such as witchcraft are identified as common in the three types of Tonga social orders in the study. From the study findings, it is clear that even though these cultural traits have been passed down from generations to generations, they have changed in their meaning and nature. A good example is the practice polygamy among Tonga people.

In light of the above premises, Barrett's (1968:223) feels that it is unlikely that polygamy in African soil will come to an end sooner or later. His prediction is that polygamous society will not disappear for some time to come. Barrett further postulates this,

"polygamy traditionally was not equivalent to adultery". In fact, adultery meant sexual relations with anyone other than a legal spouse (Barrett, ibid, 224). This helps to explain the kind of polygamy that existed in Tonga culture during the pre-colonial era. Yes it was polygamy but as has already been alluded to in the above paragraphs, it concerned myths and taboos which where pillars upon which many African societies were founded. It is clear that although the Tonga of long ago practiced polygamy, it was not as it is nowadays. Although polygamy is the same it is also different in the sense that the regulations and rules which promoted moral upright behaviour are no longer binding, meaning to say that, these days a significant number of males are no longer prioritising respect of their spouses. In the current Tonga cultural set up, polygamy has caused suffering and pain to individuals and or families. With the advent of HIV and AIDS polygamy has become a catalyst for the spread of this disease. Following the Western civilisation which that has influenced cultural change in many countries, institutions and human beings, extra marital affairs for many are not an issue any longer. Some people have many extra marital affairs while they live with their families. This practice is what has brought pain in the Tonga community.

In view of this, the study findings show how polygamy has lost its meaning of late. In the past, polygamy did not mean immorality. Today this kind of practice or behaviour is mainly a result of males who are not content with their wives. The situation has worsened with the advent of HIV and AIDS. The painful thing is that when one member of this polygamous family becomes HIV positive, it is likely that the rest will be infected. Polygamy and other practices such as early marriage and girl marriage are the common cultural practices which are also prevalent in the post-colonial era. This has been singled out by the study as the factors influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS.

5.3 Tonga in the post-colonial era vis-à-vis HIV and AIDS

This social order is the culture or society which is prevailing at the moment. It is a product of the first order or the pre-colonial society. However, it has changed its nature and values. It owes its characteristics to the Western civilisation which was so influential to African cultures, including the Tonga one. The study is therefore focused on these cultural practices raised in the study question. In the second part of this Tonga culture,

the study sets to find out whether or not the mentioned practices are responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga woman. It is also important to note that these practices are the same as those which constituted the Tonga culture of the pre-colonial era. What is also important is to note how these phenomena experienced change.

Using Darwin's theory of social change, known as (evolution) the processes of change may be said to be normal and natural (March, 2009:256). This theory explains the developments which take place in human nature. The Tonga culture also developed from the old one to the new one. Polygamy also changed in some respects. According to the study findings, the old Tonga culture was good. Polygamy meant an extension of relationship. The motives behind, were different from what it is today.

The concept of social class was not obvious and negative in the old culture. The society was not divided into anything other than the natural acknowledgement of masculinity and femininity which did not pose any danger to each other. The same ends today have become rivals with the masculinity posing as a stronger party and femininity as a weaker party. It is where and when the practices such as the enumerated previously have posed danger to the lives of females. It is from this kind of social stratification that oppression and abuse of vulnerable people stem.

Max Weber's theory of class explains this. His theory of class explains relations between unequal groups in society with class only representing one form (March, ibid. 168). This theory also helps to explain the Tonga situation in the context of HIV and AIDS. Females who form the class of the less privileged, the weak, the; subordinates and less equal are the victims of circumstance in this model of Tonga culture. By virtue, gender here means inequality in the human race. This gender and class issue is associated with power and domination which are sources of pain and suffering. Power which is defined as an ability of an individual or group to get what they want is one of the characteristics of oppressive cultures and institutions. In the study, this power to dominate the weak is realised in the form of cultural traditions such as women's loyalty to their husbands. Females who are loyal are also submissive and this makes them vulnerable to dangers which include terminal diseases such as HIV and AIDS. The end result of this is pain and suffering experienced by the victims.

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It is from this kind of oppressive Tonga culture that the study grapples with. According to the study findings, in chapter four, the range of these concepts include pain caused by unfaithful spouses, (males in particular) who always want to use their masculinity to dominate others; the poor economic situation where most females are unemployed; the sexual abuse in the form of rape and marriage of young girls by syndicates of gender based violence. The above reflection of female experience in the andocentric model of culture is enhanced by the following theories:

The first social theory is the theory which shows how societies may cause suffering: such theory derives from Marx's theory which shows power to dominate (More, 1994:27-28). In this andocentric model of Tonga culture women experience this kind of suffering. This domination varies. Males dominate their counter parts in many different ways. This concept of domination is expressed by some feminist theories as follows: Martineau (1838a) defined domination as enforced "submission" of one's will to that of another. For Cooper, domination is the refusal to allow difference an equal place, the need to make difference – whether of gender, class, colour or shade. Weber – summarises that: "each one must heed the command in every human to become an end in oneself, in which no person may regard a fellow human being as simply the means to his or her own personal ends". In practice, there is hardly any conceivable human relationship that can disregard this principle if it wishes to be ethnically sufficient (Elliot, 2001:132).

The above definitions and theories of dominations are expressed in Tonga culture as it refers to female experiences in the context of HIV and AIDS. Male counter parts use their self-claimed power and authority to dominate in every aspect of life. Males always want to be the be all and end all while females are used or seen as means to the end. In sexual related issues, Tonga women are abused either through spouse rape or stranger rape. In certain situations, the desire by males to sexually abuse females stems from their egos. A theory to explain this was developed by Freud. This theory views the mind as racked with conflicting desires and painful repressions. It is a model in which the self or the ego, wrestles with the sexual drives of the unconscious on the one hand and the demands for restraint and denial arising from the super ego on the other (Elliot, ibid.428). This may sometimes translate to uncontrolled sexual desire which then might lead to rape. Rape

was defined as a penetration of a female by a male who might or might not be the spouse of the victim.

5.3.1 Theories of rape and their relevance to the study

The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary defines rape as "to force somebody to have sex with you when they do not want to by threatening them or using violence" (Oxford University Press, 2010:1214).The second theory in this study is by Burns. Burns (2005:69)'s theory suggests rape as a gender blind assault. The harm of rape is to an individual and to a woman. Rape is therefore a violation of individual's (male or female) right to bodily integrity or autonomy (Burns, 2005:69). Burns perceives rape from a neuter perspective. Rape for Germs is not a gender issue. The consequence of rape to him may be either for a female or a male. This is why he says that rape is an individual experience. However, in this study rape refers to a woman or a female who has been sexually abused by a male counterpart. This theory is therefore limited in as far as the study is concerned. However, its relevance to this study is limited with the emphasis that rape is a violation of an individual's right to body integrity or autonomy. The Tonga culture is responsible for sexually abusing human rights of these women who are not respected. The married women in the area of study experience marital type of rape, which is a violation of human rights. Male counterparts or spouses take advantage of the culture of silence in the form of loyalty and sexually abuse them. This point is enhanced by a conservative theory coined byPurdy (2004), which explains rape as a situation whereby women are sexually abused by other men than their husbands.

On the other hand, women oppression is sometimes viewed as limited to certain aspects or areas in human life. A theory to that effect is advanced by Stephen Moore (1996). The theory is the product of liberal feminism. It concerns itself to social structure which shows gender role; in family, at school; at work places and the like. But it does not uncover the structural factors which lead to oppression. It does not set the patriarchy (the dominance of man) as prevalent in all situations, not just in certain areas, such as the family and media.

The limitations found in the liberal feminist theory suggest the weakness of this theory in the undertaken study. The problem with this theory is its selectiveness in addressing issues of oppression of women. This renders its applicability partial. As a limitation, it also leaves room for females to be oppressed. It might be encouraging to perpetrators of sexual violence such as some of the Tonga men who abuse their wives in this manner. The theory shares the same conception with Burns' theory which depicts rape as an individual issue. This theory is best called gender blind. The liberal feminist theory is therefore not the best for this study. The study has a responsibility to fulfil, which is to address the issue of women oppression in Binga, under Chief Pashu. The assumed problem was the vulnerability of some Tonga women to HIV and AIDS. This statement owes it to the study findings to recognise that the Tonga society is a patriarchal type of society. The findings are also that the culture of this ethnic group promotes the sexual violence which is experienced in many different forms.

The liberal feminist theory is in contrast with the radical feminist theory which derives from the assumption that the real cause of the oppression of woman is men (Moore, ibid.33).according to this theory, patriarchy, the power of men, exists because men deliberately or unknowingly benefit from this and wish to continue Women are categorised as an inferior class to men and are exploited. This theory has examined a number of issues in male-female relations that are beyond the traditional concerns of feminist researchers, in particular against women and sexual politics.

In view of this theory, the radical feminist theory, the study findings are that certain cultural practices such as spouse rape are addressed. The contention of the study is how these cultural practices influence the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females. The liberal feminists, who have written to address the issues affecting females in society, have not done so in respect of human rights holistically. However, the combination of these explained theories; give a true reflection of what is prevailing on the ground. These study findings contained in this second model of Tonga society have raised pertinent issue which have a pastoral bearing. Sexual issues are not the only concerns in the context of HIV and AIDS which have called for pastoral attention. Concerns such as some oppressive cultural practices such as polygamy; inheritance of survived spouse of

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the deceased; marriage to girls and beliefs such as witchcraft as it relates to HIV and AIDS; ancestral veneration as it pertains to HIV and AIDS to name a few, have constituted the bulk of pain and suffering to some individual and or families in the Tonga community. This social order of Tonga society has then necessitated the definition and examination of the third social order of the Tonga model of society.

5.4 The ideal Tonga society in the context of HIV and AIDS.

5.4.1 Definitions of ideal and society

The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary defines the term "ideal" as something perfect, most suitable. An example given by the Learners Dictionary is, "in an ideal world there would be no poverty and disease". (Oxford University Press, 2010:742). This definition is relevant to the study in that it raised concise issues of the study such as, "poverty and disease". However the study is not about utopianism, a world of perfection, but is correcting certain rules and regulations in a Tonga society which have caused pain and suffering to some individuals and families of one and same culture. The ideal society is therefore viewed in this context. On the other hand, society is defined by the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary as, "people in general living together in communities: or a particular community of people sharing the same customs; laws" (Oxford University Press, ibid, 1414).

The ideal society in this study therefore, is a correction of the society which has necessitated the undertaking of this study. This society is a transformation of the society in the second social order. The phenomena addressed in the first and second Tonga society, are now redefined in the light of pastoral oversight in a new society. The main aim is to re-examine the task of the study which are the objectives. The Tonga culture is therefore redefined in the light of the new society. The oppressive Tonga cultural practices which have influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS are also redefined and explained from a pastoral perspective. The pain and suffering of the victims of circumstance are addressed by providing pastoral counselling.

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5.4.2 The Ideal society and culture as founded on God

The society founded on God the creator is different from other models of societies such as the Marxist perspective which stresses the means of production as belonging to a particular group. It also emphasises the means of production as it relates to power. This kind of society is created by the ruling class; therefore it is a society of the ruling class. It means that this society is segregated by nature. It is also bound to be oppressive. It is likely to be oppressive to the poor, the women and those of low class. In light of the study, this Marxist model of society represents the Tonga model of society. The Tonga society does not have economic classes of course, but has some elements of the segregation of women. It also has some elements of oppression. The Marxist theory of society therefore explains the prevailing situation in the current Tonga society (Moore, 1994:27).

The society which is advocated by the study is one which corrects the one in existence. In the study findings, it was seen from the first Tonga society, that of the pre-colonial era that people upheld their cultural values as they gave meaning to the existence of humanity, both males and females. In spite of these transferred practices such as polygamy and levirate (inheritance), traditional values made a different model of society from the one prevailing now. The God model of society therefore is like the one of the pre-colonial era in which people's lives, character and behaviour were regulated by values and norms and myths and taboos. In the God model, Jesus Christ is the model of character. In this model, people see God as the creator and centre and regulator of both society and culture. Christ is above culture; he is also the end all. Niebuhr (1974:199) sums this expression concerning Culture and Christ as follows:

i) – Christ is viewed as against culture

ii) – Christ is viewed as of culture

iii) – Christ is viewed as above culture

Christ is also viewed as transforming culture.

In each of these views of Christ relating to culture, Niebuhr was trying to explain the relation of Christ to culture. A good example is a view which portrays Christ as against culture. This means that God who created humanity does not represent a particular

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culture. The reason is that most of these ethnic cultures do not give a true reflection of God's relations with His creation. A good example is the question under discussion. It may not be true to say the good God is responsible for the Tonga model of society whose culture has some oppressive practices. If God aligns Himself with a certain culture, it then means that He condones the ills of that society. This means that the situation in Tonga society is not wrong. The theory of creation by Niebuhr therefore helps to create a new model of Tonga society. The whole idea is not to propose a culture where females are dominant or where males are supreme, it is a proposition to create a society where gender does not mean the weak and the strong nor the oppressor or the oppressed. This model of society views both males and females as equals. This is the type of society which reflects God as God the creator of human domain and its values. Although human beings were created as males and females, they were both created in one neuter image, that of God. This is what the study is grappling with. It is evocating a God centred type of culture or society. It is a society which has and respects human rights, as they pertain to both males and females and not gender. It is also a sensitive society which promotes equality and fears God.

In view of the above nexus, Nick Pollard (1998) offers a sufficient method of formulating a new worldview. The method is called Positive deconstruction. Pollard in his, "Positive Deconstruction" conceives a worldview which is inherent in error. What people hold as the truth and reality might not be the truth or reality. The truth according to this theory is not absolute. The truth of any given worldview is relative. This means that what is is not to be, meaning to say that what might appear as the truth or reality to somebody may not be the truth to the other. A good example is women oppression might appear as oppression to one might not appear as oppression to the other (Pollard, 1998:61-70).

In view of Pollard's theory of positive deconstruction, the people are helped to examine their own worldview to see whether or not there are any irregularities. The people themselves will be able to understand, correct and determine their own pace. The whole idea is to help the people who seem comfortable with their worldview to be uncomfortable with that kind of worldview in the event of it having inherent inadequacies. Here Pollard is not forcing people to change their worldview but is actually

helping them to see the inadequacies and make a deliberate move to initiate change (ibid.75). This theory is important in the study because it talks of a particular worldview which might have some errors concerning the truth and reality. It is the finding of the study that the Tonga worldview in the context of culture and HIV is inherent with inadequacies. This approach as a way looking at worldview is therefore necessary in the study.

This process of positive deconstruction involves four elements: identifying underlying worldview, analysing it, affirming the elements of the truth which it concerns, and discovering its errors (Pollard, ibid, 48). For Pollard, identifying the worldview is important. Most people seem unaware of the worldviews they have absorbed, which now underlie their beliefs and values. This is why it is rare for people to articulate a worldview. Normally they will simply express a belief or live in a certain way, without knowing or even thinking about the worldview from which their belief or behaviour derives. It is the process of deconstruction that helps to identify the underlying worldview. This process will require knowledge of a worldwide range of worldviews. Essentially this is a "pattern-matching process". Then after this, the process calls for analysis of worldview. Truth of reality is scrutinised, asking pertinent questions which may qualify or reject the truth in this critical process (-ibid.50).

Using this method of positive deconstruction, the Tonga scenario is now understood better than before. The underlying worldview of the Tonga people is now understood differently. Pollard's method or theory of positive deconstruction has facilitated the proposition of a new worldview in which errors were discovered through the conducted interviews conducted during fieldwork. Prior to the study findings, the Tonga worldview in relation to the pandemic disease AIDS, was one, and another after the investigations. In this study this statement refers to the examination of the Tonga culture in the context of HIV and AIDS so as to work for a better model of a society. The identified elements in the Tonga culture which pose danger to females in the form of oppression or dehumanization are re-examined to see their validity in this era of HIV and AIDS. Pollard's theory of positive deconstruction has then offered a relevant tool to apply to the situation. In other words, the whole idea is to influence change of the Tonga mentality

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about their culture. After all, culture is subject to change and it is also a product of human nature, meaning to say that it is not natural (Dube, 2003:89).

The change of such a worldview in the context of this study is not the change seen from a revolutionary perspective (Strikwerda, 1994:140) but change as influenced by desire to eradicate HIV and AIDS among the Tonga people. This change is viewed from a Kairos point of view. Kairos that means the right time of action. It means the decisive moment revealing itself. It originally referred to the crisis faced by South Africa during the time of apartheid.

However, Maluleki used the same term Kairos to refer to the crisis of the pandemic. Instead of secular institutions to address the secular problems facing black South Africans, for Maluleki, it was the churches to address the HIV and AIDS crisis. However, in the context of the undertaken study, Kairos with its same meaning is used contextually to refer to the Tonga crisis in the context of HIV and AIDS (Dube, 2007:38). This time is the time for the truth and reality among the Tonga people. The essence of Kairos in the context of this study refers to a time of cultural turn around. It is time for us to adequately deal with the problems of cultural practices, which have triggered the spread of HIV and AIDS among them Tonga females.

The idea of Kairos is pertinent in this study because culture as a factor influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga people is not given due attention as it were, instead much time is spent on immorality as the cause for concern. By this virtue, the pandemic has taken its own momentum. Emphasis is laid on sexual behaviour as the case. According to the study findings, the real issue is not the sexual behaviour nor immorality but the advantages taken by perpetrators with culture as the catalyst. The study is therefore significant for the people who work within the Tonga community, the shepherds of the flock and the pastors or institutions such as churches. Kairos in the context of the study therefore is the time of awakening. It is the time of propositions, such as the change of some negative mind-sets. It is also the epoch of redefining the Tonga worldview in this era of HIV and Aids. The time of truth, has been the redefining of the Tonga society in the context of HIV and AIDS. The time of truth, has been the redefining of the Tonga society in the context of HIV and AIDS from a pastoral

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perspective. For the same reason the study also examined the consequences of Tonga culture in relation to HIV and AIDS.

To respond to the critical issues raised in the study, a twofold approach was used. The first consideration was to the issue of oppressive cultural practices such as polygamy and beliefs such as witchcraft. The second dimension was to respond to particular issues such as to provide counselling as a guide to be used by the stakeholders, pastors in this case. This is a result of the dissected study problem. From the study finding, the assumed problem was then discovered to consist of two dimensions. The first one relates to the cultural problems. These are elements or practices, which are oppressive to Tonga females. Among them, early marriage to children of under the age of 16 and polygamy were concerns of the study. These problems are not counselling issues, therefore, responses to them included advocating educative programmes as well as theologies such as feminist and liberation. The second dimension dealt with real issues as accounted in the study by interviews. These include issues of HIV and AIDS. According to the study findings, there were some people who testified that they were HIV positive. There were also people who were found to be closely affected although not infected. Both groups of victims, direct or indirect yearn for therapeutic attention. Counselling therefore was the relative attention that could ameliorate the prevailing situation.

