

THE LIFE OF BEYERS NAUDÉ: A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

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in Psychology

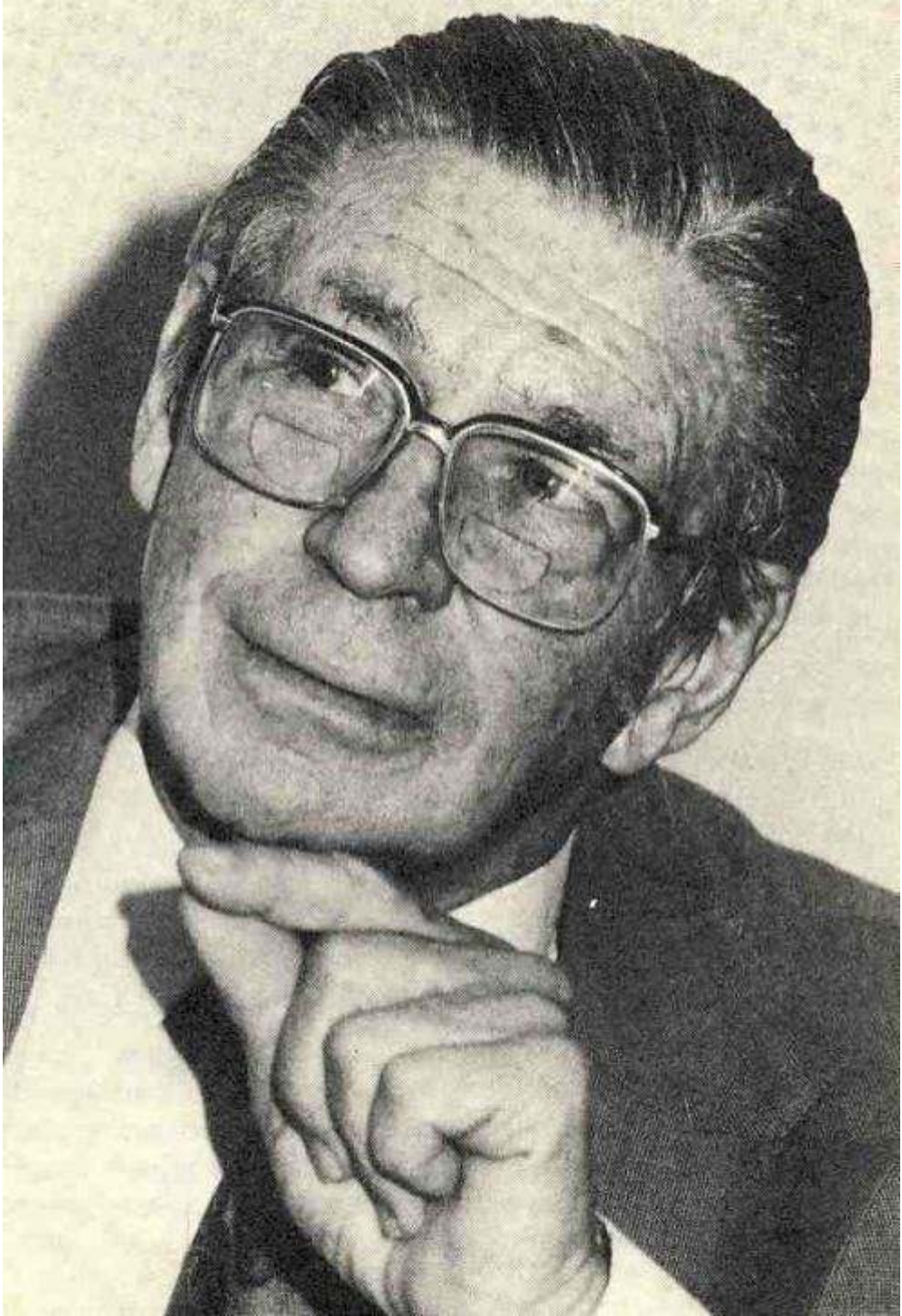
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PHOTOGRAPH OF DR C.F. BEYERS NAUDÉ



(Source: <http://tonymac04.hubpages.com/hub/The-true-South-African-Beyers-Naud>)

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- I dedicate this psychobiography in loving memory to my grandmother, Marie Burnell: Another example of an extraordinary ‘lived life’ and an inspirational influence in my life.

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Statement by language editor

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis hereby submitted for the degree Philosophiae Doctor in Psychology at the University of the Free State is my own¹ independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university/faculty. I further cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

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Abstract

In the South African context there have been individuals who have made remarkable contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle and towards the establishment of the democratic society we live in today. Their ‘finished lives’ warrant closer investigation to uncover what these persons may have to teach South African society (or societies at large) today. Dr Beyers Naudé (1915-2004) was such a figure. He was born of *Voortrekker* stock into the Afrikaner elite, but he vehemently opposed apartheid and became one of the heroes of the anti-apartheid struggle and made a significant contribution to contemporary South African society. Although much has been written on the life and work of Naudé, none of the literature adopts a specific psychological focus and no psychobiographical study of the life of Naudé exists. As such, Naudé was selected for this study by means of purposive sampling.

Naudé’s life history was uncovered in this psychobiography through the systematic and consistent collection and analysis of life history materials. Data were collected from both primary and secondary sources of life history materials. Psychobiographical research is qualitative research that involves the investigation of unique and ‘great’ lives as well as the investigation of the lives of contentious or controversial figures. This is achieved through the application of formal psychological theory to the life history of these individuals. Psychobiographical research may investigate the origin, development and nature of constructs such as psychological strengths, optimal wellness and coping. This is referred to as a eugraphic approach in psychobiography as opposed to the pathographic approach in psychobiography which focuses on psychopathology. This psychobiographical study may also be described as eugraphic in nature.

The aim of the study was to explore and describe Naudé’s holistic wellness and faith development. A framework consisting of a wellness model and a faith development theory was employed in order to ‘uncover’ Naudé’s wellness and faith development over his lifespan. The wellness model employed in this study was the Wheel of Wellness (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer and Sweeney, 1992) and the faith development theory employed was Fowler’s Faith Development Theory (Fowler, 1981). Alexander’s (1988) indicators of saliency and McAdams’ (1996) approach to investigating life stories were employed to identify salient data or themes that were investigated in this study. Furthermore, conceptual frameworks or matrices were also presented to organise data, integrate findings and guide the presentation and discussion of findings. The frameworks were derived from the historical periods in

Naudé's life, on the one hand, and the theoretical perspectives of the Wheel of Wellness model (Myers, Witmer & Sweeney, 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the Faith Development Theory (Fowler, 1981) respectively, on the other.

Findings in this study regarding Naudé's holistic wellness indicated that he was able to successfully negotiate the life tasks as outlined by the Wheel of Wellness model throughout his lifespan. These were spirituality, self-direction, work and leisure, friendship and love. Findings also indicated that Naudé progressed through all the stages of faith development proposed by the Faith Development Theory and reached a very mature level of faith development, namely, universalising faith. Furthermore, findings also suggest that both Naudé's holistic wellness and faith development were influenced by personal experiences, societal forces (life forces) and global events.

This study provides a positive demonstration of the value of the Wheel of Wellness Model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the Faith Development Theory (Fowler, 1981) to describe the holistic wellness, on the one hand, and faith development, on the other, over an individual life. Additionally, recommendations are made for future research employing the psychobiographical research design and methodology to uncover the lives of 'great' and enigmatic or contentious and controversial personalities.

KEYWORDS: Beyers Naudé; eugraphic approach; faith development; Faith Development Theory; holistic wellness; Psychobiography; Wheel of Wellness Model.

Chapter 1

Introduction and Problem Statement

1.1 Chapter Preview

In this introductory chapter, the researcher presents a general orientation to the study. The problem statement is explored and the aim of the research is stated. A documented reflection on the personal passage of the researcher is also presented. An overview of the chapters comprising the study concludes the chapter.

1.2 General Orientation to the Research Study

In this study, the researcher explored and described Beyers Naudé's (1915-2004) (hereafter referred to as Naudé) holistic wellness and faith development throughout his chronological lifespan. Both Naudé's wellness and faith development were predominantly conceptualised from the meta-theoretical paradigm of Positive Psychology. This paradigm represents a holistic conceptualisation of human beings and the investigation of strengths, optimal functioning and coping. Thus, Positive Psychology represents a eugraphic approach as opposed to the traditional pathographic approach which focuses on mental illness and psychopathology (Fredrickson, 2001; Peterson & Park, 2003; Seligman, 2000). The Wheel of Wellness model (WoW model) was employed to conceptualise Naudé's holistic wellness. This model was proposed by Sweeney and Witmer (1991), Witmer and Sweeney (1992) and Myers et al. (2000). The Faith Development Theory (FDT) by Fowler (1981) was employed to conceptualise the faith development over the lifespan of Naudé. A detailed discussion of both the WoW model and the FDT is provided in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively.

The research is classified as psychobiographical case study design and methodology. It involved the systematic employment of formal psychological theory (the WoW model and FDT in this case) to discern and transform Naudé's life history into a "coherent and illuminating" (McAdams, 1988, p. 2) psychological and academic life story. Life history materials were collected and the data analysed. The life history material consisted of published materials on and by Naudé, transcribed interviews and a transcribed court case, unpublished academic theses and dissertations², information gathered from Naudé's son,

² In the South African academic context the term dissertation refers to master's degree level research studies and the term thesis refers to doctoral degree level research studies. However, for the sake of continuity and APA-compliance, the researcher employed the APA-system where dissertation denotes doctoral-level research studies and thesis denotes master's-level research studies throughout this document.

Johann, as well as interviews conducted by the researcher with individuals who had known Naudé.

1.3 Problem Statement

Traditionally in the field of psychology, the focus of research and training has been on psychopathology in order to understand and treat mental disorders (Faller, 2001; Ryff & Singer, 1998). In the last two decades or so, however, many researchers have begun to support the investigation of psychological wellness as opposed to psychopathology (Myers et al., 2000; Strümpfer, 2006; Van Niekerk & Prins, 2001). This paradigm in psychology is referred to as Positive Psychology (Seligman, 2000; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Progress in this area has been slow and there has been a call for research to shift its focus to include adaptive and optimal human functioning (Faller, 2001; Lopez, Snyder & Rasmussen, 2003). Investigating aspects and dimensions related to adaptive and optimal human functioning in psychology is one of the focus areas of Positive Psychology (Fredrickson, 2001; Seligman, 2000; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). The WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and FDT (Fowler, 1981) both focus on aspects related to optimal human functioning and well-being. Both wellness or well-being (the construct explored by the WoW model) and faith (the construct explored by the FDT) are concepts that have been linked to the paradigm of Positive Psychology respectively (Eckstein, 2000; Peterson & Park, 2003; Seligman, 2000; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Seligman, Steen, Park & Peterson, 2005). The FDT employs a lifespan approach to faith development and the WoW model of wellness may be applied across the lifespan although it does not feature a developmental perspective *per se*. Furthermore, both the WoW and the FDT also provide a eugraphic and holistic approach in contrast to the traditional pathographic approach with which to view an individual life (Fowler, 1981; Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

According to Schultz (2001a, p.108) Runyan defined psychobiographical research as the “explicit use of formal psychological theory or research in the interpretation of individual lives”. Psychobiography is an invaluable method with which to investigate aspects related to individual development in a holistic manner (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999). Many researchers have recognised the value of studying individual lives in great detail. For instance, Elms (1994) argued that psychologists have much to gain from studying a single life at a time and Carlson (1988) added that psychobiography enables the researcher to trace human

development in ways not always possible with other longitudinal research. Aspects related to psychological development, personality and psychosocial or sociohistorical contexts and influences may be explored and highlighted in these studies of individual lives (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005a).

Psychobiographical research has become a popular qualitative research method over the last 25-30 years and researchers are less reluctant to admit that the focus of their work is the study of individual lives (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1988; Schultz, 2005a; Simonton, 1999). Despite growth in the field of psychobiographical research, the approach has also received much criticism, specifically related to the lack of generalisability (Anderson, 1981a, 1981b) and other methodological issues (Runyan, 1983, 1984). These issues include researcher bias, reductionism, issues of diversity, analysing an absent subject, elitism and easy genre, infinite amount of biographical data, and inflated expectations³. In spite of the criticism and neglect of this research method, there has been an increase in the employment of this research approach in South African academic settings (Fouché, Smit, Watson & Van Niekerk, 2007; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010) to understand the lives of individuals, who have made extraordinary (or controversial) contributions to society in some way.

The researcher of this study decided to follow the psychobiographical approach to explore the nature, origin and development of holistic wellness and faith development over Naudé's lifespan for the following reasons:

- The psychobiographical research method and design seemed significant for testing theories or aspects of the theories of human development (Alexander, 1988; Carlson, 1988; Runyan, 1988a).
- 'Finished lives' (i.e., the lives of deceased persons) enable psychologists to trace human development in ways not always possible through other longitudinal methods (Carlson, 1988).
- Psychobiography may provide a better understanding of an exemplary life that made an important contribution to contemporary South African society.

Naudé was born into the Afrikaner *elite* and was poised to achieve great status

³ These issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 6, section 6.2).

within that community. He became a minister of religion in the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK, translated as Dutch Reformed Church) and filled many leadership positions (Bam, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Through a process of theological self-study and personal experiences, he realised that the apartheid system, supported by both the NGK and Nationalist government of the time was not biblically justifiable and an inhuman and unjust system. Despite his misgivings, he remained silent until the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960 where 69 peaceful protestors were shot and killed by police (see section 3.2.4) (Naudé, 1995). Naudé realised that he could no longer remain silent and began speaking out against apartheid. He did so at great personal cost to him and his family and was branded a traitor by the majority of the Afrikaner⁴ community. He became an important figure in the anti-apartheid struggle and contemporary South African history (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé was chosen for this study by means of purposive sampling, specifically as an exemplary or ‘great’ figure for the following reasons:

- There seemed to be theoretical significance of Naudé’s life for holistic wellness and faith development, since Naudé also seemed to embody to some extent holistic wellness and a strong faith (Ryan, 1990) and his life appeared to have theoretical significance and applicability to both the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and FDT (Fowler, 1981).
- A pilot literature study on the life history of Naudé revealed that he was an extraordinary South African, characterised by many as having a remarkable and rich life. His life had a major impact on the history of South Africa, with specific reference to the anti-apartheid struggle. (Bam, 1995; Mandela, 1995a; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).
- The final reason for including Naudé in this study was that no other psychologically oriented biography or a study focussing on Naudé’s holistic wellness and/or faith development exists.

To conclude, the research problem of this study relates to three aspects. In the

⁴ Afrikaners are descendants from European immigrants who settled in the Cape Colony initially. The immigrants were mainly Dutch (circa 1652), but also French (circa 1688) and German (1730s and 1740s). A separate culture and language (*Afrikaans*) emerged (Giliomee, 2003).

first instance, a need exists for more research to be conducted in the eugraphic orientation as opposed to the traditional, pathogenic approach (Elms, 1994). Secondly, a need also exists for more psychobiographical research to be conducted in the institutionalised academic settings in South Africa (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). These studies should also focus on offering holistic presentations of subjects as opposed to only pathological classifications (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Runyan 1984). Thirdly, psychologists can learn a lot from studying the lives of great or exceptional figures (Simonton, 1999). As such, there is a need for more interdependent research between psychology and biography. An example of this is the value of studying Naudé's holistic wellness and faith development. Such a study would highlight neglected aspects (e.g., holistic wellness and faith development, specifically) in previous writings on Naudé as well as provide the opportunity to 'informally' confirm or refute applicable constructs or facets of the holistic wellness model (WoW model) and the faith development theory (FDT).

1.4 Aim of the Research

The primary aim of this psychobiographical study was to explore and describe the holistic wellness and faith development over Naudé's lifespan in terms of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and Fowler's (1981) FDT, respectively. The idiographic stance employed in this study allowed for both holistic wellness and faith development to be conceptualised developmentally as well as holistically. Thus, the aim was not to prove or disprove Naudé's holistic wellness or faith development. The aim was rather to explore and describe the nature, and development of holistic wellness and faith throughout Naudé's life. According to Edwards (1998), this aim is reflective of the exploratory-descriptive nature of the study which entails an accurate and detailed description of a single case, with the aim of providing an in-depth understanding of the person within his/her sociohistorical context.

The aim of the research was also not to generalise the findings to a larger population through statistical generalisation. The aim was rather to generalise the results to the WoW model and FDT employed in this study. This method of generalisation is known as analytical generalisation (Yin, 2009) and provides the opportunity to informally validate or refute aspects or facets of the theoretical propositions of both the WoW model and FDT by comparing the findings in the study to the expected outcomes of the model or theory (Cavaye, 1996; Yin, 2009). Thus, the descriptive-dialogic approach (Edwards, 1998) of this study

formed a dialogue between the exploratory-descriptive findings on the one hand and the conceptualisations and theoretical propositions (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004) of the WoW model and the FDT on the other.

The study also aimed at contributing to the field of psychobiographical research, specifically in the South African context. Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) reviewed the trends of psychobiographical research in South Africa from 2005 and concluded that there seemed to be increased interest and enthusiasm regarding psychobiographical research amongst research supervisors and postgraduate students at South African universities and definite growth in psychobiographical research. Naudé was a highly celebrated political figure, specifically with regard to the anti-apartheid struggle and this study will add to the existing body of South African psychobiographical research.

1.5 The Researcher's Personal Passage

The researcher's interest in understanding people and gaining insight into the motivating factors for their decisions and behaviour, prompted a career in psychology. Furthermore, as psychotherapist, the researcher has also been interested in how certain individuals are able to thrive and cope in unfavourable circumstances and manage "healthful life and growth" (Oaklander, 1978, p.1). Additionally, the researcher also has a keen interest in individuals who are able to exercise the power of their convictions and maintain a sense of personal integrity and make positive contributions to society, despite personal cost.

Once the researcher had been introduced to the field of qualitative, psychobiographical research, the notion of studying a single, extraordinary life with the aim of gaining an in-depth understanding of the individual appealed to the extent that she considered a doctoral study. It was not until the researcher began the process of a deeper investigation into the life of Naudé and the contribution that he had made to the anti-apartheid struggle, that the idea of embarking on a doctoral research study became a reality.

Naudé managed to endure particularly difficult circumstances once he made his opposition against apartheid known. The researcher's interest in people's ability to cope with difficulties and thrive despite unfavourable circumstances, prompted a study within the broader paradigm of Positive Psychology and the employment of the holistic wellness model by Witmer and Sweeney (1992) and Myers et al. (2000) in this study. The researcher also has always had a sense of spiritual questioning. Faith and spirituality was also such an integral

part of Naudé's life and an essential part of his psychological composition. Both these reasons sparked the inclusion of the FDT (Fowler, 1981) in this study.

Since the researcher was only a child during the apartheid era in South Africa, she had to investigate and study the sociohistorical and sociocultural context of apartheid South Africa in order to gain a better understanding of the context Naudé lived in. Exploring apartheid history was a sobering, emotional and demanding endeavour. It did, however, serve the purpose of highlighting the magnitude of the contribution made by all the individuals who opposed the apartheid system under harrowing circumstances. The power of their convictions seemed to steer them on a steadfast course and they also seemed to share a clear vision for a democratic society. Those of us living in the emerging, young democracy of South Africa may learn much from these 'giants' of the struggle when, at times, this transitional process in South Africa seems to face numerous obstacles and is fraught with many failings and disappointments.

1.6 Overview of the Study

The study consists of 11 chapters of which the first is an introductory chapter. In Chapter 2 qualitative and psychobiographical research is described, while Chapter 3 provides a historical overview of the life of Naudé. In Chapter 4 the holistic wellness model of Witmer and Sweeney (1992) and Myers et al., (2000), the WoW model, is presented, and Fowler's Faith Development Theory (1981) is outlined in Chapter 5. Chapters 6 and 7 consecutively highlight the methodological issues associated with psychobiographical research as well as the methodology employed in this research endeavour.

In Chapters 8 and 9, respectively the findings with regard to Naudé's holistic wellness and faith development over his lifespan are presented and discussed. In Chapter 10 the integration of the findings is presented along with a discussion regarding the similarities and differences between the WoW model and FDT employed in this study. Chapter 11 concludes the research study and provides a discussion regarding the limitations and value of the study. Additionally, recommendations for future research are presented with regard to the fields of psychobiography, holistic wellness and faith development. As mentioned previously, this study can be described as a qualitative, psychobiographical endeavour. As such, the concepts of qualitative and psychobiographical research are explored and discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 2

Qualitative Research and Psychobiography

2.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter, qualitative research is explored, and discussed and situated within the context of research in psychology. Case study research, as an example of qualitative research, is also discussed with specific focus on psychobiographical research. Psychobiographical research is defined and examined. A historical overview of the development of psychobiography is given and the value and contribution of psychobiographical research to the field of psychology is reviewed. Both the criticisms of psychobiography as well as guidelines for writing good psychobiographies are discussed. A review of psychobiographical research in the South African context concludes the chapter.

2.2 Qualitative Research

2.2.1 Definitions and descriptions of qualitative research

In the past, qualitative research had some difficulty establishing credibility and recognition in the face of the more traditional, positivist, quantitative research paradigm (Ponterotto, 2005; Runyan, 1982, 1984; Williams & Morrow, 2009). Academic institutions teaching psychology also favoured traditional, quantitative research methods and research results that were generalisable (Edwards, 1998; Rosenwald, 1988). Most of the research conducted in psychology was located in the positivist or post-positivist tradition and this created an imbalance in the research carried out in the field of psychology (Hale, Treharne & Kitas, 2007; Hermans, 1988; Ponterotto, 2010). Hermans stated that this imbalance should be addressed and "... there should be greater emphasis upon the organization of variables and processes within the person, that is, regularities within individual lives" (1988, p. 787). During the past decade however, qualitative research has gained increasing acceptance and popularity in psychological research (Barbour, 2001; Ponterotto, 2005; Williams & Morrow, 2009).

Qualitative and quantitative research can be distinguished on the levels of (a) what is studied in terms of the intellectual objects, as well as (b) how the topics are studied. Thus,

distinction exists on both ontological⁵ as well as epistemological⁶ levels, respectively (Ponterotto, 2005, 2010; Van Niekerk, 2007). In quantitative research an object is studied independent of the context, while qualitative research is conducted with the premise that researchers cannot conceive of an objective conceptualisation of the world, devoid of the subjective context of individual meaning and experience (Barbour, 2001; Ponterotto, 2005).

Epistemologically, quantitative research focuses on analysing variables, the quantification of observations, and the examination of correlations and causal relationships between variables (Ponterotto, 2005) and is, thus, located within the positivist or post-positivist research traditions (Ponterotto, 2010; Van Niekerk, 2007). Conversely, qualitative research aims at describing and interpreting experiences of research participants in specific contexts by employing a wide range of empirical procedures (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Schurink, 2003). Qualitative research can thus be placed within the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005b; Ponterotto, 2010; Schurink, 2003; Van Niekerk, 2007).

The word qualitative implies an emphasis on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or manipulated in terms of quantity, amount, frequency or intensity and the qualities of things. The qualitative approach focuses on smaller samples and on gaining an in-depth understanding (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a). Documents instead of individuals may also be the focus of qualitative research (Ponterotto, 2005, 2010). The quantitative method, on the other hand, aims at broader sample groups and a narrower, less in-depth understanding or explanations that may be generalised (Ponterotto, 2005).

Psychology is distinctively different from the natural sciences in that it requires interpretation as a method of inquiry. Therefore, traditional, positivist methods of research alone do not suffice and a hermeneutically informed interpretative research method is required in psychological inquiry (Martin & Sugarman, 2001). Life story investigators place a high premium on the hermeneutics (i.e., the subjective interpretation) of the life text (McAdams, Anyidoho, Brown, Huang, Kaplan & Machado, 2004; Wiersma, 1988). Hermeneutic inquiry acknowledges the cultural and social context of subjects. It also recognises that any insight or truths that may be uncovered are not objectively 'true' but are socially, historically, politically and morally constructed and embedded (Carlson & Hajikhani, 1992; Edwards, 1998;

⁵ Related to a particular theory about the nature of being or the kinds of things that has existence (Ontological, 2012).

⁶ Related to a theory about the nature and grounds of knowledge with specific reference to its limits and validity (Epistemological, 2012).

Wiersma, 1988). The hermeneutic tradition also conveys that the “storied construction of reality has less to do with facts and more to do with meaning” (Wiersma, 1988, p. 207).

Tavallaei and Abu Talib (2010) stated that it is difficult to provide a final, specific and universal definition of qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2005a) maintained that any definition of qualitative research must take the complex history of qualitative research into account. They defined qualitative research as follows:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, quantitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring into them. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a, p. 3)

Denzin and Lincoln (2005a) summarised the differences between qualitative and quantitative research. They stated that these research methods differed with regard to the uses of positivism and post-positivism and the acceptance of post-modern sensibilities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a). Both qualitative as well as quantitative research were influenced by the positivist and post-positivist traditions, but only quantitative research still continues to hold on to the positivist and post-positivist traditions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a). A new generation of qualitative researchers reject the positivist and post-positivist traditions employed by quantitative research. They believe that these outmoded, traditional approaches (Van Niekerk, 2007) are but one way of portraying narratives about the social world. Instead, these researchers employ research methods that depict reality, account for personal responsibility, include ethical caring for subjects, as well as dialogues with subjects (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a).

The two research approaches also differ with regard to the issue of capturing the individual’s point of view. While both quantitative as well as qualitative researchers believe they capture the individual’s perspective in their research, qualitative researchers maintain that their methods, such as interviews and observations, enable them to get closer to the individual’s perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a). Qualitative and quantitative research methods also differ with regard to securing rich descriptions. Qualitative researchers believe that rich descriptions of the social world are valuable in understanding the social context and individuals within the context (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991; Schurink, 2003). Geertz (1973, p. 6)

referred to this as “thick descriptions”. Quantitative researchers, on the other hand, deliberately avoid rich descriptions, since they believe these descriptions hamper the process of generalising results (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a). Another major difference between the two research methods according to Denzin and Lincoln (2005a), is examining the constraints of everyday life. Qualitative researchers observe the world in action and are, therefore, more likely to encounter the constraints of everyday social environments and everyday life. The position of qualitative researchers is one of an idiographic, case-based approach and the focus is on the specifics of the case (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a), while quantitative researchers, on the other hand, follow a more nomothetic approach and seek to generalise results from a large population of randomly selected cases (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a). The nomothetic approach aims to generalise results to the larger group (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005a; Runyan, 1983).

Gordon Allport made the distinction between nomothetic and idiographic approaches in 1942 where the nomothetic approach focuses on universal findings that may be generalised to individuals or groups in general (Hermans, 1988; Runyan, 1983; Simonton, 1999). The idiographic approach distinguishes between individual differences and emphasizes what is unique or distinctive in a subject (Hermans, 1988; Runyan, 1983; Simonton, 1999; Van Niekerk, 2007). Allport believed that personality psychology needed to apply both the nomothetic as well as the idiographic approaches in order to increase understanding of the particular as well as the general in persons (Runyan, 1983). In 1961 Allport suggested replacing the term idiographic with the term morphogenic which focuses on individuality within a holistic context and/or the individual characteristics unique to a person (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1983), but the term idiographic seemed to linger on (Runyan, 1983; 1988b).

The purposes of qualitative research include: (a) understanding the use and meaning of language, (b) developing theory, and (c) describing and interpreting participants’ points of view (Smith, Bekker & Cheater, 2011). Therefore, qualitative research is the appropriate research method when the researcher wants to obtain the personal perspective of an individual, of an event or of an experience (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Hale et al., 2007; Yin, 2009), or when the researcher is attempting to foster deep understanding of a phenomenon or attempting to gain insight into a phenomenon (Smith, et al., 2011; Tavallaei & Abu Talib, 2010). Qualitative research may also be employed when very little information is available on a topic, when the researcher has to make sense of a complex situation and when the researcher is faced with an absent theory base (Smith, et al., 2011; Tavallaei & Abu Talib, 2010).

Qualitative research covers a wide range of approaches and tends to focus on smaller sample groups and case studies, and on a deep rather than a broad understanding of the individual/subject of the case study (Edwards, 1998; Flick, 2006; King, Keohane & Verba, 1996; Stake, 2005). Some case study research relies on “...qualitative data presented in narrative form” (Runyan, 1983, p. 427). In the following section, this type of case study research is explored in greater detail.

2.2.2 Case study research as qualitative research

In 1918, Freud suggested that the understanding of, and insight into a single life might lead to better understanding of human psychological processes (Schultz, 2002). Despite this statement, however, positivistic or post-positivistic research continued to be favoured for a long time in the field of psychology (Edwards, 1998; Rosenwald, 1988). However, psychologists are less reluctant these days to admit that the focus of their work and research is to study individual lives (McAdams, 1988; Runyan, 1983; Schultz, 2005a). Case study research is a systematic tool (Yin, 1981; 2006) that focuses on a single unit (Gilgun, 1994; Runyan, 1982, 1984; Yin, 2009) for example an individual case of a rare, atypical individual who is extraordinary somehow (Sokolovsky, 1996; Yin, 2006; 2009) and may include a single case or multiple case designs (Brown, 2010; Tellis, 1997a; Yin, 1981, 2009). Brown (2010) maintained that, while case studies are concerned with issues such as distinctiveness, uniqueness and the complexity of a single case, case study research may also focus on the commonality and similarities between cases or it may recognise agreements and contradictions in cases.

Case study research includes, and is synonymous with, rich empirical description of an individual’s experience and perspective from a variety of sources (Edwards, 1998; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin 2006, 2009). These sources may include the following: interviews, archival sources, verbal reports or observations or physical artefacts (Brown, 2010; Runyan, 1982; Tellis 1997a, Yin, 2009). Case study research is a method of context bound, holistic in-depth investigation (Brown, 2010; Runyan, 1983; Tellis 1997b; Yin, 2006) where problems may be studied in depth, the stages in a process may be understood or a greater understanding of the situation and social context may be achieved (Gilgun, 1994). According to Runyan (1982, 1983), case study research is a way to organise and assimilate a large amount of idiographic information about an individual and his or her social context. Sokolovsky (1996) stated that “the knowledge about atypical, different people and lives deepens our

understanding of human nature, makes our predictions and generalizations more careful, our practice more accurate” (p.10). Therefore, the goals of case study research may include: (a) expanding scientific analysis by introducing a negative or deviant case, (b) employing extreme cases to investigate what is beyond the boundaries of the norm or what is expected, (c) including a holistic perspective which will serve to supplement the reductionism of analytical research, (d) providing social minorities with a voice, and (e) describing cases of special importance, e.g., anticipating future social change (Sjoberg, Williams, Vaughn & Sjoberg, 1991).

Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007) described two characteristics of case study research. These were transparadigmatic heuristic and transdisciplinary heuristic where the term ‘heuristic’ refers to investigating and uncovering the essence of a case (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). Transparadigmatic refers to the applicability of case study research across research paradigms such as positivism, critical theory and constructivism (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). Van Wynsberghe and Khan (2007) also maintained that case study research may be employed in either qualitative or quantitative or a combination of qualitative and quantitative research approaches.

Transdisciplinary refers to case study research being employed in a variety of disciplines such as social sciences, applied science, business science and the arts and humanities (Cara, 2007; Elms, 1994; Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). Case study research is especially applicable in situations where research addresses a descriptive question or an explanatory description, as well as in cases where a researcher would like to gain in-depth understanding of a situation, social scene, context or a person (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991; Gerring, 2004; Yin, 2006, 2009). Psychobiographical research, as an example of case study research (Edwards, 1998; Kóváry, 2011), is examined and explored in greater detail in the following section.

2.3 Psychobiographical research

2.3.1 Psychobiography and related terms explored

Psychobiography has been described in terms such as life history, narratology, personology or psychological biography (Cara, 2007). In the following section, terms related to psychobiography are discussed and explored.

2.3.1.1 Life history research

Life history research documents the life events and experiences that shaped the unique personality of an individual and is an example of case study research (Gilgun, 1994; Runyan, 1982; Sokolovsky, 1996). Van Os (2007) stated that life history studies may help us understand individual lives better. Since we would be studying how an individual processed experiences and responded to situations, we would also be able to understand how history impacted on that individual life. Van Os (2007) added that “general psychological theories...inform the biographer in the interpretation of his subject” (Van Os, 2007, p. 328). Thus, psychobiography is a specific type of life history research that extensively employs psychological theory and research in order to illuminate the interior lives of biographical subjects (Edwards, 1998; Runyan, 1983, 1984; Schultz, 2001b).

2.3.1.2 Single case design

Case study research should not be confused with another idiographic approach, namely, the single case design (Runyan, 1983). In the single case design “...variables are manipulated and causal relations investigated within single cases” (Runyan, 1983, p. 427). Conversely, in case study research, a single case is presented by rich empirical descriptions of an individual’s life based on information gathered from a variety of sources (Edwards, 1998; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin 2006, 2009).

2.3.1.3 Historiometry and psychobiography as forms of psychohistorical writing

Another term related to psychobiography is psychohistory which involves the application of psychological theories and techniques to biographical and historical data (Runyan, 2003; Simonton, 1989). Erik Erikson attempted to clarify the methodological principles of “psycho-historical explorations” (Kőváry, 2011, p. 753). The two oldest forms of psychohistory are psychobiography and historiometry (Simonton, 1989). Historiometry favours a nomothetic, quantitative approach and the analysis of multiple cases, although single-case historiometries have also been conducted (Simonton, 1989, 1999). Psychobiography, on the other hand, can be described as qualitative research favouring the idiographic analysis of a single case (McAdams, 2005; Runyan, 1984, 1988b; Simonton, 1989).

2.3.1.4 Narrative research

In the 1980s there was a “so-called narrative turn” in the field of psychology (Kóváry, 2011, p. 755) and psychologists and researchers became increasingly more aware of how storytelling is part of everyday human life and an integral part of societies. Humans connect with one another through storytelling or narrative sharing (Howard, 1991; McAdams, 2001). Life can be seen as the story we live by. Even psychotherapy can be described as storytelling with the aim of story repair (Howard, 1991). In the course of their work, psychologists gather life narratives. They listen to the life narratives of their patients and clients in order to discern the central themes (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; McAdams; 1988; 2005; Ochberg, 1988). A psychobiography is a specific form of narrative, storytelling or representation (Cara, 2007; Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Schultz, 2005a), since this type of research focuses on the background information, behaviour and events in an individual’s life (usually a famous or prominent individual) to draw certain conclusions about the individual’s motivations and characteristics (Cara, 2007; McAdams, 2005; Winter & Carlson, 1988).

2.3.1.5 Psychobiography and biography

Psychobiography is described by Runyan as an “amphibious creature” (1988a, p. 296) since it exists in the world of both biography and psychology (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Runyan, 1988a). Although the boundaries between biography and psychobiography are often blurred, a definite link or alliance exists between them as is evident from the descriptions provided in the previous section (Edwards, 1998; Elms, 1994; Fouché et al., 2007). Biography often contains psychology and *visa versa*, although there are some distinct differences (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005a). Elms (1994) referred to this alliance as ‘uneasy’ since biography and psychobiography employ diverse methodological approaches (Fouché et al., 2007).

Just as the psychologist interprets, formulates or discerns the central theme of an individual life, biographers also gather life narratives and attempt to discern the central theme (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; McAdams; 1988; 2005). Psychobiographical writing differs from biographical writing in the employment of psychological theory to psychological writing (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; McAdams, 1988; Runyan, 1988a). Psychobiography also aims to be more modest than biographical writing in that it does not attempt to tell the story of an entire life, but rather focuses on certain salient episodes or fragments abstracted from the life as a whole (Schultz, 2001b).

Fouché and Van Niekerk (2005) stated that biography and psychology hold great value for one another. Psychology provides conceptual models and theories against which biographical material may be understood, while biographical information in turn, provides valuable material or information against which the development of personality or human development in general may be understood in psychological terms. Terms related to psychobiography were explored in this section. In the following section psychobiographical research will be defined and described.

2.3.2 Definition and description of psychobiographical research

Many theorists have provided definitions of the term psychobiography. McAdams declared psychobiography as the methodical use of psychological (especially personality) theory to “transform a life into a coherent and illuminating story” (1988, p. 2). Elms maintained that psychobiography is “not only a way of doing biography: it is a way of doing psychology” (1994, p.5). In an interview Schultz conducted with William Runyan, Runyan defined psychobiography as the “explicit use of formal psychological theory or research in the interpretation of individual lives” (Schultz, 2001a, p. 108). Schultz, (2005a) stated that the aim of psychobiography is to understand persons, specifically related to how they are unique and “how they function and come to be irrespective of any reference group” (Schultz, 2005a, p. 4). Psychobiography attempts to describe the psychosocial story of an enigmatic, exemplary or renowned individual life, to uncover the central life story (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; McAdams, 1988; Schultz, 2001b).

Psychobiographical research does not only focus on the description of a life story, but is also hermeneutic in nature in that it attempts to find and uncover meaning (Edwards, 1998, McAdams, 1988). The life is to be understood on three complementary levels which must be taken into account to provide the context of the psychosocial story. These levels are (a) the biological/physical endowment, (b) the psychological and emotional level and, (c) the social and family context which includes the cultural and historical contexts as well (McAdams, 1988).

Personality psychology, in particular, has four basic tasks according to Runyan (1982, 1988a). These are: (a) developing theories of personality, (b) analysing individual and group differences, (c) understanding individual persons, and (d) studying specific processes and behaviours. Runyan maintained that psychobiography “...is one of the major areas in which an in-depth understanding of individual lives is pursued and one in

which the relationship between evidence, general theory and the explanation or interpretation of individual lives are pursued in some detail” (1988a, p. 321).

Thus, to summarise, psychobiographical research is an example of idiographic (Kőváry, 2011; Runyan, 1983; Simonton, 1999) qualitative, case study research (Flick, 2006; Simonton, 1999) with a life course orientation (Runyan, 1978; 1984), and according to Simonton (1999), a very popular method of examining the lives of eminent individuals. Psychobiography involves the study of completed lives to provide a life-span perspective (Carlson, 1988; Munter, 1975; Schultz, 2001b). Studying a completed life, also provides the psychobiographer with an ideal opportunity to trace the personality development of the individual in a longitudinal fashion (Carlson, 1988; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Runyan, 1982). In this section, psychobiographical research was defined and described. In the following section, the historical development of psychobiographical research is examined.

2.3.3 The development of psychobiographical research

While psychobiography seems postmodern (Schultz, 2001b), the need for individuals to “...psychobiographize has existed forever” (Schultz, 2001b, p. 11). The need to document psychological insights on lives began with the Greeks Xenophon and Thucydides (and later, Plutarch) (Schultz, 2001b). The four Gospels, written on the life of Jesus, as well as the writings on the Buddha reveal “...psychological portraits of a spectacularly compelling personality lovingly revealed” (Schultz, 2001b, p.1). There were also hagiographies of Christian saints in medieval times, as well as some idealised testimonials to the lives of great men and women in Victorian times (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; McAdams, 1988; Van Niekerk, 2007). Hagiographies are biographical studies of saints and religious figures with a unique style, purpose and intent (Meissner, 2003).