5.5 Theological Reflection on issues of HIV and AIDS among Tonga people

The pastoral approach to the thematic issues in the context of HIV and AIDS are being evoked by the study findings in that in the Pashu community HIV and AIDS is a real issue for concern. There are people who tested positive and they testified that they were positive. During the fieldwork, it was also learned that the group that testified that they were positive was actually smaller than the real group. In a way, this group of the positive people comprised of more than ten people. However, when interviews were conducted the readily available members of the group were four (4). More than six (6) other members were not available. The findings were that they were disbursed for various reasons. What is important is that it was confirmed that the members were not available. The findings were that they were disbursed for various reasons. What is important is that it was confirmed that the members of this group focus numbered more than ten (10). This

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is a known number of people living with HIV and AIDS in Pashu community. There is also a big number of people living with HIV and AIDS but who were not interviewed during the fieldwork. This group is assumed to be bigger than that group with more than ten. In chapter four, some respondents who testified that they had relatives who are HIV and AIDS positive exposed this. Even though the figure was not specified, it makes sense to visualise it as cause for concern. It is also important to understand that HIV and AIDS is not a disease, which anybody may just divulge. It takes courage for someone to divulge his or her HIV status. This also applies to the Tonga people under study. This qualifies the assumption that people living with HIV and Aids in Pashu area are of a significant number. Their suffering also qualifies the necessary approaches suggested by the study as a means of mitigation of the situation.

The above situation is explained by Dueck and Reimer (2009) who wrote showing some various ways of suffering. They also show how some remedies are inadequate as a solution. Dueck and Reimer (2009:20-21) show how psychological problems might be addressed. In this case disease, which affects more than the physical, calls for psychotherapeutic interventions as a means of healing. By this token, the implication is that psychologists' best address psychological problems. However, these problems will still be in adequately dealt with. Problems of such a magnitude mean that more than a psychological remedy is welcome. A theological approach is then one of the other necessary options. The theological option means that suffering faced by these women of Binga is deeper than what other therapeutic options are able to offer. Rumbold (1986:59) then makes sense of this paradigm shift from limited hope to beyond humanity. According to Rumbold (1986:59) medical doctors and other practitioners may fall short in expertise to respond to the problems of terminal illness such as AIDS. When such medical therapists realise that the problem is not within their means to solve, they lose hope. In this case, the client may also see the problem to be big and unsolvable. He or she also loses hope. Anyhow, this is not the end of the problem or suffering. The problem remains and suffering goes on. The situation then calls for another dimension of therapy. This is the client's only hope. In Rumbold's expression, this is hope in God, hope in new medical treatment or intervention by God (Rumbold, Ibid). This is the praxis of practical theology whereby a therapist enters into a dialogue with a despairing client. The pastor or

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the counsellor becomes an instrument of new hope. With his or her expertise, the pastor or the counsellor will not allow the client to lose hope. He will journey with him or her. A theology of hope is created here. This is a theology, which responds to situations, which refer to terminal illness. The hope in this case means that God transcends all natural and unnatural predicaments.

In view of the above points, the study creates a theology of hope as a possible solution to the Tonga problem of HIV and AIDS and the suffering it has caused. This theology takes the form of a pastoral intervention. Therefore, it is pastoral theology. This means that the pastor is at the front with his skills as a shepherd of the flock. The theological reflection here takes form of pastoral formation. It is not just a theology where God makes sense of his relationship to his creation. It is more than that. The pastor in his journey with the afflicted creates a relationship between the suffering and himself as a foundation relationship.

The second relationship is created between God and the individual with a problem. In this study, the pastor working in the communal land of Pashu is the shepherd and the AIDS victims of that community are the sheep (Taylor, 1994:7). This introduces Taylor's methodology of pastoral care. From now on, this Taylor will be used in this study as a model of pastoral care. Pastors working among the Tonga people of Pashu are therefore viewed as shepherd of the flock. This bring hope to those who are troubled. The theology of hope redefines life in the era of HIV and AIDS among the suffering females of Pashu community.

This desperation experienced by most of the Tonga females in the times of HIV and AIDS is explained by using Rumbold's expression. In his book titled, *Helplessness and hope,* Rumbold shows two features, the features for affirming and the ones for resignation. In the first features, he shows the realistic knowledge of the situation experienced by a person suffering from a terminal illness. In this situation, the focus of attention is on the quality of life: living, learning, appreciating and much more. In this case there are new relationships and perspectives on. Life is seen with a meaning and the peoples; hope is personal and meaningful, Rumbold would say (Rumbold, Ibid. 61). This is the kind of situation expected of those females living with HIV and AIDS in Pashu.

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The shepherd of the flock is expected to bring this hope to his or her flock, the Tonga individuals, families or community at large. Their hope is in the shepherd who in turn ushers them to the hope in God the Creator and He who sustains life.

The second set of features, pertain to recognition. Rumbold also shows the realistic side of life but from a different angle or dimension. This time the focus is upon the quality of life remaining to people who are terminally ill and approaching the end of their lives. This means that there is now a mist in life. Life has become hopeless. There is no more hope to these people for them to live positively with their problems. The interests now centre on their immediate situations or predicaments. Such people as those who are terminally ill have lost all their hope. All what they see is the end of life by means of death.

In view of the situation prevailing in the Pashu area, the study findings have shown how these AIDS positive people have portrayed life. From the conducted interviews, it is the findings that some of these people have now accepted their conditions. However, this acceptance is a twofold restoration. Firstly, it could be a positive acceptance, meaning to say that people have been counselled with and have seen the bright future of life in spite of their HIV status. This acceptance is therefore positive and good. In another way, this acceptance of life is negative. It is negative in the sense that these people who have tested HIV positive, have concluded that there is nothing positive coming their way in life. What remains is death; therefore worrying about ending life is a sheer wastage of time. This kind of acceptance is negative. This is what is possibly happening among the affected Tonga females. It was earlier on expressed that their culture of silence is negative in this time of HIV and Aids. The Tonga females according to the study findings have a salient feature of silence even when it hurts most. They die in silence like a sheep. The theology of hope is therefore appropriate and necessary for these people. However, this does not imply that this theology ends suffering. All that it means is that suffering in hope and with hope is different from suffering in despair. Here the hope stems from God who identifies himself with the suffering. This kind of God relation with the suffering is best explained by James Cone in his book titled, "God of the Oppressed" which was

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written in the context of the Black Americans. This God relationship with the afflicted issue, suggests a contextual theory.

5.5.1 The Tonga people and their encounter with God in this era of HIV and AIDS

Different individuals, families and or communities including ethnic groups encounter God differently. Different people have different experiences of God. There are also various situations, which necessitate God's encounter with his people. Others may encounter him in their greatest joys in life. Some still encounter him in fearsome wars which threaten lives. In every mentioned way in which God may be encountered, there is an end result, the element of suffering. The mentioned situations culminate into human suffering except in the case where God is encountered in situations of joy. In the context of this study, the Tonga people encounter God in their situation of suffering from a terminal disease such as HIV and AIDS. He encounters them from a historical context. The Tonga encounters God in their own social context and with their own cultural values. Cone has a better expression as to how different people encounter the divine, he says thus:

The dialectic of theology and its sources pushes us to examine more closely the social context of theological language. Because Christian theology is human speech about God, it is always related to historical situations, and thus all of its assertions are culturally limited. H. Richard Niebuhr makes this point forcefully: "whatever be the case in other human inquiries there is no such a thing as disinterestedness in theology, since no one can speak of God or gods at all save as valued beings or as values which cannot be apprehended save by a willing, feeling, responding self". Here Niebuhr rightly connects theology with social existence. Although God the subject of theology is eternal, theology itself is like those who articulate it, limited by history and time. "Though we direct our thought to eternal and transcendent beings, it is not eternal or transcendent beings, it is not eternal and transcendent; though we regard the universal image". It is a finite image, limited by the temporality and particularity of our existence. Theology is not a universal language; it is interested language and thus it is always a reflection of the goals and aspirations of a particular people in a definite social setting (Cone, 1977:39).

Cone's expression in the above quotation helps to explain the Tonga coined theology. Important about this theology are concepts such as limitations of culture, which means that theology makes sense in culture. There are also concepts of social history. This in itself presses for context Tonga culture and history are unique to them as a particular group of people. The meaning of this is that theology takes the form of the local particular social setting. The theology is necessary for the Tonga people and is therefore a contextual theology. It is a theology relevant to the Tonga people alone. Even where elements of theology are the same, the context in which they are applied is different. James Cone wrote in the context of the American situation. The Tonga situation may only borrow some similar elements but remain particular to them.

In view of the above, the Tonga situation in relation to the divine, derives from their suffering. For them God is perceived as a "Being" who transcends everything, who is omnipresent and omniscient. He is one who hears, feels; and listens. He identifies himself with people in their situation. God and the Tonga people therefore suffer together in this history of the AIDS pandemic. When God enters into the Tonga experience and suffers with them, he identifies with them. The infected and the affected, now have hope in God. Their hope is that God is good and might not be associated with evil. God shows love to those whom he identifies with. In this case, the people in Binga under chief Pashu, the area of study, may experience the love of God even though they are suffering. HIV and AIDS cannot blind the people of Binga not to see the love of God. God's love goes beyond HIV and AIDS. It also goes beyond suffering because God is transcendent.

The hope of these afflicted females who are oppressed by culture and sickness is that God is active in every human situation. The story of God and the Israelites enhances his relationship with the afflicted females in the Pashu area. The Exodus narrative in the scripture maximizes God's activity of salvation (Cone, Ibid. 134-135). This is also the culmination of his identity with the oppressed, the suffering as well as those he comes to save. This is at times not easy to conceptualise. Many scholars especially white theologians, dispute the blackness of theology. This is partly due to their white mentality of supremacy. In this study, God is meaningful to the Tonga people; hence he takes the

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form of the people he is saving. Of course in essence God does not have gender, but theologically it is correct to qualify him in association with a particular activity or situation.

God's unwillingness to save the suffering is fulfilled in the Christology of Jesus Christ. Just like God, Christ is viewed in a relation with a particular people. Perhaps for the white theologians Christ is White. For the Black people he is also viewed black. Cone says, "The substance of the Black Christ issue can be dealt with only on theological grounds, as defined by Christology's source (scripture, tradition, and social experience) and content (Jesus' past, present and future)"Cone, (Ibid 134). This again stresses the Blackness of the liberator. Jesus the agent of liberation is also black. However, this is not anything to do with Black theology. The importance of this inference in the study explains the Tonga situation in this era of HIV and AIDS. The thematic area of concern is, "suffering" as expressed by the theological discoverers. HIV and AIDS in relation to some of the Tonga oppressive cultural practices have brought about untold suffering to some females of Pashu. The people's last resort is therefore the divine intervention. This divine intervention according to some African theologians such as James Cone (1977:135) is God.

Cone shows the cross of Jesus as God invading the human situation as the elected one takes Israel's place as the suffering servant and thus reveals the divine willingness to suffer in order that humanity might be fully liberated Cone (Ibid 135). The resurrection is God's conquest of oppression and injustice, disclosing that the divine freedom revealed in Israel's history is now available to all. The resurrection also means that God's identity with the poor in Jesus is not limited to the particularity of his Jewish birth but is applicable to all who on behalf of the liberation of humanity in this world. This means that what Christ experienced in the past, he is also experiencing it today with the suffering poor.

Another theologian, Nickoloff has expressed the following concerning the poor or the suffering as follow:

> While some have mistakenly believed that a preferential option for the poor concerns only the non-poor, he has argued that the option is incumbent upon all

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Christians including the poor themselves, because conversion and solidarity are the vocation of every disciple. Infidelity to the God of life, the poor must make a decision to enter into solidarity with persons of their own race, class or culture that is, with people condemned to some situation of marginalization. In his masterful reading of the book of Job, Gutierrez argues that a turning point in God's relationship with God occurs when the afflicted man comes to see that, unfortunately he is far from alone in suffering (and its injustice) leads Job to free himself from a theology of Punishment and to begin to embrace the mystery of gratuitous love and the task to which it gives rise (Nickoloff, 1996:122).

The relevance of the quotation in the study is in the usage of Job's experience to minister to the suffering. There are some important points raised here. Firstly, Nickoloff shows how the poor or suffering distances themselves from their situation .It are tendentious for the afflicted to feel that their problems are not theirs to solve. But Nickoloff quoting Gutierrez (-ibid. 1996:122), feels that an afflicted person does not have to distance himself or herself but enter into that kind of experience. Concerning the HIV positive Tonga females of Pashu, their option is not to feel otherwise but to enter into their situation and experience the suffering. Secondly Nickoloff points out that it is also important to search for similar situations in other people. In a way, he meant that when one is afflicted, he or she has to look around and see whether or not there is someone in a similar situation. Situations may differ but suffering is suffering and produces the same pain. This comparison of situations was the turning point of Job in the scriptures when he learnt that he was not alone in his suffering.

The example of Job stresses the magnitude of human suffering and the feeling of dejection and rejection. It is a situation of utter helplessness and helplessness in one's life. The issue of HIV and AIDS is one such example in life, which makes people feel hopeless. In the study the Tonga scenario of the HIV infected females in Pashu area is no difference from the given example. Arguably, the important thing to note in the quotation is Job's realization that he was not alone in the suffering. He was not alone in two ways. The first was that Job knew that there were other people in similar predicaments. Secondly Job later realised God's presence in his suffering. The outcome in this narrative is the willingness of the afflicted to accept him as he is. God in Jesus

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Christ has both the divine and the human nature. The divinity of God means his transcendence. He is above all situations; including suffering of people in their human nature. On the other hand, the human nature of God portrays him as one who undergoes similar experiences to humanity. He suffers like humans.

In view of the above nexus, the issue of HIV and AIDS in Pashu is not only a physical problem where the solutions have to do with medical attention only. Of course the medical attention is important because it helps to deal with the physical problems such as the state of the bodily functions. A sick person finds it very difficult to do the work of a physically fit person such as walking, eating and working. The point here is that where this hope ends, there is yet another side of the coin, which is hope in the divine therapy. A theology of hope is one such that brings hope to the hopeless. The theological expression is that this ultimate hope is confined in God who transcends all things including affliction and suffering of the poor.

As a therapy to the HIV positive people of Pashu Community, it is incumbent upon them to know that they are not the only ones experiencing unjust suffering in this world. Today many people are suffering: some are lying on the roadside instead of living, others have lost their pieces of land which were supposed to bring livelihood. This means that the people of Pashu have many counterparts in diversity (Ibid.122).

From the above paragraphs, the study was showed that the call for liberation does not only focus on oppression of the poor such as the Tonga females when referring to their liberation from oppressive cultural practices, but that it goes further even to the freeing of the state of mind of a troubled man. The paradigm of the study is not emancipatory, nor does it emphasise liberation. However, because the study is dealing with a terminal disease which has resulted from some cultural practices it has considered the liberation theology as a response to the situation. This liberation is different from the other perspectives. It is both the means to free people from physical abuse such as that experienced by Tonga females. It is also the liberation of the conscience of the mind. It has to do with mitigation of pain which is beyond the physical. It has to do with psychological affliction. The principal concern is not liberation but the problem of HIV and AIDS. Liberation theology is therefore used as a tool of amelioration. The theology

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of liberation and that of hope do not sufficiently respond to the problem of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females. Another dimension of meaningful attention to the problem is a counselling therapy.

5.5.2 Counselling as a means of responding to the issue of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females.

In this part of the chapter, the intention is to examine counselling as an alternative means of explaining the issues of HIV and AIDS. The study is trying to use counselling as a response to suffering experienced by individuals, families and the community of Tonga people under chief Pashu. Terms such as, "counselling and healing" are defined below.

5.5.2.1 The meaning of counselling in light of the study.

The Oxford Advanced Learning Dictionary defines counselling as, "a professional advice about a problem" (Oxford University Press, 2010:312) Harold Taylor gives four versions of counselling as follows:

(1) Counselling is relationship between two or more people in which one person (technically called counsellor) seeks to advise, encourage, help and support another person or persons (technically called the clients) to deal more effectively with the problems of life.

(2) Counselling is a series of direct contacts with a person, with the aim of offering him or her assistance in changing attitudes or behaviour.

(3) Counselling is a changing and purposeful relationship between two people in which methods vary according to the client's needs. Both the client and the counsellor share in this relationship, which aims to help the client to understand his or her situation and decide what, should be done.

(4) Counselling is an active process which joins the client and the counsellor, when the client wants assistance, and the counsellor is able to give it. The aim is to help the client how to deal with the reality of his environment (Tailor, 1994:84)

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Hanka Grobler et al, refer to counselling as facilitation, and they see it as a process. The facilitation process therefore can be described as what happens between a facilitator and his client from the beginning to the end of a relationship. As the process involves both the facilitator and the client, the process also includes what is inside the facilitator and the client. The facilitator uses what is inside him, for example, his theory, values and professional skills, to help the client explore what is inside him (Grobler et al, 2013:1).

These definitions of counselling show a variety of approaches. Defining or describing one and the same concept or phenomenon differs according to individuals. Different people see one and the same thing from different angles. In such a situation, emphasis may also differ according to the individual's intention and purpose or such an undertaking. Arguably these definitions are not in disagreement but that they vary. The variation is unity in diversity. The common elements in all these definitions are the parties involved in counselling, that is the counsellor and counselled or client. There is also the central theme of counselling, which is to help the one with the problem to solve his or her own problem. Thirdly there is also the common idea of a relationship between the one who offers and the one who receives counselling. In view of this, the provided definitions of counselling raise central points involved in the ministry of counsel. This is because the study is dealing with issues of pain, suffering, oppression, segregation, rejection, stigmatization and even death. All these concerns are of Pastoral counselling. The suggested definitions are therefore sufficient for this study.

Healing is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as the process of becoming or making somebody or something healthy again (Oxford University Press Ibid.693).

For John Woolmer (2001:318), healing can refer to the healing of social failure by young people. It can also refer to medical healing. This healing can be physical or spiritual healing depending on the definition of the problem. Healing can be a means to help the sick accept the situation without necessarily prompting the physical recovery (Woolmer, 2001:332).