Although there were earlier psychobiographies (Runyan, 1988b), psychobiographical research was launched by Freud’s influential writings on Leonardo da Vinci, Moses and Goethe (Elms, 1994; Runyan 2005; Simonton, 1999; Winter & Carlson, 1988). Erik Erikson also wrote psychological biographies on Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther based on his developmental theory (Cara, 2007; Edwards, 1998; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). Most of the earlier psychobiographies were conducted in the psychoanalytic tradition (Runyan, 2002). In the 1920s psychobiographies were published by individuals who had no formal training in psychoanalysis or psychiatry (Runyan, 1988b). Psychoanalytical biographies incurred much criticism at the time, but psychobiographies continued to be written through the 1930s on

writers (like Dostoevsky, Moliere, Goethe and Coleridge) and other public figures like Caesar, Lincoln and Napoleon, for example. Fewer psychobiographies were written in the 1940s (Runyan, 1988b).

Two major contributors to psychobiographical studies in the 1920s-1940s were Gordon Allport and Henry Murray. Gordon Allport advocated for the study of an entire human life and also introduced the idiographic perspective in 1961 (Cara, 2007, Schultz, 2001b; Simonton, 1989). Allport also famously asked the question: “How shall a life history be written?” (cited in Runyan, 1984, p.10). Henry Murray, while better known for his development of the Thematic Apperception Test, also advocated for the study of an entire individual life cycle instead of just bits and pieces of a life (Kóváry, 2011; Schultz, 2001a).

After this initial period of growth, psychobiographical research languished in the 1950s and 1960s (Cara, 2007; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Runyan 1978) and specifically in psychology, quantitative research proved far more popular than life history research (Runyan, 1984, 2003). In the late 1960s there was a surge of psychological writing regarding the lives of artists, musicians, politicians, religious leaders and scientists (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005; Runyan, 1982, 1988b; Van Niekerk, 2007). In the 1980s there was a rebirth of interest in psychobiographies and recognition of the value of these approaches to psychology (Elms, 1994; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Runyan, 1988b). Other contributors to, or advocates of, the study of a single human life included Dan McAdams and Jerome Bruner (Schultz, 2001b).

According to Cara (2007) and Fouché and Van Niekerk (2005, 2010) several writers have made important contributions to the field since then. These included *Life Histories and Psychobiography: Explorations in Theory and Method* (1982) by William McKinley Runyan, Irving Alexander with his 1990 publication of *Personology: Method and Content in Personality Assessment and Psychobiography*, and Alan Elms with *Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology* (1994). In 2005 William Todd Schultz’s *Handbook of Psychobiography* was published with contributions from leaders in the field of psychobiographical research including Dan McAdams, Alan Elms, William McKinley Runyan and Irving Alexander. These authors have also made valuable contributions in the form of journal articles (Cara, 2007; Fancher, 2006; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005).

Runyan stated that psychobiography has developed an “eclectic and differentiated self-conception” (1988a, p. 296) by employing any formal or systematic psychology to the biographical study of an individual life. Various theories of personality development are employed from abnormal, developmental, cognitive and social psychology as well (Runyan, 1988a, 1988b). The field of psychobiographical research experiences continued growth

through (a) the array of individuals being studied, and (b) the widening disciplines that conduct psychobiographical research, for example psychiatry, history, political science, personality psychology, sociology, anthropology, religion, music and art history (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Runyan, 1984, 1988a).

Institutions that have institutionalised biographical studies of lives have also contributed to psychobiographical research growing in popularity. The following institutions have institutionalised biographical studies of lives and hold impressive academic reputations in the field of psychobiographical research and publications: The University of California, Berkeley, The University of California Davis, Duke University, Northwestern University (Foley Center for the Study of Lives), Rutgers State University, Pacific University and the Henry A. Murray Research Center at Harvard University (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005, 2010; Van Niekerk, 2007). The development of professional organisations, speciality journals and postgraduate studies in the field, has also contributed to the growth and popularity of psychobiographical research (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Runyan, 1988b).

2.3.4 Value and contribution of psychobiography

Most psychologists enter the field of psychology due to their interest in studying and attempting to understand individual people. However, as discussed earlier in this chapter, qualitative idiographic research was actively discouraged in the past and the more traditional, methodologically ‘respectable’ research pursuit of nomothetic, quantitative research was encouraged (Elms, 1988a; Rosenwald, 1988).

Despite some criticism and reservations, psychobiographers maintain that psychobiographical research (which represents a form of qualitative, idiographic research) holds certain advantages for the field of psychology (Elms, 1988a; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005). These include (a) investigating the uniqueness of the individual case within the whole, (b) investigating the sociohistorical context, (c) tracking process and patterns over time, (d) uncovering subjective reality, (e) developing and testing theory, (f) applying psychological knowledge and theory to a specific case, (g) making useful applications of methodological and conceptual skills, (h) testing research hypotheses, (i) adding to the available body of psychobiographical studies, and (j) training psychologists. These are explored in greater detail below.

2.3.4.1 Investigating the uniqueness of the individual case within the whole

Carlson (1988), Elms (1994) and Schultz (2001a) emphasised the importance of this contribution. Gordon Allport advocated for the idiographic study of individuals, as opposed to the nomothetic approach that extrapolated general truths, for more than 25 years (Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999). Many researchers maintain that the major advantage of life history research (of which psychobiography is an example) lies in the fact that through the in-depth study a unique and holistic description of a single life is provided (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Runyan, 1984; Stroud, 2004). Many researchers believe that understanding an individual life is a worthy goal in and of itself (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2001b).

2.3.4.2 Investigating the sociohistorical context

Closely related to the advantage of providing unique and holistic descriptions of the individual is the gestalt context (Fouché, 1999). Life history research (including psychobiography) is conducted against the backdrop of the sociohistorical culture, the socialisation processes and family history of the subject. The subject is never divorced from his/her sociohistorical context (Runyan, 1984). Thus, the value of life history research is the uncovering of the influence of cultural and societal influences on the individual (Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1984).

2.3.4.3 Tracking process and patterns over time

The longitudinal nature of life history research (e.g., the study of finished lives in psychobiography) (Carlson, 1988) enables the researcher to track behavioural processes and developmental patterns over time (Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1984). The advantage of this is that the researcher can present an integrated and comprehensive picture of the individual development of the subject within the context of time (Alexander, 1990; Sokolovsky, 1996).

2.3.4.4 Uncovering subjective reality

The in-depth study by the researcher of the individual life that is required in life history research has the advantage of creating, in the researcher, a sufficient level of sympathy and empathy with the subject (Runyan, 1984). This level of sympathy and empathy enables the researcher to convey to the reader a vivid, compelling and engaging life story (Runyan, 1984).

2.3.4.5 Developing and testing theory

Theory development and testing is thought by many researchers to be the most readily accepted use and advantage of qualitative life history research (Carlson, 1988; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Elms, 1988a, 1994), since it provides the ideal forum for developing and testing theories on human development (Carlson, 1988; McAdams & West, 1997).

Quantitative methods often fail in this since the resulting theories often fail to take the unique characteristics of the individual case into account (Edwards, 1998). In psychobiographical research, theories may be redefined, suggestions may be made for investigating certain complexities and suggestions for generalizability may be set (Stake, 2005; Stroud 2004). Dyer and Wilkins (1991) argued that the single case study is superior to multiple cases for creating high quality theory, since theories born out of the thick, rich descriptions of a case and the corresponding deep insights, will be more accurate.

2.3.4.6 Applying psychological knowledge and theory to a specific case

Another important contribution psychobiography may make to the field of psychology is to make useful application of psychological knowledge to a case study (Carlson, 1988; Elms, 1988a, 1994; Schultz, 2001b). By completing biographical research on key figures, psychologists may be able to apply psychological knowledge to gain more insight into personality development and to recognise the specific relevance of psychological constructs in an individual life (Elms, 1988a).

2.3.4.7 Making useful applications of methodological and conceptual skills

The application of psychological skills and knowledge to biography in the collection of detailed biographical information may possibly result in the provision of a richer, more detailed explanation or making sense of what is already known about a subject (Elms, 1988a).

2.3.4.8 Testing research hypotheses

Elms (1988a) stated that through traditional, positivist, nomothetic research, a large amount of findings and facts are generated. He suggested that a useful exercise may be to test some of the hypotheses by employing them in psychobiographical research, in an attempt to make sense of a whole, adult, fully functioning life (Elms 1988a). This application may benefit nomothetic research in two ways: (a) the nomothetic hypotheses may prove to explain

certain aspects in the life course of the individual being studied, and (b) in the event that the hypotheses fail to explain any aspects of the human life effectively, it may prove that the particular course of nomothetic research may be appropriately abandoned and a different course of inquiry taken (Elms, 1988a). Elms (2007) also suggested that if a large database of individual cases exists in future, it may be employed in cross-case comparisons for both nomothetic and idiographic research. In addition, Elms (2007) also argued that it may be possible to develop methods of quantitative analysis that may be appropriate for the study of individual cases. He referred, specifically, to the quantitative study Dean Keith Simonton conducted in 2004 on Shakespeare's plays and the political context which they represented. Simonton concluded that Shakespeare had in fact written the plays himself and they were not written by someone else (as suggested by some critics), and that the political environment impacted on artistic creativity (Elms, 2007). Elms (2007) stated that due to this research and the findings, it may be possible for researchers to develop ways in which to statistically answer "carefully selected psychobiographical questions" (p. 112).

2.3.4.9 Adding to the available body of psychobiographical studies

Many of the writers and researchers in the field of psychobiography lament the lack of a large pool of psychobiographies. In the field of psychobiographical research the need exists for more precise, detailed, conceptually more sophisticated and psychologically informed psychobiographies to be added to the data pool. The advantage of such a data pool will provide future authors of psychobiographies a context for determining the uniqueness or commonness of the personal qualities and life of a psychobiographical subject (Elms, 1988a). Elms (2007) also suggested that psychobiographies that compare cases of individuals who are similar in a way, may also be added in future to psychobiographical research.

If we study enough individuals in enough detail, we will emerge with a greatly strengthened foundation for a nomothetic science of psychology – a psychology that does not ignore what is different...but that instead balances the diversity and the commonality of many distinct members of our complex species. (Elms, 1988a, section 2, para. 26)

2.3.4.10 Training psychologists

Kóváry (2011) argued that the professional training programmes for psychologists very often place great emphasis on theoretical training as well as quantitative research and assessment methods. He argued that, by employing the research practice of

psychobiography, the practical competencies of student psychologists may be improved. Kőváry (2011) stated that in order to be effective psychologists, psychology students have to develop a deep knowledge and understanding of psychological functioning. He believed that studying individual lives and life stories through case studies may be one way in which to achieve this objective (Kőváry, 2011)

Century-long experience reveals that studying lives can be extremely useful and contribute to the development of the recognition of the self and the other, and its practical applications such as psychobiography are able to prepare future professionals to better understand the meaning of individual lives supported by indispensable self-reflection. (Kőváry, 2011, p. 767)

In the following section, the criticisms of psychobiographical research are discussed.

2.3.5 Criticisms of psychobiographical research

As stated earlier, methodologically, psychobiographical research can be described as idiographic in nature. This approach has been criticised by researchers. In this section these criticisms are explored and Runyan's (1983) responses to these criticisms are summarised.

Some criticisms of the idiographic approach included that research findings from idiographic studies cannot be generalised (Runyan, 1982; 1983; Yin, 2009). In response to the criticism, Runyan (1983) stated that neither the idiographic, nor the nomothetic approach should be replaced and suggested instead, that both types of research be conducted so that researchers may be able to explore and investigate what is true for all humans, what is true for certain specific groups and what is true for particular individuals. Another criticism is that some researchers and theorists are of the opinion that there is no such thing as a unique trait or characteristic (Runyan, 1983). The idiographic approach attempts, however, to study the individual in enough detail to formulate idiographic traits and classes of behaviour. Once formulated properly, these may be applied to other individuals (Runyan, 1983).

A third criticism stated that although the study of individual cases may generate hypotheses, the approach cannot be used for testing hypotheses. In response, Runyan (1983, 1984) expressed that, while it is true that general or universal laws cannot be extrapolated from the study of a particular individual, laws pertaining to the individual can be tested through rigorous experimental and statistical methods in the single-case design (see section 2.3.4.8). Another criticism often levelled at the idiographic approach is that it is impractical and impossible to study every single individual and even if possible, it would

imply that theories would have to be formulated for every individual. It is precisely for this reason that Runyan (1983) suggested studying exceptional individuals or historical and political figures of particular interest like Freud, Van Gogh, Virginia Woolf, to name a few. Runyan (1983) maintained that it is possible to be selective in both the theoretical enquiries and the selection of individuals.

Critics of the idiographic method have also stated that since this approach discourages focus on the general or the search for general laws, in favour of focus on the particular or specific, it is therefore not scientific (Runyan, 1983). Runyan (1983) responded to this criticism by stating that in behavioural sciences the focus ought to be on describing, measuring, explaining individual lives, predicting outcome in individual lives and attempting to generate change in individual lives. The statement that science is not concerned with the particular is also incorrect. Geology, Astronomy, Cosmology and Evolutionary Biology are natural sciences that are concerned with both general processes and principles, as well as with the study of particulars, for example the evolution of the earth and man and the origin and structure of our solar system (Runyan, 1983). Finally, critics also state that there are no adequate methods to carry out idiographic research. Runyan (1983) responded to this criticism by summarising a list of 11 of Allport's methods that may be described as idiographic. He even added an additional eight methods to the list. Runyan (1983) described this list⁷ as surprisingly extensive and indicative of the growing interest and popularity of idiographic research. Of these methods, psychobiographers employ specifically the single-case design, extensive interviewing (when and where possible), perhaps even individualised questionnaires, as well as the analysis of personal documents (e.g., diaries, journals and letters).

Some researchers have described the criticisms that have been levelled specifically against case study and psychobiographical research (Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2002; Yin, 2009). Case study research, for instance, has been criticised as too time-consuming and yielding a very large volume of information that is difficult to process and laborious to read (Yin, 2009), while the following criticisms were levelled at psychobiographical research.

The criticisms included the lack of or insufficient biographical information which results in the inability to develop accurate psychological interpretations of the lives of

⁷ The list included matching, personal structure analysis or content analysis, extensive interviewing or individualised questionnaires, search for major structural foci or essential characteristics, Self-Anchoring Scale, Role Construct Repertory Test, the ipsative method, the Allport-Vernon-Lindsey study of values, the Q-Sort Method, inverse factor analysis, the single-case method, intra-individual correlational method, idiographic prediction, configurational analysis and finally methods such as free association, dream analysis, and the analysis of personal documents (e.g., diaries, journals and letters) (Runyan, 1983).

historical figures. Psychobiographers should also refrain from attempting to reconstruct the biographical history, since it may be unjustified in most cases (Runyan, 1984). Another criticism is that some psychobiographies overemphasise psychological or psychopathological issues as well as childhood conflicts which may impact negatively on the quality of the psychobiography (Runyan, 1984). Runyan (1984) also cautions that the quality of a psychobiography suffers when the biographer assumes that psychological theories may singularly and automatically be applied to certain groups of people, or a historical or cultural setting. Instead, Runyan (1984) suggested that a three-tiered approach be employed where the biographer considers the psychological theory in conjunction with the group or contextual generalisations that apply to the subject, and also to the specific, unique or idiographic studies of the subject.

A criticism mentioned by Schultz (2002) is the perception of inaccuracy and imprecision regarding the method of psychobiography, as well as the often confusing diversity of interpretations in psychobiography. Yin (2009) described this phenomenon as “lack of rigor” (p.14) where the researcher was “...sloppy, has not followed systematic research procedure, or has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence” research outcomes and findings (Yin, 2009, p.14). In response to some of the criticisms, Schultz (2001b, 2005a) suggested some guidelines for writing ‘good’ psychobiographies. These are discussed in the following section.

2.3.6 Guidelines for writing a good psychobiography

Schultz (2001b, 2005a) suggested some guidelines that would ensure that the psychobiography makes the optimal contribution to the field and incurs the minimum criticism. He suggested that the psychobiographer should avoid either idealising or pathologising the subject and should also avoid drawing conclusions based on inadequate knowledge. Furthermore, Schultz (2001b, 2005a) proposed that a psychobiographer should ensure the validity of the study and should not infer meaning from isolated and/or unrepeatable events or psychological circumstance. And, finally, he suggested that the psychobiographer should compare the subject’s behaviour with that of his/her peers in the same sociohistorical context (Schultz, 2001b).

Schultz (2001b) explained that a good psychobiography “...clears up enigmas and feels like the solution to a riddle. In a word, it persuades...” (p. 3). Schultz (2001b) added that a good psychobiography is also useful in terms of creating better understanding in terms of

culture, clinical understanding, and understanding political or military or even personal motivations. Shultz (2001b, 2005a) summarised the characteristics of good psychobiographical explanations as being:

1. Logically sound and comprehensive.
2. Consistent with the full range of evidence.
3. Credible and relevant to other hypotheses.
4. Resistant to attempted falsifications.
5. In accordance with general psychological theory regarding the psychological/mental aspects of human life.
6. Able to make the incoherent coherent.
7. Explorative beyond merely coincidental connections.
8. A meaning-making enterprise that is supposed to uncover hidden or partially obstructed psychological structures.

In the previous sections, psychobiographical research was explored in general terms. In the following section, the focus shifts to psychobiographical research specifically in the South African context.

2.3.7 Psychobiographical research in the South African context

Traditionally, limited psychobiographical research has been conducted in the South African context at academic institutions (Fouché et al., 2007; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005) and the growth in the field of psychobiographical research in countries like the United States of America, New Zealand, Europe and Britain has not been experienced in South Africa (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2005).

The first psychological study or analysis of an extraordinary life in South Africa was completed in 1939 by Burgers on the life of the author, Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven, followed by a study of the life of poet, Louis Leipoldt in 1960 also by Burgers. In 1978 L.M. van der Merwe completed a study of the life of poet, Ingrid Jonker. In the 20 years between that psychobiography and the psychobiography in 1999 by Fouché who completed a study on the life of General Jan Smuts (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Van Niekerk, 2007), only one other psychobiography was written. This psychobiography by Chabani Manganyi (1996) explored the life of famous South African artist, Gerard Sekoto (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

Fouché et al., (2007), analysed the trends of psychobiographical research conducted in South Africa in the period between 1995 and 2004. According to these trends, the studies focussed mostly on white male subjects in the field of politics and sport, on artists, and lastly, on figures in religion and medicine. Very few studies were conducted on Black and female subjects and no studies were conducted on Coloured and Asian subjects. The most widely employed theory in the studies was Levinson's developmental theory (1978). Maslow's motivational theory (1970), Digman's five-factor theory (1990), Erikson's stage theory of psychosocial development (1965), as well as Jung's (1950/1978) analytical psychology theory were also employed. The theories of Salutogenesis (Antonovsky, 1988) and a holistic wellness model, the WoW (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) also featured in academic psychobiographical studies (Fouché et al., 2007). Most of the psychobiographical research has been conducted at the following universities: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (previously known as the University of Port Elizabeth) in Port Elizabeth, Rhodes University in Grahamstown, the University of Johannesburg in Gauteng and the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein (Fouché et al., 2007; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

According to Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010), the challenges and shortcomings of psychobiographical research in the period 1995-2004 in South Africa centred around (a) the development of postgraduate research in the field of psychobiography at South African universities, (b) the need for more studies to be conducted on female and Black subjects, (c) a need to employ a wider range of theories or models to study the lives of exemplary or unique individuals, and (d) the need for additional public and academic exposure through congress presentations and article publications in order to market academic psychobiographical research in South Africa to a greater extent.

Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) reviewed the trends of psychobiographical research in South Africa in the period 2005-2009. The results of the review indicated that there seemed to be increased interest and enthusiasm regarding psychobiographical research amongst research supervisors and postgraduate students at South African universities and definite growth in psychobiographical research. Apart from more psychobiographical studies completed and in progress, the studies from 2005-2009 yield greater diversity regarding the gender and careers of subjects being studied (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Perry (2012) summarised master's and doctoral degree level psychobiographies completed in South Africa from 1939-2011. This revealed that the trend of greater diversity regarding the gender and careers of subjects still continues in South African psychobiographical studies (See Table 1). There has also been an increase in the publications of articles on topics relevant to psychobiographical research

(Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) maintained that it was also crucial to continue to nurture and develop the field of psychobiographical research, not only in South Africa specifically, but also across Africa.

Table 1

South African Academic Psychobiographies: 1939-2012

Subject	Nationality and Occupation	Researcher	Format	Year
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	South African Author	Burgers, M.P.O.	Master's Study	1939
Louis Leipoldt	South African Poet	Burgers, M.P.O.	Doctoral Study	1960
Ingrid Jonker	South African Poet	Van der Merwe, L.M.	Doctoral Study	1978
Gerard Sekoto	South African Artist	Manganyi, C	Published Book	1996
Jan Christiaan Smuts	South African Statesman	Fouché, J.P.	Doctoral Study	1999
Helen Martins	South African Artist	Bareira, L.	Master's Study	2001
Bantu Stephen Biko	South African Anti-Apartheid Activist and Medical Student	Kotton, D.	Master's Study	2002
Balthazar John Vorster	South African Politician and Prime Minister	Vorster, M.S.	Master's Study	2003
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	South African Cricketer	Warmenhoven, A.	Master's Study	2004
Mother Teresa	Roman Catholic Nun in India	Stroud, L.	Doctoral Study	2004
Albert Schweitzer	German Theologian and Medical Missionary	Edwards, M. J.	Master's Study	2004
Bruce Fordyce	South African Elite Ultra-Marathon Runner	Morrison, N.	Master's Study	2004
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	South African Author	Jacobs, A.	Master's Study	2005
Karen Horney	German Psychoanalyst	Green, S.	Master's Study	2006
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	South African Cricketer	Warmenhoven, A.	Doctoral Study	2006
Christiaan Barnard	South African Surgeon	Van Niekerk, R.	Master's Study	2007
Ray Charles	American Musician and Singer	Biggs, I.	Master's Study	2007
Hendrik Verwoerd	South African Politician and Prime Minister	Claasen, M.	Master's Study	2007
Melanie Klein	Austrian Psychoanalyst	Espinosa, M	Master's Study	2008
Herman Mashaba	South African Entrepreneur	McWalter, M.	Master's Study	2008
Isie Smuts	Wife of Statesman J. C. Smuts	Smuts, C.	Master's Study	2009
Helen Keller	American Author and Political Activist	Van Genechten, D.	Master's Study	2009
Jeffrey Dahmer	American Serial Killer and Sex Offender	Chéze, E.	Master's Study	2009
Emily Hobhouse	British Welfare Campaigner	Welman, C.	Master's Study	2009
Mahatma Gandhi	Indian Political and Spiritual Leader	Pillay, K.	Master's Study	2009
Kurt Cobain	American Musician and Singer	Pieterse, C	Master's Study	2009
Ralph John Rabie	South African Singer	Uys, H.M.G.	Master's Study	2010
Ernesto "Che" Guevara	Argentine Revolutionary and Physician	Kolesky, C.	Master's Study	2010
Frans Martin Claerhout	South African Priest and Artist	Roets, M.	Master's Study	2010
Alan Paton	South African Author and Anti-Apartheid Activist	Greeff, M.	Master's Study	2010
Paul Jackson Pollock	American Artist	Muller, T.	Master's Study	2010
Christiaan de Wet	Boer Force General and Rebel Leader	Henning, R.	Doctoral Study	2010
Bram Fischer	South African Lawyer and Anti-Apartheid Activist	Swart, D.K.	Master's Study	2010
Vincent van Gogh	Dutch Artist	Muller, H.	Master's Study	2010
Brenda Fassie	South African Singer	Gogo, O.	Master's Study	2011
Olive Schreiner	South African Author and Anti-War Activist	Perry, M.J.	Doctoral Study	2012
Winston Churchill	British Politician and Prime Minister	Moolman, B.A.	Master's Study	2012
Friedrich Nietzsche	German Philosopher and Philologist	Booyesen, B.B.	Master's Study	2012
John Wayne Gacy	American Serial Killer and Rapist	Pieterse, J.	Master's Study	2012
Josephine Baker	American Dancer and Jazz Singer	Eckley, S.	Master's Study	2012

Note. Adapted from "Academic psychobiography in South Africa: Past, present and future" by J. P. Fouché and R. van Niekerk, 2010, *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(4), pp. 497-499; "The life of Olive Schreiner: A psychobiography" by M. J. Perry, 2012, *Unpublished doctoral dissertation*, p. 130 and P. Fouché, personal communication, August 15, 2013.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, qualitative research was explored and discussed and positioned within the context of research in psychology. Case study research, as an example of qualitative research, with specific focus on psychobiographical research was explored. Psychobiographical research was defined and examined and a historical overview of the development of psychobiography was given. The value and contribution of psychobiographical research to the field of psychology was reviewed. Criticisms of psychobiography as well as guidelines for writing good psychobiographies were discussed. A review of psychobiographical research in the South African context concluded the chapter. In the following chapter, a historical overview of the life of Dr Beyers Naudé is given, as the subject of this psychobiographical study.

Chapter 3

The Life of Dr Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naudé

They persecuted him and defrocked him, and when his prophetic voice continued to ring out against racist oppression, tried to silence him with two banning orders. For the sake of justice he became an outcast. Yet throughout all of this Beyers Naudé never tried to deny his Afrikaner roots...he continued to care about and agonise over the damage that Afrikaners were inflicting with apartheid on their own humanity. (Mandela, 1995a, p. 7)

3.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter provides an historical overview of the life of Dr Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naudé or *Oom Bey* (Uncle Bey) as he was known (hereafter referred to as Naudé). The life history is presented from the time of his birth on 10 May 1915 until his death on 7 September 2004, representing a period of over 89 years. The chapter also includes a summary of all the accolades and awards that were bestowed upon him and concludes with a summary of some of his perceived personality traits and characteristics.

3.2 The Life of Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naudé

Naudé imbibed certain cultural values: the value of family and *volk*, the value of education and learning, the value of manners and politeness, the value of honesty and justice, and the value of the Bible. However, it was this same culture which, in attempting to protect itself, developed the arrogant belief in the racial superiority of whites and the criminal policy of apartheid. Beyers was one of a number of Afrikaners who from early on recognised this as a contradiction. (Nolan, 1995, p. 71)

A chronological account of the life history of Naudé was compiled based on a literature review of many different sources. The life history was organised into specific historical periods. These were (a) childhood years, (b) university years, (c) the early ministry years, (d) doubt and disillusionment, (e) turning point: the aftermath of Cottesloe, (f) a liberal ministry develops, (g) transition to political activism, (h) the years of silence, (i) towards ecumenical unity, and (j) vindication. These periods were deemed significant, as they signify periods where Naudé experienced interpersonal growth or change, either through normal developmental processes or through situations, events and/or interaction with people that altered his opinions and broadened his perspective. The historical periods are discussed in chronological order in the following section.

3.2.1 Childhood years (1915-1931)⁸

Naudé was born on the night of 9-10 May 1915 in Roodepoort, Transvaal Province, South Africa in a Dutch Reformed Church rectory (Bryan, 1978; Ryan, 1990). According to family legend, the sky above Roodepoort was glowing red with flames on the night of his birth. German-owned shops were torched by rebellious townsfolk who wanted to express their negative opinions and emotions about the war and who were being forced by their leaders to engage in the war against the Germans in South West Africa (known today as Namibia) (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). He was the fourth child of eight and second son born to Rev. Jozua Fransçois Naudé and Adriana (known as Ada) Johanna Zondagh Naudé [born Van Huyssteen] (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). Jozua Fransçois Naudé was a religious, conservative man of Voortrekker stock. With the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, he resigned as a teacher and joined the Boer force (Clur, 1997). Naudé's father fought side by side with the infamous Boer-leader, General Christiaan Frederick Beyers. He served as the unofficial chaplain because he wanted to leave teaching and become a minister of religion (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982). The two men became close. After General Beyers' tragic demise, Jozua and Ada named their second son after this leader instead of after the maternal grandfather, as was custom in the Afrikaner culture (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994; Villa-Vicencio, 1985). The couple's respect for General Beyers took precedence over custom (Randall, 1982).

Naudé grew up in a time when the Afrikaner people, after years of oppression from the British, were defending their independence from the British influence and were striving towards a language and culture of their own. Naudé's father was very involved in this struggle for independence of the Afrikaner people (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1985). "Beyers Naudé came from a home where there was a focus on broader issues, not just personal family concerns" (Clur, 1997, p. 5). Especially during the Depression years, the Afrikaners suffered greatly. Even in Naudé's own home the effects of the Depression were felt. There was a shortage of money and it was a struggle to keep eight children clothed and fed (Naudé, 1995). Many Afrikaners were forced to leave their farms in search of jobs in towns and Naudé grew up with their home, the parsonage, often being opened to these migrant workers for a night's accommodation and meals (Clur, 1997; Randall,

⁸Global events during this historical period included the Great Depression which followed the Wall Street crash in 1929, as well as World War I, 1914-1918 (Cook & Stevenson, 2005).

1982). “Undoubtedly Beyers would have been deeply influenced by the poverty and suffering of his fellow countrymen, and their distress and helplessness in the face of enormous social forces must have become part of his growing social consciousness” (Randall, 1982, p. 5).

Due to the fact that the Naudé’s had no meaningful relationship outside the Afrikaner community, it is not surprising that Naudé’s social consciousness, initially at least, was confined to the Afrikaner people and their plight (Randall, 1982). As an adult, however, he also came to feel the same empathy for the plight of the impoverished, powerless Black⁹ majority in South Africa. The genuine compassion for oppressed people he had developed as a child would make it possible for him to challenge apartheid in later years, at considerable sacrifice to himself and his family (Clur, 1997).

In order to promote Afrikaner nationalism, independence and prosperity and finally discard the oppression of the British influence, Jozua Fransçois Naudé (Naudé’s father) became one of the founding members of the secret society of the *Afrikaner Broederbond* or League of Brothers (hereafter referred to as *Broederbond*), and was elected as the first chairman on 2 July 1918 (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1985). The *Broederbond* was a secret organisation and the Afrikaner leaders in the *Broederbond* were committed to Afrikaner domination of the country (Randall, 1982). Owing to the secret nature of the society and the prominent Afrikaners that were members, the influence on the country and community life (and the course of history, as it turned out) was largely unseen but ever-present and considerable (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982).

Naudé’s father was a devout Christian “with an uncompromising sense of divine mission” and instilled in his children “an evangelical zeal” (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, pp.19-20). Naudé recounted:

It never occurred to my father or to me at the time that the real victims of the war... were among the indigenous population...I was persuaded that the Afrikaners were the oppressed and that their struggle was sanctioned by God, who was the God of the oppressed. (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p.29)

There were many similarities between Naudé and his father. Both were devout in their faith, religious and held deep convictions, both were driven and were involved with and committed to many activities in their communities. Additionally, both were not afraid to risk criticism in order to defend their principles (Clur, 1997). Naudé expressed that he had great

⁹Throughout this study the term ‘Black/Blacks’ (upper case) denotes the non-European population of South Africa, which includes the Coloured and Indian populations as well. The term ‘black’ (lower case) refers specifically to members of the African races in South Africa. The term ‘Whites’ refers to all European-descendant members of the population of South Africa, both English and Afrikaans speakers.

admiration for his father and the work he did (Naudé, 1995).

Naudé's mother, Ada had a strong personality, was very religious and had set ideas regarding the way in which she raised her children (Randall, 1982; Villa-Vicencio, 1985, 1995). She was also described as a highly strung person (Clur, 1997) and stubborn (Naudé, 1995). Naudé's mother's influence took the form of "...unquestioned values and passive dominance, and his own perception is that it was essentially from maternal captivity that he sought to escape" (Villa-Vicencio, 1985, p. 5). Naudé's father was a distant man and involved with his pastoral duties. This led to his (Naudé's) childhood being dominated by the strong personality of his mother (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé recalled:

She had strong views on the way her children should be raised. We were required to be well educated, religious and obedient to our parents. She showed an unbending prejudice against the British and never questioned the rightness of the Afrikaner cause or their goal for eventual political dominance. It was not until later that I questioned her values or the control that she exercised over my life. (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 20)

In 1919 the Naudé's relocated to Piet Retief in the then Eastern Transvaal. There, Naudé was exposed to both the English and Zulu cultures. He spoke fluent Zulu at the time, since many of his playmates were Zulu children (Bryan, 1978; Coetzee, 2010; Naudé, 1995). Naudé stated that this experience may have afforded him the beginnings of the moral sensitivity that played a big role later in his life (Bryan, 1978; Coetzee, 2010). He was described as a highly spirited child who enjoyed engaging in outdoor activities with his playmates (Ryan, 1990).

The family moved to Graaff-Reinet in 1921 when Naudé was six years old. He remembered his very rural upbringing in the small Karoo town with fondness (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994), especially swimming with the Coloured¹⁰ boys in the river during the hot summers and exploring the surrounding *koppies* (translated as hillocks). Race did not seem to matter to Naudé (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé showed a love for reading early on as well and particularly enjoyed the Dutch books his sisters brought home from university (Ryan, 1990).

Growing up, the Naudé children all had chores that they were responsible for. Gender roles were clearly defined in the Naudé household. The girls performed domestic chores like

¹⁰ The term refers to a specific population group in South Africa of mixed lineage dating back to the 17th Century. This population descended from east and central African slaves, the indigenous Khoisan who lived in the Cape at the time, indigenous Africans as well as the Whites. The majority of this population group speaks Afrikaans and most live in the Western Cape (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; encountersouthafrica, n.d.).

mending clothes and doing the laundry and ironing. The boys (Naudé and his brother, Jozua) were taught that males were more important than females. There was a lot of focus on the boys in the family (Ryan, 1990). They were responsible for milking the cows, taking care of the garden, caring for the chickens and assisting when sheep were slaughtered. On occasion, the boys accompanied their father on his home visits to the farms in the district and enjoyed the sheep shearing and other farming activities (Naudé, 1990; Ryan, 1990). The boys were also given a .22 rifle with which they hunted and shot *dassies* (also known as rock hyrax) (Naudé, 1995). Later on game hunting during school holidays became a teenage passion (Ryan, 1990). Naudé was described as an energetic, sociable child and seemed to be in excellent health (Clur, 1997). Naudé also remembered fondly the family holidays in the Port Elizabeth area. The family could not afford to stay in a hotel, so they would camp in tents. Naudé remembered how the family of 10 would squash into a seven-seater car for the trip to the coast every December (Naudé, 1995). Due to the shortage of money, these annual holidays were also an opportunity to shop at the summer sales in Port Elizabeth. Ada and the children would queue for days outside shops with other poor people in an attempt to obtain affordable clothes (Ryan, 1990).

The Naudé family was a very religious and pious family (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995) and had close family ties (Villa-Vicencio, 1985). As the children of a minister, Naudé and his siblings had a strict, conservative upbringing and experienced their strict discipline as quite stifling at times (Naudé, 1995), as well as socially isolating (Ryan, 1990). They were strictly forbidden from using alcohol and tobacco and were also not allowed to go to dances or the cinema. Relationships with the opposite gender were also discouraged (Ryan, 1990).

Naudé described his mother as very cultural. She insisted that the children all learn to play musical instruments. Ada used her inheritance money to acquire a Steinway grand piano, which all the children played (Ryan, 1990). Naudé also played the violin and all the children sang. Sometimes friends of the Naudé family would be invited over and the children would provide the musical entertainment. Family friends included the Pohl-family, the Rupert family (Naudé was friends with their son, Anton), as well as the Loots and Momberg families (Naudé, 1995).

According to Naudé (1995) Ada could also be quite stubborn and she would not allow her sons to play rugby or cricket because they were British sports. She did not, however, object to them playing tennis. This was an inconsistency that never made sense to Naudé (Naudé, 1995). He persevered, however, and eventually Ada allowed him to play rugby

(Ryan, 1990). She would also not allow the boys to ride bicycles, but Naudé and his brother persisted once again and, eventually, got their way (Naudé, 1995).

At the age of 15 Naudé had a Christian ‘rebirth’, when, during one of the sermons his father delivered in May and June 1930, he decided to dedicate his life to Christ (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). This would prove to be one of the most important events in Naudé’s life, since “...after he accepted Christ as a young man, he never deviated from a strong faith and weighed up major decisions on this basis” (Clur, 1997, p. 12). As a matriculant of the *Afrikaans Hoër Volksskool* he provided “evidence of the independence of mind that would bring him into conflict with state authorities” (Randall, 1982, p. 4). He and five class mates compiled and distributed a letter of protest against the principle of the school regarding his authoritarian behaviour. (Bryan, 1978; Meyer, 2006; Randall, 1982). Naudé’s parents were greatly embarrassed and, under strong pressure from them, he was made to apologise for his disobedience to the ‘authorities’ over him (Randall, 1982). Naudé’s childhood was typified by piety and the strong moral upbringing he received, as well as a sense of social and political justice (Villa-Vicencio, 1995).

3.2.2 University years (1932-1938)¹¹

In 1932 Naudé and his brother, Jozua began their university careers at Stellenbosch University with the help of bursaries and loans through the church. Both Naudé and Jozua were housed in the Wilgenhof hostel (Naudé, 1995). The children of ministers who were studying with the help of loans and bursaries through the church only had the option of studying theology. Naudé’s initial plan, however, was to study law and become a lawyer. Even though he was a born again Christian and had strong Christian beliefs, he did not feel a calling to become a minister of religion and he started a BA degree instead (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982) with the view of making his own way after three or four years of study (Ryan, 1990). H.F. Verwoerd was his sociology lecturer and later became the architect of separate development, the minister of Native Affairs and also Prime Minister (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982). Naudé was struck by Verwoerd’s forceful nature. “An impressive and remote figure, who lectured at great length without recourse to notes. Naudé would have soaked up the master’s words, like his fellow students, to regurgitate them uncritically at examination time” (Randall, 1982, p. 7). Initially, during his university career, he never questioned the policy of

¹¹ Global events during this historical period included the Great Depression (Cook & Stevenson, 2005), the Recession of 1937-1938 (Dupont, 2011).

segregation in the country at the time and he assumed it to be biblically justifiable (Naudé 1995; Ryan, 1990).

Outside the lecture halls, Naudé displayed strong leadership qualities (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1985, 1995) and he participated in many of the social and cultural activities offered by university life (Bryan, 1978; Clur, 1997). He joined the debating society, where he soon became known as a strong opponent and was met by a few strong adversaries, including John Vorster, the future Prime Minister (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He joined the Wilgenhof serenading group and was an enthusiastic supporter of the intervarsity sporting events (Naudé, 1995). He also became chairman of his hostel committee and later, as a senior, he was elected to the Student Representative Council (SRC) for two years and served as president of the SRC in 1937. He continued to be a regular churchgoer at university, as well and was a member of the *Christelike Studentevereniging*, the Christian Student Association (hereafter referred to as the CSV) (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). As a student Naudé also participated in the symbolic “ox-wagon trek” in 1936, an important cultural activity. This event commemorated the Great Trek of a century before, which marked an important event in Afrikaner-history and their pursuit of independence (Randall, 1982).

In terms of sporting activities, Naudé played tennis at university and also joined the hiking club, where he served as chairman several times. He met his future wife, Ilse Hedwig Weder through the hiking club where she was also a member and the attraction was mutual (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982). Naudé stated that he never realised falling in love would impact on his life so drastically (Naudé, 1995). Once they had started courting, Naudé often went home to Genadendal with her. Her parents were German and Naudé was warmly welcomed into this Moravian missionary community near Caledon (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990; South African Press Association, 2011). He credited Ilse and the experiences he had at Genadendal for planting the seed of non-racism in him (Naudé, 1995; Rampen, 1972; SAPA, 2011). In the years to follow, Naudé often acknowledged Ilse’s power and presence in his life and work (Bam, 1995) and stated that she was a great support to him (Bam, 1995; J. Durant, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Naudé, 2012).

The openness of relationships between Whites and Coloureds in Genadendal both in the home of Ilse’s parents and in the congregation, made an indelible impression on Naudé during these visits. Naudé started to have some doubts regarding the strict segregation policy of the country in terms of churches, since people were praying to the same God and church services in both the White and Coloured churches had more or less the same liturgical format (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994; Rampen, 1972). At this time, he started to develop an interest

in race issues and ministry work, but it would be years before his beliefs regarding these issues would solidify (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). Both Ilse and Naudé came from homes where women acknowledged the leading role of men. Even the female students at Stellenbosch University were also not expected to have opinions regarding political matters, but to support the viewpoints of the males. Therefore, a feature of their relationship from early on was that Ilse and Naudé never discussed current issues. Ilse showed no interest in political matters and Naudé preferred discussing these matters with his male friends (Ryan, 1990).

Although Naudé regarded himself as a nationalist and loyal Afrikaner "...he disliked the all-embracing control which the nationalist movement sought to exert and so shied away from the more exclusive claims of Afrikanerdom. He also began to read widely in English, Dutch and Afrikaans" (Clur, 1997, p.16). He was regarded as somewhat of a 'moderate' nationalist. Naudé remarked:

I was questioning all the time, I wanted justification and an explanation for whatever stand I took. But it was not a very probing, critical questioning, because we were not allowed to do that. In our whole upbringing we had been too much part of an authoritarian structure, which emphasised the authority of the parent, the teacher, the minister, or the party. But there was at the back of my mind that constant question: Is it the real truth and the full truth? (Clur, 1997, p.16)

Again, Naudé's rebellious streak, which emerged as a school boy, manifested when he and his brother also joined the editorial staff of the covert and audacious student newspaper, *Pro Libertate* (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). This student newspaper "challenged some of the less sacred but nevertheless stultifying aspects of Afrikaner culture and politics manifest on the campus" (Ryan, 1990, p. 23). When he told his parents about *Pro Libertate* they were very disappointed and irritated. Naudé's mother, especially, was angry and not in favour of the new ideas her son was bringing home. There was considerable tension in the home with Naudé rebelling against his parents and feeling that both he and his brother had been unsupported by their father and unjustly treated in the matter of their chosen careers (Clur, 1997; Coetzee, 2010; Randall, 1982). "In his third year at university he wrote to his father to complain that he had been too weak and expressing the view that the mother was skilfully using her illness to win the father's sympathy" (Randall, 1982, p. 8). It also seems that "...Naudé slowly began to question the alliance to theology and nationalism which formed the basis of his parents' home. These were questions which, however, remained at a preliminary and latent level in his early life" (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 20).

A hobby he engaged in while at university was fixing old cars. Naudé and his brother bought an old Dodge automobile together as means of cheaper transport. When the car broke, however, they had to learn to do the repairs themselves (Naudé, 1995). Naudé proved to be quite a talented backyard mechanic and he was able to restore even the most derelict of cars (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Telegraph Media Group, 2004). In order to earn extra pocket money, Naudé also pursued the hobby of photography. He bought a camera and took photographs at all the student events and sold the photographs. He even became student correspondent for the *Cape Times* newspaper, also in an effort to supplement his pocket money (Naudé, 1995).

Naudé identified three people who crossed his path during his university career, in reaction to whose influence he began questioning theology and the politics of the day. These were Johan du Plessis, who had been tried for heresy and dismissed from the NGK Seminary shortly before Naudé's arrival on the campus, H.F. Verwoerd, who lectured Naudé in sociology and who eventually became Prime Minister of South Africa, and B.B. Keet, his seminary Professor of Ethics (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). In 1935 he completed his MA degree and in 1936 entered the Theology Seminary at Stellenbosch to complete his training as a NGK minister (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé was forced to abandon his dream to study law due to a shortage of funds. Although he continued to study theology, he would have preferred a career in law (Naudé, 1995).

His entry into the seminary was preceded by a bitter dispute between the former seminary principal, Prof. J. du Plessis and the church. Prof. du Plessis was charged with detracting from the divinity of Christ due to his interpretation of scripture (Naudé, 1995; Randal, 1982; Ryan, 1990). This incident was followed by the appointment of only 'safe' staff at the seminary resulting in "...mediocre and uninspiring teaching" (Randall, 1982, p. 8). Naudé lost interest in theology and would often while away lectures by playing chess on a miniature board with a friend (who would later become his brother-in-law), Frans O' Brien Geldenhuys (Naudé, 1995). During exam times he borrowed notes from the more studious class mates to try and catch up the work he had missed (Randall, 1982). He often visited Prof. du Plessis on Sunday evenings when he received students at his home. Certain members of the NGK were not in favour of the students visiting du Plessis at home (Naudé, 1995).

In 1937 he got engaged to Ilse Hedwig Weder. Naudé's mother, Ada wanted to control the decisions her sons made regarding relationships with the opposite gender (Ryan, 1995) She was not in favour of this union, since Ilse was neither an Afrikaner, nor a member of the family church, the NGK. She tried to dissuade Naudé from the relationship and even asked

his father to speak to Naudé. Eventually, Ada sent one of Naudé's sisters (Hymne) to reason with him at Genadendal the night before he planned to propose to Ilse, but Naudé was not to be dissuaded. The engagement was announced, as planned, on Christmas Day (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). The episode caused a rift between Naudé and his parents. They accepted his marriage to Ilse in later years, but the emotional damage had been done. In January 1938, Ilse started a teaching job at an Afrikaans girls' school in Pretoria, but moved down to Paarl at the end of the year to be closer to Naudé who was still in the Seminary. She took a teaching job at La Rochelle School in Paarl (Clur, 1997).

“Stellenbosch evoked within Naudé the beginnings of a form of religious scepticism, especially for religious institutions and ecclesiastical hierarchies, a distrust of academic logical detachment, and the first inkling of theological and political dissent” (Villa-Vicencio, 1985, p. 7). Despite this, Naudé stated that an atmosphere of conservatism and ignorance prevailed at Stellenbosch regarding the ideas of apartheid (Rampen, 1972).

3.2.3 The early ministry years (1939-1954)¹²

In 1939 he completed the training at the Theology Seminary and became a trainee minister at the NGK in Wellington (Bryan, 1978; International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé, 1995). Naudé was inducted as trainee minister on 27 July 1940, and in keeping with custom, his father conducted the induction ceremony (Ryan, 1990).

Ilse had planned to continue her studies in Germany after she graduated, but due to the start of World War II and ill health at the time, she remained in South Africa (Naudé, 1995). On 3 August 1940 he married Ilse Weder at the missionary station in Genadendal before a mixed congregation of Whites and Coloureds. Naudé's father conducted the ceremony. This union would produce four children, three sons and a daughter, Johann, Fransçois, Hermann and Liesel (Naudé, 1990; Ryan, 1990).

The couple honeymooned at Onrusrivier on the Cape coast. They returned to this peaceful little cottage, owned by Ilse's parents, many times in their married life. Both Naudé and Ilse found it to be a sanctuary where they could rest and recharge (Ryan, 1990). Other leisure activities Naudé would pursue in adulthood were gardening, and reading. He was a prolific reader and avid collector of various kinds of reading material on a wide range of topics. Since he seemed to have a talent for languages, he read Afrikaans, Dutch, and English (Ryan, 1990). He also enjoyed music (Clements, 2006; Ryan, 1990). Naudé particularly

¹² World War II (1939-1945) was a significant global event during this historical period (Cook & Stevenson, 2005).

favoured classical (Bach, Mozart, Beethoven and Vivaldi) and organ music and found it very calming in times of great stress (Clements, 2006). Naudé and Ilse had made some good friends during the years they spent in the Wellington community. Their social circle included the Brink couple as well as Danie Joubert, a wine maker, and his wife.

At this stage, the family was still very committed to the Afrikaner Nationalist cause, however, during the time as trainee minister in Wellington, certain questions started emerging in Naudé's mind: He wondered about the difference in status between the missionary ministers trained at the Wellington College to serve in Coloured churches and the Stellenbosch Seminary ministers trained to serve in White churches (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). He also questioned the existence of two separate churches that essentially shared the same litany and beliefs: one for White people and one for Coloured people (Naudé, 1995). Despite these misgivings, he accepted the social, political and religious status quo in the country, since he was ambitious to advance in the church (Ryan, 1990). The only thing that seemed to stand in the way of this young, well-educated, natural leader to take his place as a future leader of the Afrikaner nation was a "lack of experience and the qualification of member of the *Afrikaner Broederbond*" (Ryan, 1990, p. 31).

The senior minister in the Wellington NGK, Reverend Evert J. du Toit believed that Naudé met the requirements for membership of the *Broederbond*. These requirements included a belief in the destiny of the Afrikaner nation as a separate nation, a promise to give preference to Afrikaner firms in public and private life, to speak Afrikaans both inside and outside the home, be financially secure, be a Protestant with firm beliefs and principles, and to be prepared to be an active member of the *Broederbond* (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). At the age of 25, while working and living in Wellington, he was invited to join the organisation. In 1940 he was formally and ritually inducted into the *Broederbond* (Randall, 1982). Part of the initiation ceremony included a solemn vow taken by the initiate to keep the secrets of the *Broederbond* until his death, whether or not the member resigns. As it turned out "it was an oath Beyers Naudé would not keep" (Ryan, 1990, p. 32).

When the couple's first son was born in 1941, there was another family dispute with Ada over names. The couple wanted to name their son Johann (after the disciple John) Friedrich (which means peace in German) which expressed the couples wish for the war to end. Ada, however, was upset that her grandson had not been given family names and thus the tension between Ada and Naudé continued (Clur, 1997).

In April 1943, he accepted a position as minister in the Karoo town of Loxton (Potgieter, 1994). Naudé recounted a humorous incident where his friend, Danie Joubert,

gifted him a few bottles of wine when the Naudé's left the Wellington congregation. The wine was packed into the removal van. In Loxton, most of the congregation was eagerly gathered to see the furniture of their new minister delivered. To the shock and dismay of the conservative congregants, the first item to be offloaded was the basket of wine (Naudé, 1995).

The family enjoyed the years they spent in this community and Naudé had a close relationship with the congregation (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). The couple's second son (Jozua François) was born in Loxton on 28 April 1943 (J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013). Ilse worked hard over the years to create a warm home environment for Naudé and the children. As a minister's wife, she also became involved with many women's groups. She had an energy, strength and determination that enabled her to cope with the demands of being a minister's wife, as well as to cope with the difficult times ahead in her and Naudé's life (Ryan, 1990).

During the years in Loxton, there was bitter division in South Africa concerning the Second World War. Like many of his countrymen, Naudé was against South Africa's involvement in the war and like many of the Afrikaners, was supportive of the Germans, since Britain was still regarded as an enemy by many Afrikaners (Ryan, 1990). As time went on, however, Nazism was increasingly questioned among South Africans (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

In this period, a para-military organisation called the *Ossewabrandwag* (translated as the Ox-Wagon Guard) was formed in 1939 and modelled after German National Socialism (Ryan, 1990). This movement was soon engaged in a power struggle with the National Party. Naudé said: "The emergence of the *Ossewabrandwag* was seen as a very serious internal conflict in the Afrikaner community and we were asked in the *Broederbond* to try to reconcile these two conflicting viewpoints" (Ryan, 1990, p. 33). Although he was invited to join the *Ossewabrandwag*, his aversion to authoritarianism and his loyalty to the *Broederbond* made him refuse membership (Ryan, 1990). Naudé remarked:

I felt no need to become involved because Dr Malan, the Nationalist leader, was in my view doing a good job. I was never actively involved or interested in the *Ossewabrandwag*. I got their literature and read through that, but it sounded too radical and emotionally unbalanced to have any real meaning or significance. (Ryan, 1990, p. 33)

Another issue began emerging in Naudé's mind during the years in Loxton. Although he regarded himself unequivocally as an Afrikaner nationalist, his contact with the disadvantaged and underprivileged Coloured community of Loxton, made him question the

justice with which White people were treating others (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). The Coloured people of Loxton lived in a separate township in terrible conditions and severe poverty. Naudé began to question the justification of Whites regarding why some people were earning so little money and their excuse that there was very little that could be done to address the problem (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). His social conscience was awakened (Potgieter, 1994). Naudé saw the upliftment of people very much as part of his mission and referred to his experiences of the community in Genadendal as an example of how people may be empowered to uplift themselves and change their situation. The question remained in Naudé's mind as to why social justice and upliftment could not be achieved in other parts of the country as well (Ryan, 1990).

In 1945 Naudé accepted a ministry position and moved to a congregation in Pretoria-South (Ryan, 1990). The Prime Minister of the country at the time, General J.C. Smuts and his wife, were members of this congregation as well (Bryan, 1978). "That a young dominee from a remote Karoo village should be invited to draw so near the heart of Afrikaner power was evidence of the name he had made for himself as a minister" (Randall, 1982, p. 11). The parsonage was in the Pretoria suburb, Irene, near an Anglo-Boer War concentration camp cemetery. Naudé would often walk there and wonder how long it would be before reconciliation between Boer (Afrikaner) and Brit would be achieved (Naudé, 1995).

The Naudé-family move to Pretoria-South coincided with some political shifts within the country. Although there was much support for the National Party, Smuts' United Party also had strong support in the Afrikaner community (Ryan, 1990). At the time, tensions were running high in South Africa regarding the Second World War. When the NGK took an antiwar stance, many Afrikaner families, especially United Party members, left the NGK. In some congregations, servicemen were shunned and ostracised for attending services in their uniforms, as per military prescription (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Even in Naudé's congregation there were tensions regarding servicemen. Questions around tolerance and forgiveness continued to plague Naudé. In an attempt to placate the congregation, he told members that each individual was entitled to his/her opinion and political views, but that no-one had the right to prescribe views and opinions to another (Naudé, 1995).

On 1 October 1947 the Naudé's third son, Emil Hermann Karl was born, an event of great personal significance for the family (Naudé, 1995). He was named after Ilse's father. The Pretoria-South congregation continued to expand and Naudé persuaded the church council that a church hall should be built in Lyttleton. Although Lyttleton was not a popular choice for the church hall to be built, Naudé believed that this was the area in which the congregation

would expand the most. He was proved correct. Lyttleton expanded and was later renamed Verwoerdburg, after the architect of apartheid (Ryan, 1990). When the Pretoria-South congregation became too large and was split in 1948, Naudé accepted the invitation to the Olifantsfontein congregation (Clur, 1997).

In the 1940s, when the Nationalists were developing their apartheid programme, the NGK was also developing its theology of apartheid (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994). The Federal Mission Council was formed in 1942 and the commission was assigned the task of refining the segregation policy of the church for the various race groups. The Federal Mission Council also advocated segregation in other spheres including education and the prohibition of inter-racial relationships and marriage. Naudé continued to search for biblical texts to support and substantiate apartheid and studied the biblical texts theologians used from the Old and New Testament to substantiate apartheid (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). One of the cardinal texts used was the story of Babel which theologians claimed that "...God willed the creation of separate nations. A comparison between the nation of Israel as it existed in the Old Testament and the position of Christian Afrikaners was made to prove that apartheid was not against God's will" (Clur, 1997, p. 27). In this time, Naudé busied himself with his church work and did not pay much attention to the political and theological developments (Ryan, 1990). Of this time, Naudé had the following to say:

It never really worried me. I didn't get involved, I didn't look at apartheid theology critically, compared it to real, meaningful theology. I did not look at the specific texts of the Bible and try to get the correct interpretation... I was not enough of a theology student. That was the tragedy – my lack of theological training and my unwillingness to be really involved. (Ryan, 1990, p. 34)

Ryan (1990) and Clur (1997) stated that Naudé's unwillingness to get involved was probably the key to understanding why he kept silent for so many years about his convictions that apartheid was unbiblical, since there was evidence that he had doubts about the apartheid policy as early as 1948. In 1948 the Nationalist Party narrowly won the election. Naudé also voted Nationalist and was elated at the party victory (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). He saw this as an opportunity for the Afrikaner to come into his own and achieve sovereignty, recognition, respect (Naudé, 1995), and as a deliverance and redemption for the Afrikaner people (Ryan, 1990). In the same year (1948) Naudé's father passed away shortly after confirming Naudé into the separate Olifantsfontein congregation after the split with the Pretoria-South congregation (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). After his father's death, Naudé's

mother, Ada, would move around the country living with her various children for fairly lengthy periods of time. She was still a powerful and formidable figure and she wanted things her way. When Ada moved in with the Naudé family, their daughter, Liesel noticed friction in the family, as well as how unhappy and miserable Ada made Ilse during these lengthy stays. Naudé, however, did not speak ill of his mother and he did not allow the children to speak ill of her either (Ryan, 1990).

In 1949 Naudé accepted an appointment as student minister in Pretoria-East. He was responsible specifically for the welfare of the students at the University of Pretoria (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Ilse stated that they both had a very full work programme during this period. On Sunday evenings they would also have groups of 20 or 30 students over to their house for visits and discussions (Ryan, 1990).

During this time the NGK took steps to unify the four provincial synods and Naudé helped found the *Kerk Jeugvereniging* (KJV), Youth Association. This was a national, Christian youth group for working Afrikaners. Naudé was elected chairman of the KJV, his first executive position. By that time, he had also filled the position of secretary of the Synodal Youth and Federal Youth Council (Clur, 1997).

Naudé mentioned three specific incidents during this time that would have a profound impact on the course of his life (Ryan, 1990). These included publications by theologians whom he greatly respected (Potgieter, 1994). These two theologians, Prof. Ben Marais and Prof. B. Keet were the only two theologians in the 1940s and 1950s who rejected the notion that apartheid was theologically justifiable (Durandt, 1985).

The first publication was Dr Ben Marais' book *Die Kleurkrisis en die Weste* (translated as *Colour, the unresolved problem of the West*). Marais had doubted the apartheid policy since 1944 and in the book he questioned the biblical justification of apartheid (Villa-Vicencio, 1985, 1995). He investigated racism in North America and Brazil and questioned 13 international theologians regarding nationalism and segregation. Among these were Karl Barth, Emil Brunner and J.H. Bavnick. All 13 theologians rejected race segregation. Dr Marais concluded that race segregation could not be justified in scripture. Naudé expressed that although "...by today's standards the book is patronising and even reactionary, but at the time it was enough to cause a storm within the Afrikaner community" (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 22). This book caused uproar in the NGK, among Afrikaners and, specifically, in the *Broederbond* (Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1985).

The second publication was a book by Prof. Bennie Keet in 1955 *Suid-Afrika – Waarheen?* (translated as *Whither, South Africa?*) (Randall, 1982). Keet believed that "our

fight is not between Black and White, but between barbarism and civilisation, or, if you will, between heathendom and Christianity” (Randall, 1982, p. 9). Keet made the following points in the publication which influenced Naudé: (a) he stated that apartheid was immoral, and led to separation, hostility and suffering, (b) apartheid could not be biblically justified, and (c) that apartheid may only be used as a temporary measure (Durandt, 1985; Potgieter, 1994). In 1961, shortly before his death, he also wrote another essay entitled *The Bell Has Already Tolled*. Naudé stated: “It was a prophetic statement that the Church refused to hear, but one that convinced me that I was on the right track when I prepared myself psychologically for the break with the NGK” (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 22).

The third incident was a six-month study tour of the NGK Youth Association overseas that Naudé, as chairman of the organisation, participated in to investigate youth work in other countries. This tour marked the beginning of his ecumenical exposure (Potgieter, 1994; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé and the other delegates visited the United States of America, Canada, Great Britain, Holland, France, Italy, Germany, Sweden and Switzerland. Everywhere they went, they were asked questions regarding South Africa’s race policy (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

We were asked penetrating and painful questions... In two or three cases people who had left the country confronted us about the situation of the black and Coloured community of which I had no clue. I had to go abroad in order to be confronted by situations of injustices in my own country. (Ryan, 1990, p. 38)

Although Naudé defended the government policies of the day, questions remained and the seeds of doubt were planted (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). By the time he returned from the overseas trip, he was convinced that the NGK was wrong in supporting the apartheid policy, but he refused to speak out (Clur, 1997). This overseas visit was a very significant milestone in Naudé’s life that would eventually lead him to reject the church’s teachings on race and nationalism (Randall, 1982).

Randall (1982) contended that there are two questions worth investigating regarding the change in Naudé and the insights he developed on the overseas trip. The first is why he would have been so open to the change and personal growth, when many others in the same situation had not changed. “The answer may well lie in the man’s extraordinary responsiveness to the successive demands placed in his way by the gospel” (Randall, 1982, p. 14). The second question that may be asked according to Randall (1982) is why Naudé had not ministered and tried harder to change perceptions and perspectives within his church when

he returned from the overseas trip. Randall (1982) stated that the answer could possibly be found in a combination of factors which included: (a) Naudé's membership of the *Broederbond*, (b) a lack of confidence in his own theological knowledge and understanding, and (c) "...there was also an innate prudence...and an element of fear at the implications that would flow from anything that might be construed as open confrontation" (Randall, 1982, p. 15).

His daughter Liesel was born on 12 September 1950, another event of great personal significance for the family (Naudé, 1995). In 1953 Naudé embarked on a journey of theological self-study and reading as well as a process of self-examination. The aim of this process was to remedy what he felt was lacking theological and theoretical knowledge in order to assuage his doubts regarding the government and church policies of the time (Clur, 1997; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). Naudé had four specific questions that he wanted to investigate. These were (a) the question of unity and diversity of the human race, (b) the unity and diversity of the Christian Church on earth, (c) the nature of the responsibility of the Church in human society, and (d) the necessity of the church to be a reconciliatory force at times of serious tension (International Commission of Jurists, 1975). However, the more he read the more he realised that segregation could not be biblically justified.

In this process I had to overcome all accepted views, traditional outlooks, deep feelings of loyalty and to see that this was essential if I wanted to remain obedient to the call of Christ and to the truth of the gospel. But it was a very painful process and I think fear certainly played a very large part at that stage in my life. I began to realise something of the price that would have to be paid. (Ryan, 1990, pp. 38-39)

Naudé did not discuss any of his misgivings and doubts with his wife, Ilse or his *Broederbond* colleagues (Ryan, 1990). In 1954 he accepted a ministry position at the NGK *Moedergemeente* (mother congregation) in Potchefstroom, Western Transvaal still supporting the church, the *Broederbond* and the government (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). "But during the next ten years his Christian commitment and conscience would draw him to open confrontation with all of them...His years in Potchefstroom were to prove decisive in his theological and political development" (Ryan, 1990, pp. 39-40).

While Naudé started harbouring misgivings about the government's apartheid policies, and the grosser aspects of race discrimination, the National Party extended apartheid. In 1954 Native Affairs Minister Hendrik Verwoerd spelled out his 'separate development' policy in government (Clur, 1997; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990).

3.2.4 Doubt and disillusionment (1955-1960)

Naudé co-authored a book with W. de W. Strauss in 1955, *Kerk en Jeug in die Buiteland en Suid-Afrika* based on the 6-month overseas study tour (see section 3.2.3) (J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013). The Naudé family also moved to Potchefstroom in 1955, a small town "...symbolic of the conservative, independent spirit of Afrikanerdom" (Ryan, 1990, p. 40). Naudé and his wife worked very hard in that congregation and he demanded much from both of them. Ilse remarked: "Bey was of the old stock who thought the wife was there for the children, to run the house and to see to all the work of the minister's wife" (Ryan, 1990, p.40). "He was a popular, fiery preacher, exhorting his flock to follow the way of the gospel, and his church was usually filled to capacity" (Randall, 1982, p. 15). The longer Naudé ministered in that conservative congregation, the more he realised how conservative the views of the rural Afrikaner people actually were. He constantly asked himself how these conservatives would react to his completely opposite views regarding apartheid. At this stage, however, he still avoided raising these issues with the congregation or even fellow *Broederbond* members and in his sermons, he dealt with evangelical topics acceptable to the congregation (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). He did not even share his inner struggle with Ilse. He stated that, in hindsight, he realised what a big mistake this was. At the time, he feared the repercussions of speaking out. He worried about the financial implications for his family if he lost his job, since he had no other form of income (Naudé, 1995). Naudé's drive, ambition and hard work paid off and he was elected to various synod commissions and accepted positions of leadership offered to him by the NGK (Ryan, 1990). These included being elected as acting moderator of the Transvaal synod in 1958 and moderator in 1963 (Bryan, 1978).

Although Naudé's sermons were decidedly nationalist, the more primary question for him was obedience to Christ and His gospel. He continued to ask himself what the primary truth was to which he had to adhere in order to be obedient to the gospel. "That was the guiding light which forced me step by step from one position to another, sometimes against my will, sometimes with trepidation and fear in my own heart" (Ryan, 1990, p. 41). He realised that "the truth was elsewhere than in the pronouncements of the NGK" (Ryan, 1990, p. 41). Naudé described that the realisation was not a sudden revelation or due to any one specific incident or event, but rather the persistent voice of his conscience which he described as the voice of the Holy Spirit asking him whether he was still denying the truth out of fear of

the consequences for his family and himself, or the loss of his status positions and popularity as a minister in the NGK (Naudé, 1995).

Naudé regarded the years he spent in Potchefstroom as particularly formative with regard to his political and theological views and seemed to be the start of Naudé's radical shift (Villa-Vicencio, 1985). These shifts can be attributed, in part to his attendance of the World Reformed Ecumenical synod meeting in Potchefstroom in 1958. At this meeting, the apartheid policy received severe critique by overseas theologians (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). The critique of the apartheid policies confirmed Naudé's own misgivings and doubts regarding apartheid (Naudé, 1995). At this stage, he also risked discussing his personal dilemma regarding the apartheid policies and teachings of the NGK with some of the other *Broederbond*-ministers. They included Bertie Brink, Willem Landman, Piet Smit and Hennie Bingle. Most of them criticised Naudé's view and warned him that if he made his opinions known, he would jeopardise his career in the NGK (Naudé, 1995). He realised, however, that there were a few *Broederbond*-ministers who also questioned the apartheid policies (Ryan, 1990).

During this period, Naudé had close contact with the Reformed Church and although the church was far more conservative than the NGK, there was a depth of theology and a better understanding of scripture from which Naudé learned a lot (Ryan, 1990). He felt that this influence also served to shape his political and theological views (Naudé, 1995). Naudé said:

I attended their Bible study groups and gained a decisively new existential understanding of the Word of God. I began to understand what people meant when they said they were confronted by the Word of God to act in a certain way. This was the beginning of my contextual theology, although my context was still White. I realised in a rather superficial sense that God was calling me to challenge the situation in South Africa. My direct engagement in the struggle against apartheid can be traced back to the double experience of first-hand exposure to Black suffering and the discovery of a theology grounded in relating Scripture to lived experience. (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 23)

At the same time, ironically, Naudé was elected to the moderation of the Transvaal synod as vice-chairman. In that position young, White ministers began to seek him out to discuss dilemmas about apartheid (Clur, 1997; International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé & Sölle, 1986). He had befriended these young ministers during the years in Pretoria-East when they were students. Some of them (e.g., François Malan, Charl le Roux and Chris

Greyling) were serving African, Indian and Coloured congregations and shared the problems apartheid was creating in the congregations with Naudé (Bryan, 1978; International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé & Sölle, 1986). Naudé recalled:

And when they came to me and described what they themselves had experienced, I could not believe it...And they invited me to go to their congregations, which I did. I met with their church councils, I met with members of the congregation, I met with families who were deeply divided because, for instance, of the mixed marriages act, and the group areas act, and I was shattered. It was an experience which led me to a situation of being totally lost. (Naudé & Sölle, 1986, pp. 6-7)

The more contact he had with Christians and people of other races, the more aware he became of the suffering that the apartheid laws were causing (Potgieter, 1994). He knew that apartheid was morally abhorrent, but was afraid to take any action for fear of being deemed a traitor to the Afrikaner people (Naudé, 1995). Additionally, the position of moderator of the NGK was dangled in front of Naudé. At the time, the position of moderator of the NGK was the second most powerful position in South Africa after the Prime Minister. So Naudé remained outwardly loyal but his internal struggle continued (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

The sense of piety and strong moral code, as well as a sense of social and political justice with which Naudé was raised "...would eventually cause Naudé to question the very nationalism it was intended to undergird. Exposed to a different context these values came to receive a new content" (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 20). Naudé says: "Those very instruments that had been such a mighty weapon in the hands of the Afrikaners' fight for existence and liberation became the basis for my commitment to the liberation of others – namely the Blacks in South Africa" (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 20).

The question might arise that with such a strong Afrikaans Nationalist background, how Naudé ended up with such contradictory views in the late 1950s and onwards. The answer probably lies in the difference between the 'Afrikaner' and 'nationalist' concepts when discussing Naudé. As far as the 'Afrikaner' cultural tradition is concerned, Naudé was very proud of the cultural traditions and he identified with his community's struggle for freedom (Clur, 1997). It is with the concept of 'nationalist' that the problem lay. From a young age, Naudé was intelligent and had a propensity to question and he only became a rebel against nationalism once he "...was sufficiently informed about the errors that led the DRC¹³ and Afrikaner society in attempting to find biblical justification for apartheid" (Clur, 1997,

¹³ Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). In Afrikaans this would be referred to as the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK)

p.8). He realised that he had a duty to prove to the church that the race policy of the time was wrong, but at the time he did not take the matter any further (Clur, 1997; International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

On a personal note, the years in Potchefstroom were happy ones for the Naudé family. The couple worked extremely hard in the congregation. Although they shared a deep love and respect for one another, Ilse did sometimes feel that Naudé's work commitments often interfered with his family responsibilities and that he did not always have enough time for the children. The children, however, felt supported and loved and felt that they always had access to their parents if the need arose (Ryan, 1990). Naudé is described as a down to earth family man (Clarke, 2004) and according to his son, Johann, his children always experienced him as a loving father who made time to listen to their problems (no matter how busy he was), treated them with respect and allowed them to make their own decisions and choices. He taught them to take responsibility for their choices and decisions. He did not impose his will on his children, but there was considerable emphasis on faith and religion in their home. Naudé also taught his children respect for fellow human beings, regardless of colour or creed and was a friend to them (J. Naudé, personal communication, August 22, 2011; Naudé, 2012). His daughter, Liesel, expressed that his children had great respect for him (Clarke, 2004). Johann Naudé recalled that, as the children got older, they were encouraged by Naudé to discuss the controversial changes in the country. These discussions usually took place around the Sunday dinner table. Even though they were children, their opinions were respected (Naudé, 2012).

In 1959 Naudé accepted a ministry position at the prestigious and prosperous Aasvoëlkop congregation in Northcliff, Johannesburg (Bryan, 1978; Potgieter, 1994). "It was *the* elite Afrikaner community on the Witwatersrand, and included many influential figures in education, business, radio and the Afrikaans press. Inevitably the congregation included powerful members of the *Broederbond*" (Randall, 1982, p. 16). Some felt that Naudé was being transferred to Johannesburg to act not only as a church leader, but as a pawn for the *Broederbond* as strong cultural leader as well (Ryan, 1990).

Naudé was minister at Aasvoëlkop from 1959 to 1963. During this period he could have consolidated his position in the Afrikaner Establishment, then reached out for the highest rewards that it could offer. Instead these four years marked a climactic turning point in his life, with events following each other with startling speed. By 1963 the parting of the ways had been reached. (Randall, 1982, p. 17)

Coinciding with the move to Aasvoëlkop, Naudé realised that a need for greater personal association and communication across the colour line, existed for him (Randall, 1982). To this end, he became part of a multi-racial group of ministers opposed to apartheid and which hoped to lead the church away from apartheid. Since the group was multi-racial, they struggled to find venues to hold their bible study – and other meetings (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). While meetings were informal and publicity was avoided, the group continued to work tirelessly toward Christian unity and many group members would be involved with the Christian Institute of Southern Africa a few years later (Randall, 1982).

The massacre at Sharpeville which occurred on 21 March 1960, would be the first event in the 1960s that would radically change the course of Naudé's life (Randall, 1982). Members of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) protested nationally against the pass laws on this day. In the township of Sharpeville in the Transvaal, a crowd was also protesting peacefully outside the police station (Potgieter 1994; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). "Disaster struck when panic-stricken police opened fire without apparently receiving orders to do so" (Tutu, 2005, p. 48). Sixty-nine people were killed, many of whom were shot in the back as they were running away, and 180 were wounded (Bryan, 1978; Randall, 1982; Tutu, 2005). That incident sparked unrest in the country. The Black work force stayed away from work en masse and a state of emergency was declared. The Sharpeville massacre brought South Africa's apartheid policy strongly and sharply into the world's spotlight. The ANC and PAC were outlawed and the economy slumped as money flowed out of the country (Randall, 1982; Ryan 1990). "The already draconian security apparatus of the state was further tightened" (Randall, 1982, p. 17).

The Sharpeville massacre sparked crises in many sectors of society, including the churches. Although Naudé did not immediately realise this, Sharpeville and its aftermath would change the course of his life dramatically (Naudé, 1995, Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). According to his daughter Liesel, Naudé was haunted by the tragedy and even then maintained that if the Afrikaners did not change, there would be even more bloodshed (Clarke, 2004). Initially after Sharpeville, however, there was renewed impetus to Naudé's "...urge to assist in the reconciliation between the races and a greater sense of urgency to the Bible study groups then meeting on the Witwatersrand" (Randall, 1982, p. 17). Shortly after the Sharpeville massacre, Naudé's immediate concern was the negative impact the Black unrest would have on the mission of the Church and that the NGK was completely unprepared and ill-equipped to cope with that crisis (Ryan, 1990). Naudé also realised the injustices that were being committed against individuals who were protesting peacefully. He realised that he would no

longer be able to keep silent regarding these injustices and the valid claims of the Black community (Naudé, 1995).

After Sharpeville, Afrikaans churches, especially the NGK, faced tough criticism from English South African churches as well as international churches (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). In an attempt to heal the rift, the World Council of Churches (WCC) held a meeting where Dr Robert Billheimer (the associate general secretary of the WCC) proposed an inter-church dialogue to discuss the churches' responsibilities in a time of crisis (Ryan, 1990). Naudé was appointed as one of the representatives of the Transvaal NGK on the planning committee for the Cottesloe meeting (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). "The consultation – international, ecumenical, inter-racial – would have been the first experience of such a gathering in South Africa for Naudé, and presumably for many other delegates as well" (Randall, 1982, p. 19). The Cottesloe Conference was convened by the WCC and was slated to take place from 7-14 December 1960 at the Cottesloe College Residence in Johannesburg (Bryan, 1978; Potgieter, 1994). The following topics were on the agenda to be discussed (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990):

1. The factual situation.
2. The Christian understanding of the gospel for relationships among races.
3. An exploration of contemporary history from a Christian viewpoint, particularly with regard to rapid social change.
4. The meaning of the state of emergency in South Africa.
5. The witness of the church in respect of justice, mission and cooperation.

Each church agreed to compile memoranda on the topics before the consultation began. "The Transvaal NGK set up five study commissions to prepare its memoranda. Naudé, interestingly enough, was convener of the study commission on the prophetic calling of the church" (Randall, 1982, p. 19). These topics were then discussed for a whole week in the conference that included 80 representatives of South African churches and six representatives of the WCC (Naudé, 1995). The conclusion of the conference rejected segregation and discrimination on the grounds of race or colour and proclaimed that all races had equal rights to share in the privileges, freedom and responsibilities as citizens of their country. The conference could find no biblical justification for the prohibition on mixed marriages and also agreed that it was the social responsibility of each Christian to see that

justice is done to all people (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994).

Although the Cottesloe delegates were hopeful at the end of the conference, there was a very negative reaction to the Cottesloe findings, specifically from the ranks of the Afrikaner establishment, the government, the *Broederbond* and the media (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé wrote an article which was published in an Afrikaans newspaper a few days after the Cottesloe findings were published (Randall, 1982). He attempted to explain in the article that “the delegates were subject to the authority of the Word of God, a higher authority than the nation or the government” (Randall, 1982, pp. 21-22). The controversy in the church and secular press was widespread and heated. It seemed that an orchestrated campaign was launched within the government and *Broederbond* ranks to condemn the Cottesloe findings. In his New Year’s message the Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd also condemned the Cottesloe findings (Randall, 1982). Naudé recalled:

Verwoerd sensed danger and called the NGK delegates to order. Insisting that they had allowed themselves to be influenced by the liberal views of the WCC, he told them that they had a duty to the Afrikaner people and the state to maintain white supremacy. Verwoerd was an intimidating and ruthless man. His status was enough to get virtually every one of the delegates effectively to withdraw their support for the statement. (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 24)

Every one of the delegates required by Verwoerd to recant, did so, except for Naudé. He stood alone. “It was the beginning of loneliness and isolation, something that I would experience again and again in the years ahead” (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p.24).

3.2.5 Turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)

In 1961 the Cottesloe findings were condemned at a mass meeting of the Transvaal NGK synod in Pretoria, but Naudé continued to support the ecumenical movement (Ryan, 1990). Cottesloe delegates were condemned but were given an opportunity to defend themselves before the NGK Transvaal synod (De Gruchy, 1985; Potgieter, 1994). For Naudé that was a very negative experience. He felt like an accused in a court case who had already been found guilty (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990) The night before Naudé was to appear before the synod he “wrestled with his conscience” (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 24):

I had to decide. Would I submit to the political pressures which I was experiencing or would I stand by my convictions – which were by this time rooted in years of theological struggle? I discovered that night just how firm and holy those convictions were. I simply had to make a stand. I put my position to the synod with all the respect I still had for the highest assembly of my Church. In obedience to God and my conscience.... (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, pp.23-24)

In his statement to the synod, Naudé said that if any synod member could convince him that the Cottesloe statements contravened scripture in any way, he would happily apologise to the synod and the NGK. He added that in the event of there not being evidence that the Cottesloe recommendations contravened scripture, he would have to stick with his decision to support the Cottesloe recommendations. He also said that he would happily accept any changes the synod proposed to the Cottesloe findings, provided that they can be biblically justified. After his statement, Naudé realised that he had burnt some bridges and that his position as minister in the NGK may be in jeopardy (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé, 1995).

Although the findings had been condemned, the Cottesloe Statements had far-reaching symbolic value (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Many commentators mentioned Cottesloe as the moment of truth for Naudé, the moment he saw the ‘light’. The change was, however, not as dramatic as these commentators believed. Although Naudé’s doubts and confusion were confirmed, the truth of the matter was that at the end of Cottesloe, Naudé did what he had always done by backing down for the sake of Afrikaner unity (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). For Naudé, the significance of Cottesloe lay in the fact that it was the last time he would back down and allow his beliefs to be compromised (Ryan, 1990). He stated:

...I felt I had been struggling for such a long time. I asked myself: ‘How long do you intend to remain silent and fearful?’ Eventually I came to the point where I said I can’t continue to live this way. It was not possible. How will I live? What will I preach? How do I justify this kind of duplicity? I realised I would have to live a life of hypocrisy and deviousness. I felt it was not possible. But I realised on the other hand the price one would have to pay. (Ryan, 1990, pp. 61-62)

Commenting further on why he backed down, Naudé stated that despite his misgivings, he also felt that he had an important future in the NGK and hoped that he may play a part in leading the church and members away from the conservative stance (Clur, 1997). During this time, Naudé gained more insight into (a) how deeply entrenched apartheid had become within the Afrikaner community, (b) the far-reaching invisible power the

Broederbond had in the country, and (c) the far-reaching impact that the state control over the media had in terms of the flow of information. Naudé also realised that the Afrikaners did not realise how their thoughts and beliefs were being formed and manipulated to suit the Afrikaner establishment (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). “There must have been, on Naudé’s part a growing understanding that he was moving in to a position where, sooner or later, a final choice of loyalties would be forced on him” (Randall, 1982, p.24). On the one hand were his Christian convictions that apartheid was scripturally wrong and on the other, loyalty to the Afrikaner:

...*volk* which had nurtured him but which he was ever more clearly seeing as pursuing a tragically misguided policy of self-preservation at the expense of others. But it was to be two more years before the final choice was faced. (Randall, 1982, p. 24)

In 1961 the Afrikaners achieved another milestone in their nationalist struggle when the Republic of South Africa was formed under the leadership of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, but Naudé’s support for the nationalist cause continued to waver (Clur, 1997). Before Cottesloe, the inter-racial Bible study group had been progressing and growing to several groups across Johannesburg, but by 1962 the bible study groups had dwindled to a single group with only a few members. This group decided to launch a monthly theological journal with Naudé, reluctantly, acting as editor. The journal was called *Pro Veritate*, (translated as ‘For the Truth’). The first issue appeared in May 1962 and was met with harsh criticism from the ranks of the NGK and the *Broederbond* (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). “It is probably enough to note that, despite its small circulation, *Pro Veritate* enjoyed a great deal of attention, judging by the range and vehemence of the attacks launched on it” (Randall, 1982, p. 25).