Healing in the context of the study refers to emotional; physical; psychological and spiritual healing. HIV and AIDS consequences are many and different according to

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different people. The different nature of problems means the different nature of the form of healing or therapy. The dynamics of the AIDS pandemic means the dimensions in the therapeutic methods needed. In this study, medical therapy is not the main focus. Of course to a lesser degree medical attention might be mentioned or referred to.

In view of the above points, it can be noted that there is a relationship between counselling and healing. Much care is needed to draw a line of distinction between counselling and healing. The confusion may be in the sense that counselling and healing are meant to restore someone to the previous state prior to the problem. However there is a significant difference between the two. Counselling is not healing and healing is not counselling. The relationship between the two is that counselling is the means to an end whilst healing may be an end in itself. A counsellor helps (sick) people to recover, which in this case is healing. The other relationship between the two is that they both point to the person with a problem.

In this study, the focus of healing and counselling or vice-versa refers to emotional, psychological and spiritual issues which stem from the problem of HIV and culture among Tonga females. According to the study findings, the Tonga females have experienced pain and suffering resulting from some of the cultural practices which have become the vehicle of the spread of HIV and AIDS. Their suffering varies. The study findings are that there are the infected and the affected. The therapy and the therapeutic modes differ. Counselling, given the positive, may not be the same as the one given to old Tonga female who is taking care of children whose parents died of HIV and AIDS. However, counselling on the other hand has one and the same objective, to help the one with a problem to understand and accept his or her situation and live.

5.5.2.2 Traditional counselling in the context of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga people.

Under normal circumstances, the concept of counselling varies according to the nature of which requires counselling. In this study, a type of counselling referred to as; "Traditional counselling" by Taylor (1983:80) was used. The use of this approach was of course not an absolute method, but rather the favoured choice. Other approaches were

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used as an enhancement of the purpose of counselling. According to Taylor, this method of counselling takes into account the different cultures. It therefore addresses the particular context of culture such as the Tonga culture as is the case of the study. Counselling is done from a cultural context and the emphasises is on the whole community rather than the individual. Taylor as the role model, in this study, offers a befitting methodology of counselling. This method was opted for instead of Charles Gerkin. The difference between Gerkin's approach to counselling and that of Taylor is insignificant. Gerkin's approach takes the form of pastoral oversight. He talks of counselling in the form of the secular shepherding of the flock. For him the flocks are the individuals, group, family and even community at large. Taylor covers the range from the church fathers such the patriarchs to the modern times. This kind of approach has all that it takes to offer a relevant response to the Tonga females.

On the other hand, Taylor offers a similar approach to counselling as Gerkin. The concept of shepherd and sheep is common to both Taylor and Gerkin. Israel is seen as the flock and Jesus the shepherd, or pastors as the shepherds and congregates as the flock of sheep. However, Taylors approach has a slight difference in as far as contextualization is concerned. He lays much emphasis on the people's culture as the basis upon which meaningful counselling is founded. For Taylor, counselling which does not consider the context of the local tradition upon which is executed, tends to be not successful. The reasons why Taylor thinks this way is that, he takes into account that different ethnics, different cultures and even different individuals experience of life differently. Different people will view one and the same problem differently. It may not be a surprise to learn that what is a problem to one person may not be a problem to another. What might seem serious to someone may be trivial to the other. This then means that, situations are not the same. Different situations therefore need different approaches. This is a contextual approach. Even within the problem which calls for counselling, such as the issue of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females, the approach will differ from any other people with the same pandemic problem.

The other salient feature in Taylor's approach to counselling is his attention to the rural setup as the source of counselling. He approaches counselling form a rural and cultural

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context. This is what necessitated the choice of Taylor over Gerkin. In the case in question rural takes centre stage, as is the case in the typical rural community of Binga under chief Pashu. Relevant examples and analogies are only those of a rural perspective such as the example given by Taylor. Taylor (1994:80) used Papua New Guinea as the case study although this may apply to even many African situations. In his Papua New Guinea example, there were different counselling modes and situations addressed. The methods used, were suitable to the problems.

The first method was educational. In this ancient approach to counselling, what was important was the realization that individuals were not separate from the community. The focus was therefore mainly more on the community than the individual. Counselling therefore, was given in the form of the education of the community whereby the advice and wisdom of the elders was passed on to younger generations (Ibid, 80). Because it was an important part of the social structure, the methods of counselling followed traditional social patterns. This society was built on a chain of authority such as the chiefs; village men; elders in the society. Counselling was therefore given by anyone with skills in the identified problems. These could be even community problems.

In this study, this approach has a relevant similarity. HIV and AIDS and culture are both community problems. The HIV and AIDS problem does not end with the individuals who are infected. These individuals have children, parents, families and relatives; hence the community as a whole gets affected when some individuals get infected. The remedy therefore ends up as the remedy for the whole community. The problem becomes a community problem. The solution therefore becomes a community solution. The Tonga issue of cultural practices which has influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS among some females is a community concern. The shames suffered by individuals have communal consequences.

Secondly, counselling was based on experience and wisdom; and on the understanding of people's experiences and problems (Taylor, 1994:83). In most cases, these counsellors were elderly people, counselling younger people. Such a kind of counselling took the form of education and advice to young generations. The elders in the community would identify the common problem in the society or community and educate the young people

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about the phenomenon which was a cause of concern. In the case of the study, this may refer to a general counselling. In this study, Taylor's method is used to educate the community on HIV and AIDS. In some religious organizations or churches, there are people trained to do that. In such cases, young people receive this kind of counselling as a group maybe as a class or in other necessary forms. The importance of such a kind of counselling is that it is a form of education or awareness offered to recipients. The people of Binga are not different from the people of Papua New Guinea and other Africans in those communities are also the custodians of African values. Problems related to cultural concerns lie in the hands of traditional leaders. Suffering which stems from these cultural beliefs has to be dealt with in the same traditional context.

An example of traditional and contextual counselling in this study is whereby the spread of HIV and AIDS is being exacerbated by the belief in witchcraft. One renowned and prolific African scholar, Mbiti (2003:116) in his book, *Introduction to African Religion,* wrote about myths surrounding death in Western Africa as well as in Africa as a whole. Of the mentioned cause of death, witchcraft was found to be the most common cause among Africans. Witchcraft is a very strong belief in the Tonga tradition. Most of the deaths which occur in deep rural areas of Binga are believed to be associated with witchcraft and have immensely contributed to the spread of HIV and AIDS and the subsequent consequence (Ibid.117) The element of education as a means of counselling, is the most appropriate. The meaning of this is that, it is necessarily the issue of the HIV and AIDS, but is also about the root of this problem. In this case, the problem has something to do with the Tonga worldview as it pertains to social structures and norms and values that govern human life. What the Tonga people believe about themselves, their way of life; their religion and even their social structures, is what matters most. The study findings concerning this are that females in Binga believe in males as the authority and decision makers. What Tonga males, decide is taken without question. There are problems related to this kind of ideology. This is what Pollard (1998) talks about when he talks of," positive deconstruction."Positive deconstruction is not destruction but the examining of the existing reality of a certain worldview. Applying the stages of positive deconstruction, some inadequacies about the Tonga worldview are then discovered.

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In view of the nexus points above, such counselling which has to do with the traditional worldview, takes the form of traditional and contextual.. It is counselling which is offered to the young and the old in the form of education. In the context of HIV and AIDS, this kind of counselling might take the form of AIDS awareness. It is educative counselling. It is actually a bid to help the people of Binga to make a deliberate move to reconsider their views about life in the era of HIV and AIDS. The education also helps these people to judge for themselves and see whether or not there is any truth or reality in witchcraft as the main cause of death. This is because it was the study finding that witchcraft is always held responsible for most of the deaths which occur in the rural area of Pashu. Counselling in this case means old traditionalists are to be enlightened in issues of the HIV and AIDS pandemic.

The other important thing to note in the traditional context of counselling is the emphasis on the community as a responsible social entity. The emphasis is not on the individual but the community (Ibid, 83). The counselling in this traditional context is different from the Western pattern. The Western pattern according to Taylor emphasises the individuals rather than the community. In the African context, the solution to the problem is accepted by the community as a whole rather than an individual. It is the individual who adjusts to the community and not the other way round.

This kind of counselling was however rejected by young generations and suburbia as old and ineffective. In some countries and in some other places, it was replaced by the Western type of counselling (Taylor, ibid. 84). In the Western type, the counsellors are trained people. This is contrary to the African scenario where the skills are the wisdom enshrined in the elders and other personnel'. This kind of counselling is emphasised in the study. As already alluded to in previous paragraphs, the rural type of counselling offers the most relevant method of dealing with the Tonga people. The area in which the study is carried is predominantly rural, and the type of life is also rural. Helping the people of such a community calls for a particular care. The pastoral oversight rendered to such a community has to be seen in that perspective and context.

The pastoral oversight as viewed from Taylor's perception, takes the analogy of the "Sheep and the Shepherd". This analogy between Jewish shepherds and sheep and the

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Tonga rural experience in this context of HIV and AIDS has the following similar features: A shepherd in ancient Israel was a well-known figure among many agricultural peoples, and the work of this person was known by everyone (Ibid. 7). By description, the profession of this person was to look after the sheep, to make some pastoral provisions, such as taking the sheep to greener pastures and to some still waters. In ancient Israel, it was also the function of the shepherd to guide and protect the sheep from danger of any kind. Important is that there was some kind of relationship between the shepherd and the sheep. The shepherd's skill was centred on his relationship with his flock. A good shepherd knew his sheep very well and they knew the shepherd too. From this kind of relationship, he would find no problem in mending the broken ones as well as performing other healing functions. The most common features here are the shepherd's relationship with the sheep. It is also the outstanding feature of the shepherd to help or guide the sheep to function, to move and to live (ibid.2-50).

In this study features of commonality are the pastor or the community sacred leaders such as the village head, the chief and church leaders. These are the shepherds and the flocks of sheep are the individuals, groups; families or community at large. The pastor is in charge of the religious domain in which he exercises his pastoral oversight. The sheep who are his congregants are likened to the sheep in Israel in that, they have different needs which call for the pastors' attention. Among these concerns, the health of the sheep is what the pastor is worried about. A functional individual is a healthy person. Dysfunction stems from sickness. There are various causes of sickness. In the study, the cited challenge faced by the Tonga females is the failure by the community to hear their voice. The voice is also not coming out because of the culture of silence. Both the HIV infected and the affected females in the Chief Pasha's communal land are the sheep. These people yearn for pastoral attention. Their cause of concern may vary according to the individuals groups, family or community.

There are direct and indirect effects of HIV and AIDS to both the infected and the affected. The infected have the problem of their health. They battle with the problem of HIV as a terminal disease; their concern begins and ends with the desire to be healed. On the other hand, the affected ones are the family members of those that are HIV positive.

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The first and major concerns are the children of the sick individuals or both parents. From Date Hanson Bourke (2004:70)'s experience, the vast majority of AIDS orphans live in Africa where traditionally children are cared for by relatives (Bourke, 2004:70).This means that families are being strained to deal with the many additional dependents. Sometimes grandparents take care of their grandchildren whose parent or parents would have succumbed to HIV and died. In the same situation, at times elder sisters assume the roles of parents and look after their younger brothers and sisters. In African culture, orphanages are not an African concept. This means that as Africans, people take care of each other. In the context of HIV and AIDS, the surviving children of the deceased are immediately taken care of by the relatives of the deceased. Whether the rendered care is sufficient or not, that becomes something else (Ibid.71).

Another dimension of African experience at the death of either party is the cultural behaviour of the relatives of the deceased. Where they care for the children, well it is applauded, but the same relatives are sometimes a nightmare to the survivor especially where the surviving spouse is the female. The tendency is that the female may lose both the husband and property. In the case of the Tonga people, the surviving spouse is inherited as well as her property. The woman may become the second wife or third wife of the brother to the deceased. The Tonga females are at the mercy of cultural traditions as well as the heartless males who take advantage of the weak (Bourke, ibid.73). As a consequence, these females suffer stigmatization and discrimination. Problems associated with HIV and AIDS lead to the isolation of the alleged victims of circumstance (Wicks and Estadt, 1993:25). The way the individuals and or community look at these people who are HIV positive makes them feel unwelcomed in families and community. This has created a social gulf between the community and those who are HIV positive or have relatives who are positive. In this study, this is the kind of situation prevailing in Pashu, the area of study. This is a scenario which requires pastoral attention. Although it will be seen later in the chapter, this rural situation calls for Taylor's traditional counselling.

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5.5.2.3 The strengths of traditional counselling among the Tonga people in the context of HIV and AIDS.

In any given situation, modern or primitive, counselling can only have a meaningful contribution to the life of the person who seeks it where and when the relationship between the counsellor and the counselee is sound. There has to be a mutual and good relationship between the counsellor and the counselee. In modern counselling, it is a common situation to find that both the counsellor and the client are strangers to each other. The only relationship is that the two have met and counselling took place. On the other hand, the Israel analogy of a shepherd and sheep means a unique kind of relationship. Besides knowing each other, there is mutual trust between the seeker of help and the provider of this help. In the study, a simply trained counsellor might not be very successful in dealing with Tonga females. He or she might also find it difficult to make these females open up. The issue of HIV and AIDS is not something one can openly and freely talk about. This is where the idea of a shepherd and sheep relationship derives (Tidball, 1987:13-15).The analogy of shepherd and sheep applied well because people were familiar with and associated with farms and livestock.

The second factor of successful counselling in the study is the aspect of language. As a mode of communication, language plays a significant role in counselling. Counselling is all about dialogue; therefore the art of language is a basic requirement for a counselling session to kick start. In the example given by Taylor of Papua New Guinea, a stranger trying to offer counselling would fail from the very beginning of the exercise if he/she did not speak the same language. Since the Tonga people make an insignificant per cent of the Zimbabwean population, the language which is also known as "Tonga" is not very common in Zimbabwe. It is sometimes derogatively referred to as a minor or other language. A few people, who know the language, are not even interested in speaking it. In view of this, it can be imagined how anybody else other than a local person can offer meaningful counselling to these Tonga females. The traditional approach in this case means that even the facilitator in counselling as Grobler call it, is familiar with the language of the people (Grobler et al, 2013:1).

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The third consideration which makes traditional counselling succeed, is the understanding of the people's culture (Taylor, 1994:80). In many non-Western societies, it is an important part of the traditional social structure. This is at times called cultural counselling because the methods used relate direct to, and only have meaning in the particular culture and customs of the people.

Cultural counselling covers all sorts of social and religious matters and is sometimes aimed at settling problems that concern the whole community, not only advising and instructing individuals like what was common in Israel where parents advised and instructed their children (Tidball, 1987:41). Culture is very important in counselling because a group of people may only be identified by means of their culture. Culture is a means of ethnical identification.

The Tonga culture is unique to Tonga people only. The only person who can understand Tonga culture is a Tonga person. Traditional or cultural counselling is therefore important in this study. Further on, it is essential in that the problems faced by the people seeking counselling are mainly cultural problems. The issue of polygamy and traditional beliefs such as witchcraft are such problems which constituted the magnitude of the study. The study is grappling with the issues of culture as a factor influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females. To make sense of problem solving, the understanding of Tonga culture is no option. Taylor's method of traditional counselling in this case is better than the modern type of counselling which focus on the individual. Such kind of approach may only do well in urban setup and in Western societies where individualism is emphasized and not in African rural setup.

The fourth salient feature which makes traditional counselling a preference to other types is the composition of the counsellors. Taylor arrays them as follows: in the context of Israel, Jesus was the real model of a shepherd (Taylor, op cit.2). Jesus was a good shepherd whose example of life was emulated by some shepherds. The Jewish shepherds were kings, priests and prophets. In the study, these shepherds are the pastors, the traditional and religious leaders. The similarity between the Jewish models of shepherds and the Tonga models is that of influence figures in the community. In Israel, prophets and priests were respected figures of the community. Their influential authority could be

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acknowledged in various respects such as decision making and representation. In like manner, religious and traditional leaders in the Tonga community have influence in their constituencies. The range of their influence includes formulation and communal laws, representation and decision making. These can be called governors of the community simply because they are the custodians of cultural and traditional values.

However, in light of the study, the counsellors mentioned above are sometimes seen as part of the problem. It is the study findings that these traditional leaders of the Tonga people have partly contributed to the problems faced by the females in society. The problem is that these leaders have perpetuated the oppressive cultural practices which have caused pain and suffering of the females of Binga in Pashu area. Some leaders including religious leaders are perpetuators of gender based violence and abuse. Community leaders in Pashu have deviated from their traditional responsibilities. What most leaders are doing is contrary to their expectations as God's prophetic voice through which the poor and the suffering might be heard. As for Israel, these people were given special and specific obligations. Some of these functions are contained in Osmer's book titled *Practical Theology.*

Osmer's works in *Practical Theology* is an attempt to teach congregational leaders including, but not limited to clergy, the requisite knowledge and skills to meet such situations such as challenges encountered in congregation, with sensitivity and creativity (Osmer viii-x).Osmer's approach to counselling or pastoral care is structured according to the responsibilities of different leaders of Israel as follows: The first one he called Descriptive-Empirical Task: Priestly listening, the second he called the interpretive Task: Sagely Wisdom, and the third is called. The Normative Task: Prophetic Discernment with the pragmatic task; servant leadership as the fourth one. In each of these expressions, Osmer was trying to clarify the responsibilities of each type of communal leader. In the context of the study, such leaders are the traditional and religious leaders. These leaders have failed to execute their responsibilities.

The priestly listening which requires a leader to give particular attention to the client's problem is not performed by some leaders in the Pashu community. Problems such as domestic violence in homes which are reported to elderly figures in the community are

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not given attention. The problem here is that the leaders lack the required skills, the skills of listening. It is from listening to that one might get down to the bottom of the client's situation. To explain this, Osmer gives a story of a couple, John and Olivia Potter who had marital problems. In the story, John was a drunkard who went home late at night. John would sometimes sleep out. This behaviour did not go well with his wife Olivia. Olivia's patience ended too soon and she also resorted to drinking as a means of trying to solve the problem. The problem worsened as Olivia even contemplated committing suicide by driving off the road to end her life. She also could not go to work because the frustration over spilled to her work place. She felt that even at work, she did not get the treatment she deserved. Olivia then decided to see her parents for this. After her narration and sobbing, Olivia told her father that she was quitting the marriage. In his wisdom, the father advised her to see a pastor for this. Olivia's problem was no longer John; it was now the problem of the life which was ruined by the failure to contain the situation. The aspect of listening can be seen from the response of the father.