For more than a year after the Cottesloe debacle, Naudé did not speak of these matters in public or in his sermons. However, he increasingly felt he had a moral duty to inform his congregation regarding his deep Christian convictions (Naudé, 1995). On 27 May 1962 he delivered a sermon in which he shared his deeply felt, fundamental Christian beliefs. These included that: (a) no person may be excluded from church and to prohibit mixed worship was against the scripture, and (b) any laws that prohibit or hinder love and justice between people are against the word of God (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

The reaction to the sermon was ruthless condemnation from members of his congregation, but also some support (Naudé, 1995). There was sharp disapproval from within the ranks of the *Broederbond* as well and several warnings to dissuade Naudé from his course

of action. Hints were dropped that he was destined for a high position in the NGK provided that he kept out of controversial issues (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). There were also warnings from the *Broederbond* regarding repercussions for his career, should he continue to speak out regarding the political situation. And as if to prove a point, Naudé lost his position in the Transvaal moderatorship (Ryan, 1990).

For the next year (May 1962- April 1963) Naudé worked harder than ever before in a congregation to stem any criticism of his ministry. He realised that with his work taking up so much of his time that he often neglected his wife and children in this period. Due to his gruelling schedule during this time, he also did not find the time to share his worries and concerns regarding apartheid with Ilse (Naudé, 1995). Ilse stated that on their walks together he would only tell her that he could no longer be a member of the *Broederbond* (Ryan, 1990).

During this period, Naudé also worked towards an inter-racial ecumenical body and preparations were made to launch the Christian Institute (CI) despite the lack of support from the NGK ministers (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). The CI's sole purpose was to expose the injustice and disruption caused by the apartheid system and strengthening the Christians to oppose this system (Kistner, 1995). "As 1962 drew to a close, Beyers felt determined not to allow further objections and oppositions to hold up the creation of the new organisation which he felt was vital to the churches in South Africa" (Ryan, 1990, p. 72).

The following year, 1963, would prove to be a very difficult year for Naudé. The CI was heavily criticised by the NGK and the *Broederbond* and it seemed that Naudé and the NGK as well as the government were moving into an open confrontation, since he was determined to move ahead with the CI as well as *Pro Veritate* (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). "The anger and the strength of the opposition was reminiscent of the Cottesloe controversy, and Beyers realised he was up against the same intransigent spirit" (Ryan, 1990, p. 78). It seemed very likely that Naudé may even lose his position as minister in the NGK (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990).

On 14 March 1963 Naudé resigned from the *Broederbond*, but on 26 March, to everybody's shock (even Naudé's), he was elected as moderator of the Southern Transvaal synod in Pretoria (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). On 15 August the CI was formally launched and Naudé was offered the job as Director of the CI (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). The functions of the CI "...were to search for a deeper insight into the will of Christ for His church through study circles and discussion groups and to strengthen the witness of the church..." (Ryan, 1990, p. 77). According to Naudé, the CI's specific aims and objectives were:

In the first place, to give a more visible expression to the biblical truth of the unity of all Christians, all believers. In the second place, to relate the truth of the Gospel more immediately to the questions of our daily existence and to make its meaning more clear to its members and to all who wish to know it. In the third place, to act as a group of Christians who wish to help bring about reconciliation between the widely divergent, divided and conflicting groups of Christians of different Churches and colours in our country. And in the fourth place, to offer the services of our member to any Church or group of Churches who wish to make use of them to give a better expression of the Kingdom of God in South Africa. (International Commission of Jurists, 1975, p. 55)

Naudé was under a lot of pressure to resign as director of the CI, as well as to quit his position of editor of *Pro Veritate* (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). In September, Naudé applied to the examining committee of the NGK whether he would retain his status as minister if he accepted the position as director of the CI. The committee denied the request (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). Naudé had a very difficult decision to make: whether to remain in the church leadership and "...therefore within the confines and restraints which were clearly set for myself and for my future ministry, or otherwise to risk the step into the unknown, into what to me had become a decision of obedience to my faith" (Ryan, 1990, p. 80). Finally, Naudé had reached a crossroads and a decision had to be made. "It was the most difficult decision which I have had to make in my life" (International Commission of Jurists, 1975, p. 68). He stated:

The seeds of my theological dissent were sown during my time at Stellenbosch, primarily by Bennie Keet. I nevertheless had a deep hankering to remain part of the Afrikaner community. It is not an easy thing to leave the warmth of the Afrikaner family within which conformity brings rewards, acclamation and support. Once the moral and theological questions were posed, however, it was difficult to accept all that one was expected to condone to remain within the inner circle. (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 22)

On 22 September he preached a sermon from Acts 5:29 to his congregation. His message was that a person's duty was to God first and foremost and then to fellow humans (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé, 1995). With that sermon Naudé effectively resigned his position as minister of the Aasvoëlkop congregation and tendered his resignation formally to the church council the following evening (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). He had to serve six weeks notice which was a very difficult time for the family. Naudé delivered a farewell sermon and was handed his document of dismissal as a minister in

the NGK on 3 November 1963 (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). The congregation held a farewell ceremony for Naudé and Ilse. A farewell newsletter was issued with glowing tributes to both of them. One contribution was made by Naudé's close friend Dr Willie Jonker (Ryan, 1990). This was a very emotional time for Naudé and a time during which he continually asked himself whether he had done the right thing (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). "But there was also a feeling of deep conviction in me that what I was doing was right" (Ryan, 1990, p. 83). In the years to come, he would be branded a traitor and an enemy of the state by his own people (Randall, 1982).

One poignant aspect of Naudé's story is that there is little doubt that, but for his 'conversion', he could have aspired to the very highest clerical and secular offices of his community. An impeccable Afrikaner background, steady progress through the hierarchical structures of Afrikanerdom, high intelligence, great personal charm and considerable gifts as an orator had left him by the early 1960s poised to enter the commanding heights of the nation's religious and political life. (Randall, 1982, p. 2)

Towards the end of 1963 more controversy ensued. Confidential *Broederbond* information was leaked to the press and Naudé was accused of being the leak, evoking further judgement and criticism from the larger Afrikaner community (Ryan, 1990). The following sequence of events led to the documents being leaked. Fellow theologian Albert Geysler shared Naudé's views that apartheid could not be biblically justified (Randall, 1982). Geysler moved into open confrontation with his church (the *Hervormde Kerk*) regarding the apartheid issue. The *Hervormde Kerk* retaliated by charging Geysler with heresy in October 1961. It was a dubious, technical offence, but on 8 May 1962 the church commission (most of whom were *Broederbond* members) found him guilty of heresy by a 13 to 2 majority. He was defrocked as minister and Geysler decided to take his case to the Supreme Court in Pretoria (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). In order to prepare for his trial and because he believed that the *Broederbond* engineered the charges against him, he approached Naudé for the *Broederbond* documents (Bryan, 1978; Ryan, 1990). Naudé explained:

He wanted the documents because of the fight with his own church, to fight the injustice which they did to him... His was a desperate stand, on his own, against his whole church leadership. They were more militant and much worse than the NG Kerk. I can understand why he felt he was standing with his back against the wall and that he needed every possible form of evidence. (Ryan, 1990, p. 88)

So, although Naudé knew he would break the oath of secrecy he took when he joined the *Broederbond*, he provided Geysler with the documentation (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). “Geysler’s view was that it was not possible to reconcile membership of both the church and the *Broederbond*, and that public exposure was the best means of countering the ‘quasi-biblical arguments’ used by the *Bond* to cloak its clandestine political activities” (Randall, 1982, p. 26). So, Geysler photographed the documents and handed them to Charles Bloomberg of the *Sunday Times* who published the documents without Naudé’s knowledge. A series of sensational exposés of the *Broederbond* followed in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* (Bryan, 1978; Randall, 1982). When it was established that Naudé had leaked the information, a media frenzy ensued. Both the *Broederbond* and Naudé issued statements that only served to fuel the negative attitude towards Naudé. He faced severe criticism during this period. The Afrikaners ruthlessly condemned Naudé and branded him a traitor (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990).

On 20 November, Naudé released a letter he had written to the *Broederbond* on 12 November 1963 in which he attempted to explain the reasons for his breaking the oath of secrecy. In the letter he expressed:

My division [of the *Broederbond*] was for a time aware of my misgivings that I, as a Christian and clergyman, had about the principles and methods of the organisation where the Christian church were concerned. I failed to find a satisfactory assurance that my objections were unfounded when I discussed my misgivings with fellow clergymen... And my concern increased after further circulars and study documents were issued by the Executive Council from August 1962 onwards, but I always hoped that other views would be forthcoming. When this did not happen... I realised... that if I delayed my decision any longer it would impair any clearness of conscience and the Christian convictions before the synod... (Ryan, 1990, p. 91)

Naudé also told the press that he made the disclosures because he also wanted to protect the good name of the CI and wanted to emphasise the fact that the Security Branch visit had nothing to do with the CI and its activities (Ryan, 1990). In hindsight, Naudé expressed regret at his actions and that he was naïve to think that the documents he gave to Geysler would remain confidential (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He also stated that a better course of action may have been to approach the *Broederbond* first and confront them with his questions and issues and explain to them why he felt he had to make the material public. “I should have had the courage to do it on my own. I did not have it” (Ryan, 1990, p. 95). Naudé realised that many Afrikaners would

never forgive him. By criticising the *Broederbond*, he tore at the very fabric of Afrikanerdom and that was an unforgivable sin and seen as treason in the Afrikaners' eyes (Ryan, 1990).

The Naudé family suffered a great deal at that time. Once again, only in hindsight, did Naudé realise that his decisions and conduct made a deep impact on his loved ones. He realised again that he should have involved Ilse to a greater extent in his decision-making process and shared his concerns with her more. He stated that at the time he was a typical Afrikaner patriarch and male chauvinist that would make vital decisions that would impact his family without involving them in the process (Naudé, 1995).

Snide, abusive phone calls were made to his home to the point where Ilse instructed the two younger children not to answer the phone anymore (Naudé, 1995) and vicious letters were also received (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). They lost friends and one of Naudé's sisters, Hymne and her husband, Prof. Detlev Weiss severed all ties with the family. His other siblings maintained contact with Naudé, although he could not freely discuss the CI activities with all of them (Naudé, 1995). Ilse found the adjustment particularly difficult and became involved with Sunday school teaching at the new Parkhurst congregation, in order to build up church ties again (Ryan, 1990). The two younger Naudé children also had to endure snide remarks from teachers at school about their father being a traitor. Both Naudé and his wife only found out years later what a painful and difficult time it was for them (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé stated:

But if I look back to that period, I would say however painful it was, it was necessary. It was a period in which I personally had to rediscover the deepest roots of my life, of my convictions of my commitment to the whole cause of justice and love in South Africa. (Ryan, 1990, p. 95)

On 15 December 1963 Naudé delivered the inaugural address of the CI at a Methodist Church in Johannesburg before a multi-racial congregation. The inaugural address was significantly titled 'Reconciliation' (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé's mother was opposed and shocked, initially, when she heard about Naudé's involvement with the CI. She called his activities with the CI traitorous to the Afrikaner cause. Only once Naudé had calmly explained the purpose of the CI to her and persuaded her to attend a few of the meetings, did she calm down somewhat (Naudé, 1995).

The international community was also opposed to the apartheid policies of the time. Diplomatic, cultural and economic sanctions were implemented in an attempt to pressure the Nationalist government to abolish apartheid. In 1962 the United Nations (UN) passed a resolution that deemed apartheid a threat to international peace and security, and also

established a UN Special Committee against apartheid. This resolution paved the way for voluntary boycotts by member states (Barnes, 2008). In 1961 South Africa was expelled from international soccer by the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and in 1963 an oil embargo was proposed by the UN.

3.2.6 A liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)¹⁴

The CI offices were in Dunwell House, Braamfontein and the initial membership only totalled 150, but membership of the CI soon increased to over 1000 by 1964 (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). Naudé's early goals for the CI included expanding the ecumenical movement, and providing an alternative for Afrikaners to their conservative views, and to develop inter-racial contact between Christians (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990).

Although in the 1960s and 1970s the NGK gradually began to shift away in its official utterances from claims that the Bible justified apartheid, the church continued to support the government's policy of 'separate development', insisting that apartheid provided just dispensation for all races in South Africa. This stands in sharp contrast with the views of the CI and an open clash was inevitable. (Ryan, 1990, p. 101)

In February 1964, Naudé decided to appeal against the synod commission's decision to defrock him, but he lost the appeal in November (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). In the meantime, he was elected as an elder onto the Parkhurst congregation church council and in July the Johannesburg circuit of the NGK declared Naudé's election invalid. Six NGK ministers opposed the decision, but to no avail (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994).

Naudé also undertook an overseas trip to the United States in April and May 1964 in order to garnish support for the CI (Ryan, 1990). He displayed great patience and hope in writing to the Afrikaans press to inform them what the CI was all about and trying to defend himself and the CI against the attacks. However, both Naudé and the CI continued to face a

¹⁴ An important domestic event that had international significance during this historical period was the South African Border War (1966-1989), also known as the South African Bush War. This little known war was the largest ideological cold war conflict interwoven with the armed liberation struggles in Angola, South West Africa (today known as Namibia) and South Africa. This war was fought on the northern Namibian and southern Angolan borders. At the time, a mandatory 2-year conscription to the South African Defence Force existed for young, white South African men (SABushwar, 2010; Steenkamp, 1990).

lot of criticism and media ‘attacks’ from the Afrikaner establishment in that year and was condemned as a communist organisation. (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990).

The Mindolo conference was held in Zambia in late May 1964. It was a significant conference due to the fact that it was the first major church conference since Cottesloe to examine South Africa’s apartheid policy. Naudé attended the conference and upon his return he attacked both Afrikaans and English South African churches in *Pro Veritate*. Of the Afrikaans churches he said that “...their guilt in the area of race relations is their silence about many forms of injustice which no Christian, in the light of the Word of God, can defend or approve of with a clear conscience...” (Ryan, 1990, p. 99) and of the English churches he said “...there is also a heavy burden of guilt – the shame of making decisions or policies which carry the message of justice, while in practice...these are so watered down that they present no real challenge to the racial attitudes of thousands of their members” (Ryan, 1990, p. 99).

The following year (1965) would prove to be an impossibly difficult year for Naudé. On a positive note, despite all the media attacks, the CI continued to expand and grow. In February, Naudé was elected an elder again in the Parkhurst congregation and was inducted in March. After complaints were lodged with the synodical commission in May, the commission declared his election as an elder invalid once again (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). To observers the dispute regarding Naudé’s election to the church council may have seemed petty, but it had symbolic value. His opponents wanted to send the message that they would never allow him to have an official platform within the church where he could air his views (Ryan, 1990). For Naudé and his supporters, “his removal from the church council was invalid in terms of church law, and he was angry and saddened by the outcome” (Ryan, 1990, pp. 100-101). In May, the security police also carried out the first raid on the CI and the media ‘attacks’ on the CI intensified (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990).

A significant event occurred in 1965 when the separatist, African churches approached Naudé and the CI for help with upgrading their theological education (Bryan, 1978; Naudé, 1995). It was a tribute to the non-racial, ecumenical nature of the CI, as well as the work and person of Naudé that motivated these African churches to approach Naudé and the CI for assistance (Ryan, 1990). In June the African Independent Churches Association (AICA) was formed in Queenstown, Eastern Cape (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). Naudé and the CI also provided assistance in other ways. Naudé employed his hobby of fixing old cars to assist young African ministers and ANC members with means of transport (W. Mazamiza, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Naudé, 1995; Telegraph Media Group, 2004).

His close friend, Chris Pailman, assisted in procuring parts and old cars to help these ministers (Naudé, 1995).

The security police continued to conduct raids on Naudé's home in Greenside with the excuse that they were looking for documents related to communism and the ANC and left with copies of *Pro Veritate* and a report from the British Council of Churches (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). At the time, Naudé had been writing a series of articles for *Pro Veritate*, comparing the church situation in South Africa to the one in Nazi Germany. He referred specifically to the obsession with purity of race and misusing the Scripture to defend prohibitions on inter-racial marriages between Jews and Arians (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). The NGK and Afrikaner establishment was in uproar and attacks on Naudé and the CI continued. Accusations were made that the CI was attempting to create a rift between the Afrikaner people and the NGK (Naudé, 1995).

In this period, Naudé attempted to keep channels of communication open with the NGK and Afrikaners to try and explain his views. For this reason he agreed to address a church youth group of the Belgravia congregation in March 1965. This caused major controversy in the congregation and the broader NGK (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Several angry church council members prevented Naudé from entering the Belgravia church building and accused him of trying to corrupt and influence their children and splitting the church. Naudé was grabbed and physically marched out of the church gate. The meeting finally took place in a private home with only a few members of the youth group attending. They had succeeded in preventing him from publicly addressing the youth of that congregation. Naudé was very hurt by the incident (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). The NGK showed little remorse for that incident and *Die Kerkbode* declared the following:

The fact is that our brother has taken a standpoint and has involved himself with an institute which our church has spoken out against. We cannot deny someone the right to their views or to belong to organisations. But where the church channels are searched for and are offered with the idea of promoting those ideas, then in our opinion there is reason for dissatisfaction and efforts must be made to ensure healthy order is maintained in the church. (Ryan, 1990, p. 105)

The NGK had the CI declared heretical. That step was met with severe criticism from the English South African churches, as well as the international church community (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Ryan, 1990). For the CI the mid-1960s was an era of growth and attempting to deal with practical and theoretical issues as they arose (Ryan,

1990). During this time, Naudé continued to travel a lot. He travelled to District Six¹⁵ where people were being forcibly removed. He travelled to the Netherlands and to Geneva for the WCC conference in July 1965. The conference was on Church and Society and dealt with the wider repercussions of social and economic injustice in societies (Coetzee, 2010; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé stated that this was a significant event, since it was “...getting to grips with the deeper roots of the situation of racial oppression and injustice in South Africa. It helped me to expand and widen my thinking of how we would have to deal with the racial situation in South Africa” (Ryan, 1990, p. 113). The Afrikaner hostility against Naudé and the CI continued. Towards the end of 1965, Naudé was forced to step down as chairman of the governing body of his daughter’s school (Clur, 1997).

In order to garnish support for the CI, Naudé travelled extensively in the early years of the CI and was involved in many speaking engagements and meetings with different groups and individuals all over South Africa (Clur, 1997). CI membership stood at about 1700 in September 1966 and the discussion groups had increased from 33 to 45. The CI had also managed to distribute Bible study materials to many churches and initiated several public symposia for the discussion of topical issues (Clur, 1997).

In 1967 Naudé’s mother died. Despite this difficult time, his sister Hymne and her husband still remained antagonistic and bitter towards Naudé (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). In the same year Naudé also brought a libel suit against Adriaan Pont, Professor of Christian History at the University of Pretoria (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). Pont launched a smear campaign with a series of articles in the *Hervormer*, claiming that the CI had sided with “communist inspired Pan-Africanism” in 1965 (Ryan, 1990, p. 118). Pont also attacked Geyser and Naudé in the same church journal, accusing them of supporting communism as well as having turned their backs on God, their churches and being traitors of their country and people (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Ryan, 1990). Naudé and Geyser threatened to sue and demanded an official apology in the *Hervormer*. Pont refused to apologise and in February 1967, Naudé and Geyser won their law suit and were awarded R10 000 compensation plus costs (Bryan, 1978; Naudé, 1995). Naudé viewed this as a triumph for the CI. Pont appealed but lost the appeal as well and had to make monthly payments of R65-00 for the next 20 years (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994). The money was transferred to ecumenical funds set up

¹⁵ In 1966 this area in Cape Town was declared a ‘Whites Only’ area under the Group Areas Act (1950). In 1982, 60 000 people were forcibly removed and their homes bulldozed to the ground. The people of District Six lost their homes, community, social networks and livelihoods (District Six Museum, 2009; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

to assist groups and individuals (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

Despite this stressful, difficult time Naudé still maintained his characteristic, wry sense of humour. Martin West recalled an incident where he and Naudé were walking in the street and he was greeted by an old acquaintance. As they walked on again, Naudé laughed and remarked that the man had given him the old *Broederbond* handshake. Even in this difficult period, Naudé was also always courteous to everyone, as was his way, including his fiercest detractors and enemies. He would greet everyone like they were the best of friends, and often debate the issues of the day with them and try to change their minds (Ryan 1990).

The CI and South African Council of Churches (SACC) worked together to draft a message to the people of South Africa in 1968 regarding the concerns the CI and SACC had for the path South Africa's apartheid policy may take the country down (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). The message was a strong theological declaration that contained ten statements regarding the nature of the Gospel of Christ and the unity of humankind, followed by a critical analysis of the doctrine of apartheid (Boesak, 2011; Ryan, 1990). "The six-page message sought to show that apartheid was contrary to the Christian message and that Christ has made reconciliation between people possible and essential" (Ryan, 1990, p. 121). Furthermore, "the message did not simply reject apartheid as unchristian, but warned that the system of racial segregation presented a threat to the church itself" (Ryan, 1990, p. 122). The final report was compiled by John Davies, Ben Engelbrecht and Calvin Cook. It was called *A Message to the People of South Africa* and released at a press conference in September 1968 (Clur, 1997). The message was met with harsh criticism from the Afrikaner establishment. Prime Minister John Vorster issued statements that the sort of thing Dr Martin Luther King Jr. did in the United States of America would not be tolerated in South Africa. He also warned that no cloak of religion would protect individuals who sought to disrupt order in South Africa (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

In response to the Prime Minister, Naudé and other leading figures in the CI and SACC wrote an open letter to Vorster insisting "that as long as the government tried to justify apartheid in terms of the Word of God, they as Christians would deny and challenge it" (Ryan, 1990, p. 122). In angry response Vorster criticised them for being leftist and liberalists and humiliating their profession with politicking. He urged them to return to the fold of the church and to their congregations and to preach the Word of God (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

The international community also continued to criticise the apartheid system in South Africa during this historical period and continued to isolate South Africa. Examples include

the academic boycotts that a group of British universities imposed on South Africa, as well as the exclusion of South Africa from the 1964 Tokyo Olympics (Barnes, 2008).

3.2.7 Transition to political activism (1969-1976)¹⁶

One of the most important spin-offs of *A Message to the People of South Africa* was the Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) (Coetzee, 2010; Ryan, 1990). The CI launched the SPROCAS in March 1969 with warm encouragement and support from the sponsors, who included retired Rev. Bill Burnett, General Secretary of the SACC and Naudé, director of the CI (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Randall, 1982). Naudé viewed it as important work for the CI and it was to play an important role in how Naudé's thinking on political issues developed (Ryan, 1990). "Spro-cas was meant partially as an answer to criticism from the government and its supporters, who argued that the *Message to the People of South Africa* had not spelt out an alternative to apartheid" (Ryan, 1990, p. 130).

The main objective of SPROCAS was to study and research certain social aspects and propose an alternative to apartheid in order to establish a more acceptable Christian and moral alternative policy. Six commissions were established to study social, political, educational, legal and economic aspects, as well as the church itself. Naudé himself was a member of the commission that investigated the church (Potgieter, 1994; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990).

Criticism of the SPROCAS came from both the conservatives and the radicals. For the conservatives SPROCAS represented yet another threat to the status quo. And as far as the radicals were concerned, they criticised both the scant attention paid to the true feelings and expectations of the Black community, as well as SPROCAS treading carefully around the civil rights issues and the Black community's desire to be freed from the shackles of apartheid (Naudé, 1995). Despite the criticisms, Naudé maintained that SPROCAS made an important contribution:

Sprocas...presented the views and convictions that were the seeds of new ideas and thoughts and directions in South Africa. It directed many of the participants to think about the future in a different way. It also conveyed to the Black community the message that here was a group of White people in South Africa who were beginning to take seriously their claims for the future. (Ryan, 1990, p. 133)

¹⁶ An important domestic event during this historical period was the South African Border War (1966-1989), (SABushwar, 2010; Steenkamp, 1990).

The WCC also launched a programme to combat racism in Notting Hill, London in 1969. It was called the Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) and was also endorsed by the central committee of the WCC in Canterbury later in 1969. Part of the programme was to set up a special fund to give financial and humanitarian support to liberation movements like the ANC, PAC and SWAPO. This included support for an armed struggle as last resort to root out injustice (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). Initially, there was very negative reaction to the PCR and even Naudé expressed reservation about the WCC's plans since he "...was anxious to shake off any suggestion that the CI supported the use of violence" (Ryan, 1990, p. 136). Even the SACC expressed reservations about the financial aid for liberation movements. It would seem, however, that Naudé gave the matter some more thought and after discussions and consultations with Black people, he had begun to reconsider his position regarding the armed struggle (Ryan, 1990). Although Naudé always proclaimed opposition against any form of violence to achieve political gain or liberation, "...his willingness to consider why Black people had resorted to an armed struggle was an important pointer to the change he was undergoing" (Ryan, 1990, p.137). While Naudé remained opposed to violence throughout his life, he believed that it was not for him to judge or turn his back on individuals who may have been involved in, or even resorted to an armed struggle, since all other avenues of finding a peaceful resolution to apartheid, had failed (Bryan, 1978; H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011).

As the decade of the 1960s drew to a close, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) emerged more strongly. "Black people were asserting a pride in their blackness and potential and in their determination to struggle for liberation on their own" (Ryan, 1990, p. 124). Naudé's ultimate acceptance of the BCM philosophy confused many of his White friends since he never appeared to be a radical to them (Ryan, 1990). They may have been unaware of his true feelings regarding the apartheid system, because Naudé kept his doubts and convictions to himself for so many years before he started speaking out against apartheid (Naudé, 1995).

Domestically, the apartheid government grew ever more determined to crush clergy who were seen to pose a threat to the security of the state and many passports were confiscated, raids exercised, people arrested and deportations occurred (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Writing about these conflicts, Naudé stated:

The crux of the matter is: what does the State regard as dangerous to its national security? Is the state in danger when a churchman, in obedience to God and his conscience, carries out the biblical command of love, social justice and compassion across the colour line? Or is the problem not rather that the authorities recognise a conception of religion, which, with regard to race relations, is in direct conflict with those church leaders...who regard apartheid as unchristian. (Ryan, 1990, p.138)

Naudé also called for an urgent meeting between clergy and the government to discuss the growing conflict in the country. The request was shunned. Instead, the Afrikaans press launched another scathing attack on Naudé's request for a meeting, the CI as well as on certain recommendations the Education Commission of SPROCAS made regarding an integrated education system for Whites and Blacks in South Africa (Ryan, 1990).

The Black majority in the country was growing increasingly frustrated and impatient with the status quo. There were increasing demonstrations of the anger in violent outbreaks (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé gave a very important speech in Pietermaritzburg in May 1971 on the topic 'Black Anger and White Power in an Unreal Society' soon after violence had erupted in the Port Elizabeth township of Gelvandale (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Ryan, 1990). In the speech Naudé emphasised the growth of the BCM and declared that the Whites in the country had become too confident and complacent in their White privilege and power and had developed a sense of "indifference to the suffering of the Blacks. This...has increased the frustration, bitterness and anger in the hearts of many Blacks which must eventually steer towards a collision course" (Ryan, 1990, p. 140). He also stated in the same speech that "Black anger as a reaction to White supremacy is like a rumbling volcano which could erupt at the most unpredictable moment in the most unpredictable way" (Ryan, 1990, p. 140). Although Naudé became very involved with the BCM and supported Black liberation, he always regarded himself an Afrikaner and believed emphatically that the Afrikaner should be part of this new vision of South Africa (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). Villa-Vicencio remarked:

He has an almost disturbing attachment to his own, *die eie*...He is an international man, but his roots are deep within the Afrikaner community. This is not necessarily a contradiction, but if it is, it is a disturbingly powerful contradiction. He is an Afrikaner to the *en*th degree. (Ryan, 1990, p. 144)

Naudé himself would often remind people of, and emphasise his roots. In 1970 he wrote:

I am writing as a Christian and an Afrikaner: As a Christian who, though realising numerous short-comings and failings in my Christian witness, nevertheless knows that obedience and loyalty to Christ's word... towers above other love and loyalty. But I also write as an Afrikaner who, on account of my love for my people, wants to try to direct their attention to the catastrophic results of a racial policy which is threatening the future and continued existence of the white man (and in particular the Afrikaner) on account of its moral unacceptability and practical unfeasibility – and the continued application of which will cause more damage, harm and misery to the Afrikaner than to any other South African population group. (Ryan, 1990, p.144)

In the late 1970s Naudé was of the opinion that the only way to tackle the problem of oppression in South Africa was through the BCM. When the SPROCAS commissions prepared their reports on the findings and made their recommendations, it was in the hope that the White population and institutions would be prepared to make the necessary changes. The main focus of SPROCAS was to bring about change in the fields of education, labour, church and social issues. After the reports had been published, and the overseas sponsors enquired about SPROCAS follow-up projects, it was decided that the recommendations in the SPROCAS report would be translated into action programmes. The new programme was launched: Special Project for Christian Action in Society, SPROCAS-2, with Peter Randall appointed as director of SPROCAS-2. The CI and Naudé became very involved with the BCM when the SPROCAS project entered its second phase and BCM leaders like Steve Biko¹⁷ and Bennie Khoapa¹⁸ became involved with SPROCAS-2, the CI and Naudé (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994).

The CI and SACC sponsored SPROCAS-2 and Naudé acted as chief fundraiser on behalf of the CI. The SACC was cautious about the radical nature of the programme. Much of the sponsorships and funding came from foreign sources with grants from Dutch, German and Scandinavian churches. SPROCAS-2 was heavily criticised in South Africa for the large amount of foreign funding despite Naudé's attempts to secure local funding. There was only a small local contribution from the Anglo American's Chairman Fund. (Clur, 1997). SPROCAS-2 and the involvement with the BCM, created opportunity for Naudé to work closely with

¹⁷ Stephen Bantu Biko (1946-1977) was a medical student, leader in the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and co-founder of the South African Student Organisation (SASO). He became a martyr for the freedom struggle when he died in police detention cells in Pretoria, South Africa (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Steve Biko Foundation, 2006).

¹⁸ Bennie A. Khoapa was a social worker and member of the BCM. He was also contributor to the Black Viewpoint publication and was director of the SPROCAS Black Community Programmes (Coetzee, 2010; South African History Online, n.d.).

young, Black activists such as Biko. It seemed incongruous that such a middle-aged, typical-looking Afrikaner was seeking common ground with the young Black activists. But perhaps it was because he had such deep sympathy for the struggle of the Afrikaners for identity, independence and liberty that he understood so well the struggle of the Black population for independence, liberty and power as well (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

Although Naudé had a very negative reputation in South Africa, his international stature was growing. In May 1972 he made history by being the first South African to be invited to preach at the seat of the Church of England, Westminster Abbey (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). At the same time, he also met with leading political figures and government officials. During these speaking engagements and meetings, Naudé focussed on two important issues that emerged during these years, namely (a) economic sanctions, and (b) the use of violence as a means to change the status quo in the country (Ryan, 1990).

As far as economic sanctions were concerned, Naudé opposed economic sanctions initially (in the early 1970s) and during his trip to Britain he "...pleaded with a group of British peers, members of parliament, businessmen and industrialists to use their financial leverage to help Black South Africans improve their economic position" (Ryan, 1990, p. 148). His views on sanctions changes, however. On the topic of economic sanctions, the CI' board of management passed a resolution in Durban in September 1976 (Ryan, 1990). The resolution supported, in principle, the

...use of sanctions and boycott as the last peaceful means of persuading Whites to accept change; the resolution also expressed support for the aims of the liberation movements insofar as these were not inconsistent with the criteria of the gospel. (Randall, 1982, pp. 43-44)

In the early 1970s, Naudé also opposed an armed struggle for liberation. He accepted that a second view was also accepted by Christian Churches across the world, that violence or an armed struggle was permissible when all peaceful avenues have been explored and failed (International Commission of Jurists, 1975). Although he continued to personally oppose any form of violence in subsequent years, he did express understanding for the need for an armed struggle if all other attempts or strategies for attaining liberation, failed (Ryan, 1990). He even helped young ANC members to flee the country, but did not actively participate in the armed struggle himself (Naudé, 1995). He explained his reasoning as follows in an interview:

...For 48 years the African National Congress stood as a totally peaceful political organization, trying to build the resistance on peaceful lines...And when for the first time I began to read this, my first question was, during these 48 years was there any church in South Africa which officially supported those goals of striving for justice and liberation on the part of the majority of the people? As far as I know there was not a single resolution adopted by any church, or by any synod during those 48 years in favour of expressing themselves in moral support of that striving for justice. (Naudé & Sölle, 1986, pp. 19-20)

In this period, the leaders of the CI, (these included Naudé, Rev. Theo Kotze¹⁹, Rev. Brian Brown²⁰, Jane Oshadi Phakathi²¹, Peter Randall²² and Rev. Roelf Meyer²³) were experiencing increased police harassment. They drafted a document called *Divine or Civil Disobedience* which was signed by Kotze, Meyer and Naudé (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). In February 1972, Prime Minister John Vorster announced that a parliamentary select committee would be assembled to investigate the activities, funding and goals of certain organisations suspected of subversion of the state and the enquiry would include among others, the CI. The commission was referred to as the Schlebusch Commission, after its chairman (Allott, 1975; Naudé, 1995). Naudé was disturbed by the "...secret nature of the inquiries – and this would later form the basis of the decision taken by him and other CI staff members not to give evidence before the inquiry" (Ryan, 1990, p.150). The other objections included that this was a parliamentary commission and not a judicial one, that any indictments against the CI were never explained clearly or publicly, that the hearings would be conducted in private and the 'accused' would not be permitted or entitled to any legal representation in these hearings (Naudé, 1995).

Naudé and six other members of the CI appeared before the Schlebusch Commission in September 1973 and refused to give evidence before the commission (Allott, 1975; Naudé, 1995). Instead, they submitted a copy of *Divine or Civil Disobedience* in response to their refusal to testify in the Schlebusch Commission on 24 September 1973 (Allott, 1975; Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). The report from the Schlebusch Commission on the CI and its members

¹⁹ Rev. Theo Kotze (1920-2003) was a Methodist minister and Regional Director for the CI in the Cape Province and Namibia. He was banned in 1977 and fled the country to live in the Netherlands and the UK and continued his anti-apartheid work. He was a recipient of the Grand Counsellor in Silver in 2008. (Cochrane, 2003; Naudé, 1995; The Presidency, 2008).

²⁰ Rev. Brian Brown was one of the CI Natal directors as well as CI administrative director (Gardner, 2000).

²¹ Oshadi Phakathi was the Transvaal Director of the CI. She received a five-year Banning Order in 1977 (Naudé, 1977, 1995).

²² Peter Ralph Randall was a teacher and anti-apartheid publisher. He was also the editor of Ravan Press and was banned by the South African government between 1977 and 1981 (Naudé, 1995; Randal, 1982).

²³ Rev. Roelf Meyer was a former NGK minister and was one of the editors of *Pro Veritate* (Naudé, 1995; Walshe, 1983).

was published on 28 May 1975. The report stated that the CI was a danger to the security of the state and that Naudé himself and the CI supported violence to bring about revolutionary change in the country (Naudé, 1995). During this period, Naudé also found out that his passport had been withdrawn and he was not permitted to travel abroad (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990).

All those who refused to testify before the Commission, were charged under the Commissions Act. The trial that started on 13 November 1973 would last three years in the Transvaal Supreme Court (Bryan, 1978; Naudé, 1995). The trial "...became the focus of interest, symbolising as it did the clash between Christians and the apartheid stage" (Ryan, 1990, p. 154). The two legal points questioned during the trial were (a) "was the Schlebusch Commission legally constituted, and was the mode of proceedings prescribed for it valid...?" (Allott, 1975, p. 33), and (b) "Did Naudé have 'sufficient cause' for refusing to take the oath and give evidence to the Schlebusch Commission?" (Allott, 1975, p. 33). During the trial, Naudé's legal representative argued that, although Naudé had refused to testify, the circumstances justified the refusal on the grounds of conscience.

The evidence in the case itself sets out in detail Dr Naudé's beliefs, his attempts over the years to waken the conscience of his countrymen, his personal history and prophetic role, and the activity of the Christian Churches inside and outside South Africa. (Allot, 1975, p. 17)

After having been found guilty of the charges and sentenced to a fine of R50 or a jail sentence of one month, Naudé's defence appealed against the charges. Finally, however, in October 1976 Naudé lost the appeal and the magistrate's sentence was upheld by the Transvaal Supreme Court (Allot, 1975; Ryan, 1990). After careful consideration, Naudé decided that he would not pay the fine, but would rather serve the prison sentence (Ryan, 1990). "A fine of R50 is of little significance to me. To go to jail is a little painful, but it allows me, in a small way, to identify myself with the hundreds of Blacks in jail" (Ryan, 1990, p. 183).

On 28 October 1976, Ilse drove Naudé to the Pretoria magistrate's court. From there he was transported to the maximum security facility of Pretoria Central Prison. He spent the night in a cell and after having read the book of Amos in the Bible, slept peacefully (Naudé, 1995). During his walk in the exercise yard the next morning, he was informed that the fine had been paid and he was free to go. Naudé's minister, Dr Van Rooyen, paid the fine. Naudé was unhappy about this development, no less because it undermined the symbolic gesture he

attempted to make, as well as that the decision was made without his consent. The relationship between Naudé and Van Rooyen was strained after the incident (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990).

Naudé remarked that when he read *Divine or Civil Disobedience* in subsequent years, he often wondered whether the Church community may not have benefited more from closer inspection of the document at the time it was published (Naudé, 1995). The Schlebusch Commission and the way the trial was handled indicate the “elaborate steps which the government was prepared to take to justify its actions against white opponents. It displayed less subtlety and greater severity when it came to deal with Black organisations” (Ryan, 1990, p.157). In the CI’s estimation 28 Whites and 186 Blacks had been banned by the end of 1973. These included all staff and publications of the Black Community Programme and all the influential Black student leaders (Ryan, 1990).