The father played a priestly leader by listening. There is also the aspect of wisdom in the story (Osmer, 2008:79-80).There is also the aspect of, "reference". The father realised that there was someone better equipped to handle his daughter's problem. The concept of listening can also be seen in the dialogue between Rev Gains and Olivia. The pastor had a gift of listening. The Rev wanted to gain more information about Olivia's situation.

The story about Olivia's experience can be used to describe and explain the contemporary episodes and situations in the Pashu communal land. It helps understand what individual females experience. It also helps to understand how problems can change dimensions when not attended to in time. HIV and AIDS in some instances are suspected to be spread by the male spouse. Many a times males in Pashu do not want to listen to their female counterparts speak. When the women see that the problem has turned worse and they cannot stand it anymore, they run away to their parents or families like Olivia in Ormer's case study (Ibid.32). The unfortunate scenario in the study is when the parents persuade their daughter to go back to their marital home. At times words such as, "men are like that" are used to try and persuade their daughters to endure in marriage. In Binga, as has already been alluded to, most females experience such   marriage life. What lacks

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is what Osmer calls priestly listening. No one has taken it upon himself or herself to try and understand the plight of these females. Their male counterparts even accuse them as responsible for their suffering. When they turn to their parents or families or even to traditional leaders, they are encouraged to go back to their husbands. From this point, the concept of priestly listening ceases to be.

The second task, Osmer calls "sagely wisdom". Suppose Rev Dorothy Gains had carried out the descriptive-empirical task, gathering information about Olivia's present crisis and the longer story of her life. What next? Obviously, she hopes to guide Olivia in ways that will help her deal with her problem. This takes more than good intention. Rev Gains identifies the important issues with which Olivia is struggling and draws on the ones that allow her to understand these issues. In Olivia's example, Osmer calls these theories as "maps" (Osmer, ibid.80). Anyone who wishes to be an explorer would use maps for guidance. In the case of Jewish sages, their tool was wisdom which Osmer calls "practical wisdom" or "prudence". This wisdom is an instrument of wise judgement.

When people like Olivia Potter bring the raw pain and state of their lives to congregational leaders like Rev Gains, they are seeking a wise interpretation of their life. In their wisdom or using this sagely wisdom, the congregational leaders are expected to discern and interpret the life of the help seeker. But this is what most counsellors are not doing today. In Taylor's traditional approach of counselling, rural traditional leaders such as chiefs and church elders are not executing their sagely wisdom when confronted with a crisis.

In ancient Israel, this wisdom tradition is closely identified with David's son Solomon. This can be seen from Solomon's prayer for wisdom to discern between good and evil. Solomon asked of God the wisdom as an instrument to capacitate him to discern between right and wrong. The same wisdom was exercised by Solomon when confronted by two women who claimed a live child as theirs (ibid. 87). In the study, it is this wisdom which is not obvious; some leaders in the Pashu community do not have or use this gift of wisdom. A wise counsellor would listen, use the skill of discernment and understand the plight of the females and redefine and interpret their lives. He will use his wisdom to guide the individual to help understand her situation. But requesting troubled victims of

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circumstance to go back and endure in life leaves a lot to be desired. This kind of counselling is what Taylor has called traditional and unprofessional approach (Taylor, 1994: 7-11). To buttress this argument, Taylor, says, 'not all shepherds in Israel were good shepherds. Some would abuse the sheep or even exploit them for their personal gain. Others refused to be held responsible for the welfare of the sheep. These only wanted the milk and meat of the sheep (Taylor, 1994: 7).

The above statement by Taylor is therefore a suggestion that there are good and bad shepherd hood derives from Jesus himself as a model. Jesus as a role model of a shepherd is qualified in appropriate counselling, the rural tradition and the modern Western approach.

The third theory in counselling is the, 'prophetic discernment'. The emphasis in this theological task is the relationship between God and Israel – the covenant of God. God's covenant with Israel is about God's love to his elected people. The prophet, therefore, articulates God's word which maybe his love or judgement. Importantly it is God's divine pathos shown through his passion and sympathy? This is sympathy with the divine pathos. This is expressed by Walter Brueggemann when he says that, "the prophetic word is born in a fellowship with the feelings of God and sympathy with the divine pathos" (Ibid.137). He goes further and shows how God suffers over the waywardness and plight of the people. Jesus weeps over the hard – heartedness of Jerusalem but he offers more than just words about God's suffering; he is God suffering in solidarity with the suffering of creation. He acts with compassion towards the sick; social outcast and the unworthy (Ibid 137). The prophetic discernment was also expressed by Tidball in the leadership of Moses (Tidball, 36). In his book titled *Skilful shepherds. An introduction to pastoral theology*, Tidball has this to say:

> The attempt to impose some classification on Moses is futile for, as Deuteronomy 34:10-12 indicates, there had never been his like before or since. The nature of his greatness lay in the combination of the excellent gifts he possessed. For all that, Moses is not totally removed from the level of other human leaders and he serves as a paradigm for all subsequent leadership. As Trent Butler has said, 'all leadership in Israel occurs in the shadow of Moses. He died, but his example and teaching stand before every successor. The Israelite leader must be an official, a minister of Moses, (Ibid 36-37).

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The above expression concerning Moses' leadership only enhances Osmer's perspective of a prophet in theological discourse. Tidball feels that Moses was an example of what a good leader (shepherd) ought to be. Such a leader is measured against Moses. In a way, Moses is an approved role model of Israel. He was the greatest prophet of the time. In the study, that quality of Moses is missing. Today's prophets lack skills such as those of Moses. Moses like Jesus not only led his people, he also provided prophetic observations. He stood between God and people. His leadership skills in discerning between good and evil solely hinged on his fearing God. His wisdom was a gift from God for the betterment of his role as a religious leader. As a leader of his time, he was a true shepherd of the flock. Importantly, Moses offered the qualities of expected of Pashu traditional leaders. All other leaders today are to a lesser extent, prophets, and priests. The issue of HIV and AIDS in a community such as Pashu put them under the spotlight. Such issues place them under scrutiny. The cultural bondage under which these leaders execute their responsibilities, betrays most of them. When the bereaved or sufferers turn to them for help, these leaders shut their doors behind them.

5.5.2.4 The analysis of traditional approach to Pastoral counselling as it refers to the study.

It was in the study findings that the proposition of traditional approach to pastoral counselling by Taylor (1994) had both strengths and limitations. In this paradigm, the concept of culture is central. The similarities and differences between Palestine and the Pashu community stem from culture. Culture again has appeared as the core concern of the undertaken study. It is the influence of culture which determines the lifestyle of individuals, groups, families and even communities. It is also culture upon which all societies are founded. The compatibility of culture and society is reflective in the everyday life of the people of that society.

5.5.2.4.1 The concept of a shepherd as an approach to counselling.

The shepherd motif derives from the historical background of the patriarchs of Israel as nomadic people. The origins of the concept of shepherd with regards to Pastoral care is in the patriarchs of the land of Palestine, the near East of the Ancient Near East as it is

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sometimes called. The concept refers to the Jewish culture whose economy was an agro-based type of economy. It also derives from the type of farming and farmers they were. Agriculture, their subsistence farming was in animal keeping than in crop growing. Of course, those who tilled the land and those who kept animals were called farmers. However, the prominent source of economy was mainly the sheep they kept. The other reason why the Jewish people of the patriarchal period kept sheep was to the fact that they were people of no fixed abode. The patriarchal Israel was of a nomadic nationality who wandered from place to place. Sheep were therefore the only suitable economic project they could afford. Sheep were also easy to look after. The male people of Israel were shepherds of these flocks. But looking after sheep was a task that had to deal with wild animals who posed a danger to these animals. A good shepherd would find his sheep. This is the background from which the motifs of a shepherd derive. Many scholars in theology and Pastoral care have profoundly written on the motif of shepherd hood. The following such examples are meant to clarify this concept of shepherd hood.

One such writer who describes the motif of a shepherd is C.W. Brister (1977: I9). In his book, "Pastoral Care in the Church," Brister has given a brief description and function of a shepherd in Israel. It is Brister's assertion that in the literature of pastoral theology entire books have been devoted to the shepherd theme, and pastoral theological systems have been built upon it (Brister, Ibid. 19). This has been true no doubt because the character of God himself has been viewed supremely as that of a shepherd – a firm hand teaching, feeding; disciplining and protecting his people. For Brister, the most familiar figure of Palestine was a shepherd. This historicity of the motif is also attributed to Taylor.

Taylor describes this concept of a shepherd from a Jewish perspective in his works, "Tend my sheep" (Taylor, Ibid, 7). He described a shepherd as a well-known figure among many agricultural peoples, and in ancient Israel, everyone understood the function of a shepherd. As has already been alluded to previously, this idea of a caring shepherd was so familiar and meaningful to the people of Israel and many preachers and writers used it. The sheep were esteemed, not despised, in that ancient economy. For this reason, the shepherd developed a good relationship with his sheep. The sheep provided the

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livelihood, wool for clothing and were the shepherd's friends through the long days and nights on the Judean hills (Brister, Ibid, 19). The importance of this effort in describing the concept of a shepherd in the context of the study is to try and explain a basis for Taylor's approach or method of pastoral care or counselling. Understanding the shepherd motif, is relatively reasonable premise for understanding the traditional counselling which is the first option in the study. The study is typically in rural context. A meaningful analogy and descriptive tools to interpret the obtaining scenario in Pashu community would be no more than the motif of a shepherd.

The example of a Palestine perspective of sheep-shepherd relationship cannot be over emphasised in the context of the study. When used in the study, the example only shows what ought to be the case and not what is the case. What is, not what is to be. The effort of the examined scholars such as Osmer and others was to give a wider perspective concerning the approach to this traditional method applied in the study. The method is an attempt to show God as the ultimate shepherd whose care is what the contemporary care givers owe derivation. It is also the study aim to examine the relevance and applicability of this method of counselling. On the other hand, although the method does not offer much of its expectations, the concept of a shepherd remains central in both the ancient rural models and in the modern rural and urban models of counselling with God as the chief shepherd. Gerkin's perspective of the models of caring ministry which derive from the Israel community shows how the motif developed and how it later developed. The shepherding motif which originated as a metaphor for the role of the king during the monarchical period of Israelite history was not institutionalized as a designated role within the religious community, as were the prophetic, priestly and wisdom roles. It was first appropriated within the religious life of Israel as a metaphor with which to speak of the care of Yahweh for Yahweh's people (Gerkin, 1997: 27).

Firstly it was God, the key figure in this metaphor. In the imagery of Psalm 23, the Lord God is depicted as the good shepherd who leads the good people in paths of righteousness, restores the souls of the people, and walks with the people among their enemies and even into the valley of the shadow of death. Here the carryover of that imagery from the care of God to the care to be provided by the human leaders of the

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community is not made explicit in the psalm, and evidence is lacking that the shepherd model ever attained a place of significance equal to those of the prophetic, the priestly and the wise guide in later scriptural reference, probably because it lacked institutionalisation role (Gerkin, Ibid, 27). This is the paradox of the motif of a shepherd metaphor in this study. From the study findings, it was laid bare the merits and demerits of the concept of the shepherd. It only worked well in the form of a theoretical concept referring to the imagery of God's care for his people.

As for the epoch of priestly and prophetic ministry, the shepherd metaphor was fifty-fifty, meaning to say it only worked to some certain extent because there were some institutional religious leaders who failed to lead God's people. Some prophets even deviated from their role of role model in the community and pursued selfish interests. They sometimes enriched themselves by abusing the people they were supposed to care for.

The above nexus portrays the situation on the ground in as far as the issue of HIV and AIDS is concerned. On the one hand, the traditional counselling method was relevant in this study, because of the nature of the study which was carried out in the heart of the rural community of Pashu in the Binga District. This paradigm was considered because of its imagery of the motif of a shepherd which would be befitting in the study because of the similarities between the Tonga culture and the Jewish culture. On the other hand, it turned out to be something else.

The traditional leaders in Pashu have been found to be more like political leaders whose main focus is on issues of governance than religious. These are village heads, Kraal-heads, chiefs on one hand and, pastors, ministers of religion, church workers and self-styled prophets on the other, who were supposed to be metaphorically called shepherds. These leaders in the Pashu community are confronted by episodes and situations in life which call for their offices and expertise to mitigate. However the trend shows that their role is a traditionalists is found wanting. The reason could be partly due to the fact that the role of pastoral oversight is not institutionalised as Gerkin (1997:27) puts it. The leaders have put their attention on political issues and in some cases turn to be abusive. A

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good example is where and when the country experience serious drought and most people starve. The Pashu community is in Binga District which is in region five, meaning that a region of low rainfall. When the country experiences drought, Pashu is hard hit by this drought and people experience serious food shortages.

The Zimbabwean government which is a party government then sources food for the people. The distribution is what leaves a lot to be desired, as some local leaders who happen to be ZANU party members abuse the relief facility. People who do not belong to the government party find it difficult to benefit from the food programs. In such a situation, such leaders have not shown representation to the people of their constituency. The sheep therefore are without the shepherd. The concept of the shepherd has not applied here.

From the expression given above concerning the models of pastoral care in the Ancient Near East and their functions, it was discovered that they have more limitations more than strengths. The same metaphor, applied in the Zimbabwean context, has not offered the optimal service expected. A close examination of this traditional counselling proposed by Taylor and supported by others such as Gerkin reveals something of interest. The, "traditional" approach to counselling in the context of the study, is not popular and relevant. The reason here could be derived from the definition of pastoral care. Pastoral care is different from Pastoral counselling. While both pre-fixes bear the term "Pastoral", their suffixes differ. The key words are therefore "care and, "counselling". Though both notions have the "Pastor" who is central, the meaning and purposes rendered are different. Pastoral Care, unless otherwise stated, refers to a situation whereby the pastor or the one who gives pastoral care, initiates an intervention to offer services to the people whom he pastors. In this kind of relationship, it is not the needy that go to the service provider but the other way round. A good example is of a pastor and his congregation. Through his training and skills, he knows what his members want. In this case the counselling he does, takes form of general care to people. Normally there are no concerns. The leader here is a care giver. The motif of a shepherd here is a clear example of such pastoral care. The shepherd does not wait to be approached by the sheep but he knows what is best for them. This is what Taylor (1994)'s traditional counselling means.

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On the other hand, Pastoral counselling, unless otherwise stated, refers to a situation whereby the one with a problem takes the initiative to seek help from a service provider. Under normal circumstances, it is at the individual level or family level sometime times. The person with a problem or problems clearly defines the nature of his or her problems. What the person with the capacity to help does is not to solve the problem or problems for this individual but to help him or her solve his or her problems. This is not pastoral care but pastoral counselling. What Taylor as the model of pastoral care or counselling provided, is mainly pastoral care. Pastoral counselling was not very clear. However, this is not to suggest that this model and the traditional method of counselling did not work. It worked, because the study is carried out in a rural context and it takes a rural setup to address rural problems. The argument here is that, this approach to counselling only applied to certain situations. The limitations of the method therefore suggest triangulation of methods. By triangulation of methods, it is meant the use of more than one method or approach to address one and the same problem. By this token, the study then considered the modern form of counselling to address the current situation in the Pashu area. The following part of this chapter focuses on the pastoral counselling as it is viewed in modern times.

5.5.2.5 Personal counselling as viewed by contemporary scholars and how this applies to the study

To address the situation understudy, the, "Person Centred" type of counselling was used. The proponents of this kind of counselling are non-other than Grobler, Schenck and Mbedzi. These three authors of, Personal Centred Facilitation are all product of University of South Africa (UNISA). This is not a book review, but that their works provide a modest approach to Counselling. The method was used alongside other approaches. Grobler et al, have provided a definition which focuses on the relationship between the counsellor and the client. Grobler and others have defined this approach as "Person Centred Facilitation" (Grobler et al, 2013). In the Person Centred Facilitation, Grobler presents the theory of the approach to counselling. In an attempt to do so, Carl Rogers approach was adopted and used. This method by Roger emphasises what is called

"Roger's 19 theoretical propositions" (Grobler, 2013:4). Grobler tables these propositions as follows:

Proposition 1: Human experiences at a conscious and unconscious level

There are three important elements to this proposition. The first is that the experiential world of every person is central, unique and personal. The second one is that, the personal world is constantly changing. The third element is that the experiences that constitute this world can be conscious or unconscious.

Proposition 2: Human perceptions

Like experiences, perceptions or observations of the world or reality are an individual matter. People behave according to their experiences and perceptions.

Proposition 3: Wholeness

The person, group, family or community responds to the world as an organised whole.

Proposition 4: Self determination

The person, group, family or community has basic tendency and striving: to actualise, maintain and enhance self.

Proposition 5: Needs and behaviour

Behaviour essentially consists of purposeful endeavours by the person, group, family or community to satisfy the needs which that person, group, family or community experiences in the world.

Proposition 6: Emotions

Emotions accompany and facilitate intentional behaviour (proposition 5). The intensity of the emotion correlates with the importance that the person, group, family or community attaches to the behaviour in terms of self-preservation and self-enhancement (proposition 4).

Proposition 7: Frames of reference

The best way to understand behaviour is to view it from the person, group, family or community's frame of reference.

Proposition 8: The self

A portion of the total perceptual field gradually becomes differential as the self.

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Proposition 9: The self and significant others.

As a result of interaction with the environment, and particularly as a result of evolutional interaction with others, the structure of the self is formed together with values attached to these concepts.

Proposition 10: Values: Own and adopted from other people

Values attached to experiences form part of self and may be shaped by the person, group, family or community's own experiences. They may also be taken from others and assimilated into the self as if they had been experienced personally.

Proposition 11 (c and d): Dealing with experiences at an unconscious level

As experiences occur in the life of an individual, they are either denied or distorted because the experiences are inconstant with the structure of the self. One of the characteristics of therapy (and perhaps one of the most important changes that can result from therapy is enabling the client to become aware of experiences that he has not previously been conscious of).

Proposition 12: Self and behaviour

Most of the ways of behaving that are adopted by the organism are those that are consistent with the concept of self (Rogers 1987:507).

Proposition 13: Behaviour and unconscious experiences

Behaviour may in some instances be brought about an organic experiences and needs that have not been symbolized. Behaviour of this kind may be inconsistent with the structure of the self. In such instances, behaviour is not owned by the individual.

Proposition 14: Psychological tension

Tension is created by symbolised experiences or distorted symbolisation of experiences that cannot be incorporated into self.

Proposition 15: Reconstruction of the self

A person becomes well-adjusted when all or maximum number of experiences can be symbolised congruent with the person's self-perception.

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Proposition 16: Defence of self

Experiences that conflict with a person, group, family or community's self-perception are considered threatening to the self. The greater the number of such experiences, the more intent self-structure becomes on self-preservation.