From 1974 onwards, there was growing unrest and industrial action in the country. Naudé expressed the opinion on many platforms that the South African government should begin the process of negotiations and discussions with Black leaders in exile and in prison and prepare the way for Black rule in this country. He realised that the government’s failure to do so would bring South Africa to the brink of violent confrontation (Ryan, 1990). Naudé reported of this time:

For many years we lacked an understanding of the true nature of the struggle in South Africa. In the beginning the CI saw it mainly as a racial issue, where colour was the decisive determinant. We did not fully understand that during all those years the Whites had very shrewdly and skilfully exploited colour. By and large it coincided with a lack of education and training. Colour was exploited as a principle of division, separation and discrimination. Even if the racial situation were to slowly change, the basic problem would remain, not of a racial struggle, but of a class struggle of economic disparity between the poor and the rich. The CI began to see this more clearly from 1974 onwards. (Ryan, 1990, pp. 157-158)

In the mid-1970s Naudé was recognised both nationally and internationally for his work. In 1974, the University of the Witwatersrand awarded him with an honorary doctorate of law. In the same year, the University of Chicago awarded him with the Reinhold Niebuhr Prize for human rights (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). See section 3.3 for a list of all the honorary doctorates, rewards and accolades that Naudé received. He was permitted to travel overseas to accept the award in person. Since it was the first time in many years that he had been allowed to travel abroad, he made use of that opportunity to travel to the Netherlands first. The

opinions he expressed in interviews about his country's political future created a storm in the media in South Africa, although he was often misquoted (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). During these visits, Naudé gave interviews to the press and in one of the interviews he was asked whether the "CI would continue to act as a buffer between the races in the event of open confrontation. He replied that it would be impossible for any organisation to remain neutral and that the CI would side with the oppressed" (Ryan, 1990, p. 165). The South African press got hold of this statement and completely distorted the context and one of the Afrikaans newspapers reported that Naudé had sided "...against the whites' and that the ...CI supported the freedom fighters" (Ryan, 1990, p. 165). Only after Dutch church leaders refuted these media distortions and Naudé had issued statements setting the record straight, did the Afrikaans newspaper admit to having misquoted Naudé (Ryan, 1990).

Naudé was also the founding member of the *Broederkring* (Circle of Brothers), (hereafter referred to as BK) whose members included mainly African and Coloured ministers and a few White ministers. The BK was committed to bridging the racial divide in the church (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994). In 1974 Naudé and Sam Buti deposited the first R50 into the bank account of the BK. The BK would be the forerunner of the *Beleidendekring* (Confessing Circle) (Clur, 1997).

In January 1975, Naudé realised that the writing was on the wall for the CI and that it was only a matter of time before the government acted against the organisation, since the Schibusch Commission report was due to be published (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). "As a result of earlier reports by the commission, the government had enacted an Affected Organisations Bill, aimed at cutting off all foreign funding to organisations involved in anti-apartheid activities" (Clur, 1997 p. 174). The Schibusch Commission Report was tabled in parliament in May 1975. The report concluded that the CI was a danger to the state and also included a scornful attack on Naudé (Ryan, 1990). "It claimed that Beyers and the CI were promoting violence and revolution in South Africa, their main objective being to use racial conflict in order to replace the existing order with a Black-dominated socialist system" (Ryan, 1990, p. 167). The findings in the report were fully endorsed by the NGK (Ryan, 1990).

Two days after the report was tabled in parliament, the CI was pronounced to be an 'affected organisation' by the apartheid government. This pronouncement sparked a surge of renewed support for the CI and membership rose from 900 to 3000 again. Additionally, the SACC, the Roman Catholic Church and various independent churches declared their support for the CI (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). "... Beyers believed the state action introduced the CI's

most significant phase. Although the CI's resources were extremely limited...the dedicated staff who remained were steadfastly committed to their mission" (Ryan, 1990, p. 170).

Naudé had expressed for a long time that the Black people in South Africa were becoming impatient with the lack of change in the country and their impatience may erupt in violence. On 16 June 1976 the scholars from the Naledi and Thomas Molofo high schools in Soweto had organised a protest march against the compulsory use of Afrikaans as instruction medium in the schools. Between 10 000 and 20 000 students converged on the Orlando West High School. The protest march proceeded peacefully until the children encountered the police. The police shot teargas into the crowd of protestors and the children retaliated by throwing stones back at the police. The police opened fire killing seven and wounding 18 children. Violence and rioting erupted all over Soweto and police and military reinforcements were called in. By the end of that week, the official death toll had risen to 176, and unofficially to over 300 (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). Naudé and the CI staff were greatly concerned about these developments. Naudé wanted to go to Soweto on the 16th but was persuaded to wait until the following day. On the 17th a court order was served on both Naudé and the general secretary of the SACC, John Reese, prohibiting them from entering Soweto (Naudé, 1995).

In a press statement, Naudé expressed that it was clear that the government was no longer able to direct the course of political events in South Africa. He reiterated that the time has come to allow the Black community to elect leaders from their midst (including freed political prisoners or people in exile) to participate in a national convention to eradicate all unjust social and political structures (Naudé, 1995). His pleas were not heeded.

In reaction the state resorted to enormous force to quell the protests and by 1977 the death toll in the Black townships had risen to more than 700...The Soweto uprisings marked a watershed in the country's history and touched almost every facet of South African life, not least the churches. (Ryan, 1990, p. 178)

In response to the surprise and confusion of his fellow White churchmen in the face of the Soweto uprising, Naudé replied:

Brothers, now do you realise what we have been trying to warn you about for so long? Whether we like it or not we have to take a decision. Either we have to side with the Blacks in their struggle for liberation or otherwise we are going to become irrelevant. At the moment we are not on the side of liberation. (Ryan, 1990, pp. 178-179)

Being on the side of the liberation struggle introduced the question of economic sanctions as means of producing political change again. “For many years Beyers and the CI had refrained from calling for economic sanctions as a way of bringing about change in South Africa” (Ryan, 1990, p. 180). However, reeling from the unrest and violence in the townships in 1976 “the CI became more explicit in support for the liberation struggle” Ryan, 1990, p. 180) and declared “...a new stage in the struggle for liberation had been reached...The CI promised support for all peaceful efforts to bring about change, including work stayaways, economic sanctions and the discouragement of immigration” (Ryan, 1990, pp. 180-181). The government’s insistent refusal to shift on the issue of apartheid produced a situation where violent confrontation would only escalate. The CI saw that “...one of the last remaining avenues of working for peaceful change was through economic pressure” (Ryan, 1990, p.181). The CI also supported the call “...against further investments in South Africa because investment in apartheid was immoral, unjust and exploitative” (Ryan, 1990, p.181). By 1977, however, Naudé had no hope that peaceful transformation in South Africa would occur and that a violent struggle was inevitable (Potgieter, 1994).

The government was angered by the resolution and Naudé realised that this may signify the end of the CI as an organisation. And he was not wrong. Only a month after he had been released from prison after his short stay in 1976, the security police conducted an early morning raid on the CI and SACC offices in Braamfontein. Every room was meticulously searched by the 40 policemen and documents, paperwork and pamphlets were confiscated. The raid lasted eight hours and was repeated a few months later in the CI’s Cape Town offices (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

As previously stated, the years of political awakening and activism were particularly stressful and difficult years for Naudé and his family. Although Naudé and Ilse lost many friends and even family when he openly began to question and criticise apartheid (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990), the couple was still socially in demand (albeit not in the same circles) and were invited out to dinner and to gatherings at people’s homes (C. Anthonisson, personal communication, October 25, 2011). Naudé went to great trouble to engage with, educate and inform Afrikaners who had also begun to question apartheid. There was even still support for Naudé amongst some of the Aasvoëlkop congregants after he left in 1963 (C. Anthonisson, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Ryan, 1990).

3.2.8 The years of silence (1977-1984)²⁴

As 1977 dawned, anger and discontent continued to simmer in Black townships. In spite of the systematic detention and banning of Black leaders and publications, the spirit of resistance was kept alive at numerous mass funerals and meetings. Beyers continued to attract strong government criticism. (Ryan, 1990, p.183)

In 1977, Naudé was director of Ravan Press. He was again charged with publishing offences for conspiring with four black journalists to produce an undesirable publication (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). The charges were eventually dropped, but "...in a foretaste of what was awaiting the entire leadership of the Christian Institute, Oshadi Phakati was served with a banning order in March 1977" (Ryan, 1990, p. 183). Naudé continued to travel around the country and delivered speeches in which he repeatedly expressed his fears and warnings regarding apartheid (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990).

As director of the CI, Naudé presented the financial report at the CI's annual general meeting on 14 September 1977 in Johannesburg which was a clear and realistic summary of the problems in South Africa and South African churches (Ryan, 1990). In the report he also mentioned that "...the institutionalised brutality of the apartheid system had engendered so much bitterness and hatred that many Black leaders were coming to the conclusion that counter-violence was a tragic inevitability" (Ryan, 1990, p. 184) and declared that the CI shared in the hope of the oppressed that change was coming. He also stated that the CI sympathised with the White population who lived with uncertainty and fear (Ryan, 1990). Naudé concluded the report as follows:

As South Africa moves into an increasingly uncertain future, Christ is calling his followers to step into the unknown tomorrow with faith and hope and joy-because this is His world and His people and His kingdom. Aware as we are that our country is moving into a period of great suffering, anguish and conflict, we move forward in hope and joy in the certain knowledge that where Christ leads He brings the assurance of the fulfilment of our striving for justice, liberation and recognition of human dignity. (Ryan, 1990, p. 184)

Two days after that address, on 12 September 1977, the leader of the BCM, Steve Biko died in Police custody in Pretoria of severe head trauma and renal failure. Biko had been arrested on 18 August 1977 by the security police in Port Elizabeth. On 6 September 1977 he was taken to the security police offices for interrogation. According to family members of

²⁴ The South African Border War (1966-1989) still continued during this historical period (SABushwar, 2010; Steenkamp, 1990).

Biko, by 7 September 1977 he was a mental and physical wreck. He was transported (unconscious and naked) from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria Central prison where he succumbed to his injuries within hours (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Runyan, 1984; Steve Biko Foundation, 2009). Naudé was saddened by the death of Biko, whom he considered an extraordinary, charismatic political leader. He was acutely aware of the loss especially when he attended Biko's funeral. Naudé pondered what the effect of Biko's death would be on the Black activists and the BCM supporters. He also wondered what the Nationalist government was achieving with the folly of apartheid laws, restrictions and banning orders (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995).

On 19 October 1977, several BCM organisations as well as the CI were declared unlawful. The CI offices in Johannesburg and Cape Town were searched and documents were confiscated (Bryan, 1978; Ryan, 1990). "October 1977 represented the end of an era in South Africa. Steve Biko was dead, the Black Consciousness organisations were crushed, and the CI was closed along with them. It was also the end of a difficult yet enriching chapter in Beyers Naudé's life" (Ryan, 1990, p. 188).

By the end of 19 October 1977, not only had the CI and *Pro Veritate* been closed down, but Naudé and the CI leadership also each received a banning order for five years. (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé's banning order was extended by another three years in 1982. The extension of his banning order caused uproar in South Africa and internationally with many Western governments protesting formally (Ryan, 1990). A report by the security branch of the South African Police details the reasons for Naudé's banning. It read: "The purpose of banning Naudé is twofold: first to neutralise him in respect of the role he was playing in influencing the domestic situation... Secondly the goal of the banning was to undermine his role as an external opinion-former" (Clur, 1997, p. 204). Although Naudé expected that he may be served with a banning order, it still came as a shock to both Naudé and Ilse (Ryan, 1990). Despite her shock, Ilse was a great source of support and comfort after Naudé received the banning order (Naudé, 1995). Their children and friends also began arriving at the house to support Naudé after the banning order had been imposed (Ryan, 1990).

According to Naudé (1995) and Ryan (1990), the banning order carried the following restrictions:

1. The banned person is restricted to a specific area, the magistrate's court district of Johannesburg. (That meant that Naudé could not attend church services in Alexandra township, as was his custom).
2. The banned person may not engage socially with more than one person at a time.

3. The banned person may not write any material with the intent of publication or public exhibition.
4. The banned person may not enter an educational establishment, factory, union offices or court without permission from the authorities.
5. The banned person is required to report to a police station in person daily or weekly. In Naudé's case it was weekly.

Reflecting upon the banning order, Naudé expressed how difficult living under the banning order was for him and his wife. There were moments of great tension between them during this period, but through prayer and discussion they worked through their problems. Naudé missed the opportunity to discuss the emotional tensions of the banning order with close friends. He also missed the opportunity for free social association and relaxation with friends. He stated that Ilse was left to face up to his emotional tension alone and felt pity for her (Ryan, 1990).

The long list of terms and prohibitions of the banning order had to be studied and complied with and they lived with the knowledge that their mail was being opened and that they were under constant surveillance (Ryan, 1990). Naudé also expressed that he learned soon after the banning order that there was no way in which he could live without breaking the banning order, specifically with regard to the prohibition on a banned person participating in any political discussions (Ryan, 1990). He explained:

For me the choice was rapidly and readily made: I would under no circumstances allow the expression of my Christian convictions, my Christian concern and my judgement on political matters and events from a Christian perspective to be curtailed or restricted by my banning order. If this would lead me to being charged, I would gladly face such a trial. (Ryan, 1990, p. 199)

Imposing a banning order turns a person into a non-person (Naudé & Sölle, 1986). According to Naudé the true punishment of a banning order lies in the fact that as a non-person "...whatever you say, therefore loses significance and loses meaning and therefore in that sense they invalidate what you are saying, and thereby... remove the danger that the ideas and the thoughts that you present could therefore have some impact" (Naudé & Sölle, 1986, p. 15).

After the banning order had been imposed on Naudé, he considered his options. He thought of three courses of action: (a) Further study and perhaps to learn another African language like Zulu or Xhosa, but the authorities refused that request, (b) writing a book, or (c)

leaving South Africa and continue the work of the CI in the Netherlands. Initially, Naudé was hesitant to mention to Ilse that he was considering leaving the country, since she had already paid such a high price for Naudé's beliefs (Naudé, 1995). When he mentioned the option of leaving to Ilse, she refused to leave South Africa and leave their children behind. That meant that Naudé would have had to leave on his own. So, without her intentionally meaning to, Ilse closed option three for Naudé since he was not prepared to go overseas on his own without Ilse (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

As it turned out, Naudé's life took a very different turn than the options he considered. People from all walks of life flocked to the Naudé's home and he counselled White and Black, old and young sometimes till the early hours - the busiest years of his ministry (C. Anthonisson, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). And thus, his seven years of banning became seven years of listening and learning. What he thought would be seven lean years became seven of the most enriching years of his life (Naudé, 1995). Naudé believed it was exactly that banning order that finally communicated to the Black community that he was trustworthy and supportive of the liberation struggle in South Africa (Naudé, 1995). Mandela stated:

But justice can never be conquered by oppression and injustice, and in the years that Beyers Naudé was banned to his modest suburban home in Johannesburg the constant stream of visitors who walked up his garden path never abated, and he never hesitated in his clear denunciation of apartheid. For those of us, like myself, who were incarcerated in prison, his remarkable witness continued to be a great source of inspiration. Many of the younger generation of liberation fighters who joined us in prison after 1976 mentioned the example of Beyers Naudé as one of the reasons why they accepted the non-racial character of our struggle. (Mandela, 1995a, p. 7)

Although a difficult decision, Naudé left the NGK in 1978 since he believed he could not remain a member of church, in good conscience that ignored the Biblical instruction of Church unity (Clur, 1997; Naudé 1995; Ryan, 1990). He formally resigned his church membership on 23 February 1980, became a member of the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika* (translated as Dutch Reformed Church in Africa and hereafter referred to as the NGKA) and was confirmed in the Alexandra congregation with a handful of other Whites (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982). It was a symbolic step of great importance and they were welcomed into the church of Ds. Sam Buti with the following words: "These people have left because they understand that we are all God's children. I am delighted" (Randall, 1982, pp.

42-43). Naudé's wife, Ilse, remained a member of the Parkhurst congregation (Potgieter, 1994).

Despite the banning order, Naudé became more involved in the illegal activities of the ANC by distributing documents, outlining the mission and goals of the ANC. He believed the nation was entitled to understand what the ANC was advocating in the hope that this would minimise the armed struggle (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). He also became involved in helping members of the liberation struggle escape the country, since he simply realised that if they fell into the hands of the military or police, that they would be tortured and most likely killed (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Of his involvement, Naudé had the following to say:

I was not naïve. I realised that many would join the guerrilla forces and that others had possibly been involved in armed activity inside the country. Given my theological sensitivities, I felt constrained to enquire of them whether they had tried all other options available to them before resorting to the armed struggle...I do not argue that all I did was 'good', 'right' or 'of God'. I simply say that I would have been more guilty if I did nothing. The ultimate judgement I must leave up to God. (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 30)

From 1983 the ANC tactics to bring about change in South Africa changed. The tactics now included urban uprisings, consumer boycotts, strikes, industrial sabotage and attacks on government targets in order to bring South Africa to a standstill. The government would eventually call a state of emergency in 1985. In the early to mid-1980s, the international community also continued with cultural and sports sanctions in an attempt to force the South African government to abandon its apartheid policies (Barnes, 2008).

During this time, Naudé received much support from the church leaders both nationally and internationally. Archbishop Dennis Hurley often visited him. Bishop Desmond Tutu and other delegates and church groups from the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada and other African countries also visited him (Clarke, 2004; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Many discussions and conversations took place outside under the fruit trees in Naudé's garden, for fear of security police listening devices in his home (C. Anthonisson, personal communication, October 25, 2011; SouthAfrica.info reporter, 2004). Cedric Mason recalled Naudé showing him a scrap of paper, outside under the fruit trees in the garden, delivered by a traveller carried in the bottom of his cigarette packet. It read: "Thank you for all you are doing" and was signed by Oliver Tambo (SouthAfrica.info reporter, 2004, para. 20) who was the exiled president of the ANC at the time (ANC, 2011). Even as a banned, silent witness he also continued to feature prominently

in the press, to great irritation of the government (Randall, 1982). “To the annoyance of the apartheid government each act of vilification, of harassment, each denigration from them and their sycophantic cohorts perversely enhanced his reputation and credibility here among the oppressed, and abroad” (Tutu, 2005, p. 51).

Naudé’s banning order became a major embarrassment to the South African government, and eventually, even Afrikaans churches requested that the government lift the restrictions (Ryan, 1990). The government invited Naudé to apply for some of the restrictions to be lifted or at least relaxed, but he refused. The government, of its own accord, relaxed some of the restrictions. These included that Naudé was now permitted to (a) attend social gatherings of more than one person, (b) to enter African, Coloured and Indian areas, and (c) to enter educational institutions, factories, printing works and trade union offices (Ryan, 1990). The other restrictions remained and that meant that Naudé was still not permitted to speak to other banned individuals, address students, and attend political meetings or to be quoted (Ryan, 1990).

On Wednesday 26 September 1984, the banning order was unexpectedly lifted and with it seven of the most difficult but most enriching years of Naudé’s life, was over. With the close of this chapter in his life, came a period of unexpected readjustment to the life and freedom of an ‘unbanned’ person (Naudé, 1995). Naudé’s stance against the apartheid system stirred a lot of interest internationally. It was only once the banning order had been lifted, however, that Naudé was free to express his motivations and experiences of the time. In speaking about the rejection he felt on this journey towards justice and obedience to his faith, Naudé remarked:

I discovered that one’s quest for life and liberation is an enduring journey. There are repeated barriers to cross and each time there are those who refuse to make the crossing with you. Well, that’s just the way it is. All we can do is take people as far as they are prepared to go. It is never easy to travel alone. But then there are always a few who are already on the road. It’s merely a case of linking up and travelling together. (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, pp. 27-28)

During the years of opposition against the apartheid system and the years during which he was banned, Naudé was criticised and ostracised by the Afrikaner community. Even after the banning order was lifted, there were still those in the Afrikaner community who could not forgive him for what they deemed as treason (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan,

1990). When asked once why the Afrikaner community did not follow him on the journey to fight apartheid, Naudé answered as follows:

I think the first reason is...that in the Afrikaans society there is such a deep sense of loyalty to a wrong concept. Loyalty to your people, loyalty to your country and loyalty and patriotism, have in a certain sense become deeply religious values; they have been converted into deeply religious values. So that anybody who is seen to be disloyal to his nation, to his people, is not only deemed to be a traitor, but in the deeper sense of the word, he is seen as betraying God. He is betraying the deepest values of the understanding of faith as it was portrayed...The fact is that you are allowed your differences among your Afrikaner people, but only to a degree. You must know where the boundary is, the limits of dissent and of disagreement. The moment you overstep that boundary...you are totally out. You are ostracized, you are pushed aside, you are seen to be a traitor and, humanly speaking, you are never taken back. And I think in my case it was due to the fact that the Afrikaner people see themselves to be a minority, feel themselves to be threatened, and their whole history has been built up on the basis of fear. There was the threat... from the Black majority, the threat from British imperialism and the threat coming from others. Hence their mentality of the besieged, that "lager" mentality, in which our people always felt that true patriotism and true loyalty meant you stand by your people regardless of the question of right and wrong. (Naudé & Sölle, 1986, pp. 11-12)

There are writers like Potgieter (1994) who maintained that Naudé went to unnecessary extremes in his attempt to oppose apartheid, and that his leaving the NGK was overdramatic. There were ministers within the NGK that also opposed apartheid, but chose to attempt to bring about change from within the ranks of the NGK (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). One such a minister was Naudé's brother-in-law, Frans O'Brien Geldenhuys, who believed Naudé had made the wrong choice by leaving the NGK. Unbeknownst to Geldenhuys, the NKG was becoming more isolated and by the mid-1970s the NGK accepted secret funds from the government to promote the church message overseas. The funding was part of the Department of Information's propaganda programme to promote and garnish support for the government policies. The funding lasted four years and ended when the 'Information Scandal' broke in 1978 and the NGK involvement was also revealed. Geldenhuys had not been aware of the secret funding and was shocked when he found out the NGK was part of the propaganda machine. He resigned as chief executive officer and director of ecumenical relations of the NGK when he realised that the NGK was not going to budge from its close relationship with the government (Clur, 1997). Geldenhuys recalls the conversation he and Naudé had when Naudé announced that he was going to establish the CI and that this would

possibly mean the parting of ways between himself (Naudé) and the NGK, while Geldenhuys believed that one may be able to engender change from within the NGK by remaining a member of the church:

...Twenty years later I resigned as chief executive officer... with the bitter realisation that I had not succeeded in moving my church from its complacent stand in favour of apartheid in church and politics. I...asked myself: Who was right – Bey or I? (Clur, 1997, pp. 188-189)

During the difficult years of ostracism, criticism, anti-apartheid theology and ministry, Naudé would reach out and discuss the stressors, difficulties and frustrations with like-minded colleagues and friends (J. Durandt, personal communication, October 25, 2011). Naudé enjoyed friendships with younger and older people and people from different cultural backgrounds (J. Naudé, personal communication, August 22, 2011). He had particularly dear friendships with Dr Fred van Wyk, who was a CI colleague and later head of the Institute of Race Relations (Bryan, 1978; Meyer, 2006). Naudé had a close relationship with Roelf Meyer as well for 41 years, 28 of which were spent working on projects together (Meyer, 2006). Another dear friend was Reverend Tshenuwani Simon Farisani who even stayed over at Naudé's Greenside home after the Security Police released him from prison (Naudé, 1995). Other close friends included Horst Kleinschmidt, Theo Kotze, Peter Randall (Coetzee, 2010), Nelson Mandela (Clarke, 2004) and Reverend Frikkie Conradie, also a minister at the Alexandra congregation. Naudé was greatly saddened by Conradie's suspicious death in a motor vehicle accident. Due to the banning order, Naudé was not permitted to attend his funeral in Alexandra (Naudé, 1995; Coetzee, 2010). Fred van Wyk as well as Naudé's sister, Lierieka, also passed away during the period of Naudé's banning. These were very sad and emotionally difficult events for Naudé to deal with. Despite efforts to reconnect with his sister, Hymne and her husband Detlev at Lierieka's funeral, they continued to shun Naudé and Ilse. This rift remained a source of great sadness for Naudé (Naudé, 1995).

3.2.9 Towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)²⁵

Naudé had worked so tirelessly for so many years and was often asked, even by his wife, if he was not growing tired or weary (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). His response was:

²⁵ The South African Bush War/Border War was still continued at this stage (SABushwar, 2010; Steenkamp, 1990). Additionally, in response to the atrocities of apartheid, many countries in the world instituted trade and economic sanctions against South Africa and a significant amount of foreign investment was withdrawn from the country in the mid-1980's (Levy, 1999).

...At times I get tired, physically tired, but if you ask me whether in my mind or in my being, in my inmost being I get tired, I'd say no, because there is an inner deep conviction of the tremendous power of truth and of love, of the human community and of the willingness to learn, and learn especially from the most insignificant person. And when the wisdom of that comes out, there constantly I stand astounded to say, how foolish have you been, Beyers, that you did not see this and discover this before, and then I feel so tremendously enriched that I feel, okay, let the next day come. I am ready. (Naudé & Sölle, 1985, pp. 24-25)

At retirement age for most other people, Naudé was elected General Secretary of the SACC (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). He was to succeed Bishop Desmond Tutu who had been appointed Bishop of Johannesburg in 1985. Tutu had been appointed as General Secretary of the SACC initially in 1978 because the SACC felt that since the majority of the constituency of member churches was black, the General Secretary should also be a black person. When the decision had to be made who was to succeed Tutu in 1985, these same people appointed Naudé (Tutu, 2005). Tutu recounted:

...without batting an eyelid and with no one feeling that they had thoroughly contradicted themselves, appointed as my successor a white man and not just any white but an Afrikaner to boot. And there was no outcry; in fact the appointment was widely acclaimed. (Tutu, 2005, p. 48)

Initially Naudé, although honoured and humbled, hesitated to take the position believing as a banned person, he may have lost touch with the current issues in the Church as well as not being the most suitable for the position. In the end he accepted and served from February 1985 to July 1988 when he was succeeded by Frank Chicane (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). Naudé re-emerged as an important church leader in the country after his banning. Margaret Nash said that Naudé made a very important contribution while at the SACC:

Naudé brings to the SACC, to the South African churches and to the world church the orientation and the commitment of a pastor who is also a prophet, a servant who is also a *baanbreker*. On him will fall in a very particular way the first... task of leading the church in southern Africa in to costlier ecumenical obedience. (Nash, 1985, p. 153)

Nash believed that Naudé also was responsible for guiding Christians, on the one hand, to God's will in terms of "...power to reconcile, to reintegrate in Christ all persons..." (Nash, 1985, p. 153) and, on the other hand, he has the additional task of "...unmasking

deception (of self and others) proclaiming divine judgement, and calling for the repentance that leads to demonstrable amendment of life” (Nash, 1985, p. 153).

There was still unrest in the country. In March 1985, on the 25-year anniversary of Sharpeville, there were altercations in the Llanga and KwaNobuhle townships outside Uitenhage where 21 people died. Naudé visited Uitenhage to extend condolences to the families on behalf of the SACC (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He also participated in the protest march of 300 clergy in Cape Town the following day to hand over certain demands on behalf of the churches. Naudé and 250 other protesters were arrested only to be released on bail the next day (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). During his tenure as General Secretary of the SACC, he worked towards and promoted ecumenical unity and to relieve the plight of the Black majority under apartheid by attending talks and meetings with various groups, speaking at various gatherings and writing articles for print (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994).

The political climate in South Africa was deteriorating rapidly during this historical period. The Nationalist government declared a state of emergency in 1985. South Africa faced renewed economic sanctions in the mid-1980s. In 1986 the USA passed legislation that banned new investment in South Africa, prohibited bank loans and sales to the police and military (Barnes, 2008). South Africa also faced a financial crisis in the mid-1980s due to the deteriorating investment climate at the time (Barnes, 2008; Levy, 1999).

In 1987 Naudé was ordained as minister in the NGKA, 24 years after he was deprived of the title of *dominee* (minister of religion). That was an event of great symbolic significance and Naudé could once again officially assume that title (Ryan, 1990). Another significant event that occurred in 1987, was the inclusion of Naudé in the group of Afrikaner delegates who held talks with the (then still banned) ANC in Dakar, Senegal (Naudé, 2012; Telegraph Media Group, 2004).

3.2.10 Vindication (1988-2004)²⁶

“The demise of apartheid and the move to democracy in South Africa turned Naudé from a pariah to hero” (SouthAfrica.info reporter, 2004, p. 3). Naudé also played a prominent role in the negotiations toward democracy in the country, when the ANC included him in their delegation (Naudé, 2012; Tutu, 2005). That was a huge honour and compliment, since Naudé

²⁶ The South African Bush War/Border War ended in 1989 (SABushwar, 2010; Steenkamp, 1990). In this historical period South Africa also experienced a complete change in political dispensation with the abolishment of apartheid and the first democratic elections held in 1994 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

was a non-member of the ANC (Tutu, 2005). Naudé recalled that when he was invited to join the ANC delegation he jokingly told Madiba that however honoured he (Naudé) was at the invitation, Madiba should be aware that he (Naudé) had not actually joined the ANC (Ryan, 1990; Naudé, 1995). Naudé had always believed that negotiation between the government and the liberation movement would be the only way in which a peaceful resolution for the problems South Africa was facing would be found (Potgieter, 1994). He was involved in the talks at Groote Schuur and the subsequent signing of the Groote Schuur Minute, (Clur, 1997; N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011), but Naudé felt that his "...calling as a minister prevented him from officially joining the organisation. From that point on, he dropped out of formal negotiations involving the ANC and National Party government" (Clur, 1997, p. v). He continued to be widely consulted unofficially by the ANC in the following years (Clur, 1997). "The most important thing about Naudé was that he had courageously opposed apartheid and had paid a heavy price for that opposition and the people were now rewarding him" (Tutu, 2005, p. 52). His daughter, Liesel, felt that for her father "...being a prominent negotiating force in the lead up to the birth of the democratic dispensation was a very special time" (Clarke, 2004, p. 17).

Then the NGK, which treated him like a pariah, made a handsome public apology to Naudé and Ilse at a meeting of the General Synod in October 1994 for the way they (and others who had been prophetic about apartheid, like Bennie Keet and Ben Marais) had been treated (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1994; Tutu, 2005). Tutu recalled the following: "I asked him how he felt to be welcomed back and he said with tear-filled eyes how thankful he was to God that it should have happened while he and Ilse were alive" (Tutu, 2005, p. 52). The public apology reconciled Naudé and the NGK and with that ended a very bitter chapter in the history of the NGK (Clur, 1997).

Many other honours were bestowed upon Naudé, both nationally and internationally (Ryan, 1990; Tutu, 2005). A particularly great moment was when Stellenbosch University, his *alma mater*, awarded him with an honorary doctorate and a Theological Centre named after him (Tutu, 2005). Tutu (2005) said that Naudé remained a humble man despite all the accolades and acclaim and recalled Naudé saying: "I told Ilse that she should reprimand me if she should detect arrogance because of all these honours" (Tutu, 2005, p. 52).

On 13 August 1995, at the age of 80, Naudé was invited by the Aasvoëlkop Congregation to preach there. The invitation came 32 years after his dismissal from the NGK. It was a profoundly emotional and moving experience for both Naudé and Ilse (Meyer, 2006;

Naudé, 1995). At the end of 1999 he returned to the Aasvoëlkop Congregation as a congregant (SouthAfrica.info reporter, 2004).

Even at the age of 83 Naudé continued to serve others as part of his Christian convictions, he went to the office daily and he and Ilse still went on annual holidays together. He also argued jokingly with Ilse about his eventual retirement. Even at this advanced age Naudé supported the idea of finding resources to help poor congregations as well as attempting to secure funding for a journal to evaluate the social problems in South Africa (Meyer, 2006). Appendix B also highlights a list of the social interest organisations Naudé co-founded and/or was involved with.

Naudé had always been a physically tall, imposing person (C. Anthonisson, personal communication, October 25, 2011; H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011) as well as fit, healthy and active (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Staff Reporters, 2004). He very rarely used alcohol (Naudé, 1995) and engaged in a disciplined exercise routine almost daily and favoured a basic exercise routine also employed by the Canadian Air Force²⁷ in the 1960s and 1970s (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Staff Reporters, 2004). He told Horst Kleinschmidt (personal communication, October 25, 2011) that he wished he had done two things differently in his life: (a) he should have gotten angry less often, and (b) he should have eaten less red meat in his life. He also enjoyed walking and hiking with his family (Clarke, 2004). Later in his life, he survived heart surgery and mild strokes but continued to work (Staff Reporters, 2004). He also developed an infection in a toe that would not heal after he tripped on a sidewalk in Johannesburg that was under construction. The wound reduced his mobility and Naudé was frustrated by that (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011).

Despite the health problems, he still played an important part in the new South African public scene. In June 1999 (aged 84), he participated in President Thabo Mbeki's inauguration ceremony (SouthAfrica.info reporter, 2004). According to his daughter Liesel, he remained committed to the ideal of truth, justice, equality and the hope of a unified South Africa right up to the end of his life (Clarke, 2004).

What a spectacular vindication for Oom Bey, but in a very real sense, what a spectacular vindication of God. God has been vindicated in the vindication of God's servant that indeed lies can never prevail over the truth, injustice and oppression can never have the last word, that this is indeed a moral universe,

²⁷ The 5BX regime comprised 5 basic exercises for men to increase fitness and stamina (Watson, 2009).

that goodness is stronger than evil, that light is stronger than darkness... .
(Tutu, 2005, p. 53).

Naudé never expected that kind of vindication or acclaim. In an interview he responded to the question of reward as follows:

...one of the most wonderful discoveries which I have made in this pilgrimage of my life is that there comes a moment when you don't look for a reward any longer, you don't feel it is important at all. What is of importance to you is your experience of life, of an inner peace, of a strength of faith, of a continuation of your commitment, however weak it may be, and of the fact that you simply forget, you simply do not regard the traditional value systems which have been built up in you and around you to be meaningful any longer...these values lost their meaning for me, and therefore an inner peace of mind came, also a loss of fear, that even if somebody asked me I'd say, well, suppose you go back, suppose now that you are being threatened, suppose that you may lose your life tomorrow, then, well, my response is, well if that happens, so what? Isn't then the death which you experience as a result of what you try to be in the deepest sense of the word, isn't that then something in a certain sense of a crowning of your whole life and what you try to convey? (Naudé & Sölle, 1986, pp. 23-24)

Naudé became seriously ill in 2000/2001 (O'Malley, n.d.; Staff Reporters, 2004) and was confined to a wheelchair from 2003 (O'Malley, n.d.; Clarke, 2004). Despite his failing health, he still received visitors. Prof. Nico Koopman visited him in May 2004 to report back on the activities of the Beyers Naudé Centre for Public Theology at Stellenbosch University. During that visit, Prof. Koopman recalled that Naudé still conveyed deeply felt beliefs. Naudé stated (despite being frail) that the main objective and focus of the work at the Centre should always remain God's Kingdom and the Gospel and that it should never be about glorifying a person (N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011). On 7 September 2004 Naudé, aged 89, passed away at a retirement village in Johannesburg, surrounded by his family (Bernstein, 2004; SouthAfrica.info reporter, 2004). Naudé passed away due to a combination of blood circulation problems and old age (Staff reporters, 2004). Naudé's "pilgrimage of faith" had come to an end.

He was survived by his wife Ilse²⁸, their four children, four grandchildren and three great-grandchildren (SAPA, 2011; SouthAfrica.info reporter, 2004). He had been married to Ilse for 64 years (SAPA, 2011) and she always proved to be a great pillar of strength for Naudé with her steadfastness, dependability and her quiet, calm demeanour, though she may not always have agreed with decisions her husband had made (Naudé, 2012).

²⁸ Ilse Naudé passed away on 29 December 2011 at the age of 98 of a heart attack. She is survived by four children, four grandchildren and three great-grandchildren (SAPA, 2011).

Beyers Naudé was born to wield power, not only by virtue of his heritage but also through the force of his personality. He transformed his power by refusing to accept the death dealing religio-cultural practices of the ruling class into which he was born. His life is a study of the responsible and constructive use of power. (Bam, 1995, p. 38).

Both the national and international communities were saddened by the death of Naudé and obituaries ran in all the most prestigious newspapers, honouring his great contribution to the transformation in South Africa. After his death, there was an official period of national mourning where the South African flag was flown at half mast. To honour the contribution Naudé had made, he was given an official state funeral (Clarke, 2004) conducted by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rev. T Tsele (General Secretary of the SACC at the time), as well as Rev. Bartlett (South African Council of Churches, 2004b). At the funeral Pres. Thabo Mbeki said that had it not been for the contribution of Naudé in the liberation struggle, the history books may have told a very different story of fear, hatred and loathing in post-apartheid South Africa. He added that the sacrifices Naudé made ensured "...our peace and reconciliation because they told those who might have sought vengeance that the Afrikaner people are not their enemies; because Beyers Naudé was not their enemy but their comrade, friend and leader" (Kgosana, 2004, para. 9).

But perhaps the greatest words spoken about his contribution to the liberation struggle were spoken by Pres. Mandela at the occasion of Naudé's 80th birthday celebration: "His life is a shining beacon to all South Africans – both Black and White. It demonstrates what it means to rise above race..." (Mandela, 1995b, paragraph 2).

3.3 Closing Remarks

Naudé received many awards and accolades for his humanitarian conduct and contribution to the Anti-Apartheid Struggle. These included honorary doctorate degrees as well as other awards. The honorary doctorate degrees from several universities include (Coetzee, 2010; J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013; South African Council of Churches, 2004a):

- Vrije University (Netherlands, 1972).
- University of the Witwatersrand (South Africa, 1974).
- University of Cape Town (South Africa, 1983).
- University of Notre Dame in Indianapolis and Garret Evangelical Seminary in Evaston (USA, 1985).

- University of Limburg in Maastricht (Netherlands, 1989).
- University of Natal (South Africa, 1991).
- University of Durban Westville, (South Africa, 1993).
- University of the North and the University of the Western Cape (South Africa, 1996).
- Wake Forest University, Winston-Salem (USA, 1996).
- North Park University, Chicago (USA, 1999).
- Rand Afrikaans University (South Africa, 2000).
- Stellenbosch University (South Africa, 2001).
- University of South Africa (2002).

Other awards bestowed on Naudé included (Coetzee, 2010; J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013; South African Council of Churches, 2004a):

- The Reinhold Niebuhr Award (1974).
- The Bruno Kreisky Award (Germany, 1979).
- The Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Award (USA, 1984).
- Swedish Free Church Prize for Reconciliation and Development (Sweden, 1984).
- The Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award (USA, 1985).
- The Swedish Labour Movement Award (Sweden, 1985).
- Order of Oranje-Nassau (Netherlands, 1995).
- Elected Honorary Life President of the SACC (1995).
- The Order for Meritorious Service (Gold) (South Africa, 1997).
- The Order of Merit (Germany, 1999).
- Freedom of the City of Johannesburg in 2001 (Coetzee, 2010; South African Council of Churches, 2004a).

Naudé appears to have made a great impression on all the people he came across, both in this country, as well as internationally, whether through the force of his personality and personal contact with him, or through his speeches and writing. Table 2 provides a short summary of some of the positive phrases people used to describe him, as well as some of his notable characteristics and personality traits.