Proposition 17: Conditions for change

Under certain conditions, primarily involving complete absence of any threats to the self-structure, experiences that are inconsistent with the self may be perceived and examined. The structure of the self may then be revised to assimilate and include these experiences.

Proposition 18: Acceptance of self

When a person is able to symbolise most of his experiences and integrate them into a total self-concept, that individual will display a greater understanding of others and be able to accept them as separate, unique individuals.

Proposition 19: Developing your own valuing process

As a person comes to perceive and symbolise more of his sensory experiences, integrating these experiences into his self-concept, the person's value system, which was previously based mainly on distorted symbolisation of other people's values, will make way for a process of determining his values, will make way for a process of determining his values (Grobler et al, 2013:6).

The purpose and importance of Roger's proposition is to help explore and consider a spectrum of possible dimensions in which people can be understood. This is because people even as individuals do not live in isolation. The group, family or community are formed by individuals. Individual behaviours are in turn shaped by communities in which they live. The values of individuals are also determined by the society in which these individuals, groups or families live. Roger's theories therefore provide means and skills for the facilitator of counselling to understand the nature of the people he or she is dealing with. It is also important to know that counselling is art. These theories then are meant to equip the counsellor for the job of a counsellor.

This approach to counselling also stresses that what is important is not the facilitator but the problem or the person with a problem. In some instances, counsellors focus on the

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facilitator of counselling, that is this attitude, skills and how he solves the problem of his client. This approach becomes inadequate in the context of the study. The point is that the focus in counselling is on the person or group or family with a problem or problems. The facilitator only creates a conducive atmosphere for the discourse between him and his client (proposition 17) (Grobler, Ibid, 12). This proposition means that there ought to be a threat framework from which the counsellor engages with the client. The facilitator builds confidence which the client capitalises on the starting point. In the study, such a move was found to be relevant because of the nature of the study. Roger's proposition 17 helps to understand that people living with HIV would find it difficult to just open up and start discussing their personal life. In the case of the Tonga women, it could be aggravated by the nature of their silence. In order for a facilitator to penetrate the world of a Tonga woman, extra care is important.

From the above points, Grobler is actually giving the relationship between a counsellor and a client. He is showing what happens between the two and how the client should move on. In a way, counselling is a journey involving two travellers, the counsellor and the client. Their starting point is their mutual understanding of each other.

Using his skills, the facilitator helps the client to explore what is inside him or her. The facilitator therefore walks the journey with the client. In this case the facilitator only accompanies the client. This journey is called the journey of self-discovery. In the process, the client explores issues such as: "Who am I?" what are the thoughts, perceptions, feelings, needs behaviours and values that make me who I am and what prevents me from being who I want to be or living to my full potential (Ibid, 1).

In this journey, four phases are crucial; the first one is the establishing of a relationship which is conducive to mutual trust for the rest of the journey (proposition 17). The second phase: in this phase, both the provider of counselling or the facilitator and the client work on what hampers the client's self-discovery. In the third phase both the facilitator and the client sort out what was not discovered in phase two. The fourth phase is where and when the two near the end of the road or journey and are ready to go their separate way (proposition 19).

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The person centred approach aims at enabling people to discover for themselves what they are struggling with and then find their own unique way forward. In the case of the study, it might not be that easy to identify what exactly the problem individuals are struggling with. It might not be that easy to unlock and enter the Tonga worldview in the context of HIV and AIDS. It might not be that easy to conceptualise the Tonga culture of secrecy (Wicks and Estate, 1993:70).

Roger's theory talks about a conducive ground for counselling (proposition 17). It is the study's findings that the Tonga culture is unique in a number of ways. The Tonga females are not free to talk to strangers. It was discovered in the study that these females refer people or issues to their male counterparts. The Tonga culture does not allow females to associate with people they do not know. Even where and when it hurts most, the females would not divulge the source of pain unless it was something very simple and obvious. It is part of the culture to keep secrets.

What happens in a Tonga family may not be easily known. In support of this point, it was already expressed in chapter one where a young female Betty-not-real name, was an incest victim. As already alluded to, the female victim of the perpetuator of sexual abuse suffered because of the culture of silence. To imagine a counsellor easily penetrating the individual Tonga female self-structure, would be an underestimation of the power of this secrecy. To expect an obvious relationship between a rural traditional Tonga female and a stranger counsellor would be a misrepresentation of the Tonga culture. In light of the study, this is a genuine challenge facilitators of counselling would face. The problem is not to do with the Tonga females but it is to do with the culture per se.

In view of the above challenges that could hinder progress in counselling, the task of such a person as a counsellor would be to understand that the experiential world of every person is central, unique and personal. These experiences that constitute this world can be conscious or unconscious (proposition 1) (Grobler, Ibid. 4). Although the focus is not on Taylor's traditional approach to counselling in this segment of the chapter, arguably, it is necessary to refer to culture as an important phenomenon in every respect. It is necessary to consider approaching counselling from a cultural perspective.

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Understanding Tonga culture would be a stepping stone to achievement of the study. Borrowing from Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), theory of performing epoch (Cox, 1991:25), one would suspend or bracket his previous ideas, thoughts, opinions or beliefs in order to make sense of the Tonga culture, its beliefs and influence on the experience of the individuals. One has to suspend personal beliefs and withhold judgements so as to enter into the field of study.

In other words, this phenomenological approach to getting knowledge is important if anyone would be keen to know the behaviour of the Tonga people. Suspending one's previous ideas or knowledge about the Tonga people would help one to enter their worldview without prejudice. This would then be a major achievement in trying to develop a meaningful relationship before the counselling session would begin. Once such an achievement is realised, then the journey could begin. It would be an assurance that the counsellor and the client would journey together with mutual trust and respect.

However, the question of whether or not the client will fully understand this relationship and begin to explore and discover herself, hangs in the balance. It may work, it may not work because culture is one thing and HIV as a terminal illness is another. Once a mutual relationship has been established between the counsellor and the client, specific issues that warrant counselling can then be addressed.

5.5.3 The dimensions and dynamics of HIV and AIDS as they relate to issues of counselling among the Tonga females

In the context of the study, the term dimension refers to the way of conceptualization of the effects of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females. Dynamics in this study refer to the behaviour of individuals, group, family or community as they are affected by this AIDS pandemic. A few examples of specific issues of concern are examined in the study to demonstrate the pragmatics of the situation on the ground.

5.5.3.1 The Tonga perception of HIV and AIDS and counselling

A traditional Tonga does not perceive illness as a natural phenomenon. The attitude towards illness is that, in an African perspective the concept of disease is caused by

enemies. Therefore no western medicine can be used to heal a person who is sick (Wicks and Estadt opcit, 71). HIV in this case is believed to be caused by a human in a way which cannot be explained. Writing from her experience working with the Zambian Tonga, Eileen Keane, says Tonga people will pretend to understand the medical position of the illness, but later come together as family and change their minds and look for a diviner. They pay a lot in animals and cash to the diviner.

Here Keane is explaining the gravity of the matter about HIV and AIDS among the Zambian Tonga. The issue is that, these people suffer from two things. They suffer from ignorance of AIDS pandemic. They attribute this suffering to a spiritual cause such as witchcraft rather than to natural disease caused by a virus. Their second mode of suffering is from the disease itself. Like any other illness, HIV and Aids brings suffering to individuals; groups; families or communities. Those that are infected have different way of interpreting and understanding the disease itself. They may, or they may not understand it as a terminal disease. They also have their own way of relating or understanding their relationship with other people of the same family, group or community. There are a lot of feelings about their state of affairs.

HIV as a disease may affect mental faculties of the sick person. This may result in unpredictable behaviour. Hate of other people maybe one of the behaviours experienced by the HIV positive people. Counselling in the light of this experience, therefore, takes into account the dynamics of the one who seeks counselling (Roger's proposition 12). Most of the ways of behaving that are adopted by the organism are those that are consistent with the concept of self (Grobler, op cit: 6). A complete and fruitful counselling therefore, will always labour to address the pertinent issues.

The first thing to consider before counselling is for the counsellor to make sure that he/she has prepared himself enough to engage the client. Arrangement of venue, time and sitting setup are very important. The appointment of such a meeting may be determined by party, the counsellor or client. The place of interview maybe determined as the home of the client or the counsellor's home or even a neutral venue. According to this study, the findings revealed how cultured the Tonga females are. Their culture of being quiet, loyal and not- initiative in decision making might make it difficult for them as clients to

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choose their homes as venues for the counselling exercise. The reason is that it would be difficult for these females to discuss their HIV status in the presence of their Kin. It would also be affected by such cultural beliefs as their traditional taboos which forbid females from talking to strangers or unknown people. In light of this challenge, the possible place would be a neutral venue such as a local church or social place such as shopping centres. In the case of the study, these venues, the church and shopping centre or school, would persuade these Tonga females to attend with a bit of confidence.

Once the venue is determined, the next things are physical settings which include sitting postures and any relevant considerations. After this, the counsellor then makes it a point that he or she practices certain behaviours actively, while avoiding other behaviours (Grobler, Ibid. 47). Practising some and avoiding other behaviour means observing the "dos and don'ts" rules of counselling. It implies that the counsellor has to exercise due care in order for him to make sense in the counselling session. Where and when a facilitator as Grobler (2013: 1-4) prefers calling those who counsel is attentive, he enters the client's total life world, all the client's experiences and selfhood (Proposition 1-8 and 10). Here the counsellor asks himself whether or not he is ready to communicate with someone else or not. He should be aware of some disruptions such as noise from the surrounding environment and even people walking about. The counsellor makes sure that such kinds of situations are avoided. The other thing to note is whether or not the client is comfortable with the counsellor taking notes or recording the event. In a way the counsellor takes into consideration the ethical consideration as emphasised by Paul Oliver in his book, "The student's Guide to Research Ethics" (Oliver, 2010: 46-47). Taking into consideration that the subject of HIV and AIDS is a sensitive issue, the use of devices such as a tape recorders or video recorders or even note taking might intimidate the session. To promote a high degree of confidentiality, the counsellor learns this from the interactions he makes in the initial stages of counselling. Using his skills, the counsellor can read in-between the lines as to whether the client approves or disapproves of certain behaviour by the counsellor.

Counselling with an old HIV positive Tonga female may not be very successful or very easy. The issue of language factors in. Most of old Tonga females do not speak or

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understand any ethnical language other than their Tonga. Secondly, the issue of gender may influence the quality of the engagement. Tonga females would feel very uncomfortable talking to a male stranger. The venue itself may not be conducive to these people. Already it can be appreciated how difficult it might be in such a situation. What this suggests is that the counsellor has to be a female. She has to be a familiar Tonga speaking person, who can persuade the older Tonga women to allow someone to enter into the world of this ailing female. The envisaged circumstance will make the counsellor vigilant. He or she will be careful in the way he or she progresses with the counselling session. To enter the counselee's world and journey with her in her effort to explore self-discovery the use of a multiple methods would be the most welcome.

5.5.4 The use of storytelling as a means of penetrating the world of Tonga females in the context of HIV and AIDS.

A possible way of helping the Tonga females who have been diagnosed HIV positive is by telling relevant stories. This method of social construction has been proven to work well in some instances. This approach was used during data gathering through interviews. Respondents have interacted and responded positively during interviews. What it means is that the counsellor has to select stories which respond to these females of the Pashu Community. Two examples by Chester and Kylstra (2003) help explain the importance of storytelling as a means of searching for reality or truth.

The first illustration involves a female who was sexually abused by her brother for several years. Abused by her brother for a period of four or five years, she had allowed hatred to dominate her life. Over the month, as she expressed her anger and pain, Betsy often mentioned, "God wants to bring you to a place where you can begin to forgive your brother" (Ibid: 36). At that time, she was so hurt that she did not want to hear anything about forgiveness. Such experiences often have negative consequences which if not attended result in a bad situation. One day, this female friend of Betsy gave an apology that she would not go to the ministry session because of some ulcers he had developed. When visiting a doctor, she was advised to go for an operation. But Betsy saw all this emanating from the bitterness the woman had with her brother. This ulcer was threatening to her colon and eventually to her life. Betsy counselled with her until she let

go of the bitterness she fostered against her brother. She later testified that the pain had gone and she was healed.

Used in the context of the study, the story helps to understand the pain and suffering sexual abuse creates in the lives of such victims as females. The pain is physical as well as psychological. Hatred experienced in the story can be used to explain hatred that might result from theTonga experience of sexual abuse. The person in the narrative suffered psychological pain resulting from her failure to understand the behaviour of her blood brother. The woman could have raised more questions than answers, trying to imagine how a brother could do such a thing. A female in the case of the study would probably feel the same. The consequences of sexual abuse may lead to a female hating all males, the good or bad. In the event of a counsellor being a male, chances of the client assimilating the past experience to the present situation may be high.

However, the same sad experience might be a positive to use in pastoral counselling with a female with similar problems. This is when the pastor or counsellor skills are called for. Nickoloff (1996:122), buttress Kylstra's point by using the scriptural story of Job. Job in the story later realised that he was far from being alone. In a way, people who feel dejected and rejected, need assurance in life. They can only understand their situations when similar experiences are used. Assurance that they are important before the creator who is a good shepherd would mitigate the situation. On the other hand, the second illustration has to do with love. Kylstra gives an illustration of a student whose father was a pastor. The daughter failed to access the love of her father because of being ever busy with his pastoral work Kylstra (Ibid, 35).The daughter's bitterness created a deep estrangement between them. During the process of forgiveness, the daughter managed to forgive her father. A month later, she attended the traditional thanksgiving service at her father's church. After giving a Thanksgiving message, her father became uncharacteristically personal and began to share his heart with the people. He shared on how he failed his daughter but said was happy for her and walked from the pulpit into the congregation and asked for forgiveness. She forgave him and the two embraced each other in a spirit of reconciliation Kylstra, (Ibid, 35).

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From the two illustrations by Kylstra, two concepts are key. These are "forgiveness" and "healing," which are the main struggles for pastoral counselling. In the two stories, forgiveness was pronounced by the offended. Also something worth noting is the fact that in the two stories, the one suffering pain is a close kin of the offender. This is what makes the sufferer feel deeply affected. It would not matter much where and when affliction caused by someone else other than a member of the family. When using these two scenarios, their similarities can be appreciated in the context of study situation. Tonga females who are victims of sexual abuse, either by their husband, spousal rape or strangers feel the same as those in Kylstra's illustrations. The wounds of such a female would remain fresh and unhealed. It is therefore the task of the shepherd to mend the wound of hurt and hatred. Where possible, the idea of stories as a means to help the client discover him or herself might be used.

For the method of storytelling to make sense, the facilitator of counselling uses love and listening skills. It is important to show that client in her journey, she is not alone but with someone else. According to Roger (1987:29), this is basic empathy where it is the function of the counsellor to assume in so far as he is able, the internal frame of reference of the client, to perceive the world as the client sees it, to perceive the client himself as he is seen by himself to lay aside all perceptions from the external frame of reference while doing so and to communicate something of this empathetic understanding to the client Grobler, (2013:53). The emphasis here is that the client in each circumstance wants or expects love and assurance.

However, this is far from suggesting that the facilitator of counselling has to walk the road him or herself. There is little advice that can be given by the counsellor to the client. When these principles are observed by the counsellor, reconciliation between the victim of circumstance and the perpetrator may be envisaged. Forgiveness, which sterns from love, may result in healing. From Kylstra (2003:36) the illustration of the concept of love as source of forgiveness was key. For the offended to think of forgiving her or his abuser, the gift of love is not an option. The love which is needed here is no simple one but it is likened to the love of God the creator of humanity which surpasses all understanding. In Taylor (1994), "Tend my Sheep" this kind of love is mirrored in the

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metaphor of a shepherd. It is a commitment one makes to let go the past experience which is painful. Jesus the real model of pastoral counselling demonstrated this kind of saving love Taylor, (Ibid, 7-11). Jesus' cross narrative sum up the saving love which is instrumental in the process of healing. This love will only make sense where it is realised by parties, the offender and the offended. The father and the daughter came to realise this and broke the silence by embracing each other in the midst of congregates. This was the beginning of healing. Healing may be a process not an event. This is the reason why a pastoral care giver or any person who wishes to help the afflicted takes the process as a journey. It is a journey because it has principles to follow; the dos and don'ts, as well as challenges of personalities. There are uphill and perils of the road to encounter in the journey.

However, the second illustration which involves an incestuous story demonstrates the real experience as given in the context of the study. Incest in Tonga culture is taboo. The magnitude of its consequence may sometimes be measured by the end result which can be in the form of the victim committing suicide. The situation is not only a painful experience but it also has the potential of being life ending.

The major challenge, in the case of Tonga females is when they cannot easily report or share their ordeal with anyone. The complexity of Tonga culture makes life for such an individual very difficult. Tonga culture treats with contempt the act of sexual intimacy. People of the same family are not supposed to fall in love with each other. Culture forbids it.   But the power of nature becomes something else.   Consciously or unconsciously some people break the laws of culture and engage in sexual relationships with people of their nearest kin. Such a kind or relationship usually lacks consent. In most cases, male counterparts assume a dominant masculinity culture of using their influence in the community as men. The situation becomes more complicated when the offended is oppressed by the cultural taboos. She is not free to share her experience with a relative or anyone in the immediate community. This brings shame and guilty to, the individual, group, family or community. The only thing the afflicted can do is to bear the cost of pain and suffering. This becomes a lonesome journey and might end up in unwanted situations or experiences.

Love is the spring of resource sufficient to address the above mentioned kind of episodes in life. Tripp (2002:115-117) demonstrates the power of love as key in counselling. He uses an example of a young pastor's experience of the ministry. The young pastor's perspective of a church was that it was a confused, struggling people who were an impediment to what he was called for. The pastor's ministry was of sermons, beautiful preaching and church growth. Yet for Tripp the church was a hospital full of people in various stages of dealing with the disease of sin Tripp (Ibid. 117).

Love has the power to conquer or overcome problems or challenges threatening social order, welfare, health and many others. Love is central in the gift of counselling. Both the care giver or counsellor and the one who seeks help are encouraged to have and use this love before, during and after counselling. Love is a steering power to make things to positively happen. It blots the painful past and ushers a human being into a new life experience, even that of forgetting and forgiving. The pastor pasturing in the Pashu community would be a better pastor if he made love of his sheep a ministerial priority. Such a pastor would be different from Tripp's pastor who perceived the ministry in light of beautiful sermons and prayers. The motif of a shepherd in the study is derived from the models of pastoral care. Love can be viewed as a means of caring in the ministry. A minister of religion who professes ignorance of the importance of love in his ministry has failed himself right from the beginning. Ministry is built on love and grows in love and with love. Once love has been administered in the process of counselling, healing might follow.

5.5.5 Forgiveness and Healing Among the Tonga HIV Positive Females

One may ask questions pertaining to what constitutes and prompts forgiveness among these women. A number of factors constitute what compromises the life of any females under Chief Pashu in Binga where the study was carried out. Tom Marshal (2001) has enumerated some of the most common factors which have immensely influenced social disorder in the community of Chief Pashu. Among the arrayed sources of problems, cruelty; physical or psychological; unfaithfulness, dishonesty or untruthfulness were cited Marshal, (2001:134-140).In effect, these range from a number of relations that are

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affected. In addition to this, Isabel Apawo Phiri and Beverly Haddad in their book, "African Women, HIV and AIDS and Faith Community" have raised concern over cultural practices as one of the main cause of suffering and pain among African females Phiri and Haddad, (2003:10).These two female theologians feel that some cultural practices enhance women's risk of HIV. In most parts of Africa there is a belief that men prefer dry sex. Therefore women go out of their way to use herbs that cause the vagina to be dry, tight and warm. The dryness of the vagina increases small tearing around the entrance and also removes the natural protection of the walls and thereby opening space for the virus to enter the woman's blood stream Phiri and Haddad, (Ibid, 11).

From the study findings, another dimension of these factors which call for forgiveness and healing are what Phiri and Haddad said were cultural issues. It is in the study findings that the myth about HIV and AIDS has constituted hurt among the women of the Pashu community. It is a belief that a diagnosed HIV positive man can easily heal if he had sexual intercourse with a baby, or young girl. This is seen as an unforgiving crime by any woman who knows what giving birth and bringing up a child is. This belief is not only Zimbabwean but is also found in other African countries such as South Africa.

To enhance the expression above, a similar story is told from a South African perspective in which a man raped a baby. According to Phiri (2003:3) on a dreadful night in 2001 in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, a ten-months-old baby fondly known as, "Baby Tshepang," was brutally raped. It was assumed that the reason for her rape was the common circulated myth that sex with a virgin can cure a man of AIDS. Such stories and others which may be similar or worse make women of Africa, women theologians in particular to want to rise and challenge these issues Phiri (Ibid, 4).

Although the story of baby Tshepang is not the focus, it helps understand the significance of culture as a factor influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS among the females in African communities. The Tshepang story also explains how male dominance in a community can be described. There is also the aspect of murder in the narrative. In the context of the study, the story of Tshepang, explains how Tonga culture can sometimes be irresponsible and cruel. The cultural beliefs such as those that lead to the baby raping

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show how some males lost their gender responsibilities as fathers. Their father-hood has come under scrutiny. In African culture, a male figure in the community assumes responsibilities of a father. Being a father therefore means one who loves his family and cares for it. The male figure-the father, protects his family form any danger. On the other hand, a girl child in Binga among the Tonga people is held with high esteem. In Tonga culture, girls are well respected. Family men, sometimes refer to girls as, "mothers." A father sees his daughter as his mother and a son as his father. Girls also gain favour over boys in the same family and the community at large.

The sick mythical attitude of males to rape such a figure in the community for the cure of HIV and AIDS is sin and condemned from the above expression. Acts of this kind by males is condemned not only by females. Males condemn such acts because they see fellow males as representing them in the community. What one man does the labelling goes to all men. The integrity which one loses in betrayal goes to all other males in the community. The condemnation of sexual abuse is therefore for all males. On the other hand, the raping of a girl child or baby girl, affects not only the biological mother of the baby or girl child but the whole community of females. For females in Binga, this shows how they are at the mercy of male counterparts. It shows how the community fails to protect them. It also implies that females are sex-objects. It also shows how males fail to differentiate between a baby or girl and a grown up female. Those perpetuators of such abuse see babies and mother as the same. The culture which fails to see the ills of such beliefs and practices is blind of its values. In this analysis, females are deemed less human with their dignity and value forfeited.

The story of baby Tshepang in this study is not meant to be a healing story. There is a problem in Tshepang's story for someone in pain and suffering. Telling such a story to a wounded female would not assist the situation but generate strong feelings of anger. However, the story is used to explain the pain forborne by females in the study. It is meant to show the real issue in counselling with females in the Pashu Community. It is also a reflection of a real life situation which calls for healing. In the story, it can be appreciated that the wound is created by a culture which portrays male domination. Forgiveness and healing therefore stem from this human life experience in the context of

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HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females of the Pashu Community. Another dimension of factors influencing people in Zimbabwe are the Ndebele people memories of the painful fifth brigade experience. The Methodist Church in Zimbabwe's Mission Month's Manual of July 2015 has cited the "Gukurahundi" experience in Matabeleland to show how tribalism can sometimes be detrimental. On the other hand the Shona people hold unto the grudge of the ethnic wars of 1880s where Ndebele people de-established the Shona Kingdom and looted their animals and took their women as well. Such memories have lived in the lives of these two ethnic groups. The impact of such painful memories has spilled over even to churches. Some churches are now divided. The government was expected to initiate a programme of national healing and reconciliation. This experience can be likened to the experience of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females. In each scenario, there is a side with an upper hand and another, a weaker hand.

In the story of the "fifth brigade" in Matabeleland, there is the concept of suffering of the poor and the innocent. There is the concept of pain and death. There are more questions than answers about the whole saga. To mitigate and transform the lives of people, the government is expected to play a pastoral role and create an environment which allows all the hurt people to come together and reflect on life as a family. It may be difficult, but it has to be considered. The epoch of AIDS in the Pashu community has similar motives as that of Zimbabwe and "Gukurahundi." The affected people need reconciliation and healing. The trend here could be the perpetrators' sense of guilt followed by the offender's love to forgive; then forgiveness which is followed by healing. The last is a reconciled community of individuals.

5.5.5.1 Forgiveness and Healing of Individuals in the Context of Study

Forgiveness is to an individual just as pain and suffering are to individuals. These individuals form a society. This means individuals make sense in a community. On the other hand, the society or community has influence on individuals. Counselling of individuals takes place in a societal setup. In the study, there are identified individuals and areas of concern. A good example is the female who was sexually victimised by her uncle. The second example is the confession of a woman in chapter four who was

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infected by her husband. There is also a female whose husband had gone to work in South Africa. This male lived some kind of life which brought painful experience to the spouse when she discovered that she was HIV positive. The fourth specific example is a family which was accused of witchcraft. The HIV positive daughter-in-law persuaded her husband to leave his parents' homestead and find another place to go. She accused her mother-in-law of being responsible for her illness. These examples among others are pastoral issues. It is equally important to know that human beings are unique as persons. Their behaviours, attitudes and or reactions to circumstances are also different. Even people of same gender differ considerably (See Roger's proposition 11 and 13) (Grobler, 2013:42).

Following Grobler's inference, it then follows that any attempt to give pastoral counselling to an individual who is HIV positive requires the counsellor to consider the client as a unique person. It cannot be generalised or assumed that HIV is now a common phenomenon; hence those that are positive foster the same perception. Many HIV positive people react to their situations differently. This could be due to how one would have contracted the pandemic.

There are many factors to consider before one actually engages in counselling. It is important to know roughly the behaviour and reaction of the counselee, it is equally important to know one's attitude towards the client. Hoffman and Stanley (1990, 201-211) emphasise the relation between the care giver and the client. Where care is not considered, the counselling ministry would not be successful.

The HIV and AIDS issue has some challenges in that the disease is a deadly, contagious illness, associated largely with sexual promiscuity and drug abuse. This kind of attitude might make the facilitator fail to help the patient. The care-givers attitude is that of a shepherd. The care-givers love might make the one in pain of what transpired previously to consider opening up a dialogue. According to Hoffman and Stanley (1990:215) this could be a positive situation of healing. The focus here is not what happened in the past but it is on what is going on now. In the story of this woman who claims to have been infected by her husband, the important issue is to assess the present marital relations

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between them. The facilitator evokes the sanctity of marriage to both spouses as a means of bringing sanity to their lives.

In view of the above, much energy is spent on trying to make the offended female see the value of life. The pastor makes all efforts to help the client redefine life and its value. Forgiveness can be seen as a gateway to healing. Forgiveness here can be viewed in two ways. The offended woman can also feel guilty about who she is. She comes to a stage where she questions herself about her life. She searches for answers she cannot get. Perhaps the last thing she sees is a failed life. She then sees life as meaningless. She then feels guilty of being alive. What this person needs is self-forgiveness. It is therefore the pastor's task to help the individual to rinse her mind and start understanding the importance of life. This kind of initiative, points to God as the forgiver of inner self.

God makes a guilty person feel worthy and forgiven, Brister (1977: 240-241).This forgiveness then makes it possible for the client to forgive her offender. The HIV infected female who has understood the meaning and value of life can then consider extending what she now conceives of life. When looking at the guilt husband, she will see him in the same situation before God.

The pastor or caregiver has to start with the client and win her confidence. It is the client who will in turn deal with her situation regarding relationships between herself and the husband who has infected her with HIV and AIDS. The first forgiveness is the most important one. When the afflicted person forgives herself, it is a prepared ground upon which everything else is considered. Working with the inner conscience of a person is dealing with issues of psychiatry.   This is what a person feels inwardly and that determines the outward behaviour.   Psychiatric issues then need psychotherapy. Psychotherapy as a means of addressing the inner-self makes the one in pain and suffering ready to see issues differently. This is then translated into a distinction between the perpetrator of the offence and the abused. Once the woman clears herself of guilt, it is now reasonable to address the challenge she faces.

On the other hand, the male counterpart of the client does not only need forgiveness from the spouse but from the community or family as a whole. The community plays a vital

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role in issues of forgiveness and healing. The community in the process of healing is also a distinctive character of pastoral care. The nature of community is that of fellowship (Koinonia). It holds together the value of togetherness. In an African context of community, there is no individualism. There is a sense of belonging. By this token, it means that the community has to accept back the individual who was once alienated by antisocial behaviour. It is the sole responsibility of counselling psychology to develop the individual.

The pastor or caregiver, therefore, employs his or her skills of psychology to help the individual or family to understand the meaning of life and its value. In this case, counselling which begins with an individual ends up with the family and community at large. The other similar case in the study is the story of a woman who was sexually abused by her uncle. While counselling is important to this woman as an individual, the extension of the consideration to work with the community is also important. Betty, (not the real name) who was sexually abused and infected with HIV and AIDs by her uncle John,(not the real name) falls into the same category of shame and pain as the woman who was infected by her husband. In this example, there are a number of considerations to make.

The first consideration is the act of violence perpetrated by this male. Of course, the circumstances which led to this act of sexual abuse are not clear. It could be that the niece consented under duress; it could be that it was pure rape, the truth was not established. The study findings are that the uncle utilized the absence of Betty's parents to sexually abuse her. What this signifies, is the weakness of the female. Females in an African context are not viewed as equals. Rape of this kind is regarded as gender bund assault (Burns, 2005:69). The pain inflicted by this perpetrator is not condemned by the society. It is the responsibility of the community therefore to address the issue of gender violence. This violence is mainly against females and not males. This sets the tone of how females are viewed in a community. They are stripped of their values as human beings. They are subjected to abuse by any male who feels like satisfying his gratitude. It therefore means that HIV and gender issues are related. To address issues of gender based violence in the context of HIV and AIDS means to solve the problem of

masculinity as well. In doing so, such factors as social, cultural norms, economic and power relations between women and men have to be considered, (Phiri, 2008:8).

The act of violence is explained by Phiri (2003:14) in the story of Baby Tshepang. It is alleged that the man who raped the baby did so in the eyes of his girlfriend who watched helplessly. This shows how females live with violence or how they have experienced some form of violence at the hands of a male. The woman who watched the boyfriend rape an innocent baby was a victim of physical violence. This shows how sometimes mothers in society reluctantly allow their granddaughters to be raped by their fathers so that they can escape both sexual and physical violence if they do not co-operate. At the centre of violence against women is a demonstration of who is in power. This physical and sexual violence of women has increased their vulnerability to HIV and AIDS. The disturbing situation is that babies and girls are raped at home by their step fathers and male relatives, neighbours, family friends, church leaders and strangers Phiri, (Ibid, 14).The act of violence is therefore a community issue which has to be addresses.

The second factor of concern in the story of Betty; is the failure by Betty's uncle to hold fast the value of taboos. The Tonga community is one such community which believes in taboos. As already alluded to, Tonga people believe in taboos. Incest in Tonga culture is highly regarded as taboo. One who commits such a social offence is treated with shame. Breaking such cultural laws means that the community is inconsistent. Lack of consistence is seen where males abuse females and the community is silent. Taboos are supposed to be protective in the community. Cultural mechanisms which were meant to be used as protective values are no longer observed. This weakens the community and exposes females to HIV and AIDS. Incest was a forbidden act in the community. It was a taboo to even think or talk of sexual issue with a person of the same blood or a close relative. As far as taboos are concerned, not all of them are good. There are taboos which are also oppressive. A good example of such taboos is those relating to death and mourning. A female spouse is not allowed to eat during the period of mourning her husband. It is also taboo for women to be seen greeting other people during the mourning period Mugambi, (2012:175). These and other taboos which do not promote life are not the ones referred to in the study. The considered taboos are those which

prevented harm or threat of harm to human life. The issue of taboos is a community responsibility to see which one are to be hailed and which ones are to be done away with. An African caregiver or counsellor needs to conduct counselling in the context of these traditional values such as taboos so as to keep track of the social norms.

The third consideration in the incest story in the study is the nature of community itself. It is the study finding that the Tonga culture has almost everything in favour of males. A baby boy is addressed, as (ndende) – 'father', even at that tender age, it is sad that the baby boy is afforded the role of fully grown up males in the community. Conducting counselling of individuals, family or group in such a community whose culture leaves a lot to desire might not be that easy. Dealing with traditional African old women might be a challenge. To help them see their problems as emanating from some of the cultural values might not work. These females are deeply rooted in their beliefs. It costs a fortune for one to unlock the Tonga mentality on issues of culture. Mugambi (2006:216) stresses that a community offers a counselling service in the form of a fellowship. What Mugambi means by this, is that, a community, embraces its members. It is a community which cares for its members. It is a community which corrects errors created by individuals.

The community is therefore vested with traditional power and authority to offer counselling services to people suffering from HIV and AIDS. To do this without any bias, the community has to first deal with the issues of gender as factors promoting bias. In a way, there ought to be gender sensitivity, meaning to say that services should not be rendered based on gender. On a positive note, the community offers a necessary method of counselling. Once a community approves of something, that approval is binding. In a way any person who once has been considered as a nonentity and social misfit can be re instated into the community, and once done, he or she becomes a forgiven member. Forgiveness of that nature is true forgiveness. Healing as it relates to a wounded person in the community is also true healing. This healing is also healing of the community. The community also undergoes healing when it forgives a person with problems.

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Healing by the community is also seen in the example of the daughter-in-law who accused the parents of her husband of witchcraft. In the study findings it was mentioned that a certain female accused her in-laws of being responsible for the illness of her husband and herself. The study findings are that this female was ever quarrelling with her husband accusing him that his parents were bewitching them. The female who tested HIV positive could not believe that her illness was caused by her HIV. Pastoral care in such a situation has some considerations to make.

There are factors to consider in order for counselling to take place. The first consideration is the problem of suspicion faced by the daughter-in-law. The second problem is the cultural belief in witchcraft. The third issue is the problem of shame experienced by parents of the woman's husband. Counselling in such a situation therefore ranges from individual to community. The modes of counselling also vary.

Both the professional counsellors and the traditional counsellors can bring a new development to the affected parties. The counselling of the couple which tested HIV positive in this case, needed a person-centred facilitation approach (Grobler, 2013:11). This kind of counselling approach focuses on the person. The argument is that the problem and the person are inseparable. The approach, therefore, does not concentrate on either the problem or the person as separate entities. This approach which is basically guided by Carl Rogers' 19 propositions Grobler, (2013: 4-6) deals with the personhood of the individual.

Counselling is a process, and this process is likened to a journey by Grobler. A pastor in this case is the appropriate facilitator of counselling. Through his training and the skills vested upon him, the pastor, or caregiver, identifies the main problem which in this case was denial. The couple went for testing and were found to be HIV positive. However, it was not that easy to accept their HIV status. It is not clear whether or not they understood what was meant by testing HIV positive. Their denial was when they saw their illness emanating from the antisocial force of evil, witchcraft. The second problem was when this antisocial spell was blamed on a member of the extended family, the mother-in-law of the woman in question.

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The question of self-denial mechanism is therefore the first immediate problem the counsellor has to grapple with. The denial mechanism behaviour is a reflection of emotions. Dealing with denial is also dealing with the emotions of a person. Roger's proposition 6 which deals with a person's emotions is one of the important propositions for a facilitator to remember when working with people in the community. It is Roger's view that all behaviour is accompanied by emotions. For him, any experiences of any event, is also an experience of emotion about that event (Grobler, Ibid, 277). These emotions vary according to events and moments. There are emotions of happiness, gladness, excitement, sadness, pleasure, discomfort and anger. Emotions also differ in intensity. The level and intensity of an emotion will determine a person's actions. In other words, the intensity of a person's emotions will determine how forcefully that person will behave.

In this study, the female in question's behaviour of denial and accusation, is a sign of emotions of anger or bitterness. The trend in this example is from denial to the emotions of anger. Dealing with anger also calls for sagely wisdom and for prophetic discernment Osmer, (2008:79, 129). For a caregiver to help there is a need for the gift of listening so as to wisely discern the truth of the matter. Emotions of anger have negative effects on the person. A wise counsellor would not act on the emotion of anger. Emotions at times can lead to disillusion. Wisdom to listen and judge the circumstance is the pastoral property of a counsellor. There is also the usage of relevant theories in trying to interpret human behaviour.

5.5.5.2 Importance of theories in cases of counselling

Human beings are social beings whose behaviour and character can only be understood in the context of sociology, as a discipline. There are two common categories of theories pertaining to human behaviour. These are Macro-sociological or structural theories and the micro-sociological or phenomenological, or action approaches. The Macro-Sociological theories attempt to construct theories which explain the whole human action and social institutions throughout history. They place the emphasis on the wider constraints on the individual's actions (Moore, 1996:22). These theories make

assumptions that man is a product of society and therefore that any explanation of human behaviour must start by analysing the structure of the society and through that arrive at the understanding of an individual's actions. On the other hand, the Micro-Sociological theories try to uncover the assumptions underlying the routine, taken-for-granted actions of everyday life (Moore, Ibid, 23).These theories have no intentions to explain the whole of human action; rather they set out to produce explanations of small-scale interactions, building up a catalogue of rules that govern face-to-face interaction.