Table 2

Summary of Naudé's Perceived Positive Characteristics and Personality Traits

He possessed rocklike Christian faith (Naudé 1995, Ryan, 1990) and grit-like determination (Ryan, 1990).
Naudé was a dedicated servant of God (J. Durandt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Tutu, 2005).
Naudé was compassionate and empathetic (Meyer, 2006; Naudé, 1995).
Naudé was introspective and possessed the ability to forgive others' failings (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Villa-Vicencio, 1985).
He demonstrated sound moral judgement and integrity (Ryan, 1990).
Naudé had an openness and acceptance of people (W. Mazamiza, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Ryan, 1990).
He was flexible and responsive to change (Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).
Naudé was called a prophet (Bryan, 1978; Meyer, 2006; Potgieter, 1994).
He was hopeful (Meyer, 2006; Naudé, 1990) and possessed a breezy optimism (Ryan, 1990).
He was not bitter and resentful (C. Anthonisson, personal communication, October, 2011; Ryan, 1990).
Naudé was well-respected even by detractors and adversaries (M. Coetzee, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Ryan, 1990; Potgieter, 1994).
He inspired trust and respect (Bam, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
He had the ability and facility to change (Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio).
His family and friends described a well-developed sense of humour (M. Coetzee, personal communication, October 26, 2011; N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011; C. Lombard, personal communication, October 26, 2011) often referring to it as a "twinkling" (Ryan, 1990, p. 207) or even a wry sense of humour (Ryan, 1990).
Naudé can be described as courageous (Bam, 1995; S. Govander, personal communication, October 26, 2011), selfless (Jansen, 2010), and humble (Bam, 1995; Wallis, 1988).
Naudé possessed a spirit of gratitude (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
He was ambitious and had an aversion to authoritarianism and possessed tremendous drive (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990).
Naudé was described as a highly intelligent man (Villa-Vicencio, 1995) with a strong work ethic and spiritually mature (N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011).
He valued reconciliation, restitution (D. Cloete, personal communication, October 26, 2011; N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011) and justice (D. Cloete, personal communication, October 26, 2011; N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011; J. Naudé, personal communication, August 22, 2011).
Naudé possessed a radiant spirituality, keenness of interest, dedication and focus on others came across (Bryan, 1978).
He was also described as a sincere, impulsive, charming, stubborn, charismatic and loving gentleman (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).

A characteristic that people felt was both positive as well as negative, was Naudé's inability to say 'no' (Coetzee, 2010; H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). His son, Johann Naudé acknowledged that while his father had both strengths and weaknesses like any other human being or even 'great' person, his transparent weaknesses were overlooked because of his greatness in other areas (Naudé, 2012). Some of the other criticisms or perceived character flaws that were mentioned are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3

Summary of Naudé's Perceived Negative Characteristics and Personality Traits

He was seen as stubbornly independent, overly-enthusiastic about ideas that were impractical and somewhat reckless with passionate abandon (Villa-Vicencio, 1985).
Naudé was a terrible judge of human character and he would often be let down by people (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Villa-Vicencio, 1985).
He was fiercely loyal to colleagues and friends despite damning evidence against them (Villa-Vicencio, 1985).
After he left Aasvoëlkop congregation in the 1960s, there were many detractors. They called Naudé premature, naïve, egotistical, putting himself above the church (arrogant) (Bryan, 1978).
Some maintained that he had “gone insane” (C. Anthonisson, personal communication, October 25, 2011).
Naudé's acceptance of people and their faults often led to him making poor choices with regard to the people he would work with (Ryan, 1990).
Others called him a church maverick, traitor of his own people, a rebel, enemy sympathiser and agitator (Meyer, 2006).
Naudé himself stated that he was patriarchal and a male chauvinist with regard to making decisions that impacted his family without consulting them, especially Ilse (Naudé, 1995).

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter an overview of the life history of Dr C.F.B. Naudé was given, representing a period of over 89 years. The life history was organised into specific historical periods. These were (a) childhood years, (b) university years, (c) the early ministry years, (d) doubt and disillusionment, (e) turning point: the aftermath of Cottesloe, (f) a liberal ministry develops, (g) transition to political activism, (h) the years of silence, (i) towards ecumenical unity, and (j) vindication. The chapter also included a summary of some of the accolades and awards that were bestowed upon him and concluded with a summary of his perceived personality traits and characteristics. In the following chapter holistic wellness, as well as the holistic wellness model employed in this study, is outlined. The holistic wellness model, the WoW, forms part of the theoretical framework employed in this study.

Chapter 4

Holistic Wellness

4.1 Chapter Overview

In this chapter a holistic wellness model, the Wheel of Wellness model (WoW model) developed by neo-Adlerian theorists Witmer and Sweeney (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney 1992) is described. The author situates the model within the field of psychology, more specifically, within the paradigm of Positive Psychology and psychological wellness. The model emphasises five life tasks and each of the five life tasks (as well as the related subtasks) are discussed in greater detail in the chapter. The influences of societal institutions (referred to as life forces in the WoW model) and global events are highlighted. The model was extensively researched by Myers, Witmer and Sweeney (see Hattie, Myers & Sweeney, 2004; Myers et al., 2000; Myers, Leucht & Sweeney, 2004; Myers & Sweeney, 2005). As a result, some revisions and adaptations were made and the model was expanded. These changes are also discussed in this chapter. Discussions regarding the use of the model in psychobiographical research and the criticisms of the model conclude the chapter.

4.2 Wellness and Positive Psychology

Traditionally, health was construed as an absence of disease. This approach was called the medical model and focussed on explaining or examining symptoms and dysfunction (Chodoff, 1998; Myers, Leuecht & Sweeney, 2004; Ryff & Singer, 1998; St. Claire, Watkins & Billingham, 1996; Zachar & Kendler, 2007). The medical model held as its objective merely the return of the body from illness or negative states of functioning back to neutral, to a state of no illness (Peterson & Park, 2003; Ryff & Singer, 1998). Over the last 20-25 years, however, attention has shifted more toward wellness, well-being and health and a new paradigm has developed. The relatively new paradigm has moved away from the traditional medical model which focussed on illness, disease and dysfunction (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000; Peterson & Park, 2003; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The World Health Organisation defined health in terms of wellness as “physical, mental and social well-being, not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (World Health Organisation, 1946, p. 2). The concept of wellness has developed in the last two decades in several disciplines “to describe the ‘total person’ approach for improving the quality of life in proactive and positive ways”

(Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, p. 140). Therefore, the term 'spiritual well-being' was also included in the definition of wellness (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Ryff and Singer (1998) proposed that certain concepts, (referred to as 'key goods') are central to positive human health and included, primarily, experiencing meaning and purpose in life and having a social connection to others and, secondarily attaining self-regard and mastery. They also suggested that human well-being is a vital and active process rather than an achieved state (Ryff & Singer, 1998). Ryff and Singer (1998) emphasised, however, that positive human health does not exclude the negative in human experience. They postulated that the difficulties faced by individuals may contribute to deepening the sense of meaning and purpose in life, closer connection to others and increased mastery and self-regard. In support of this view, Ryff and Singer (1998) cited findings by Maslow, Allport and Rogers that found that greater insight and strength occurred when individuals have to successfully resolve trauma. The concept of wellness may be understood as comprising six major components: intellectual, emotional, physical, social, occupational and spiritual. Life events may lead to either a spiritual awakening or an inhibition of spiritual experience. It is possible that, when the development of both the personal as well as the spiritual components are encouraged, individuals may experience greater levels of well-being (Bruce & Cockreham, 2004).

Wellness (also referred to as 'wholeness' in literature) as a construct is by no means a new concept in psychological writing (Fredrickson, 2001; Peterson, 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). There is an enduring trend in psychology to view the individual holistically. Adlerian theory also views the individual holistically and the mind and the body are seen to have a reciprocal interaction since they are both part of the greater whole (Adler, 1927/1992; Mosak & Maniaci, 2008). Many scientists maintain that the distinction between mind and body as separate entities is inaccurate and not supported by science (1927/1992; Sweeney, 2009). Jung (1958) also observed that integration is a drive and humans have an instinctual drive towards wholeness and health. Maslow (1948, 1954) postulated that a universal human tendency exists to strive towards growth, self-actualisation and health. He also maintained that self-actualisation is achieved through the gratification of certain basic needs which involve both need-gratification and the promotion of psychological health (Maslow, 1948).

Before World War II, psychology as a profession, had three tasks. These were to cure mental illness, contribute to the quality of people's lives and nurture the talented and gifted among us (Linley, Joseph, Harrington & Wood, 2006; Peterson & Park, 2003; Seligman, 2000; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). After the war, however, the focus shifted to the study of mental illness in order to contribute to the body of knowledge regarding

psychopathology, as well as the treatment of mental disorders. The profession neglected the charge of contributing to the quality of life and of nurturing the gifted and talented (Faller, 2001; Seligman, 2000; Strümpfer, 2006). “Knowledge of psychological well-being persistently lags behind knowledge of psychological dysfunction” (Ryff, 1995, p. 99). Psychological wellness can be seen on a continuum between two opposite poles, namely: psychopathology and psychological wellness (Strümpfer, 2006; Van Niekerk & Prins, 2001). In the last two decades, it seems that there has been a shift in the way health and wellness is perceived in order to promote the quality of people’s lives (Myers et al., 2000). This new trend is called Positive Psychology (Peterson & Park, 2003; Seligman, 2000; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Positive Psychology investigates the average person with interest in finding what is functional and what is improving, with optimal functioning being the desired result (Faller, 2001; Fredrickson, 2001; Peterson, 2000; Prochaska & Norcross, 2003; Strümpfer, 2006). It stems from the humanistic and existential psychology framework with pioneers such as Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, Viktor Frankl, Rollo May and James Bugental (Faller, 2001; Prochaska & Norcross, 2003).

Positive Psychology can be defined as “the scientific and practical pursuit of optimal human functioning...by capitalising on strengths and managing weaknesses” (Lopez & Snyder, 2003, p. xv). However, with the focus of resources and attention on the study and research of psychopathology, the progress has been slow in establishing Positive Psychology in the scientific and practical realms (Ryff & Singer, 1998; Seligman, 2000). In order to remedy the imbalance, the focus of research needs to shift to include the study of adaptive and optimal functioning as well (Faller, 2001; Lopez, Snyder & Rasmussen, 2003; Seligman et al., 2005; Simonton, 1999). In South Africa, this trend of Positive Psychology is conceptualised as psychofortology. The term was coined by Wissing and Van Eden in 1997, based on the pioneering work of Antonovsky in 1988 (Strümpfer, 2006). As in the case of Positive Psychology, the focus of the aforementioned perspectives is on that of individual strengths and competencies (Seligman et al., 2005; Strümpfer, 2006). In the case of Positive Psychology, as well as the fortogenic approach, the focus is on promoting psychological wellness and coping. These approaches have a strong theoretical foundation (Strümpfer, 2006).

Myers, Witmer and Sweeney (2000, p. 78) defined wellness as “a way of life oriented toward optimal health and well-being in which body, mind and spirit are integrated by the individual to live more fully within the human and natural community”. Witmer and Sweeney developed a wellness model that was based on this definition of wellness (Myers et al., 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). During the course of the development

of this model, Witmer and Sweeney only included components in the model that had been rigorously researched as having a direct link with health, quality of life and/or longevity (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers & Sweeney, 2008). Henning (2009) stated that the WoW model incorporates the “concept of systems thinking as it attempts to explain the interconnectedness of the characteristics of a psychologically well person” (p.42). The model also incorporates theoretical concepts from the disciplines of psychology, sociology, religion and education, as well as experimental and applied research data from the fields of personality, social, clinical and health psychology. (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The developers of the wellness model contended that individuals and families should not only strive to adequate health and wellness in order to meet responsibilities in terms of family, work and friendships, but also to know what would be required for optimum health and wellness (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). This model may be described as a “theoretical, interdisciplinary and holistic model that explores both wellness and the prevention of illness over a lifespan” (Henning, 2009, p. 42). The WoW model is, therefore, firmly placed within the paradigm of Positive Psychology and focuses on wellness and well-being. In the following section, the WoW model is discussed in greater detail.

4.3 A Holistic Wellness Model

The first wellness model was developed by Hettler in 1984 and he may be considered the father of the modern wellness movement (Myers & Sweeney, 2008). Sweeney and Witmer (1991) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992), however, were the first to develop a wellness model based on counselling theory (Myers & Sweeney, 2005). Witmer and Sweeney employed Adlerian Individual Psychology as the organising and unifying principle for their model (Myers & Sweeney, 2005; Sweeney, 2009). They stated that “...with today’s knowledge Adler would be inclined to consider optimum health and wellness as the ultimate goal and striving of humankind” (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991, p. 521). Sweeney and Witmer, (1991) and Witmer and Sweeney, (1992) believed that wellness may be expressed as a function of the five life tasks of spirituality, self-regulation, work, love and friendship.

Their work was based on three life tasks as identified by Adler, namely work, friendship and love, as well as two additional tasks only alluded to by Adler (i.e., spirituality and self-regulation). The latter two life tasks were explored in more detail by Mosak and Dreikurs (2000). The first life task of spirituality represents “personal and private beliefs that transcend the material aspects of life and give a deep sense of wholeness, connectedness, and

openness to the Infinite” (Myers et al., 2000, p. 265). The second concept of self-regulation centres on managing oneself (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000) and may be defined as the processes by which an individual regulates daily activities and pursues long term goals (Myers et al., 2000).

According to the wellness model, the five life tasks interact with the life forces of family, community, religion, education, government, media and business/ industry (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The model also indicates how certain global events, whether natural (e.g., famine, natural disasters) or human (e.g., war), impact upon and are influenced by the life forces and life tasks (Myers et al. 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Witmer & Sweeney 1992). The model is depicted as a wheel with spokes that are interrelated and interconnected and referred to as the Wheel of Wellness and Prevention (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney 1992). Although components of the model appear to be “...uniform, proportional and uni-dimensional in nature, it is more accurately depicted as dynamic, multidimensional and continually shifting in proportions as human beings cope within their individual life spaces” (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991, p. 528).

Myers, Witmer and Sweeney (1998) conducted additional research over the course of approximately six years in several studies on the model with samples totalling 5 380 people ranging in age between 10 years and 99 years old (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers & Sweeney, 2005 and 2008). After the extensive research with this model, certain aspects of the model were refined and some changes were made. The Wheel of Wellness and Prevention was changed to the Wheel of Wellness model (WoW model). Correlates of health, longevity and quality of life were empirically identified. Adlerian Individual Psychology remained the organising principle underlying the model (Myers & Sweeney, 2008).

The biggest change was made to the second life task, initially referred to as self-regulation. This life task was conceptualised as the part of the self that provides the stability and balance to understanding, predicting, and managing one’s external social life tasks (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Self-regulation (in the Wheel of Wellness and Prevention), included seven subtasks which represent the characteristics of wellness in a person, which were a sense of worth, sense of control, realistic beliefs, spontaneity and emotional responsiveness, intellectual stimulation, problem solving and creativity, sense of humour and finally, physical fitness and nutrition/health habits (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney 1992). In the WoW model, the second life task was renamed as self-direction and 12 subtasks were included. The subtasks in self-direction were amended and extended. The life tasks now included: (a) sense of worth, (b) sense of control, (c) realistic beliefs, (d)

emotional awareness and coping, (e) problem solving and creativity, (f) sense of humour, (g) nutrition, (h) exercise, (i) self-care, (j) stress management, (k) gender identity, and (l) cultural identity (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al. 2000). The final version of the WoW model depicted 17 components related to the life tasks, as opposed to the original 12 related to the life tasks in the Wheel of Wellness and Prevention (Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). See Appendix C for a diagrammatical representation of the WoW model.

Hattie (et al., 2004) stated that the WoW model specifies that wellness is the cumulative effect of several factors or components related to human behaviour and “efforts to meet life’s demands” (Hattie et al., 2004, p. 359). These individual components of the complete WoW model (i.e., life tasks, life forces and global events) are discussed in greater detail in the following section.

4.3.1 Life tasks

4.3.1.1 Life task one: Spirituality

Historically, the topic of spirituality has been marginalised in the scientific research within the field of psychology (Emmons, 2006). Due to a growing awareness of individuals’ need to deal with existential issues, spirituality features more prominently within the helping professions (Sweeney, 2009; Tanyi, 2002). Spirituality is a multifaceted concept that includes elements such as transcendence, connectedness, meaning and purpose in life, a ‘higher’ power or deity, relationships and higher moral values (Adams, Bezner, Drabbs, Zambarano & Steinhardt, 2000; Bruce & Cockreham, 2004; Ellison, 1983; Fisher, 2000; Galek, Flannelly, Vane & Galek, 2005; Sweeney, 2009; Tanyi, 2002). Cavendish et al., (2001, p. 80) maintained that spirituality is a “universal human phenomenon with an assumption of wholeness of individuals...that integrates the quest for meaning and purpose in life”. More recently, Singleton, Mason and Weber (2004, p. 250) offered the following concise definition of spirituality as being “a conscious way of life based on a transcendent referent”. Spirituality may rather be defined as “...an awareness of a being or force that transcends the material aspects of life and gives a deep sense of wholeness or connectedness to the universe” (Myers et al., 2000, p. 252). The construct of spirituality is therefore an important construct in the field of Positive Psychology (Joseph, Linley & Maltby, 2006; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Seligman et al., 2005).

Distinction should be drawn between the concept of spirituality and religiosity. The former is a broad concept representing an individual’s personal beliefs and values (Sweeney &

Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Religiosity, on the other hand, is a more limited concept representing more institutionalised beliefs and behaviours as expressed in group religious participation (Myers et al., 2000). Religiosity forms part of the concept of spirituality, but by no means defines it totally. Literature also reveals that spirituality is not synonymous with religion or religiosity, but rather that it encompasses a broader meaning than that. Religion is seen as one type of expression of spirituality, much like prayer, meditation, a relationship with a divine being, or interactions with other people or nature is seen as an expression of spirituality (Adams et al., 2000; Ellison, 1983; Fisher, 2000; Moberg, 1978, Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Tanyi, 2002; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Adler alluded to the fifth life task (spirituality), but he never specifically identified it. He referred, instead, to concepts such as cosmic factors and human beings' cosmic relationship (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000). The fifth life task "may go under several names – the spiritual, the existential, the search for meaning, the metaphysical, the metapsychological and the ontological" (Mosak & Dreikurs, 2000, p. 257). This life task is referred to as 'Spirituality' in the WoW model (Myers et al. 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and is "depicted as the centre of the wheel and the most important characteristic of well-being" (Myers & Sweeney, 2008, p. 483), since it is a key component in both longevity and quality of life (Sweeney, 2009). Joseph, Linley and Maltby (2006) as well as Pargament and Mahoney (2002) have also linked the constructs of spirituality and well-being. Humans are affected deeply by events in their external world, but we are not so much affected by the events themselves as by how we interpret and make sense of these events. The spiritual component is the most important factor that influences how humans interpret and make sense of these events (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Myers et al. (2000) and Sweeney and Witmer (1991) cited research and concluded that spirituality is conceptualised as core characteristic for the maintenance of health, wellness and well-being.

Besides being beneficial to the individual, spirituality also has an 'other-oriented' component. Witmer and Sweeney (1992) stated that, for the purpose of the wellness model, the life task of spirituality also included certain beliefs about promoting and preserving human dignity, human rights and a respect and reverence for human life which translates into a certain moral, ethical and even legal obligation to sustain the sacredness of life. These authors go on to describe five characteristics which are common to all religious practices and spiritual beliefs and feature in the life task of spirituality of the WoW model. These include oneness, inner life, purposiveness, optimism and values (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

- *Oneness and inner life*

Witmer and Sweeney (1992) stated that both the oneness of the person as well as the individual's need to seek and attain inner peace and a sense of wholeness, and freedom from inner conflict and turmoil, is recognised in both Eastern and Western religious practices. In religious and spiritual practice, these goals have traditionally been attained through peace, guidance and contact with the universal force through meditation, prayer, worship, contemplation and introspection (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

- *Purposiveness, optimism and values*

The other three characteristics of spirituality refer to “purposiveness or meaning in life, hope or optimism in anticipation of future events and values for guiding us in human relationships and decision-making” (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, p. 141).

Questions regarding purpose/meaning in life are universal (Sweeney, 2009). Sweeney and Witmer (1991) described the spiritual life task as the creative energy source for *purposiveness* in life. Viktor Frankl (1969, 1984) is probably the most well-known authority on the topic of meaning/purpose in life after having documented his experiences in the Nazi death camps during the Second World War. His view on the nature of meaning in life is that meaning is attached and attributed but also found, and that meaning is not invented but rather uncovered (Längle, 2004). Frankl added that meaning could also be considered a gift from life (Mascaro, Rosen & Morey, 2004) and believed that meaning ultimately lay in love (Mosak & Maniacci, 2008). Adlerian theory also maintains that life has no intrinsic meaning and that we give individual meaning to our lives. Some Adlerian theorists (e.g., Dreikurs, 1957, 1971) maintained that meaning in life was to be found in service to others and in contributing to social life and social change (Mosak & Maniacci, 2008).

Optimism in relation to spirituality may be defined as “...an expression of hope that with a certain degree of confidence, one can either expect the best possible outcome or dwell on the most hopeful aspects of the situation” (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, p.141). Optimism has been linked with positive coping, less anxiety and fewer somatic symptoms (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Optimism, inner harmony and values for character development are associated with cooperation, social participation and contribution, not only to self, but also to others and the common good (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). According to Mosak and Maniacci (2008) optimists will live a life that is described as such, will be able to take chances and not

easily be discouraged by failure or adversity and, most importantly, will be able to distinguish between failing and being a failure.

Values are crucial to the moral values since these serve to guide our decision-making and behaviour in the interest of our own well-being as well as the well-being of others by acting in an empathic, respectful and compassionate manner (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Witmer and Sweeney maintained that a lack of values or a value system may be the ultimate disease of our time and could lead to apathy, alienation, hopelessness and cynicism which, in turn may cause physical illness, as well as psychological and social ills (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Conversely, inner harmony and values related to character development include cooperation, social participation and contribution, which are not only to the benefit of others, but also to the benefit of the self (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Witmer and Sweeney (1992) view the spiritual dimension as the core dimension to be developed in the WoW model. The belief is that the successful development of this dimension will positively impact on the development of other dimensions in the wellness model. The second life task, self-direction, is discussed in the following section.

4.3.1.2 Life task two: Self-direction

This life task can be defined as “the manner in which an individual regulates, disciplines and directs the self in daily activities and in pursuit of long-range goals... and refers to a sense of mindfulness and intentionality in meeting the major tasks of life” (Myers et al., 2000, p. 253). The subtasks are (a) sense of worth; (b) sense of control; (c) realistic beliefs, (d) emotional awareness and coping; (e) problem solving and creativity; (f) sense of humour; (g) nutrition; (h) exercise; (i) self-care; (j) stress management; (k) gender identity, and (l) cultural identity. (See Appendix C for a visual representation of the WoW model). In the following section these subtasks are examined in greater detail.

- *Sense of worth*

Sweeney and Witmer (1991) maintained that the concepts of sense of self-worth and sense of control tend to be blended in literature to define the concept of self-esteem. These concepts correspond with Adler’s emphasis on human beings striving towards a ‘place’ in the world, their social context and for significance (Sweeney, 2009). Witmer and Sweeney (1992) stated that self-worth was the single most important factor that impacted on personal growth and behaviour. Sense of worth in the WoW model also includes concepts like acceptance of

the self including imperfections and weaknesses, the recognition of strengths and positive qualities as well as feelings of adequacy (Myers et al., 2000).

In research cited by the developers of the model, evidence is provided of a positive relationship between self-acceptance and positive feelings of well-being, better coping, lower stress levels, better mental and physical health, an internal locus of control and a sense of self-efficacy (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Conversely, a poor sense of self-worth has been linked in literature with poor coping, symptoms of anxiety and depression, more physical symptoms and insomnia (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

- *Sense of control*

A sense of personal control correlates positively with feelings of mastery, comprehension and confidence (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Control has been linked to concepts such as competence, locus of control or self-efficacy (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Sense of control also includes concepts such as a belief that certain desired outcomes are possible and assertiveness (Myers et al., 2000). There is much evidence in literature for a positive correlation between a sense of control or an inner locus of control and emotional well-being, better coping, better physical health, lower levels of anxiety and depression as well as higher levels of self-esteem (cited in Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

- *Realistic beliefs*

Private logic is the Adlerian conceptualisation of personal beliefs which guide the feelings and behaviour of individuals and can be described as a biased apperception about self, life and others (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). This relates to the subtask of realistic beliefs. It includes concepts such as (a) the ability to perceive reality as it is, not as one may wish for it to be, (b) the ability to mediate irrational beliefs regarding perfection and acceptance, and (c) being able to challenge and revise self-defeating inner dialogue (Myers et al., 2000).

Cognitive and cognitive behavioural therapists have long held the belief that our interpretation of a situation impacts on how we feel and, subsequently, act. The subjective and biased nature of private logic provides an opportunity for errors to occur when the subjective reality of the individual is viewed against objective reality. Sweeney and Witmer (1991) argued that the greater the discrepancy between the individual's private logic and reality, the greater the

probability for inappropriate behaviour in response to life events. When negative thoughts cause emotional distress, it has been proven that these thoughts contain gross distortions or unrealistic expectations (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Conversely, persons with a rational and logical perception, including acknowledging what is distorted are better able to come to logical conclusions and to be cognitively efficient (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

There are many parallels to be drawn here with Ellis' Rational Emotive Behaviour Therapy and the 'irrational beliefs' that he identified (Ellis, 2008). Ellis saw the process of therapy as challenging and amending the irrational beliefs, since they contributed to psychological distress and poor coping and replace them with more rational and realistic beliefs and expectations (Ellis, 2008; Mosak & Maniacchi, 2008). Healthy and well people seem to be able to observe and process reality accurately instead of how they may wish it to be and are able to accept themselves as imperfect (Myers, et al., 2000).

- *Emotional awareness and coping*

Myers et al. (2000) and Sackney, Noonan and Miller (2000) maintained that the extent to which an individual can experience and appropriately express both positive and negative emotions, may be an index of healthy functioning. By contrast, if an individual is unable to, or is limited in the ability to experience and express emotions, both the quality and quantity of relationships in their lives may be restricted (Myers, et al. 2000). Thus, healthy functioning could be said to be reflected in "rich, varied and frequent expressions and responses to people and events within one's daily experience" (Myers et al., 2000, p. 254). This subtask also refers to the ability to recognise, and respond to, emotions in others (Myers et al., 2000).

- *Problem solving and creativity*

Both problem solving and creativity form part of the concept of intellectual stimulation. Healthy brain functioning is dependent on intellectual stimulation, which in turn contributes to quality of life and is present across the entire lifespan of an individual (Myers et al., 2000). Intellectually well individuals continue to work to improve themselves and attempt to grow in knowledge and understanding (Sackney et al., 2000). Research seems to indicate that effective problem-solvers (by self-report) reported more positive health experiences, higher expectancies for control, fewer irrational beliefs and a lower tendency toward self-criticism than individuals who self-reported that they were ineffective problem-solvers (Myers et al., 2000).

Maslow maintained that creativity is a characteristic universally found in actualised individuals (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and may be defined as a “multidimensional phenomenon involving the ability to develop new or different concepts, ideas, structures or products” (Myers et al., 2000, p. 254). It would appear that creative individuals also display characteristics such as originality, expressiveness, inventiveness, imagination and problem-solving ability (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

- *Sense of humour*

Humour also has psychological benefits including promoting creativity, the relief of stress and the improvement of decision-making (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Maslow (1948) described self-actualised, psychologically healthy individuals as having very effective interpersonal and social skills and being joyful and fun-loving. The sense of humour of self-actualised people was found to be “...thoughtful, philosophical humour which may elicit a smile more than a laugh, is intrinsic to the situation and is more spontaneous than planned” (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991, p. 533).

Additionally, the self-actualised person does not find humorous that which ridicules individuals or promotes prejudice. Rather, it is a humour which engages others in the peculiarities of the human condition while defusing a propensity to take life’s predicaments too seriously, including our social status and importance as individuals (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Witmer and Sweeney (1992) and Sweeney and Witmer (1991) cited research conducted over a 30-year period by Valliant in 1977 that found that persons who employed humour were better able to adjust than individuals who did not use humour as much. Positive humour, in other words allows us to be able to laugh at our mistakes and unexpected events, as well as assisting us with getting tasks done (Myers & Sweeney, 2008).

- *Nutrition*

Research indicates a clear correlation between good eating habits/nutrition and good physical and psychological health and wellness. Research also supports the opposite, of a correlation between poor eating habits and physical ailments and emotional/ psychological complaints or disorder (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). “When serious deficiencies or imbalances occur in any of the basic nutrients, optimal health is sacrificed and disease is likely to occur... What we eat affects our health, mood and performance” (Witmer & Sweeney, 2001, p. 144).

- *Exercise*

The importance of healthy lifestyle choices, including regular, physical activity, in physical wellness, psychological well-being and longevity has been widely documented (Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). Regular exercise has also been associated with the prevention of disease (Myers et al., 2000). While both exercise and nutrition are extensively promoted, Sweeney (2009) cautioned that these two components are often overemphasized “to the exclusion of other components of holistic well-being” (p. 40).

- *Self care*

This dimension includes aspects such as (a) engaging in safety behaviour where we protect ourselves from injury or death, (b) having regular medical and dental checkups to maintain health, and (c) the avoidance of both ingestible as well as environmental toxic and harmful substances (Myers et al. 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2008). Engaging in these positive activities aimed at self-care, once again has a positive impact on our wellness, well-being and longevity (Myers et al., 2000; Sackney et al., 2000).

- *Stress management*

Stress management is defined as the ability to identify stressors and reduce the impact of the stressors by employing mental, emotional, physical and behavioural techniques such as relaxation, visualisation, meditation and biofeedback, as well as learning skills such as communication, assertiveness, and problem solving. Failure to manage one’s stress adequately may cause negative physical and psychological consequences. These consequences of stress have also been well-documented (Myers et al., 2000).

- *Gender identity*

Gender identity is described in the model as an individual’s perception of his/her gender (i.e., ‘maleness’ or ‘femaleness’). This identity is also culturally defined and constructed, while gender role identity reflects the extent to which an individual conforms to the gender role expectations and prescriptions of the society and culture (Myers et al., 2000). According to Sweeney (2009), gender identity is a filter through which both life experiences, as well as how we experience others, is viewed. This aspect, in turn, affects “our essential meaning-making processes in relations to life, self, and other” (Sweeney, 2009, p. 40). Some

other aspects related to gender identity are feeling supported in one's gender, as well as valuing relationships with both genders (Myers et al., 2000).

- *Cultural identity*

Myers et al., (2000) described culture as a concept that incorporates racial identity, acculturation, and an appreciation for the unique aspects of one's culture. Other aspects include feeling supported in one's culture, as well as valuing relationships with people from different cultural backgrounds (Myers et al., 2000). As with gender identity, cultural identity may be seen as a filter through which life experiences, as well as our experience of others, is viewed (Sweeney, 2009). This aspect also affects "our essential meaning-making processes in relations to life, self, and other" (Sweeney, 2009, p. 40). Cultural identity is positively correlated with well-being, independence and an inner locus of control (Myers et al., 2000). The next life task, work and leisure, is explored in the following section.

4.3.1.3 Life task three: Work and leisure

4.3.1.3.1 Work

The life task of work was defined to include all the activities humans may engage in to sustain themselves and others and are meaningful to the individual and others. Work activities also include activities such as childrearing, volunteer work and homemaking (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Any activity that benefits another would meet Adler's definition of work. Adler considered work the most important task for maintaining life (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). According to Sweeney and Witmer (1991), this is a fundamental life task and an inability to execute this life task may be viewed as a sign of serious illness. Witmer and Sweeney (1992) contended that individuals, unable to engage in this life task, struggle psychologically as well as economically and are discouraged individuals who have given up on achieving satisfaction in life through this life task. Witmer and Sweeney (1992) also maintained that the purpose of work includes economic support (i.e., resources to obtain goods and services and evidence of success), psychological purpose (i.e., self-efficacy, feelings of mastery, identity and a feeling of commitment), and social benefits (i.e., social status, potential friendships, encountering people and feeling valued by others).

4.3.1.3.2 *Leisure*

Leisure activities are essential to wellness (Sweeney, 2009) and include physical activities, social engagements, intellectual pursuits, volunteer work and creative work and has a positive effect on self-esteem, perceived wellness and emotional well-being (Myers et al., 2000). Leisure activities helps individuals cope with and transcend life's challenges (Sweeney, 2009). Leisure activities (especially exercise) also reduce the effects of stress, provide social support and enhance psychological resilience (Myers et al., 2000). The life task of friendship is discussed in the following section.

4.3.1.4 *Life task four: Friendship*

The fourth life task includes all relationships (whether with individuals or with a community) that do not have a familial, sexual or marital commitment (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 2001). This life task also deals with the concepts of social interest and connectedness (Myers et al., 2000). Adler considered the need for social connectedness and interaction an innate human characteristic. He also maintained that social interest was manifested through altruism and empathy (Adler, 1927/1992; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Witmer and Sweeney (1992) discussed three social support functions related to this life task. These are (a) emotional support including connectedness, reliance and reassurance, (b) tangible support, including direct aid or assistance and, (c) informational support, including advice and feedback. Sweeney and Witmer (1991) stated that individuals may manage the work life task, but when it comes to the friendship and love life task they seem to have more difficulty. This may be due to the fact that 'true friendship' demands

greater self-disclosure, risk-taking and responsibilities. Friendship concerns a relationship upon which positive regard is a foundation – the same foundation for a love relationship. The difference will be in the degree, intensity and nature of sharing, cooperation and intimacy within the relationship. Friendship can involve the true expression of love while love relationships will include similar elements of respect, accommodation and interest as among friends. (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991, pp. 535-536)

Close correlations exist between social support, interpersonal relations and health (Sackney et al., 2000). Witmer and Sweeney (1992) cited research by Cohen (1988) to summarise the research findings regarding the relationship between social support and various health dimensions. A positive correlation seems to exist between social support and health

behaviours, self-esteem and personal control, neuroendocrine responses and the immune system, as well as positive and negative affect. In the absence of friendship or failure of an individual to master the opportunity and responsibilities related to friendship, the individual may be more prone to illness, a shorter life expectancy and less satisfaction in life (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The next life task, love, is explored in the following section.

4.3.1.5 Life task five: Love

The fifth life task refers to both intimate/romantic involvements, as well as familial relationships and includes the quality of the relationships as well. “The life task of love tends to be intimate, trusting, self-disclosing, cooperative and long-term in commitment and often includes sexual relations” (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992, p. 145). According to Myers et al. (2000), the characteristic of a healthy love relationship include the presence of enduring, stable and intimate relationships in one’s life, the ability to be trusting and self-disclosing with another person, as well as the ability to receive and express affection with significant others. Other features of healthy love relationships include the capacity to experience or convey non-possessive caring that respects the uniqueness of another and concern for the nurturance and growth of significant others. And, finally, a healthy love relationship also involves satisfaction with one’s sexual life and/or the perception that one’s needs for the physical touch and closeness are being met (Myers et al., 2000).

The life task of love also includes having a family or family-like support system. The characteristics of a healthy family support system include shared cooperation and problem-solving skills, commitment to the family, clear roles and effective communication (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Individuals in a healthy family support system are also encouraged and appreciation is often expressed. The family members often share religious or spiritual orientations and interests. A feeling of social connectedness prevails in the family and members enjoy spending time together (Myers et al., 2000). Sweeney and Witmer (1991) cited research by Campbell (1981) that confirmed that close interpersonal relationships like marriage and close friendships contribute significantly to a sense of life satisfaction. This trend was also found in research conducted by Evans and Kelley (2004). Witmer and Sweeney (1991) stated that from research it appears that coping successfully with this life task is essential to life satisfaction, good health and longevity. In this section, the five life tasks and subtasks were described. Another important feature of the WoW model is the life forces. These are examined in the following section.

4.3.2 Life forces

Life forces are the major institutions and systems that impose on the health and well-being of each individual. Life forces assist in the growth, improvement and functioning of the life tasks and operate within the individual (internally), as well as externally through societal institutions to impact on life tasks. The life forces include family, religion, education, community, media, government and business/industry (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

4.3.2.1 Family

The family can be described as a network of interlocking relationships and an emotional unit which is best understood when analysed within a multi-generational or socio-historical framework (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2004). Some families show a greater ability to deal with stress, adapt to change, find solutions to problems, recover from misfortune, thus, better general coping and functioning. These families are described as having greater resilience (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2004; Patterson, 2002).

Resilience should not be thought of as a static set of strengths or qualities, but more a developmental process unique to each family that enables families to create adaptive responses to stress and, in some cases, to thrive and grow in their response to the stressors. (Goldenberg & Goldenberg, 2004, p.10)

In the development of the WoW model, Witmer and Sweeney (1992) cited research conducted by Stinnet and DeFrain in 1985 that reveals six universal characteristics of strong families across political, cultural and language differences. These characteristics include: (a) commitment to the welfare and happiness of the other members of the family, (b) mutual appreciation for the other members of the family, (c) effective communication skills, (d) time spent with the other members of the family, (e) spiritual wellness, which recognises a greater good or power in life, which is seen as a source of strength and power, and (f) a shared coping ability that views stress or crises as a personal growth opportunities.

4.3.2.2 Community

With the advent of industrialisation, urbanisation and social mobility, modern communities were structured very differently and communities are far less interdependent. Nuclear families live together instead of the traditional extended family living together

(Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Therefore, Witmer and Sweeney (1992) also believed that community building remains an important task facing modern communities today and that the ingredients of community building need to be identified and then added to the fabric of cities, towns and rural areas. Social wellness entails individuals participating in their community to improve the social environment (Sackney et al., 2000). Witmer and Sweeney (1992) believed that certain groups in the community can contribute a great deal in fostering feelings of connectedness, shared values and purpose whilst still retaining a healthy degree of independence specifically referring to support groups, church groups and work groups.

Sweeney (2009) refers to the family and community contexts as *local contexts* which we find ourselves in most often. He identified the issue of safety as the most important in local contexts. *Institutional contexts* are religion, education, the media, government, and business/industry and they may affect the individual's life in both indirect and direct ways (Sweeney, 2009). The influence of the institutional contexts may be "powerful, difficult to assimilate, and of course may be positive or negative" (Sweeney, 2009, p. 40). The institutional contexts are discussed next.

4.3.2.3 Religion

Spirituality was discussed in great detail earlier in the chapter and religion was described as one of the manifestations of spirituality (see section 4.3.1.1). The link between religious connectedness or affiliation and physical/psychological wellness has been established in literature and research (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). According to Witmer and Sweeney (1992), religion is a primary source of inner peace, values and social harmony which merits further investigation.

4.3.2.4 Education

Witmer and Sweeney (1992) contended that the life force of education has limitless potential for fostering health and wellness practices and creating awareness of healthy lifestyle choices. They also argued that modelling a holistic health and wellness lifestyle is the most effective approach when introducing this approach in education and stated that adopting an educational system that supports health and wellness, may encourage the striving for wellness to become a process that extends over the lifespan (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

4.3.2.5 Media

According to Witmer and Sweeney (1992) the impact the media may have is a double edged sword in that the media and what they print/show/investigate is shaped by our societal norms. On the other hand, the media may play a part in shaping individual values and public policy. Some research, for instance, illustrated a positive correlation between the exposure to television violence and the development of antisocial attitudes (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Villani, 2001) while Dorr, Rabin and Irlen (2002) argued that television could play a part in teaching children prosocial attitudes instead. Therefore, both the negative and positive influence of the media on a person must be taken into consideration (Kirkorian, Wartella & Anderson, 2008; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

4.3.2.6 Government

According to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecosystemic Theory, people are influenced by their environment. Government policies and practices have an impact on human behaviour and can change attitudes (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Government policies (like discriminatory practices for instance), may impact negatively on citizens (Sweeney, 2009; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991) which could "...distract from the full development of all citizens" (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991, p. 537). Therefore, governments could support and promote policies that have a positive impact on wellness, for example health promotion and disease prevention strategies (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

4.3.2.7 Business/Industry

The work place is, primarily, a production force for services and goods (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The effect of policies implemented in the work place has a direct impact on people's wellness (Sweeney, 2009). By incorporating principles of wellness and prevention for employees, the financial health of an organization may also be increased (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Larger industries have implemented employment assistance programmes and attempted to address issues such as smoking cessation, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, stress management, assertiveness, effective communication, nutrition and exercise as well as noise reduction and control of toxic substances (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The last important feature of the WoW model includes global events which is examined in the following section.

4.3.3 Global events

Sweeney and Witmer (1991) and Witmer and Sweeney (1992) maintained that another factor, beyond those of the life forces, impacts everybody's life. This factor is referred to as 'global events'.

Beyond the life forces are global events that have an impact on our everyday living and the quality of our lives. Wars, hunger, disease, poverty, environmental pollution, overpopulation, violation of human rights, economic exploitation, unemployment and competition for limited resources are heavy clouds across the international sky. (Witmer & Sweeney 1992, p. 146)

These global events are all part of the landscape of the 'global village' our world has become and these events cannot be ignored if a 'neighbourhood village', committed to the ideals of wellness as a lifestyle choice and illness or disease prevention, is to be established (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney 1992). In the following section the wellness models and empirical studies is explored.

4.4 The Wellness Model and Empirical Evidence

The WoW model, as discussed in the previous section, was developed as a theoretical model which is supported by empirical studies (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The WoW model was the basis for the development of Wellness Evaluation of Lifestyle (WEL-inventory), an assessment instrument (Myers & Sweeney, 2008) which measures constructs related to wellness and adaptive functioning (Myers et al., 2004). Extensive research has been conducted and the constructs have been refined even further into a higher order wellness factor, five second order and 17 third order factors. The relationship between the higher order, second order and third order factors were described in a new model reflecting the indivisibility of the self. This model is referred to as the Indivisible Self Model of Wellness (IS-WEL) (Hattie et al. 2004; Myers et al., 2000). The IS-WEL is referred to as an evidence-based model of wellness for the use as both an assessment tool and for interventions in clinical practice (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers & Sweeney, 2005, 2008). The reader is referred to Table 4.

Table 4

The Indivisible Self Model

Higher Order Wellness Factor	<i>The Indivisible Self</i>					CONTEXTS
2 nd Order Wellness Factors	Creative Self	Coping Self	Social Self	Essential Self	Physical Self	Local (safety) <i>Family, Community, Neighbourhood</i> Institutional (policies & laws) <i>Education, Religion, Government, Business/Industry</i>
3 rd Order Wellness Factors	<i>Thinking; Emotions; Control; Work; Positive Humour.</i>	<i>Leisure; Stress Management; Self Worth; Realistic Beliefs.</i>	<i>Love; Friendship.</i>	<i>Spirituality; Gender Identity; Cultural Identity; Self Care.</i>	<i>Exercise; Nutrition.</i>	Global (world events) <i>Politics, Culture, Global Events, Media Environment, Community</i> Chronometrical (lifespan) <i>Perpetual, Positive, Purposeful</i>

Note. Adapted from “The indivisible self: An evidence-based model of wellness” by J. E. Myers and T. J. Sweeney, 2005, *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 61(3), p. 272.

The five second order factors can be described as (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000; Myers & Sweeney, 2005, 2008):

1. The creative self which includes aspects such as thinking, emotions, control, work and positive humour.
2. The coping self includes stress management, leisure activities, self-worth and realistic beliefs.
3. The social self features friendship and love.
4. Essential self incorporates components such as spirituality, self-care as well as gender and cultural identity.
5. The physical self includes exercise and nutrition.

The IS-WEL is similar to the WoW model in that it also takes individual context into account (Myers & Sweeney, 2005, 2008). In the IS-WEL, however, the contexts are more clearly defined and described with specific focus on institutional, global and chronometrical components that may have an impact on the individual or how the individual may impact on his/her environment (Myers et al., 2000). The local context refers to interactions with systems such as our families, neighbourhoods and communities and is also associated with issues of

safety (Myers & Sweeney, 2005; Sweeney, 2009). Institutional contexts refer to policies and laws which impact the areas of education, religion, government, business/industry, and the media (Myers & Sweeney, 2005, 2008; Sweeney, 2009). Influences from the institutional context are powerful, either positive or negative and difficult to integrate (Sweeney, 2009). Politics, culture, global events and the environment that connect people around the world, are included in the global contexts (Myers & Sweeney, 2005, 2008; Sweeney, 2009). The chronometrical context reflects “growth, movement and change in the time dimension that are perpetual, of necessity positive and purposeful” (Myers & Sweeney, 2008). The IS-WEL correlates with dimensions of wellness found by Ryff and Keyes (1995) who “...found a single higher order factor underlying their six scales of self-acceptance, positive relationships with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life and personal growth” (Hattie et al., 2004, p. 358).

The IS-Well was briefly discussed in this study in the interest of thoroughness and accuracy in presenting the work of Myers, Witmer and Sweeney. For the purpose of this study, the WoW model was employed. Despite the development of the IS-WEL model for use in clinical practice, the WoW model remains a useful tool for research purposes and as a theoretical model (Myers & Sweeney, 2005, 2008). The WoW model has also previously been employed successfully in psychobiographical research by Fouché (1999), Gogo (2011) and Swart (2010) (see section 4.5). The original 17 components related to the life tasks of wellness (as identified by the WoW model), remained as third order components of the IS-WEL after extensive empirical research (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers & Sweeney, 2005, 2008). Hattie et al. (2004) stated that, therefore, the WoW model, as theoretical model, was particularly useful in identifying the major components of wellness. The other advantage identified by Hattie et al. (2004) was that the WoW model unified the varying dimensions of wellness and highlighted the core aspects of wellness. In the following section, the use of the WoW model in psychobiographical research is explored and discussed.

4.5 The Use of the Wheel of Wellness Model in Psychobiography

The use of wellness models is indirectly and directly indicated in psychobiographical research for the following reasons:

1. Elms (1994) urged that psychobiographical research should move away from (a) theoretical narrowness to theoretical choice, and (b) away from a focus on pathology to the examination of psychological health and wellness.

2. The emergence of Positive Psychology that focuses on optimal human functioning provided an incentive for psychologists to study individuals who display “positive traits such as creativity, charisma, morality, spirituality or wisdom” (Simonton, 1999, p. 442). As discussed previously in this chapter, the WoW model also focuses on aspects of optimal human functioning.
3. Coetzee and Viviers (2007) recommended that more qualitative, longitudinal research be conducted with specific focus on topics such as fortology. Psychobiographical subjects who have been extraordinary or lead exemplary lives (McAdams, 1988; Schultz, 2001b) provide psychobiographers with an ideal opportunity for the study of specific processes and behaviours (Runyan, 1988a) of which wellness and related concepts may be examples.

An example of the use of WoW model in psychobiographical research, is the study of the life of the South African statesman, Jan Christiaan Smuts by Fouché (1999). Fouché (1999) explored holistic wellness over the lifespan of Smuts and concluded that the value of the holistic wellness model centred around (a) the eugraphic approach of the model, (b) the multidimensional framework of the model, (c) the systemic nature of the model, (d) the clear conceptualization of the model, as well as, (e) the developmental orientation of the model.

Subsequently, two more psychobiographical studies have employed the WoW model. These were: (a) the psychobiographical study of the life of Bram Fischer by Swart (2010) and, (b) the psychobiographical study of the life of South African singer, Brenda Fassie by Gogo (2011). In this section, the use and value of the WoW model in psychobiographical research was explored. In the following section, the limitations and criticisms of the model are discussed.

4.6 Criticisms and Limitations of the Wheel of Wellness Model

Fouché (1999) stated that much of the criticisms levelled against the wellness movement originated within traditional biomedicine and medical sociology. The biopsychosocial model proposed by Engel in 1977 and the lifestyle movements, specifically, have received much criticism from the biomedicine and medical sociology fraternities (Fouché, 1999). In the field of biomedicine, Levenstein (1994) criticised the biopsychosocial model for downplaying physiological and pathogenic etiologies of illness as well as what he refers to as placing the responsibility and blame for their illness at the feet of the patients.

Sociological criticism of the biopsychosocial model focuses on the model's overemphasis of voluntary lifestyle and internal causes of disease while neglecting the major impact that historical, economic and cultural factors may have on disease (Antonovsky, 1994). Fitness or physical wellness movements are also criticized for excluding psychosocial and economic (Antonovsky, 1994), and pathogenic and genetic (Levenstein, 1994) factors that also impact on health and disease. Another criticism is that many authors have explored and explained wellness in broad, general terms (Botha & Brand, 2009; Myers, 2001; Myers & Sweeney, 2008; Roscoe, 2009), but there is no agreement on a single integrated definition of wellness (Roscoe, 2009). Some wellness models may also be criticised for not taking the different cultural and social contexts of people around the world into account (Fisher & Sonn, 2008).

In response to the criticisms related to the wellness models in general Myers (1991) stated that the wellness paradigm does not (a) negate or ignore pathology in any way, but offers alternatives to pathology and, (b) stresses prevention, choice and optimal functioning. Myers (1991) argued that the wellness paradigm is also inclusive in that it takes into account the effect of families, groups, society and other systems.

Fouché (1999) explored some of the limitations of the WoW model specifically. These may be summarized as:

1. The lack of wellness indicators or criteria for the different developmental stages across the lifespan.
2. The lack of wellness indicators or criteria across gender or cultural differences.
3. The model lacks an explanatory framework regarding the development of holistic wellness, as well as failing to address the issue of whether a critical stage for the development of wellness exists.
4. The influence of the immediate ecological environment on the wellness of an individual is not addressed.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter the concepts of wellness and Positive Psychology were explored and the development of the WoW model (as theoretical model) was described. The model was developed from findings based on the fields of psychology, medicine, sociology and behavioural sciences. The 17 life task components of wellness, as depicted in the WoW model, were explored. The additional components of the WoW model, life forces and global events were also explored and discussed. The development of the IS-WEL (as a practice model) from the WoW model was discussed briefly as well. Discussions regarding the criticism of the WoW model, as well as the use of the model in psychobiographical research concluded the chapter. In this study, Naudé's faith development over his lifespan is also examined and described through the employment of a faith development theory. In the following chapter Fowler's (1981) Faith Development Theory is discussed as the second part of the theoretical framework employed in this study.

Chapter 5

Faith Development and Faith Development Theory

5.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter provides an overview of the Faith Development Theory (FDT) by James Fowler (1981) in the form of an overview of the rationale and development of the theory, and a discussion of the foundational developmental theories that impacted on FDT. These included Piaget's theory of cognitive development, Kohlberg's theory on moral development, as well as Erikson's and Levinson's theories on psychosocial development. The faith development and selfhood stages are described and the chapter includes a discussion of the categories and dynamics of change. Vocation and faith development is also described and a brief overview of some of the contributions, as well as the criticisms of FDT, is given. A discussion regarding the use of FDT in other psychobiographies concludes the chapter.

5.2 The Evolution of the Faith Development Theory

One of the theoretical approaches employed in this psychobiographical study is James Fowler's Faith Development Theory (FDT), a theory about the growth and development of faith in individuals (Fowler, 1981, 1995). FDT had its origin in 1968, when Fowler worked on his dissertation on the theological ethics of H. Richard Niebuhr, (Fowler, 1981; 2004) a leading 20th century theologian and ethicist who wrote *Christ and Culture* (1951) (Coyle, 2011; Goddard, 2011; Patterson, 2005). He was also influenced by the work of theologian-philosopher Paul Tillich and W.C. Smith, a comparative religion scholar (Coyle, 2011). Fowler accepted the position of Associate Director of Interpreter's House where he developed a master's of Divinity course and in this time, his interest was also roused with regard to the way in which an individual may experience awakening and growth in faith (Fowler, 1981, 2001, 2004).

Theology and the social sciences (e.g., psychology, anthropology, sociology and history) study human development and transformation in individuals, groups and societies (Dykstra, 1982). Thus, it comes as no surprise that in designing his master's of Divinity course, Fowler used the work of theologians H. Richard Niebuhr and Paul Tillich, developmental psychologist Erik Erikson and sociologist Robert Bellah. Through teaching and contact with students, Fowler became aware of the works of Lawrence Kohlberg (who was teaching at Harvard at the time) and the stage theory of moral development. Kohlberg

employed Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development in his theory and, thus, Fowler came into contact with Piaget's work. Through his connection with Kohlberg, Fowler's work was influenced by the work of Kohlberg's circle at Harvard Graduate School which included Carol Gilligan, Robert Selman and eventually, Robert Kegan (Fowler, 1984, 1987, 2001, 2004). In this period the Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. Foundation provided substantial funding specifically for faith development research (Fowler, 1981, 2001, 2004). Fowler formed a research team comprising theology and developmental psychology postgraduate students. For three years the team conducted interviews and analysed the results of the almost 600 interviews (Fowler, 1995). The age range of respondents in the study varied from aged four years to in the early 80s and included Protestants, Jews, Catholics, agnostics and atheists. The faith development stages were based on the data gathered from the interviews and stretched across the human lifespan (Coyle, 2011; Fowler, 1995, 2001, 2004).

Faith is defined by Fowler as "...our way of discerning and committing ourselves to centres of value and power that exert ordering forces in our lives" (1981, pp. 24-25). In an attempt to understand some of the dynamics of faith (and selfhood) development, Fowler drew upon constructive developmental theory and research to provide a framework for understanding the struggle for more knowledge and greater consciousness/awareness of the self and God from stage to stage. "We are tracing a path of increasing self-awareness and capacity for both critical consciousness of and imaginative participation in the actions and intensions of God" (Fowler, 1987, p. 74). Additionally, for Fowler (1981, 1995), the term faith does not refer to customs and beliefs of a specific religious tradition, but rather refers to "...the human activity of composing meaningful worlds in which to live out the fabric of day-to-day experience with other human beings, institutions, values and visions" (Dykstra, 1982, section 3, para. 1). In this sense the construct of faith can also be linked to the meta-theoretical paradigm of Positive Psychology²⁹ (Eckstein, 2000; Pargament & Mahoney, 2002; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000).

Fowler (1995, 2004) also stated that faith has a recognisable pattern of development. In this regard, faith development resembles other areas of development, for example cognitive, emotional and moral development. "Our ways of imagining and committing in faith correlates significantly with our ways of knowing and valuing more generally" (Fowler, 2004, p. 405). Since faith development correlates with development in other areas, Fowler incorporated Piaget's cognitive development theory, Erikson's psychosocial development theory

²⁹ The Positive Psychology paradigm was explored in section 4.2.

Kohlberg's moral development theory, as well as Selman's social development theory in FDT (Fowler, 2004; Wing 1997). Fowler was also influenced by Levinson's work (Fowler, 1981). The theories mentioned here can be seen as the foundational theories underpinning FDT. Therefore, these theories are briefly discussed in the following section.

5.3 The Foundational Developmental Theories of the Faith Development Theory

In this section, the contributions made by certain developmental theories to the development of the FDT are discussed. These theorists include Jean Piaget, Lawrence Kohlberg, Erik H. Erikson and Daniel J. Levinson. Fowler (1984) explained that the motivation for studying these theorists was to focus on what they may have had to teach us regarding maturity, destiny and wholeness. The work of Erikson, and Kohlberg, as well as Levinson, is specifically included as "...ethicists and philosophers..." (Fowler, 1984, p. 20). The structural developmental theories of Piaget and Kohlberg are discussed first, followed by a discussion of the psychosocial developmental theories of Erikson and Levinson.

5.3.1 Jean Piaget: Cognitive development

Piaget's work casts a light on the universal aspects of cognitive development in children and how they understand and make sense of the world at different ages. Cognition refers to processes such as thinking, knowing, imagining, perceiving, remembering, recognising, abstracting and generalising (Cockroft, 2009; Pulaski, 1980). According to Piaget's theory, two basic features of intellectual functioning are *adaptation* and *organisation*. Adaptation consists of the twin processes of assimilation (i.e., taking in the sensory experience) and accommodation which refers to an ongoing process from the child to the environment. Organisation, on the other hand, refers to the internal rearrangement and linking together of schemes (Cockroft, 2009; Gruber & Vonèche, 1977; Pulaski, 1980).

Another important feature of Piaget's theory is that of *equilibrium* (Gruber & Vonèche, 1977; Pulaski, 1980) which refers to the "...dynamic, ongoing process...that brings about these progressive states of equilibrium" (Pulaski, 1980, p. 11). Piaget identified four important factors related to the disruption of equilibrium which may motivate the child to achieve higher states. These were: (a) maturation, (b) experience, (c) social transmission and (e) equilibration process (Gruber & Vonèche, 1977; Pulaski, 1980).

Maturation was seen by Piaget as "...providing a condition of possibilities for responding to the environment, a potential for assimilating and structuring new information

from it” (Pulaski, 1980, p. 12), while *experience* is described as the physical and empirical experiences of the child in play, (e.g. flying a kite, floating a boat, counting and arranging or sorting objects). The child constructs two kinds of knowledge through play, namely, physical knowledge and logical-mathematical knowledge (Gruber & Vonèche, 1977; Pulaski, 1980).

The third factor that may disrupt equilibrium is *social transmission* which occurs in the context of direct social communications through conversations with parents or teachers and indirect communication via the media or books. Piaget believed that equilibrium is disrupted when the child hears contradictory or challenging statements and then searches for the answer or solution. This sparks higher levels of thought and equilibrium is achieved once again (Cockroft, 2009; Gruber & Vonèche, 1977).

The most important factor in development according to the theory, is the *equilibration process*. The factors mentioned previously are coordinated and regulated in the equilibration process which leads to equilibrium being attained. Equilibrium is not a permanent state and is constantly disrupted by challenges, questions and conflicts. Adaptation to change or the resolution of conflicts, is referred to as the equilibration process. Through this process, equilibrium is achieved at a higher level (Gruber & Vonèche, 1977; Pulaski, 1980).

Piaget identified four periods of cognitive development in his theory: (a) the sensori-motor period, (b) pre-operational period, (c) period of concrete operations, and (d) period of formal operations (Cockroft, 2009; Pulaski, 1980).

5.3.1.1 Sensori-motor period (birth-2 years)

The process of cognitive development begins with the reflexive, instinctual actions of grasping and sucking, and interaction with the environment. The infant evolves from being a reflexive to reflective organism in a process of gradual decentralisation from self. Six stages can be identified in this period: (a) modification of reflexes (birth to one month), (b) primary circular responses (one to four months), (c) secondary circular responses (four to eight months), (d) coordinated secondary responses (eight to 12 months), (e) tertiary circular responses (12-18 months), and (f) invention of new means through mental combinations (18 to 24 months) (Cockroft, 2009; Fowler, 1981; Gruber & Vonèche, 1977; Miller, 1983; Pulaski, 1980).

5.3.1.2 Preoperational period (2-7 years)

Two stages can be distinguished in this period. These are the preconceptual stage and the prelogical or intuitive stage:

- *Stage 1: Preconceptual stage (2-4 years)*

At this stage symbolic representation is evident from imitation and memory shown through drawing, dreams, language and imaginative play. Egocentric thinking and sense of magical omnipotence prevails. The child is also unable to conceive of another person's point of view and has difficulty distinguishing between mental, physical and social realities (Gruber & Vonèche, 1977; Miller, 1983; Pulaski, 1980).

- *Stage 2: Prelogical or intuitive stage (4-7 years)*

Prelogical reasoning appears based on perceptual appearance. Language is still used in an egocentric way and through trial and error and the child may make intuitive discoveries of correct relationships. There is still an absence of reversible operations (Fowler, 1981; Gruber & Vonèche, 1977; Pulaski, 1980).

5.3.1.3 Period of concrete operations (7-12 years)

Transition to this stage takes place during the first two years of school. The child is able to think logically about experiences and can manipulate concepts symbolically. The child has also achieved conservation and can think forwards and backwards in time, referred to as reversibility (Fowler, 1981; Gruber & Vonèche, 1977; Miller, 1983) which speeds up logical thinking. There is an "...upward spiralling of intellectual development..." (Pulaski, 1980, p. 216) from the concrete experiences in the sensori-motor period to the symbolic representations of experiences and, finally, to the ability to think abstractly. Operational abilities develop gradually and sequentially over time during this period as skills and abilities are consolidated and organised into increasingly complex mental structures (Cockroft, 2009, Fowler, 1981; Miller, 1983).

5.3.1.4 Period of formal operations (12 years and older)

In this period abstract thinking and metacognitive (the ability to reflect upon one's thoughts) skills develop. This period represents the highest level of development in the theory, and the individual should be able to reason through even a hypothetical problem to a

logical conclusion. Not all adults achieve this last period of development and it is reserved for people with truly higher cognitive functioning (Cockroft, 2009; Miller, 1983; Pulaski, 1980).

Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development was discussed in this section. Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development will be discussed in the following section as the second structural development theory employed by Fowler in the development of FDT.

5.3.2 Lawrence Kohlberg: Moral development

Lawrence Kohlberg's work was influenced by Piaget's theory (Grant, 2009), since moral judgement requires construction and coordination of the points of view of the self and others (Fowler, 1981). Kohlberg maintained that, as children get older, they develop better mechanisms for resolving moral dilemmas. This occurs as the cognitive development of the child becomes more complex, differentiated and adaptive (Fowler, 1981; Grant, 2009). Kohlberg proposed six stages of moral development structured in three levels (Fowler, 1981; Grant, 2009; Power, Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989) which were based on the structure of individual reasoning, rather than content of reasoning (Grant, 2009).

5.3.2.1 Level 1: Preconventional or premoral morality (7-10 years)

At this level morality is obedience and punishment orientated (Grant, 2009; Power et al., 1989) and the general features of this level include: that morality resides externally, norms and principles are imposed from external authority figures, due to the fact that children of this age have not yet developed the ability to coordinate a perspective of self and others. Morality is also dependent on consequences, motives for actions are not taken into account, and the individual is only concerned with receiving reward or avoiding punishment. The two stages associated with the first level are (a) *heteronomous morality* where 'right' is determined by the avoidance of punishment, and (b) *individualism and instrumental purpose and exchange* where 'right' is determined by the attainment of reward as opposed to only the avoidance of punishment. (Fowler, 1981; Grant, 2009; Power et al., 1989).

5.3.2.2 Level 2: Conventional or role conformity morality (10-16 years)

General features of level two morality include that norms are more internalised, individuals are more concerned with his/her reputation or the perception of others and moral values are determined by conforming to majority norms which maintain social order and fulfil social expectations. Stages three and four are associated with this level of moral development

and are identified as: (a) *mutual interpersonal expectations, relationships and interpersonal conformity* which is known by the good boy/good girl orientation, and (b) *authority and social order maintaining*, where the maintenance of a conventional social system is valued and a mindset develops that to act in conflict with the societal system will result in chaos (Fowler, 1981; Grant, 2009; Power et al., 1989; Sternberg, 1997).

5.3.2.3 Level 3: Post-conventional or principled morality (adulthood)

Features of this level include that, at this level, morality becomes internal and autonomous, norms are determined upon the basis of justice, fairness and dignity and norms are independent of conventions such as national laws (Fowler, 1981; Grant, 2009; Power et al., 1989; Sternberg, 1997). Stages five and six are associated with this level of moral development and are: (a) *social contract and individual rights orientation* where individuals seem to be concerned with a ‘good’ society instead of merely maintaining the social system, and (b) *universal ethical principals* where morality is based on internalised, universal ethical principles based on equality, justice, human rights and human dignity which not many people reach (Fowler, 1981; Grant, 2009; Power et al., 1989; Sternberg, 1997).

In this section the structural developmental theories of Piaget and Kohlberg were discussed. In the following section, the contribution to FDT by these theories is summarised.

5.3.3 The contribution of the structural developmental theories to the Faith Development Theory

According to Fowler (1981), Piaget’s theory on cognitive development and Kohlberg’s theory on moral development made important contributions to the development of FDT. The broad epistemological focus of the theories, as well as the structure of knowing provided by these theories, gave form to the content of FDT. This made it possible to find and describe structural features of faith that make comparisons possible across a wide range of content differences. Both these theories contain rigorous concepts and comprehensive descriptions of cognitive and moral reasoning stages. Faith stages, however, also arose from integrating the modes of knowing and valuing, stringently avoided by both Piaget and Kohlberg (Fowler, 1981).

These structural developmentalists saw development as an interactional process between individual maturation, the dynamically changing environment and individual adaptation. In the same way, faith development and growth have to meet challenges and

navigate life crises that require changes in ‘being’ and ‘seeing’ faith. The structural-developmentalists’ work also provided normative directions in that later stages are more comprehensive and adequate and show greater understanding or greater ability to reason or know or solve more complex problems (Fowler, 1981).

Fowler (1981) stated that the limitations of the structural developmental theorists include that both Piaget’s and Kohlberg’s theories have separated cognition or knowing from emotion and affect and both theories also restrict the understanding of the role of imagination in knowing. According to Fowler (1981), imagination is the mode in which a child assimilates the world. In the following section the psychosocial developmental theories of Erikson and Levinson are explored in more detail.

5.3.4 Erik H. Erikson: The eight ages of humankind

Erikson’s work has been a study of the psychological and somatic development of personality in relation to the social and cultural environment, including the “...ethical dimensions of human growth and human societies” (Fowler, 1984, p. 21). His work also focussed on human strengths and health, although the focus of his training under Freud was on pathology (Fowler, 1981). Erikson proposed eight psychosocial developmental stages that he refers to as the eight ages of man. His approach is epigenetic, meaning there is a predetermined growth schedule and certain critical periods for maturation. Thus, human development is seen by Erikson as an epigenetic schedule of development, emerging challenges and increasing skills and abilities in a person on biological, mental, social and emotional levels (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Fowler, 1984; Stevens, 2008). The theory also supports the idea of ongoing and cumulative development, meaning that every subsequent stage is dependent on the successful resolution of the preceding stage. Any lack of resolution of earlier stages will adversely affect the successful resolution of later stages (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Hook, 2009; Miller, 1983).

In his theory, Erikson often referred to the development of a *sense* of trust or autonomy etc. This means that at the same time it is a way of “...experiencing, accessible to introspection, ways of behaving observable by others and unconscious inner states determinable by ways of test and analysis” (Fowler, 1981, p. 59). Erikson’s theory is a life cycle approach tracking ego development. Each stage is characterised by a pair of alternative orientations/attitudes to self, others and the world. By resolving the conflict, a ‘virtue’ denoting a strength or quality of ego functioning emerges (Erikson, 1997; Stevens, 2008). The specific stages are discussed in this section.

5.3.4.1 Stage 1: Basic trust vs. basic mistrust (Birth-12 months)

In order to develop trust, the infant must learn that or be able to predict that he/she will receive consistent good quality care, that he/she will be fed by the caregivers when hungry, comforted when frightened or in pain (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Hook, 2009; Miller, 1983). Demonstrations of social trust in a baby can be seen by "...the ease of his feeding, the depth of his sleep, the relaxation of his bowels" (Erikson, 1965, p. 239). Some mistrust is necessary in life in order to identify possible areas of danger or discomfort and to discriminate between honesty and dishonesty in people (Stevens, 2008). The virtue or ego-strength that corresponds with this stage is 'hope' (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Stevens, 2008).

5.3.4.2 Stage 2: Autonomy vs. shame and doubt (1-3 years)

Although the infant is still very dependent on parental caregivers, greater awareness of and control over his/her body develops in this stage as the skills of walking, talking and anal control develop and the infant becomes more independent (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Fowler, 1981; Stevens, 2008). If the infant/child experiences a sense of control without the loss of self-esteem, a sense of pride and good will can develop. From a sense of loss of self-control or external overcontrol, a propensity of lasting doubt and shame may develop. As the child's environment encourages him/her to stand on his/her own two feet, "...it must protect him against meaningless and arbitrary experiences of shame and of early doubt" (Erikson, 1965, p. 244), since shame and doubt threaten autonomy (Erikson, 1965). The virtue or ego-strength associated with this stage is 'will' (Hook, 2009; Miller, 1983; Stevens, 2008).

5.3.4.3 Stage 3: Initiative vs. guilt (3 years - 6 years)

The child's development has fostered greater mobility for running and greater skills in reaching, climbing, grasping, holding as well as language skills enabling questioning and better understanding (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Fowler, 1981; Miller, 1983; Stevens, 2008). The child suddenly seems to 'grow together' both physically and in his/her person. "Initiative adds to autonomy the quality of understanding, planning and attacking a task for the sake of being on the move" (Erikson, 1965, p. 247). During this stage the superego comes into operation and moral development also occurs (Erikson, 1965; Miller, 1983; Stevens, 2008). Guilt arises to limit the explorations as a means of self-regulation and determining what is permissible. The virtue or ego-strength associated with this stage is 'purpose' (Stevens, 2008).

5.3.4.4 Stage 4: Industry vs. inferiority (6 years to puberty)

During this developmental stage, the child learns to win recognition by producing things and is exposed to school and technology of his/her society like books, media, and the ability to read, write and do arithmetic (Erikson, 1965; Hook, 2009; Miller, 1983). Success in these endeavours, give the child a sense of competence and adequacy, while perceived failures bring a sense of inadequacy and inferiority which are the dangers of this stage (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Fowler, 1981; Stevens, 2008). Wider social interaction through school, peer groups, teachers and the media also occurs at this stage. The child begins to evaluate himself/herself relative to the peer group and peer norms. The danger that exists here is that the child will develop a sense of inadequacy and inferiority relative to the social group (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Fowler, 1981; Hook, 2009; Stevens, 2008). The virtues or ego-strengths developed at this stage are ‘industriousness’, ‘skill’ and ‘competence’ (Hook, 2009; Stevens, 2008).

5.3.4.5 Stage 5: Identity vs. role confusion (adolescence)

At this stage, childhood comes to an end and youth begins. Identity refers to being one with oneself, affinity between the individual and his/her social roles and community ties and an integration of all the aspects of oneself. The above has to be coordinated also with the perception of the self as distinct and separate from others (Erikson, 1965; Fowler, 1981; McAdams, 2001; Miller, 1983). The peer group is very important at this stage and the adolescent has to feel a sense of belonging. A danger of over-identification is that it may eclipse the adolescent’s sense of self (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Fowler, 1981; Hook, 2009). The danger of this stage is role confusion, where the individual has doubts about occupational direction, social group belonging and sexual orientation (Erikson, 1965; Hook, 2009; Stevens, 2008). The virtue or ego-strength developed at this stage is ‘fidelity’ (Fowler, 1981; Stevens, 2008).

5.3.4.6 Stage 6: Intimacy vs. isolation (young adulthood)

If a strong, integrated identity emerges from the previous stage, psychological intimacy with another person becomes possible. At this stage (usually around the early 20’s) the search begins for a significant other with whom to be intimate without the fear of losing one’s own identity (Erikson, 1965; Fowler, 1981; Hook, 2009). This is the stage that most crucially relies upon the successful resolution of prior crises, because if the crises are not resolved, they are likely to recur here (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Hook, 2009; Stevens, 2008). A

strong ego is required here to fend of a sense of losing oneself in the face of close friendships, inspirations by mentors and teachers, in sexual union and/or other close affiliations (Erikson, 1965). The opposite of intimacy is isolation and self-absorption. If an individual has not developed enough ego-strength and has failed to establish intimacy, the individual retreats into isolation and the avoidance of contacts which may lead to intimacy (Erikson, 1965; Fowler, 1981; Miller, 1983; Stevens, 2008). The virtue or ego-strength developed at this stage is ‘love’ (Fowler, 1981; Stevens, 2008).

5.3.4.7 Stage 7: Generativity vs. stagnation (middle adulthood)

Generativity is concerned with guiding the next generation, whether by caring for one’s own offspring or by teaching or engaging with the next generation in other ways. By this stage the hope is that adults have resolved their own earlier life conflicts and can focus their attention on assisting others (Erikson, 1965; McAdams 2006a; Stevens, 2008). Research also indicated that individuals who score high on generativity tend to be effective parents, have broad social networks, are involved with political activities and religious organisations, engage in volunteer work and enjoy higher levels of well-being and mental health compared to adults who score lower on generativity measures (Bauer, McAdams & Sakaeda, 2005; McAdams, 2006a, 2012; McAdams et al., 1997). Having one’s own children does not, however, guarantee movement into generativity (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Fowler, 1981). An adult who does not develop generativity “...retreats instead to a stagnation and eventually boring preoccupation with self in which he becomes his own infant and pet” (Stevens, 2008, p. 53). The virtue or ego-strength associated with this stage is ‘care’ (Erikson, 1965, 1997; Fowler, 1981; Stevens, 2008).

5.3.4.7.1 The redemptive sequence and the redemptive self

McAdams (2006a, 2012) conducted research to answer the question “what type of life-stories highly generative adults may construct to support and give meaning to their generative efforts” (McAdams, 2012, p. 21). This question was based on the challenges of the stage of Generativity vs. Stagnation, the seventh stage in Erikson’s (1965) theory (see section 5.3.4.7). McAdams’ (2006a 2006b, 2012) research indicated that the life narratives include a sequence where the protagonist moves from experiencing a negative emotional state to a positive emotional state or outcome and it is referred to as the *redemptive sequence* (also see section

7.6.1.2.4). “Stripped to its psychological essence, redemption is the deliverance from suffering to an enhanced status or state” (McAdams, 2006a, p. 88).

From this research, a model was developed that is referred to as *the redemptive self* (McAdams, 2006a, 2006b, 2012; McAdams et al., 1997). This model represents a transformative story lived by an individual who scored high on psychological measures for Generativity and the life narrative includes five interrelated themes (McAdams, 2006a, 2006b). These themes include an individual who: (a) enjoyed a special advantage early in life, (b) expressed sensitivity to the suffering of others or the societal injustices as a child, (c) established clear and strong values in adolescence that remained a source of unwavering conviction throughout his/her adult years, (d) experienced significant struggles or conflicts between desires of power/agency and communion/love, and (e) works toward achieving goals that will benefit society and future generations (McAdams, 2012). These generative efforts involve as many frustrations and failures as success and fulfilment (McAdams, 2006a). The research also revealed that individuals who report redemptive narratives of the self include ordinary mid-life citizens, political activists, moral exemplars and reformed criminals who are dedicated to help others avoid a life of crime (McAdams, 2006a, 2006b). See Appendix E for a discussion related to the findings regarding the redemptive sequence/redemptive self in Naudé’s life.

5.3.4.8 Stage 8: *Ego integrity vs. despair (late adulthood)*

This final stage offers the final opportunity for an individual to integrate the previous stages, and to realise that he/she is part of a greater history as well. The last stage links up with the first in that if elders have and model enough integrity not to fear death, healthy children can learn to trust and not fear life (Erikson, 1965; Hook, 2009). Erikson described this stage as follows:

Only in him who in some way has taken care of things and people and has adapted himself to the triumph and disappointments adherent to being, the originator of other or the generator of products and ideas- only in him may gradually ripen the fruit of these seven stages. I know no better word for it than ego integrity. (Erikson 1965, p. 259)

The opposite of integrity is despair and Miller (1983) describes the despair as regret for what one has not done with one’s life, fear of approaching death, as well as disgust with oneself. The specific ego-strength or virtue of this stage is ‘wisdom’ (Erikson, 1997; Fowler,

1981; Stevens, 2008) which is “...informed and detached concern with life itself in the face of death itself” (Erikson, 1997, p. 61).

In the development of the FDT, Fowler (1981, 1995) was also influenced by Daniel Levinson’s work, another psychosocial developmental theorist. This theory is discussed in the following section.

5.3.5 Daniel J. Levinson: Seasons of a man’s life

Daniel Levinson also proposed a stage model for adult identity development (Sternberg, 1997) and linked ‘being’ and ‘time’ (referring to chronological time by which we measure age) with how individuals experienced the self, others and the way in which they responded to the world. Fowler (1981) also considered the impact and importance of the transition through the eras as identified by the theory. In Levinson’s book *Season’s of a Man’s Life* (1978)³⁰ he divides the male life cycle into four eras, each approximately 20 years in duration. The eras comprise an initial transitional phase and a more stable phase (Fowler, 1981, Kaye, 2009; Levinson, 1978; Sternberg, 1997) and are discussed in the following section.

5.3.5.1 Era 1: Childhood and adolescence (birth to 22 years)

This era is characterised by the rapid changes in both the physical and psychological aspects due to physical maturation and cognitive and emotional development. Ages 17-22 signify the culmination of the first era and the transition to the next era and during this stage the adolescent should be preparing an adult life structure (Fowler, 1981; Levinson, 1978; Referaty-Seminark, 2007; Sternberg, 1997).

5.3.5.2 Era 2: Early adulthood (17-45 years)

This era is also referred to as the novice phase. In this era, as the individual enters the adult world, the task of personality formation must be completed, choices regarding relationships and patterns of intimate partnerships are established, the vocational dream is formed and mentor relationships are established (Fowler, 1981; Levinson, 1978; Referaty-Seminark, 2007; Sternberg, 1997). The two major life tasks are to anchor a career and family life and to succeed in building a life seen as successful by others. An adult life structure is

³⁰ In 1996 Levinson also published a book entitled *Season’s of a Woman’s Life* in which he explores female life cycle development (Levinson, 1996).

built that will carry the individual to middle adulthood. The ages of 40-45 is that transitional phase and this requires a culmination and completion of the tasks in the second era regarding personal identity, relationships patterns and commitments, as well as the vocational dream and work (Fowler, 1981; Levinson, 1978; Sternberg, 1997).

5.3.5.3 Era 3: Middle adulthood (40-65 years)

This era requires the individual to reassess goals, priorities, relationships and roles and to significantly reshape his/her life. Levinson (1978) emphasised that the period of stock-taking in this era parallels the uncertainties and stress of the twenties. The ages between 60 and 65 years typically signify the transition into late adulthood where adults begin to consider aging and retirement (Fowler, 1981; Levinson, 1978; Sternberg, 1997).

5.3.5.4 Era 4: Late adulthood (over 65 years)

This era indicates the culmination of middle adulthood. The individual will become increasingly aware of the decrease of mental and physical abilities associated with ageing. At this stage, it is crucial for the individual to remain connected with family and other sources of vitality and creativity. The individual also has to come to terms with both his/her own mortality, as well as the benefits of the wisdom that comes with age (Fowler, 1981; Levinson, 1978; Sternberg, 1997). The psychosocial developmental theories of Erikson and Levinson were discussed in this section. In the following section the contribution of these theories to FDT is highlighted.

5.3.6 The contribution of the psychosocial developmental theories to FDT

Erikson's account of stages strongly influenced FDT research. According to Fowler (1981), Erikson's work focussed on the functional aspects of faith where Piaget and Kohlberg helped the researchers focus on the structural aspects of faith. Fowler (1981) stated that he found it easier to express the contribution of the work of Piaget and Kohlberg in concrete terms, than Erikson's work:

I believe this is because Erikson's influence on me has been both more pervasive and more subtle; it has touched me at convictional depths that the structural developmentalists have not addressed. As unsystematic and unsatisfactory as it may seem, I simply have to say that Erikson's work has become part of the interpretative mind-set I bring to research on faith development. (Fowler, 1981, p. 110)

Levinson's theory on the other hand, greatly impacted on Fowler (1981) in terms of the notion that time has ontological and chronological significance: "Being and time are profoundly linked in our experiences of self and others and in our ways of responding to our world" (Fowler, 1981, p. 110). The other aspect of Levinson's theory that greatly influenced Fowler's (1981) thinking regarding his own theory was the transitions between the eras, as identified by Levinson. According to Levinson's theory, these eras impact profoundly, inevitably, as well as invariably upon individuals (Fowler, 1981). Having reviewed the foundational theories of FDT in this section, the theory is discussed in detail in the following section.