The place and importance of these theories in the study is to deal with man as a sociological being whose actions derive from the society in which he lives. These theories also help any anthropological study to make sense. They help to understand some certain human behaviour and action in the community whether of individuals, group, family or community. In this study some few theories are employed to describe and interpret the individuals' behaviour and actions in the context of HIV and AIDS. They are also considered to aid the interested party to counsel with the HIV positive individuals and families. To interpret and explain the emotions of anger, Durkheim's mechanism are used. This explains the behaviour of the couple who are always raging because of emotions.

However, mismanagement of theories in a study may derail the flow of meaning. Be that as it may, important in theories are their methods and or their use for explanation. Durkheim's suicide theory is therefore used in the context of the study. Altruistic suicide, which occurs when an individual sees his or her own life as of little importance compared to that of everybody in the rest of society is trying to explain the experience of this couple who are HIV positive. The reason why this female is angry with her husband, could be due to her wrong assumptions that she is no longer wanted by the society. Although the purported usage here is to show that sometimes things happen because of wrong assumptions, the current incident has a significant potential to result in life termination (Moore, Ibid, 574).

On the other hand Clark (142) explains the theory of defence which is a result of denial. Clark says, "One such behaviour involves violent antipathy toward something or

someone which obscures by its very violence the real source of the difficulty." This theory helps to explain the behaviour of this female in the study. A clear discernment would reveal that she did not accept her HIV status. Her denial resulted in emotions of anger. She was now transferring her problem to other people. It is not necessary that she could have ignorance of her status, but that she wanted to vent her anger. It could also mean that she did not get counselling help in time. This situation is only one such incident in the study. The study findings show a lot more possible episodes and situations in the community under study. The end result of witchcraft accusation brought the sense of guilt and shame to the accused family. Because of the community's belief in antisocial activities, the accused family's position in the society hung in a balance. There was no confidence that the community still considered them as before. The issue of witchcraft in the Binga community is fluid and can easily spread in the community causing harm to the accused. The relevant pastoral oversight in this case, is pastoral care and or ministry to the community and not in individual.

5.5.6 The Church as a Mode of Community Counselling in the Context of HIV and AIDS among Tonga People

There are a number of schools of thought about the concept of, "community." More often than not, the notion of "community" is commonly associated with geographical location. Community in this way, is therefore, perceived as a noun (Grobler, Ibid, 234-235).To explain this, Grobler used the example of professionals working for the state department, NGO, (non-governmental organisation) or NPOs (non-profit organisations). He says that these organisations render services in certain geographical areas to certain groups of people, for example, foster parents, refugees, abused females and children, the elderly, people with disabilities, orphans and vulnerable children, the youth and males. The people who work in the community, see it as a noun, a fixed geographical area (Ibid. 234). This is one school of thought about the concept of community. However, there is yet another which derives its definition of the notion of community from the post-modern theory. The premises of this theory are based on the notion that realities are constructed, and perceptions and experiences differ and change, and will change continually. In this case, the word "community" is therefore not a noun but a verb – a doing word (Ibid, 235).

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This view of community is enhanced by borrowing from Burkitt (2001:235). Burkitt describes community as follows:

> "Approaching 'community' as a verb rather than a noun reflects the notion that 'community' is not an object, rather it is a perception, experiences with on-going processes. It becomes a 'processional creation' rather than a fixed description. From this perspective, 'community' would not be a given – it would never be interpreted as fixed or stable – rather it would be considered as constantly shifting and changing in process Burkitt, (2001:235)."

Burkitt's concept of 'community' is what many people subscribe to. This is the popular acclamation in post-modern theory. Reality of community is socially constructed according to the needs of the people. A group of worshippers, young people playing football, a group of disgruntled females are all examples of community. The background of "community" is used in the study to understand the pastoral domain of the church as a role model of counselling. By these stakeholders in community counselling should not see the community as a noun but as a verb. In the study, an example of "community" may refer to individuals who are HIV positive, the infected or affected groups, family or a society. What this means is that when rendering counselling to such a needy community a person centred facilitator has to define well his area of operation. Though it is a geographical setup, community refers to specific experiences and concepts. In this study, this community is also defined in the context of its cultural values which make it different from other communities. This is the community in which the church as a shepherd is expected to exercise its pastoral oversight.

It is where the pastor and other church workers are expected to display their theological skills which are their resources for pastoral action.

The concept of church in this regard, is viewed in the motif of a shepherd. This metaphor of a shepherd is derived from the Lord God the creator Brister, (1977:83). What this implies is that the church is expected to be in the world amongst the people, the community just as the Lord came to dwell amongst the people and served the categorised communities such as the poor, the sick (HIV and AIDS in this age), the oppressed to mention but a few. Pastoral care of the HIV AIDS patients or affected individuals, families or society in Pashu has a motif of shepherding. It is the responsibility of the

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pastors working among the Tonga people to play the role of a shepherd. A pastor plays the role of a good shepherd who does not crave for material incentives of service as reciprocity.

It is common nowadays that some young pastors and lay church workers "abuse" communities in which they are assigned duty by claiming material as a means of showing appreciation for what they are doing. This kind of shepherd is a hired one in which a bargain is predetermined. Such professionalism is a compromised profession and usually loses its meaning. The expected shepherd is one who has a task to accomplish. The modern concept of church is an institution or "community" as Burkitt (2011:235) puts it which is service driven or oriented. It is always read to serve. To address the case in the study where some individuals or families suffer isolation because of accusations, the church comes in to mitigate and shepherd the flock. A good method of doing that is by way of 'Koinonia', a Greek word which means fellowship. In most parts of Africa, the concept of 'Koinonia' reflects a kind of 'fellowship,' unless otherwise stated, this fellowship is a phenomenon of unity among people of common interests. There is a sense of belonging for every partaker in this fellowship. The church in the Pashu community is, therefore, expected to assume such kind of relation with the people. Pastoral care of this magnitude will mitigate the issue of culture and HIV and AIDS among the Tonga women in Pashu community.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the focus was mainly on the study findings as they were enumerated in chapter four (4). The nature of events, experiences and concerns then determined the kind of pastoral care method sufficient for the study.

Most of the study findings explained in this chapter pointed to the real episodes and situations as they are experienced by the Tonga females in Pashu community. Solution which might not be an event, but process will come in the next chapter as a recommendation.

Chapter 6

Findings and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine as much as possible the findings of the study. These findings are the salient themes which were extracted from each chapter. In other words, abstracts were extracted from chapters one to five so as to identify thematic areas which constitute the summary of the study. These findings were then used in order to determine the recommendations of the study.

6.2 Aims and findings of Chapter 1

The aim of this chapter was to provide an outline of the study. The salient features here are the title and the background which justified the study. The title of the study is *"HIV and AIDS in rural Tonga culture"*. This title was well thought of, and contains a reaction to a community which is so insensitive of the plight of females in this era of HIV and AIDS. The study which is purely rural and take centre stage in the community of Chief Pashu in Binga, Zimbabwe, features an ethnic group of predominantly Tonga people. The culture of these Tonga people, as seen previously, is central and focuses of the study. It is the study's findings that this culture has been responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga people. Although HIV and AIDS has known no boundary, sex and or age, the study only focused on the Tonga females of ages ranging from 18 years and above. While many people who have written on HIV and AIDS, have laid much emphasis on the origins, the effects or impact and medical issues of the disease, this study took a different dimension altogether. The emphasis was not on the origins of the disease. It was neither on what other writers have emphasized as, 'impact' of HIV and AIDS- nor was it on the Western medicine as is common nowadays. One would then wonder what the study sought to unveil. The study was not even confined to the prevalence of the disease. The prevalence of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe is about 16%. Zimbabwean population is around 13 million. Of this 13 million, about 3 or 4% are the

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Tonga people. This ethnic group is one of the smallest groups of people in Zimbabwe. This means that proportionally the cases of HIV and AIDS have the smallest percentage among these people when compared with the whole country of Zimbabwe.

The purpose of this analysis is to show and emphasize a point. The point is that the study focuses interest on the cultural aspect as the main cause of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga female. Although, to some less extent, the issue of moral behaviour factors in, the study goes beyond behaviour issues. Trying to address the concept of immorality as the focal issue would be to miss the point, because an African is a cultural being. Culture is therefore central and influential in human behaviour (Wangulu, 2013:14). A United Nations special envoy on HIV and AIDS in Africa emphasized the importance of cultural beliefs. She is of the opinion that culture is very important to human beings, especially in Africa. "To address the issue of HIV and AIDS, local culture should be valued", she said. The issue of HIV and AIDS in the context of Tonga culture was then identified as the study gap. Culture and HIV and AIDS have therefore become the key terms in the study. The aim of the study is therefore to assess the validity of the claim that HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females is mainly caused by some of cultural elements which are believed to be oppressive. Culture has therefore become the entry point of the study from which HIV and AIDS is addressed.

As a background, an incestuous story was told in this chapter which explained the culture of silence among Tonga females. The story showed the structure of the Tonga society that it is a patriarchal type of society and which depicts the dominancy of masculinity. When John (not real name) raped Betty, (not the real name), the story showed how the society had dishonoured its taboos. John and Betty were cousins and in Tonga culture a relationship like that is a taboo and incestuous for these two to have sexual intercourse. The gravity of the matter is that the whole act brings shame to the whole family beginning with the female who was raped, the family of that female and the community at large. It was also found that Betty was later tested and was found to be HIV positive. This means that the woman experienced a twofold kind of suffering. She suffered public embarrassment and humiliation when she was raped by a relative, a person she could not imagine doing such a thing in her life time. She also suffered from this terminal disease

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AIDS (which was a double tragedy). The story in the introduction shows the community's attitude towards females. The study is, therefore, grappling with the issue of attitude. The Tonga community, therefore, showed a negative attitude towards its females. Some of the male attitudes towards females are a cause for concern in the Pashu community. The study findings are that some cultural practices such as polygamy, spouse inheritance (marriage to the deceased's wife or husband) and early marriage, among others have immensely contributed to the spread of HIV and AIDS among the Tonga females of the Pashu community in Binga.

The above problem raised some pertinent pastoral questions for the study. The raised questions pertain to the relationship between the ministers of religion working or serving in that community. The question is, 'How can a minister of religion help the infected and the affected people respond to issues of HIV and AIDS?'' The other question is, 'How can a minister ministering within Tonga culture deal with cultural issues?''

It is the study findings that these questions only emphasize that the problem revolves around negative cultural practices. These questions were important in the formulation of objectives of the study. The above points are explained in Chapter One especially the section on objectives. The validity of the study derives from the objectives mentioned earlier in the study. The study is therefore worth undertaking because of its aim. It is the aim of the study to address the cultural issues which have threatened the lives of females in the Chief Pashu community. In the subsequent chapters, the study findings were, based on what was assumed in chapter one (1) what was proved to be the problem prevailing on the ground. The major problems were that some of cultural practices such as polygamy and beliefs such as witchcraft influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS among the females in this community. To deal with these problems means dealing with the problems of culture and religious belief such as witchcraft and ancestors.

Chapter one therefore dealt with the assumption of these problems and the following chapters examined them as real issues and considered ways and means of solving them. Chapter one only introduced the challenges while the following chapters substantiated them. The findings were then analysed to assess the validity of the claim or assumption.

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6.3 Aims and findings of Chapter 2 in the study

Basically the aim of the study in Chapter two was to examine the three possible methodologies of study and then consider one which is sufficiently relevant to the study. The three available approaches were 'quantitative' approach, 'qualitative' approach and 'mixed' approach. Quantitative approach or methods emerged from the philosophical belief that the world runs according to the natural laws, and that the role of the scientist is to uncover or discover these pre-existing laws. Thus, truth is assumed to be absolute and independent of human beings that search for it. In comparison, qualitative methods emerged out of the more philosophical beliefs that truth is relative and that knowledge is constructed by human beings. In other words, the understanding of the world is a product of human personal assumptions, bias and prejudices (Bless, 2013:15). On the other hand, the "mixed-method" approach is a third possible method in any study. This method suggests that, sometimes circumstances or the problem under investigation demand that both approaches be used in the study in order to confirm or elaborate each other.

The study findings were that, the most appropriate approach to the designed study was the qualitative method. The merits of this approach owe to the fact that it stresses that truth is socially constructed. The study is about factors which influence the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga women, and the prevalence of the pandemic per se. The study is not necessarily about the number of cases of HIV and AIDS in the Pashu community, but is about the causes of this prevalence and what might be done to solve this problem. To do this, it is also pertinent to explore and understand the culture and worldview of the community understudy. The truth and reality in this case are socially constructed. Truth is dependent upon the participants. In view of this, the relevant approach to this study is therefore 'qualitative''. The Qualitative method means that reality is not fixed nor is it one and predetermined but that it is constructed. The study therefore used a qualitative approach to explore and explode the truth about the Tonga females who were assumed to be more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS than their male counter parts.

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However, as a method of data gathering, questionnaires were used in this study. Questionnaires are a form of a structural means of information gathering which can be numerical. However, this is far from suggesting that the study is quantitative (Bless, Ibid 16). This means that the methods used to gather information of the assumed problem about the Tonga females were interviews and questionnaires. Before the study was carried out, a number of possible of data gathering were considered. A good example of such methods was ethnography which means, 'the study of a group of people' (Thomas, 2011:38), phenomenology, which is 'a philosophical movement' attributed to a German philosopher Edmund Hussel (Cone 2000:15). Of the mentioned variety of methods, phenomenology was used alongside open-ended interviews to let the phenomena speak.

6.3.1 Hermeneutic

The appropriate paradigm of the study is hermeneutics. Hermeneutics is mainly a specific qualitative research philosophy which also represents a specific perspective on data analysis. This approach aims at deciphering the hidden meaning in the apparent meaning and therefore in analysing the data one will be searching for unfolding levels of meaning implied in the literal meaning of the text (Maree, 2013:101). The aim and purpose of hermeneutics in this study is to give interpretation of the truth as it is socially constructed. It is an epistemological language applied in the construction and understanding of the truth. The study was also mindful of some ethical considerations, that is confidentiality, privacy and pseudonyms. These ethical considerations were analysed in the following section

6.3.2 Ethical Considerations as used in the study

From the time, study ideas are muted or developed in someone's mind to the time the study is completed, ethical issues are prevalent. A study in the social sciences is often concerned with collecting data from people. Almost inevitably this raises questions about the way in which people that provide data should be treated by the one conducting a study. Taking this into account, some terminology issues such as subjects', participants or respondents were considered. Oliver (2011:4-5) shows how some of these terms, such as subjects, bear negative connotations on the population of the study. The study was

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therefore courteous in the usage of these terms which refer to the information providers. Terms such as 'participants and respondents' were frequently used instead of 'subjects' as the term 'subjects' has a negative implication. It suggests that the information provider is not important. His or her purpose is to provide information only. Contrary to the term "subject", the term "participant" suggests partnerships in the project. The one seeking information and the one providing it own the project equally. There is mutual benefit between the one conducting the study and the participant. There is also mutual participation. This is what Oliver (2011:11) calls "intrinsic good" and "instrumentally good". These are all ethical principles and protocols of a study.

The study is mainly on the Tonga females and their experience of life in the context of HIV and AIDS. The aim of the study was, therefore, to hear the voice of females among the Tonga people in this era of HIV and AIDS. However a few males were interviewed and this was due to certain circumstances. Otherwise the bulk of the study remained focused on females as the participants. Since the study focused on adult people, the principle of informed consent only applied to a few instances such as the women organizations in the Methodist Church In Zimbabwe, commonly known as (Umanyano lwabomama) or 'women's fellowship'. Permission was sought from the head of the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe to interview some of these Methodist women (See appendix II for letter). Permission to carry interviews was sought by letter writing. After introductions, and explanation of the purpose of the whole study, individuals consented and promised to provide the relevant information. The study findings were that some participants were victims of circumstances. This meant that there were respondents who were HIV positive and those who were affected. This led to the coining of a methodology of Pastoral care in which two models were selected.

6.3.3 Pastoral Care Methodology as used in the study

It was also the aim of the study to provide a methodology of pastoral care. The methodology was necessitated by study findings which involved the AIDS affected and infected people. The study revealed that some people were infected while others were affected either by caring for the AIDS patients or the orphans whose parents had died of the disease. These people suffered from different causes and needed different therapy.

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The study considered two models of care for these afflicted Tonga females. Taylor (1994)'s method of caring was considered alongside Pollard (1998) who provided a method of "positive" deconstruction. This methodology was discussed at length in chapter five where pastoral issues were addressed. In this chapter, it is sufficient to just mention the method and methodology. Study findings such as cultural practices and beliefs were addresses in chapter three.

6.4 The aim and findings of chapter 3 in the study

This chapter examined the study findings which constituted the main problem of the study. A good example of such factors is cultural practices which posed danger to the lives of the Tonga females of the Pashu community. To help understand the human behaviour, certain theories were considered. These theories were used throughout the study as a means of explaining episodes and situations as well as behaviour of individuals, groups or the community at large. A good example of these theories is Grounded theory (Grix, 2011:113) which calls for the interpretation of data in its cultural and social context, the conservative rape theory which says that rape takes place when women are sexually violated by men other than their husbands (Purdy 2004), and evolution theory which argues that there is no one responsible for rape (Strikwerda, 1994:140).

The theory of "evolution" was first coined by Charles Darwin. The theory explains any process of progressive change. The main purpose of theories in the study was to explain certain behaviours of human beings. They were also used to explain certain episodes and situations. These theories were then applied to explain certain cultural practices and beliefs such as witchcraft and any other antisocial activities as they influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS.

6.4.1 Negative cultural practices which have influenced the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga females

Culture in itself is good and mainly a means by which different groups of people are identified. However, it is the study findings that there are some cultural practices among Tonga people which have posed danger to the lives of people instead of portraying good

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identity and character such as good smiles, hospitality and compassion (Tremmel, 1997:10). It was the study findings that cultural practices such as polygamy, early marriage, marriage of deceased's spouse and women's silence have together made the lives of Tonga women very difficult in this age of HIV and AIDS. Apart from these practices beliefs such as witchcraft were also found to have contributed to the spread of HIV and AIDS among Tonga people. A person suffering from HIV and AIDS would always be suspected of being bewitched. Apart from suffering from the AIDS pandemic, individuals, families or community are suspected of this witchcraft. There is always a paradigm shift. People who believe in witchcraft have always focused on spiritual causes of the sickness instead of scientific ones. This has sometimes divided families and communities.

It was also discovered during the study that Tonga literature was hard to come by. This suggests that not much literature on Tonga people is in circulation. The pieces of information about Tonga people utilised during the study were from anthropologists who wrote long ago during missionary work in Zimbabwe. The information gathered was not sufficient for the current situation. The rest of the information came from other sources. In this case, it meant contextualizing these different perspectives so as to cover the gap of literature. In essence, this made the study very difficult to complete. This is an area which suggests future consideration. Lack of indigenous documented information has a challenge of bias and compromise to the findings. The problem of lack of Tonga Literature stems from a poor education system in the area. The colonial and current governments did not invest much in human resources in Binga District. Factors for this are that there was nothing to attract the settlers or the current government. Tonga people were the least fortunate in terms of education. Those who received better education did so through much struggle. It was like a liberation struggle for independence.

In this case, it was a liberation struggle for education. Girls and boys left their homes to go to far places where they lodged with other people who were not even relatives. This was their way of trying to acquire education. For those who remained at their homes walked some great distances to few schools that were available. In most cases, most schools only ended with primary. There were no secondary schools in the whole District

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of Binga. This challenge is evidenced by lack of indigenous literature. This is why the study depended on wide perspectives which were then contextualized in the Tonga situation. Most of the study participants come from this era of a poor education system in Binga. These are the people who are deeply rooted in their culture. These are the people who are victims of oppression and abuse.

In view of the above, the study findings were that negative consequences of HIV and AIDS were predominantly among those who cling to their culture. These are the old females who strongly believe in culture. In this culture, a man is always right and cannot be questioned. Even where it is obvious that he is wrong, a Tonga female will not challenge her husband. This is what the study grappled with. The study advocates a community which is gender sensitive, a community which is accommodative to both females and males equally. Cases of HIV and AIDS and their consequences were further addressed in chapter four.

6.5 The aim and findings of chapter 4 in the study

The aim of this chapter was to examine the study findings which were a result of conducted interviews. The data obtained through interviews was also analysed. The chapter assessed the findings so as to crystallise the assumption of the study. To explore the Tonga worldview for truth finding, interviews were used. The common forms of interview used in this study were open-ended interviews. The structured forms of interviews were in form of questionnaires. These were administered to the people of Pashu. They were also sent to an English speaking community in Benon in South Africa for comparison.

6.5.1. Study findings

The study findings were that HIV prevalence in Binga was significantly lower than other parts of Zimbabwe. The reason for this could be due to the population size. It could also be due to the moral behaviour of the people of Binga. However, this was not the focus of the study. The aim of the study was to validate the assumption that Tonga females were more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. It was further assumed that this vulnerability is the product of some negative cultural practices and beliefs. It was the study findings that

females have a higher HIV prevalence than their male counter parts. It was also revealed by the findings that HIV and AIDS among Tonga females is caused by factors such as incest, spousal rape and marrying someone whose spouse would have died of AIDS.

Factors influencing the spread of this AIDS pandemic include the Tonga culture of silence. A Tonga female keeps quiet even when it hurts most. When she tries to share her experience with family members she is advised to endure and not to enjoy. This means that she dies in silence. Secondly beliefs in witchcraft and ancestors (Bourdillion, 1997:123) have also influenced the spread of AIDS among Tonga females. Those that fall sick are believed to be bewitched. At times sickness is believed to be caused by angry ancestors (Mugambi, 1976: 95-96).

6.6 Cases of HIV and AIDS in Pashu community

 A few people who testified that they were HIV positive are believed to have got the disease through some of the above mentioned ways. A few respondents revealed that they were infected by their husbands. The other respondents did not know how they got the disease, since they could not have their husbands tested. The rest of the participants only said that they were affected and not infected. They had close kin who were infected. The state of affairs is that these individuals and families suffered negative consequences from the disease. Some of them sustained psychological injury while others suffered from physical injury. At the end of the day, this suffering called for therapy and or psychotherapy.

6.7 The aim and findings of chapter 5 in the study

This chapter aimed at examining the case for pastoral care. Following the study findings in chapter four which revealed possible cases of HIV and AIDS, the chapter then aimed at providing relevant pastoral care methodology. Since the nature of the problems found in chapter four were found to be pastoral, a pastoral care model suitable in this case was none other than the one advocated by Harold Taylor (1994). Taylor's methodology of pastoral care was considered for its capacity to care for individuals, groups, families and even community. Of importance in Taylor's method is his "shepherd motif". The motif derives from a Hebrew culture where the relationship between sheep and their shepherd

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was important. Israel's economy was basically measured in terms of animals that are sheep, (Taylor 1994:7). Taylor's approach to pastoral counselling was hailed. His approach was in four forms. This suggests that pastoral cases were experienced either as individuals, groups, families or as a community. The shepherd was then seen in the light of these categories, meaning to say that individuals as well as families or even the community needed a shepherd. The shepherd metaphor refers to either ministers of religion or lay church workers responsible for the spirituality of the congregants or community within which they serve.

Taylor's method of counselling was found to be relevant for the study because of its cognisance of a rural setup. The study is predominantly rural. Any relevant method of counselling which does not consider the rural situation, fails right away. Taylor in this case provides a traditional approach to counselling (Taylor, Ibid 80). This method is at times called cultural counselling. It is called cultural because it only has meaning in the particular culture and customs of the people. The other reason why Taylor's method was selected is its emphasis on culture as a context of the study. Taylor emphasizes that any study should be done so in the context of the culture of the people. The undertaken study is about a culture of a particular ethnic group. Failure to emphasize cultural context would be to render a disservice to the whole investigation.

On the other hand, the study was also about a particular worldview which has its truths and errors. Using the method of social construction, the study revealed some truths and errors about the Tonga people in this age of HIV and AIDS. A good example is the attitude of male people who believed that females were not of equal standing with them in everyday life. To correct this attitude, a second model was considered. This model is the one advocated by Nick Pollard (1998). Pollard offers a pastoral method called "positive deconstruction" (Pollard 1998: 47-58). This method is a process in which four important stages are emphasized. These stages are as follows:

1. Identifying the worldview: At this stage, the study seeks to discover, the truth as it is seen by the people under study. The second stage is analysing this worldview to see whether or not there are some irregularities.

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2. Then the following stage is, "affirming" the worldview. Here one uses his or her skills or sage wisdom and priestly skills to prophetically discern the truth (Osmer, 2008: 31, 79, 129). In everything what seems to be the truth, there are sometimes errors. The fourth stage therefore is discovering the error (Pollard, 1998:56). Pollard's method of positive deconstruction was therefore relevant for correcting some of the Tonga views about life as it refers to females. Some of these oppressive cultural practices were reviewed and corrected through Pollard's method of "positive" deconstruction. Attitudes towards females who are HIV positive can be corrected through this method.

A combination of methods could provide a better future for the affected Tonga females. Taylor's method was therefore important in helping the receivers of pastoral counselling to understand their situation. Those providing pastoral care would use Taylor's method to help their clients know and understand themselves. On the other hand, Pollard's method was meant to help some males with negative attitudes towards females to be positive. This means that people should change their attitudes, behaviour and perceptions about other people or episodes and situations in life.

3. A third consideration was the usage of Carl Rogers' 19 propositions. Grobler (2013), in his book "Person Centred Facilitation", Grobler provides a method of pastoral counselling which emphasizes Roger's 19 propositions. The purpose and importance of these propositions is to explain and help understand human behaviour at any given situation. People's behaviour changes due to various reasons. A healthy person will behave differently from when he is sick. "A hungry man is an angry man", means to say, the one and same man will behave differently when he is not hungry. Roger's 19 propositions help to explain why people behave the way they do (Grobler 2013: 4-6).

Grobler's method of counselling emphasises that counselling is a process and is also a journey involving the counsellor and the counselled. In the process, the person centred facilitator journeys with the person with the problem. The journey does not belong to the facilitator but the counselee. The facilitator only journeys with the sick, to help him or her discover him or herself. In short, the journey is an expedition for self-discovery. The client for counselling comes to know who he is; he also understands his situation and is helped to live with it as a normal situation in life.

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6.7.1 Summary and conclusion

To narrow the findings, the study discovered the following;

1. HIV and AIDS among Tonga females is caused by some of the cultural practices which are negative and oppressive. Polygamy, marrying of a deceased's man or woman's spouse and spousal rape among others; are a good example of what cause HIV and AIDs in the Pashu communal land.

2. Factors influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS in the Pashu community are women's culture of silence, belief in witchcraft and ancestors. Instead of people seeking medical attention, traditional medicine is sought and administered to the sick. Sometimes self -styled prophets are consulted for the mitigation of the problem.

3. The problem of HIV and AIDS will not become a thing of the past for as long the above challenges remain unaddressed.

6.8. Recommendations

Following the study findings, a recommendation that a further study be carried out particularly on those cultural practices which have remained insensitive to the danger they pose on human life,-that is those affecting females in particular. Since issues of culture affect a particular community at large, stakeholders such as traditional leaders such as headmen, kraal heads and chiefs; religious leaders such as ministers of religion and traditional healers should be the main consultants in the prospective study. The other recommendation is to research the concepts of witchcraft believed by the Tonga people and explore the issue of ancestors. Finally researchers can analyse the issue of neglect of educational facilities.

Appendix 1. The letter to the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

6 June 2014

The Presiding Bishop Rev. A. Ndhlumbi

Wesley House

17 Selous Avenue

Box CY 7 Causeway

Harare.

Zimbabwe

Ref. Permission to conduct a study in Hwange Tinde Circuit.

Dear Rev. Ndhlumbi

I hereby apply for permission to conduct a study in the above mentioned area of your jurisdiction. My study is about HIV and AIDS in Rural Tonga Culture and this is in line with the PhD programme I am pursuing at the University of Pretoria.

I wish to interview both members and non members of your church. In the case your members, I wish to interview the women's fellowship.

I appreciate your response in advance

Yours faithfully

Rev. Vincent Frank Ncube.

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Appendix 2. A response from the Presiding Bishop

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN ZIMBABWE
CONNEXIONAL OFFICE

Wesley House
17 Selous Avenue
Box Cy 71, Causeway
HARARE, Zimbabwe
Tel: +263-04-764498/764499
Fax: +263-04-764500
Cell: 0712 360660/0712 613786
Email: methodistconn@zol.co.zw
Website: www.methodistzim.org.zw

God's Word is Alive and Active (Hebrews 4: 12)

13 June 2014

Bishop V. F. Ncube
6238 Nketa9,
Bulawayo

Dear Bishop V. F. Ncube

Permission to carry some interviews

We refer to your letter dated 6 June 2014 on the subject above in response to the request to interview church members and ministers in Hwange the Tinde. Permission has been granted to you

Wishing you all the best as you carry out your research.

Yours in Christ

Revd A. Ndhlumbi
Presiding Bishop

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Appendix 3 Information for respondents.

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Vincent Frank Ncube (13155972)   DEGREE: PhD PRACTICAL
THEOLOGY
vfncube@gmail.com
Cell. +263-712763261

1. Title of study: "HIV/ AIDS in Rural Tonga culture"

2. Purpose of study: The study purports to critically examine the validity of the claim that the Tonga women's vulnerability to HIV and AIDS is related to some cultural traditions which point to some social injustice. It wishes to scrutinise, sensitize on these social ills and advocate correction and consider possible solutions to the assumed abusive cultural practices.

3. Procedures
As a respondent, you will be requested to furnish the researcher with personal experience in light of assumed social concerns. This information which should be in writing will be reflected in the final thesis. Other information such as questionnaires will be well kept by the researcher. A schedule for meeting with the supervisor will be provided and so is the time frame for the study.

4. Risks: If the experience is sensitive, the likelihood is that it will trigger emotions which may result in the participant failing to give credible information.

5. Benefits: The following could be part of the benefits:
-It is your individual contribution to the problem reflected upon
-You are in a clear picture of the critical situation obtaining in the society
-Your understanding of the problem may be instrumental in addressing it and suggesting a possible solution to it.

6. Participants rights: As a participant, you are allowed to withdraw from participation without negative consequences.

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7. Confidentiality: There is an assurance that all information will be treated with great confidentiality. To do this, no real names will be used but pseudo names and anonymity will be used.   If a subject withdraws from participation the collected data will be destroyed immediately. If participation is completed, the participant is allowed to have a look at the final document before it is handed in.

8. The subject's /parent's /guardian's access to the researcher: There will be room for parents or guardians in the case of minors to see the researcher for clarification of issues should there be any.

9. Declaration: I fully understand the information as set above and agree to participate in the research process.

Signed on…………………………………………………at Pretoria

………………………………   ……………………………………
PARTICIPANT   RESEARCHER

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Appendix A. Interview questionnaires

"HIV/AIDS in rural Tonga culture"

1. What was your reaction when you first learnt that you were HIV positive?

2. How do other people in the community treat you? Are you accepted without discrimination?

3. How did you contract this disease?

4. Do you think that people living with HIV and AIDS in your community have equal opportunities with those without?

5. What is your most recent traumatic experience you recall?

6. Which cultural traditions do you think perpetuate the spread of HIV and AIDS?

7. Do you think pastoral therapy is the answer to the problem of HIV and AIDS in your community?

8. If given the platform to address the community about HIV and AIDS what would you want to tell the people?

9. According to your opinion, do you think that women are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS than their male counterparts?

10. Is your cultural set up kind of society gender equitable?

11. In summary, how do you think this problem of HIV and AIDS can be dealt with once and for all among the Tonga people?

Appendix B.

Questionnaire for people in Pashu community.

"HIV/ AIDS in rural Tonga culture"

Date _____

Address _____

Village _____

Telephone /cell_____

Male ☐

Female ☐

Date of Birth _____

Tick only one

1. Level of education
   Primary ☐
   Secondary ☐
   College ☐
   University ☐

Tick only one

2. What is your marital status? ☐
   Married ☐
   Single ☐
   Separated ☐
   Widowed ☐

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Divorced ☐

3. Please indicate below your HIV and AIDS status

Negative ☐

Positive ☐

4. Do you have a relative who is HIV positive?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Tick only one

General health

5. Is the health of the victim

Excellent ☐

Very good ☐

Good ☐

Fair ☐

Poor ☐

Tick only one

6. Are females more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS more than their male counter parts?

Yes ☐

No ☐

7. AIDS among female is caused by

Forced marriage ☐

Rape ☐

Polygamy ☐

Marrying a deceased person`s spouse ☐

Early marriage ☐

Tick the appropriate

8. What age range is more vulnerable?

20-30 years ☐   31-40 years ☐   41-50 years ☐   51+ ☐

9. The impact of HIV and AIDS on social life

Some children have lost their parents   ☐

A significant number of females have died   ☐

Most males have lost their spouses ☐

Tick the appropriate

10. Sick females no longer work

True ☐   False ☐

11. Family economy is affected

True ☐   False ☐

Tick only one

12. Children`s education is affected

True ☐   False   ☐

Tick only one

13. Females rights and sexual consent are violated

True ☐   False ☐

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Tick only one

14. In your area is polygamy common?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Tick only one

15. In the past month, how many females died of HIV/AIDS related diseases?

Quite a number ☐   Few ☐

Tick only one

16. Which behaviour promotes HIV and AIDS?

Extra marital affairs ☐   unprotected sex ☐

Tick only one

17. Which cultural traditions are oppressive to females?

Polygamy   ☐

Early marriage   ☐

Forced marriage   ☐

Ritual marriage   ☐

Tick the appropriate

Possible solutions to afflicted souls

18. Is pastoral care giving the solution to AIDS VICTIMS?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Tick one

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19. To mitigate the impact of HIV and AIDS on Tonga culture.

Are educative programmes necessary?

Yes   ☐   No ☐

Tick one

20. The health of the mind is better than the health of the body?

Yes   ☐   No ☐

Tick one

21. HIV and AIDS can be reduced

Yes   ☐   No ☐

Tick one

22. What should be done to curb the spread of HIV and AIDS among females?

Remove some of the oppressive cultural traditions.

Yes ☐   No ☐

Tick one

23. Which ones to remove?

Forced marriage   ☐

Polygamy   ☐

Marrying a deceased person`s spouse   ☐

Early marriage   ☐

Appendix C

Questionnaire for the English people

Research title:

"HIV/ AIDS in rural Tonga culture"

Sex   male   female

Age ……..

Home language…………………………………………………….

Country…………………………………………………………..

Education: Primary   Secondary   University

Culture:

Is polygamy common in your culture?   Yes   No

When a man dies, his wife gets married to one of his brothers. Is it the same with your culture?

Are young girls in your culture forced even to marry men who are not of their choice?
Yes   No

According to your culture, are young girls free to marry men of their choice?

Yes   No

Are women in your culture given the same freedom of everything as their male counterparts?

Yes   No.

In an African culture, it is mostly a male who determines when to have sex and not the female. Is it the same thing in your culture?

Yes   No

Can females also freely tell their spouses when to have sex?

Yes   No

HIV and AIDS

What is the AIDS prevalence in your white community?

Below 5%   below 10%   above 10%

Do you think that women are more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS in your community than men?

Yes   No

Do you think that AIDS is spread by some cultural practices in your community?

Yes   No

If yes, which one(s)?
1…………………………….2……………………………………….3…………
……………………….if

If AIDS was spread through some of your cultural practices, would you want these practices challenged?

Yes   No

Please choose the most appropriate answer(s) by an x in front of the answer.

Thanks very much for your time.

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire for Africans other than Zimbabweans

"HIV/ AIDS in rural Tonga culture"

PERSONAL INFORMATION

SEX   MALE ☐   FEMALE ☐

AGE ☐   COUNTRY...

TRIBE...

EDUCATION PRIMARY ☐   SECONDARY ☐   UNIVERSITY ☐

HIV AND AIDS

1. What is the AIDS prevalence in your country?   ☐   %
2. Are females more vulnerable to HIV and AIDS than their male counter parts in your community?   Yes ☐   No ☐
3. Is someone in your family HIV positive?   ☐
4. If you were HIV positive, would you reveal your status?   Yes ☐   ☐ No
5. Are you HIV positive?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

CULTURE

1. Is polygamy common in your culture?   Yes ☐   No ☐
2. Is inheritance of the deceased's spouse common in your community?   Yes ☐   No ☐
3. Are women free to determine when and with whom to have sex in your culture? Yes ☐   No ☐
4. Do you think that some of the cultural practices are responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS in your community?   Yes ☐   No ☐
5. Do you wish these practices were revisited and challenged?   Yes ☐   No ☐
6. Which ones would you wish to challenge?

    Polygamy

    Inheriting the deceased's spouse

    Forced marriage

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Forcing young girls into marriage

Paying of a bride price which in other communities has enslaved women

Male dominancy in sex consent

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