5.4 The Faith Development Theory

Before the different stages of FDT are discussed, the assumptions underpinning the theory, the interplay between faith and selfhood, the interplay between faith and relationship, as well as certain constructive dimensions, are discussed as backdrop against which the FDT stages should be seen.

5.4.1 Assumptions

Fowler identified four assumptions that underpin FDT. He refers to these assumptions as convictions. Fowler (1987) stated that (a) human beings were "genetically potentiated for partnership with God" (p. 54), (b) potentiation did not necessarily translate into the realisation of the partnership with God, and (c) the realisation of the partnership with God occurred within a certain context of interaction and interrelatedness with God as Creator, as well as our fellow human beings. The fourth assumption or conviction stated that the interaction with, and dependence upon, God and our environment begins in a non-conscious manner. "The emergence of awareness, of reflective consciousness and eventually of various kinds of self-reflectiveness, comes in humans as a gradual and difficult sequence of developmental construction" (Fowler, 1987, p. 55).

Selfhood also incorporates an awareness of ourselves and others in terms of physical embodiment. Additionally, selfhood is also reflexive, which means that we become aware of ourselves in relation to others (Fowler, 1987). The interplay between faith and selfhood is discussed in the following section.

5.4.2 Faith and selfhood

To be a self means at the outset, to be a human being with structuring patterns that shape a distinctive style of being as a person... A major concern of the stage theories... is with understanding the development of those capacities by which we construct self-other, self-self and self-Ultimate or God relationships. (Fowler, 1987, pp. 55-56)

As social perspective taking evolves through the stages of faith development and selfhood, each new level allows for greater self-knowledge and potential to greater intimacy with others and God. As humans evolve through the levels, various forms of self-deception also emerge and it may be possible to even trace the development of cunning and capacity for evil within a person's developmental history as well (Fowler, 1981, 1987). With the development of self, humans also become capable of shaping and expressing, what Fowler refers to as "disposition of faith" (1987, p. 56), indicating that both emotive and cognitive aspects are involved. According to Fowler, "faith is a construing of the conditions of existence" (1987, p. 56) and it also attempts to make sense of our daily existence "... in light of some accounting for the ultimate conditions of our existence" (Fowler, 1987, p. 56).

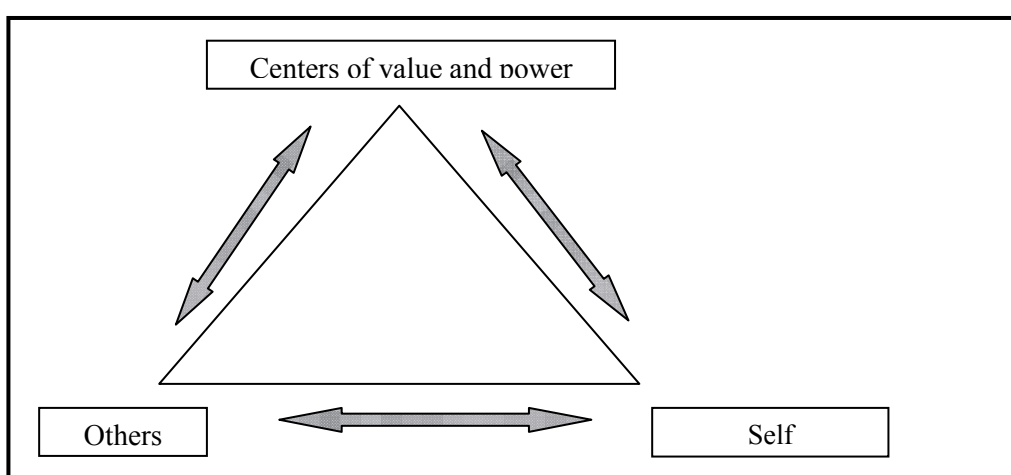
The ultimate conditions of existence include: (a) a patterned knowing also referred to as belief, (b) a patterned valuing also referred to as commitment or devotion, and (c) patterned constructs of meaning, usually in the form of a story. The stages of faith and selfhood development, in turn, result from understanding of the systematic integration of the operations of knowing, valuing and meaning construction (Fowler, 1981, 1987). Fowler (1987) also claimed that this systematic integration occurs, uniformly, according to a specific developmental sequence. This developmental sequence "...exhibits a series of qualitative distinguishable patterns and that each pattern adds successively something qualitatively new and more complexly developed to the patterns that came before it" (Fowler, 1987, p. 57).

When discussing the stages of faith and selfhood in the following sections, the strengths and limits of the operational structures of each stage will also be discussed. The stages are a framework for understanding where people are in regard to their faith (Wing, 1997). Fowler (1981) emphasised that the earlier, less developed stages, do not indicate that they are in any way inferior to the more developed, later stages. "Our concern, rather, will be to try to grasp the potentials and limits for the human vocation of covenant partnership with God and neighbour, which are characteristic of each of the stages" (Fowler, 1987, p. 57).

In FDT, faith is seen as a verb as well as relational (Fowler, 1981). The interplay between faith and relationship is discussed next.

5.4.3 Faith and relationship

Fowler refers to faith as “...an active mode of being and committing, a way of moving into and giving shape to our experiences of life... faith is always relational; there is always another in faith” (1981, p. 16). These relationships are described in terms of the triadic, two-way flow between self and others, self and the shared centres of value and power and others and the shared centres of value and power (see Figure 1). Shared centres of value and power refer to the family’s, community’s or religious tradition’s values, myths, beliefs, religious practices, norms as well as the image of the ‘ultimate being’ and ultimate environment.



*Figure 1. The Triadic, Two-Way Relationships in Faith. Adapted from *Stages of faith: The psychology of human development and the quest for meaning* (p.17), by J. W. Fowler, 1995, New York, NY: HarperCollins.*

Certain constructive dimensions also need to be taken into account when studying FDT. These are discussed next.

5.4.4 The constructive dimensions of Faith Development Theory

There are seven important constructive dimensions in FDT. The first three dimensions relate to broadening developmental theories and include: (a) the growth of logic (Piaget’s cognitive development theory), (b) the development of social perspective-taking (Selman’s Theory), as well as (c) the development of moral reasoning (Kohlberg’s theory) (Fowler, 2004). Also see sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2. Fowler added that in addition to the developmental aspects mentioned above, “... a richer range of dimensions of the constructive knowing and committing that honours the role in faith of imagination, emotions and a moral sense” (2004, p. 412) must be

added. To this end, Fowler (Fowler, 2004; Wing, 1997) added the four constructive dimensions to his theory which include: (d) locus of authority, which relates to the individual's capacity to evaluate and respond to sources of authority, (e) bounds of social awareness, which refers to the development of the ability to construct the perspective of others, (f) form of world coherence is the ability to reconstruct "...a coherent and meaningful account of the world" (Fowler, 2004, p. 413), and (g) the symbolic function which centres around the ability to respond to symbols, narratives and rituals that are a part of religious expression and experience that serve to deepen the religious participation (Fowler, 2004; Wing 1997). At each FDT stage, a table is provided to summarise the seven constructive dimensions of that particular stage.

5.4.5 The stages of faith and selfhood development

In Fowler's earlier work he identified six stages of faith development, beginning at the age of three years (Croucher, 2003; Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1981). In later work, he added another faith development stage to the beginning of the sequence. Therefore, the FDT now includes a pre-stage beginning *in utero* and infancy (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

These stages, which try to describe uniform and predictable ways of being in faith, are not primarily matters of the *content* of faith...Rather, we are trying to identify and communicate differences in *styles*, the *operations of knowing and valuing* that constitute the action. The way of being that is faith. Our stages describe in formal terms the structural features of faith as a way of construing, interpreting and responding to the factors of contingency, finitude and ultimacy in our lives. (Fowler, 1984, p. 52)

In 1987, when Fowler extended his faith development stages, he also added stages of selfhood, with particular focus on the work of Robert Kegan who was part of the faith development research group in the mid to late 1970s. Kegan made an important contribution to constructivist developmental theory by extending the theories of Kohlberg and Piaget to include ego development and personality theory. He fashioned his own theory to provide a developmental account or explanation of the self-in-motion and its process of meaning-making. Kegan's work further extended and illuminated the developmental dynamics of faith (Fowler, 1987, 2001). The seven faith development stages are discussed in sequential fashion next, in conjunction with the corresponding stage of selfhood.

5.4.5.1 *Pre-Stage: Primal faith and the incorporate self*

In 1981, Fowler referred to this stage as *undifferentiated faith*. In subsequent work, this stage is referred to as *primal faith*. This stage considers the very beginning of our existence before language and conceptual thought is possible (Fowler, 1987; Straughn, 2010). A baby is affected *in utero* by the environment surrounding the pregnancy which is, undoubtedly, communicated by the emotional state of the mother biochemically, as well as through direct physical mediation (Fowler, 1987). “As we move into the world, faith begins with a kind of prelanguage disposition of trust and loyalty toward the environment into which we emerge” (Fowler, 1987, p. 58). Trust and loyalty begin in the reciprocal relationship with our primary caregivers (Fowler, 1981, 1995; Stroud, 2004). This stage is what Erikson refers to as the tension between developing basic trust vs. basic mistrust (Erikson, 1965; Fowler, 1981, 1987), of being at home in the world (Straughn, 2010). When babies experience their parents as dependable realities who may go away but can be trusted to return, the caregivers may constitute the baby’s first experience of superordinate power and wisdom (Fowler, 1981, 1984). “These primal others, in their mixtures of rigidity and grace, of arbitrary harshness and nurturing love, are doubtless present in the images of God that take form by our fourth or fifth year” (Fowler, 1984, p. 53). On the foundation of trust or mistrust rests all that comes in subsequent stages in terms of faith (Straughn, 2010).

This faith development stage corresponds with Kegan’s (1982) *incorporate self* stage of selfhood. At the early stage of a baby’s development, no object differentiation exists. There is no sense of I-Thou. In the first two years of life, a baby develops cognitive and relational separation and differentiation occurs (Fowler, 1987). During this time of separation or differentiation, however, the predictable consistent presence of the mother or caregiver substitute is essential “...for mediating experiences of separation and return, and for the important mirroring that conveys a deep regard and a clear focusing of self as other to the mother” (Fowler, 1987, p. 59). According to Kegan, the child’s emotional development is put at risk if this process is disrupted, especially, in the first two years of a child’s life (Fowler, 1987).

5.4.5.2 *Stage 1: Intuitive projective faith and the impulsive self*

This state emerges with language development from the age of two years old and continues through to the preschool years to about age six or seven (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987). This coincides with Piaget’s stage of pre-operational stage cognitive

development and is a fantasy-filled, imitative stage (Fowler, 1986). Croucher (2010) referred to this stage as the magical world stage. Language makes a qualitative reflexiveness with regard to the self and the environment possible. During this stage, there is greater access to symbols, and from stories children form images that hold together their world of meaning and wonder, including their understanding of God (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1986; Stroud, 2004). “Symbols enrich the child’s stores of meaning and can provide powerful identifications and aspirations” (Fowler, 1984, p. 55). At this developmental stage a child does not possess the logic that necessitates the questioning of perspectives or fantasy, but this stage does represent a changing, growing and dynamic faith (Straughn, 2010).

There is an awakening awareness to a larger world of reality, as well as a sense of the taboos by which the child’s culture and family insulate these powerful areas. There is also no sense of cause and effect and, thus, children’s reconstruction of events or stories take on an episodic quality (Fowler, 1984, 1987). In this stage, it is possible to pair feelings of profound guilt or terror, as well as love and ecstasy with the powerful religious symbols and images of good and evil. It is therefore possible, in this stage, for children to form lasting emotional and imagal orientations and connotations to faith (Croucher, 2003; Fowler, 1981, 1987; Straughn, 2010; Stroud, 2004). Transition to the next stage is dependent upon the emergence of concrete operational thinking. At this stage, the child has a growing need to know how things are and work in reality and to clarify the basis of distinctions between what is real and what only seems to be real (Fowler, 1981, 1986).

Table 5 summarises the constructive dimensions (see section 5.4.4) related to Stage 1 of faith development according to Fowler’s FDT.

Table 5

Intuitive-Projective Stage by Constructive Dimensions

Form of logic (Piaget)	Preoperational stage.
Perspective taking (Selman)	Rudimentary empathy (Egocentric perspective).
Form of moral judgement (Kohlberg)	Punishment-reward oriented.
Bounds of social awareness	Family and primal others.
Locus of authority	Attachment/dependence relationships are sources of authority.
Form of world coherence	Episodic in nature.
Symbolic function	Magical-numinous in nature.

Note. Adapted from *Stages of faith: The psychology of human development and the quest for meaning* (p. 244), by J. W. Fowler, 1981, San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row.

The stage of self-development that coincides with this faith development stage was identified by Kegan (1982) as the *impulsive self*. In this stage, the child has locomotor control and some integration of reflexes and motor coordination, but the child is still embedded in his/her impulses. There is no control over emotions or the self. In order to mediate this stage, Kegan postulated that a culture of parenting is cultivated that may structure the environment to provide boundaries and structure, as well as appropriate opportunity for autonomy and experimentation. The parenting should also provide guidance and control over impulses. Kegan stressed the importance of the participation of both parents in this process (Fowler, 1987).

5.4.5.3 Stage 2: *Mythical-literal faith and the imperial self*

The *mythical-literal* stage of faith development, typically, occurs between the ages of six or seven and eight years when the child starts school, until the age of about 10-12 years (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981, 1986). This stage depends on the development of what Piaget refers to as concrete operational thinking and is typified by a stable understanding or representation of space, time and causality. The child's experiences are also far less dependent on feeling and fantasy (Fowler, 1981, 1984). This stage may be referred to as the stage of concrete family (Croucher, 2010). The world becomes more linear, orderly and predictable. The gift of this stage is narrative (Straughn, 2010; Stroud, 2004). Stories become the way in which experiences are unified and value is attached to the stories (Fowler, 1986). Stories are recounted with more richness and accuracy, but the child is not yet ready to reflect upon the meaning of stories (Straughn, 2010). The child also begins to recognise the perspectives of others as different from his/her own (Croucher, 2003; Fowler, 1981, 1987) and can, therefore, also include God's perspective (Fowler, 1981). At this stage, however, in matters of mutual interest, the child would routinely defer to the perspective of the other (Croucher, 2003; Fowler, 1981, 1987).

Children also develop a sense of fairness based on reciprocity at this stage. In terms of faith, the child also does not interpret or reproduce symbol or myth, since the child does not yet function on an abstract level. Therefore, faith becomes a matter of reliance on the stories, rules and implicit values of the family or community (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1984, 1987; Stroud, 2004). The factors mentioned above provide the mythical-literal stage with its most striking feature: "...the orientation to narrative and story as the principal means of constructing conserving and sharing meanings" (Fowler, 1987, p. 61).

This stage does lack a feature which will only develop in later stages, the feature Fowler refers to as interiority. Interiority refers to a person's internal world, his/her wishes, motives and personality (Fowler, 1981, 1987). According to Fowler (1987), children at this stage do not yet have a sense of themselves as a separate personality, but rather a sense of who they are in relation to their experiences and the stories of the group/community to which they belong. And, therefore, at this stage faith becomes a matter of relying on the stories, rules, traditions and meanings/values implicit to the group/community that the child belongs to. The ability to differentiate and distinguish between objects, people or groups makes this kind of identifying an important aspect of this stage (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987). Transition to Stage 3 depends on the implicit clash or contradictions in stories that lead to reflection on meaning. This reflection becomes possible with the transition to Piaget's formal operations stage of cognitive development (Fowler, 1986).

There are some adolescents and adults who structure their faith in this fashion as well (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987; Straughn, 2010). Fowler maintained that from this stage on "...we are dealing with ways of being in faith that can typify adults as well as the age groups where they most typically have their rise" (1984, p. 57). With the lack of understanding of the interiority of the self (as mentioned earlier in the paragraph), comes a lack of understanding of the interiority of others. When we are dealing with young school-aged children (approximately 6-11 years old), this deficit is developmentally appropriate. However, when we deal with this deficit in adolescents or adults, it causes problems in understanding and appropriate responses (Fowler, 1981, 1987). This point will be explained in greater detail in the stage of selfhood that correlates with this faith development stage (Fowler, 1987). This stage collapses when the adolescent employs newfound abstract thinking to deconstruct previous understanding of the world and risks leaving familiar beliefs for new beliefs (Croucher, 2010).

Table 6 summarises the constructive dimensions (see section 5.4.4) related to Stage 2 of faith development, according to Fowler's FDT.

Table 6

Mythical-Literal Stage by Constructive Dimensions

Form of logic (Piaget)	Concrete-operational stage.
Perspective taking (Selman)	Simple perspective taking
Form of moral judgement (Kohlberg)	Based on reciprocal fairness
Bounds of social awareness	“Those like us” in familial, ethnic, racial, class and religion terms.
Locus of authority	Incumbents of authority roles, salience increased by personal relatedness.
Form of world coherence	Narrative-dramatic in nature.
Symbolic function	One-dimensional and literal in nature.

Note. Adapted from *Stages of faith: The psychology of human development and the quest for meaning* (p. 244), by J. W. Fowler, 1981, San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row.

The selfhood stage that correlates with this faith development stage is the *imperial self* (Fowler, 1987; Kegan, 1982). The self at this stage is egocentrically preoccupied with its own needs, wishes and interests. The self is defined by the needs, wishes and interests without the examination of these needs, wishes and interests. Kegan maintained that the needs, wishes and interests become the filters that shape a person’s interpretations of experiences and other people (Fowler, 1987). The actions of persons in this stage may seem manipulative in the attempts to serve their interests, needs and wishes. Generally, a rather naïve and honest form of manipulation is employed by children. With adolescents and adults in this stage, however, one may be dealing with a more calculated and shrewd form of manipulation (Fowler, 1987). Kegan saw the yearning of the imperial self for independence rooted in self-esteem and competence. Therefore, he suggested a school and family structure that supports the child as he/she explores patterns of motivation in others in an ongoing relationship of trust (Fowler, 1987).

5.4.5.4 Stage 3: *Synthetic-conventional faith and the interpersonal self*

Synthetic-conventional faith typically emerges in late childhood/early adolescence between the ages of 11 and 13 years. The changes that occur in this stage coincide with the child’s ability for abstract thinking and have important implications for the development of faith and self and what Piaget would refer to as formal operational thinking and the construction of ideal possibilities and hypothetical considerations (Fowler, 1981; Straughn, 2010). This stage is marked by a sudden interest and awareness of interiority of oneself and

others in terms of personality patterns, ideas, thoughts and experiences (Croucher, 2003; Fowler, 1984, 1987). Synthetic in this context refers to an integration of the self and identity formation and, thus, a drawing together of "...one's stories, values and beliefs into a supportive and orienting unity" (Fowler, 1987, p. 60). This stage correlates with Erikson's identity vs. role confusion stage of development (Erikson, 1965; Fowler, 1987).

Stage 3 also signifies an increasing capacity for social perspective taking (Fowler, 1984, 1987; Stroud, 2004). As the young person develops the interpersonal perspective, he/she also becomes aware and attuned to the evaluations, perspectives, responses and expectations of significant others around him/her. This circle may include teachers, parents, peers and the religious community. Due to the greater feeling of connection to others and greater self-knowledge, a person may also experience feelings of being linked to what Fowler refers to as 'ultimacy' (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1984, 1987; Straughn, 2010). This stage may be referred to as the faith community stage (Croucher, 2010). In the face of the increased, diverse and complex social involvement, faith must provide a consistent and coherent orientation to the individual (Fowler, 1986).

Conventional in this context refers to, on the one hand the synthesis of beliefs, values and opinions derived from significant others and the synthesis of beliefs that have not yet been critically examined by the individual on the other hand. The opinions and values have not been critically reflected upon and are implicitly held as a result (Dykstra 1982; Fowler, 1981, 1984). According to FDT, individuals in this stage tend to conform to the majority views. Beliefs are often stereotyped and individuals feel that the 'rules' have to be followed (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981) and authority also still resides externally (Fowler, 1981).

Many individuals may not move past this stage in adulthood (Fowler, 1981; Wing, 1997) and equilibriate at this faith stage that developed in their adolescence (Fowler, 1984; Straughn, 2010). Stage 3 is a conformist stage that is accurately attuned to the expectations and judgement of significant others. If this stage does persist into adulthood, it indicates that something has hampered development past this stage. The examination of beliefs and values has been prevented either by stunted cognitive development, or the individual's religious formation strongly discouraged the examination of beliefs and values (Fowler, 1981).

According to Fowler (1981), transition from this stage to the next is dependent upon certain factors: (a) clashes or contradictions between valued authority sources; (b) marked changes in officially sanctioned leadership or policies and practices "...previously deemed sacred and unbreachable" (Fowler, 1981, p. 173), and (c) experiences or encounters with

perspectives that force the individual to critically reflect on his/her own values, opinions and beliefs and how they may have formed or changed.

Table 7 summarises the constructive dimensions (see section 5.4.4) related to Stage 3 of faith development, according to Fowler's FDT.

Table 7

Synthetic-Conventional Stage by Constructive Dimensions

Form of logic (Piaget)	Early formal operations stage.
Perspective taking (Selman)	Mutual interpersonal perspective.
Form of moral judgement (Kohlberg)	Based on interpersonal expectations and concordance.
Bounds of social awareness	Composite of groups in which one has interpersonal relationships.
Locus of authority	Consensus of valued groups and a personally worthy representative of belief-value traditions.
Form of world coherence	Tacit system, felt meanings which are symbolically mediated and globally held.
Symbolic function	Symbols are multidimensional and the symbol itself inheres evocative power.

Note. Adapted from *Stages of faith: The psychology of human development and the quest for meaning* (p. 244), by J. W. Fowler, 1981, San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row.

The selfhood stage that is linked to *synthetic-conventional faith* is called the *interpersonal self* (Kegan, 1982; Fowler, 1987). Kegan emphasises interpersonal mutuality as a characteristic of persons in this stage. The person is constituted by his/her relationships and the roles he/she plays, regardless of whether this stage is seen in adolescence or later adulthood (Fowler, 1987). "The self is...a function of its significant social ties" (Fowler, 1987, p. 66).

Ambivalence may exist regarding the dependence on others at this stage as well. Individuals are aware, on the one hand of the dependence on social connectedness, but on the other hand may be even a little resentful of this dependence (Fowler, 1987). This may be referred to this as the "...tyranny of the 'they'..." (Fowler, 1987, p. 66). Due to the yearning of intimacy and belonging in this stage, conflict with others in this period, is very difficult to handle. Often the interpersonal boundaries are blurred or enmeshed and the opinions and values of significant others are internalised and become part of the individual's personality (Fowler, 1984, 1987). Views, opinions and the sense of self "...synthesized in this stage and the authorities who confirm one's values and beliefs are internalized, and the person moves on through the life cycle with a set of implicitly held, strongly felt, but largely unexamined beliefs and values" (Fowler, 1984, p. 62).

5.4.5.5 Stage 4: *Individuative-reflective faith and the institutional self*

A transition from the previous stage to *individuative-reflective faith* may occur in young adulthood, but usually only occurs in the 30's or 40's. Transition depends on certain changes in the individual that coincide with the development of what Fowler referred to as an executive ego which means that individual authority is relocated within the self (Fowler, 1984, 1987; Wing, 1997). This stage develops if traditional answers stop making sense to the individual or the individual begins to question previously unquestioned beliefs. The ability to step back and evaluate develops and, as such, this stage may be referred to as the *rational constructs* stage (Croucher, 2010). During this process, two important shifts take place. In the first instance, changes with regard to the orientation toward self take place. A new sense of self-authorisation develops instead of the individual being defined by his/her social roles. Social relationships are also examined (Fowler, 1984, 1986, 1987; Straughn, 2010), reliance on external authority is interrupted and authority is relocated within the self (Fowler, 1981, 1986).

The second change is a critical examining, objectifying and clarification of one's own beliefs. This usually occurs when the individual literally (like going off to university) or figuratively 'leaves home'. The second change also coincides with greater commitment and accountability to one's beliefs and values. This process can be very disruptive to the social system and confusing for the individual (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987; Straughn, 2010).

During the shifts and changes that take place in this stage, a third person perspective develops, and the individual develops a greater awareness of his/her own ideology, as well as external factors that may have nurtured it. People are also able to understand others' ideologies in the same way (Fowler, 1981, 1987). This new perspective is what allows the individual to evaluate others' and one's own views and expectations and conflicting views may be carefully considered (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1981, 1987) and clarity on boundaries and identity also develops (Straughn, 2010). Fowler (1981) identified certain 'tensions' for this stage: (a) individuality vs. group membership, (b) subjectivity and the power of emotions vs. objectivity and critical reflection, (c) self-fulfilment or self-actualisation vs. service to and for others as primary concern and (d) the question of commitment to the relative vs. struggle with the possibility of an absolute.

According to Fowler (1981), what makes transition to this stage so difficult is the resistance of letting go of the authority of others and the fear that relationships may end when the reliance dynamic changes. A measure of insecurity and anxiety also exists about formulating and expressing one's own values, opinions and beliefs. In many instances,

individuals may feel as if they are abandoning their community with the changes mentioned above (Croucher, 2003; Fowler, 1981, 1987; Wing, 1997). This can be a traumatising transition for many individuals (Straughn, 2010). Since this stage represents upheaval and uncertainty at any point in an individual's life, the process may be protracted for five to seven years or even longer (Fowler, 1981). Sometimes, only one of the two shifts mentioned above occurs, and the individual stabilises in a transitional position and would find him/herself truly between the previous stage (*synthetic-conventional* faith) and this stage, (*individuiative-reflective* faith) (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1984, 1987).

Transition to the next stage, (*conjunctive faith*), is introduced when the individual becomes restless with the new self-images and outlook that is developed in and maintained by stage 4. Energies and elements from the deeper self or even a sense of staleness and flatness to the meanings developed in this stage, may indicate a readiness for transition. Also, the individual's disillusionment with compromises and the recognition that life is more complex than this stage's clear distinctions can comprehend, may push him/her to a dialectical and multi-levelled approach to the truth that is found in Stage 5 (Fowler, 1981;1986).

Table 8 summarises the constructive dimensions (see section 5.4.4) related to Stage 4 of faith development (*individuiative-reflective faith*), according to Fowler's FDT.

Table 8

Individuiative-Reflective Stage by Constructive Dimensions

Form of logic (Piaget)	Formal operational stage (Dichotomizing).
Perspective taking (Selman)	Mutual in nature with self-selected group or class (Societal).
Form of moral judgement (Kohlberg)	Societal perspective, reflective relativism or class-based universalism.
Bounds of social awareness	Focussed on ideologically compatible communities with congruence to self-chosen norms and insights.
Locus of authority	One's own judgment as informed by self-ratified ideological perspective. Authorities and norms must be congruent with this.
Form of world coherence	Explicit system, conceptually mediated and clarity about boundaries and inner connections of the system.
Symbolic function	Symbols are separated from symbolized. Translated (reduced) to ideations. Evocative power of symbols inheres in <i>meaning</i> conveyed by symbols.

Note. Adapted from *Stages of faith: The psychology of human development and the quest for meaning* (p. 244), by J. W. Fowler, 1981, San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row.

With the emergence of an executive ego, a greater sense of 'Who am I' develops in a broader, existential sense. The stage of selfhood development that coincides with this faith

development stage is called the *institutional self* (Kegan, 1982) and the individual becomes concerned with establishing and maintaining clear interpersonal boundaries (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987). Faith perspectives are also examined and reformulated. The individual claims authorship of his/her life in this stage, but the possibility also exists that individualism may develop (Fowler, 1984, 1987; Wing 1997).

5.4.5.6 Stage 5: *Conjunctive faith and the inter-individual self*

This stage of faith development typically emerges in mid-life (35-40 years) or beyond. It is a more dialogical and dialectical way of thinking and involves the rejoining of that which was separated in earlier stages (Fowler, 1981, 2000). It is based on the work of Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) who developed the idea of God as ‘coincidence of opposites’, the Being wherein all opposites and contradictions meet and are reconciled (Fowler, 1984, 1987; Straughn, 2010; Wing 1997). Carl Jung also refers to the conjunction of opposites in faith (Jung, 1933/2001). According to Fowler, this stage is a very mature stage of faith development and is rarely reached by individuals (Dykstra, 1982) and may be referred to as ‘Numinous Supernatural’ or ‘Mysterious Universe’ (Croucher, 2010).

Fowler (1981) stated that Stage 5 is very difficult to describe adequately. In this stage, the individual is no longer reflecting the views of the group or taking an individual stance (Fowler, 1981, 1986). The individual grasps the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of things (Fowler, 1981, 2000). *Conjunctive faith* allows the individual to come to terms with the dialectical dimensions and apparent paradoxes in faith and allows the individual to ‘hold’ these opposite tensions without collapsing in one direction or another (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987; Straughn, 2010; Stroud, 2004). The name of the stage implies that the clarity of boundaries and ideas of the self achieved in the previous stage of faith development must be relinquished in order to move towards the rejoining of what may have been divided or separated previously (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987; Straughn, 2010; Stroud, 2004). Stage 5 strives to unify opposites in mind and experience (Fowler, 1986), and is alive to paradox and the truth in apparent contradiction (Fowler, 1986). The confident, conscious ego develops a humbling awareness of the power of the individual, social and archetypal unconscious on our behaviour and reactions. This also means recognising and coming to terms with behaviour we may never be able to change, as well as coming to terms with death and our own mortality (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987; Straughn, 2010). Individuals in Stage 5 will also recognise that the symbols, doctrines and myths of their traditions are partial and incomplete and that they are inevitably

conditioned by the circumstances from which they emerged. Individuals, at this stage, are able to look beyond their own traditions (Fowler, 1981).

In *conjunctive faith* the individual sees the error or corruption of the old way and is able to rejoice in the possibility of change and transformation, yet the individual may on the other hand, still have attachments and commitments to the ‘old’ way that may make transformation or revolution too scary and costly. “They live divided in tension, working for the amelioration and evolution toward justice, deeply aware of their own implication in the unjust structures that they oppose” (Fowler, 1984, p. 68). The danger of *conjunctive faith* is that the individual may become ‘paralysed’ or immobilised, stuck between these two opposites. As these individuals long for transformation, their loyalties or commitments to persons or institutions may keep them stuck. Individuals stuck in *conjunctive faith* may feel a sense of homelessness or loneliness (Fowler, 1984). This stage remains divided, living and acting between a vision of a transformed world and an untransformed world in reality (Fowler, 1981, 1986, 2000).

Fowler (1984) summarised the hallmarks of the transitions to *conjunctive faith* to include:

1. The awareness of and ability to hold several polar opposite tensions.
2. The realisation that truth is multiform and complex, multidimensional and ambiguous and that it needs to be approached from several vantage points simultaneously, in an attempt to overcome inevitable blind spots in singular vantage points and opinions.
3. The humble awareness that the grasp on ultimate truth that any tradition can offer, needs continual evaluation and correction.
4. Greater receptivity and readiness to participate in a less reductive reality and a more symbolic and mythical reality.
5. A greater openness and acceptance of traditions and communities other than one’s own.
6. Loyalty to one’s primary community combined with a loyalty to the reality of a community of communities.

According to Fowler, people in this stage “...will not be protagonists in holy wars. They know the line between the righteous and the sinners goes through the heart of each of us and our communities rather than between us and them” (1984, p. 67). At this stage, individuals are ready for connections and intimacy with persons or groups that are different from their own and people can make allegiances beyond their own cultural constraints and taboos (Straughn, 2010).

Evolution to the next and final stage, *universalising faith*, involves an increase in the discomfort of being stuck between the two opposites of conjunctive faith, as well as an increase in the longing for transformation (Fowler, 1981, 1986). According to Fowler (1984), transformation also occurs in terms of individuals' attitude regarding the 'ultimate conditions of life' as well as with regard to themselves and existence with their neighbours (Fowler, 1984). Universalising Faith is discussed in greater detail in the following section.

Table 9 summarises the constructive dimensions (see section 5.4.4) related to Stage 5 of faith development, according to Fowler's FDT.

Table 9

Conjunctive Stage by Constructive Dimensions

Form of logic (Piaget)	Stage of formal operations (Dialectical).
Perspective taking (Selman)	Mutual in nature with groups, classes or traditions other than one's own.
Form of moral judgement (Kohlberg)	Based on principled higher law (Universal and Critical).
Bounds of social awareness	Extends beyond class norms and interests. Disciplined ideological vulnerability to 'truths' and 'claims' of out groups and other traditions.
Locus of authority	Dialectical joining of judgement-experience processes with reflective claims of others and of various expressions of cumulative human wisdom.
Form of world coherence	Multisystemic in nature.
Symbolic function	Post-critical rejoining of irreducible symbolic power and ideational meaning. Evocative power inherent in the reality in and beyond symbol and in the power of unconscious processes in the self.

Note. Adapted from *Stages of faith: The psychology of human development and the quest for meaning* (pp. 244-245), by J. W. Fowler, 1981, San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row.

The stage of selfhood development that coincides with this faith development stage is the *inter-individual presence* (Kegan, 1982). Selfhood in this stage focuses on the "...the deeper movements of the spirit within and of working at disciplines by which to discern and integrate elements from the unconscious structuring and wisdom of the self into consciousness" (Fowler, 1987, p. 93). The individual in this selfhood stage is far less influenced by external forces such as socially determined aspirations and focuses more inward on the driving force of the spirit (Fowler, 1987).

5.4.5.7 Stage 6: *Universalising faith and the God-grounded self*

Universalising faith is also a very mature stage and is very rarely reached (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1984; Straughn, 2010). It is identifiable in any culture or tradition, even if it is expressed in different ways (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1984, 1987). In this stage, individuals move beyond the paradoxical awareness and embrace of polar tensions (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987) and can be called the stage of selfless service (Croucher, 2010). According to Fowler (1984), this stage is best described as a radical decentration of self, an emptying out of self and

...having one's affections powerfully drawn beyond the finite centers of value and power in our lives that promise meaning and security... The transvaluation of values and the relinquishing of perishable sources of power... are the fruit of a person's total and pervasive response in love and trust to the radical love of God. (Fowler 1984, p. 70)

Universalising faith is marked by two important features: In the first instance, a decentration from the self. As individuals move through the different faith development stages, their circle of 'those who count' expands, from the primal and family relations, to social peers and friends, to those who share our political and religious beliefs and then beyond to humankind (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981, 1984). It implies "...knowing the world through eyes and experiences of persons, classes, nationalities and faiths quite different from one's own" (Fowler, 1984, p. 69).

The second feature of *universalising faith* refers to the decentration of valuing and valuation. Causes, people, institutions and sources of power seem to hold the promise of worth for us (Fowler, 1981, 1984). Faith development stages require an expansion of these groups and interests as well until, in this stage, we value the Creator and other beings (Fowler, 1984; Straughn, 2010) "...from a standpoint more nearly identified with the love of Creator for creatures than from the standpoint of a vulnerable, defensive, anxious creature" (Fowler, 1984, p. 69).

Individuals in this stage, often display a kind of detachment from self and finite centres of value and are drawn in to a new quality of participation and grounding in God or Principle of Being (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1987; Straughn, 2010). The individual in this stage, "...participates in a kind of identification with God's way of knowing and valuing other creatures" (Fowler, 1987, p.75). Persons in *universalising faith* can relate to or engage in fellowships with any other person at another stage of faith development and other faith traditions. They may also be charismatic leaders (Croucher, 2010; Dykstra, 1982).

Stage 6 may also give rise to activist efforts to transform unjust social conditions (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1984, 1987). Therefore, people at this stage are often experienced as subversive of structures (including political and religious) by which individuals and corporate survival, security and significance is sustained. Many individuals in this stage die at the hands of those they wish to transform (Fowler, 1986). A person in this stage can invest in a larger cause without being concerned with personal cost (Wing, 1997). In her psychobiographical study of Mother Teresa, Stroud stated that individuals who are able to reach *universalising faith* (as described by Fowler, 1981, 1995) “have become incarnators and actualizers of the spirit of an inclusive and fulfilled human community...they create zones of liberation from social, political, economic and ideological shackles... and are often more honoured and revered after death” (2004, p. 217). Fowler (1981) identified examples of individuals who have reached Stage 6 of faith development to include Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Mother Teresa, Dag Hammarskjöld, the German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, as well as Jewish theologian and philosopher, Abraham Heshel. In her study, Stroud (2004) also agreed that Mother Teresa was among few individuals who managed “to meet the requirements for universalising faith” (Stroud, 2004, p. 220).

Table 10 summarises the constructive dimensions (see section 5.4.4) related to Stage 6 of faith development, according to Fowler’s FDT.

Table 10

Universalising Stage by Constructive Dimensions

Form of logic (Piaget)	Formal operations (Synthetic).
Perspective taking (Selman)	Mutual with the commonwealth of being.
Form of moral judgement (Kohlberg)	Loyalty to being.
Bounds of social awareness	Identification with the species. Transnarcissistic love of being.
Locus of authority	In a personal judgement informed by the experiences and truths of previous stages, purified of egoic striving, and linked by disciplined intuition to the principle of being.
Form of world coherence	Felt and participated unity of ‘one beyond many’.
Symbolic function	Evocative power of symbols actualized through unification of reality mediated by symbols and the self.

Note. Adapted from *Stages of faith: The psychology of human development and the quest for meaning* (pp. 244-245), by J. W. Fowler, 1981, San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row.

Kegan did not propose a stage of selfhood development that coincides with *universalising faith*. However, Fowler proposed a stage of selfhood development to coincide with this faith development stage and refers to it as the *God-grounded self*. According to Fowler, the self in this stage has regrounded itself in God (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987). Although not perfect human beings, the burden of self-integration and self-justification has been transferred to God. The self is no longer defensive, but instead exhibits an openness based on the focus on and emersion in the being, love and regard for God (Fowler, 1981, 1987). Persons in this stage of faith and selfhood development "... in quiet or public ways... live as though the kingdom of God were already a realized fact among us" (Fowler, 1987, p.77).

In the words of Fowler, the human calling is: "...movement from the limiting love of those who love us and on whom we are dependent toward the limitless love that comes from genuine identification with the source and Center of all being" (1984, p.75). The image of human completion or wholeness is not reaching a faith development stage, but rather a way of moving and being on a pilgrimage that allows a widening of the circle of those we see as our neighbour. The goal is not to reach *universalising faith*, but rather to open oneself up as radically as possible to synergy with Spirit (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987).

The seven stages of FDT, as well as the coinciding selfhood stages were discussed in this section. The following section highlights the considerations that need to be taken in to account during stage transitions.

5.4.6 Important considerations regarding features of the stages and stage transitions

Fowler (1981, 1984, 1987) mentioned a few important considerations to bear in mind when considering the stages and the stage transitions in FDT. The first consideration stated that stages are discreet and hierarchical, invariant and sequential. The stages are, thus, moved through in sequence, one at a time, in the same order and no stages are skipped. Movement from one stage to the next should rather be seen as evolvement from the previous stage and represents significant alterations to one's knowing and valuing and should not be seen as merely movement in a step-wise fashion. The third consideration stated that transition from one stage to the next, especially from the *mythical-literal* stage (Stage 2) to the *synthetic-conventional* stage (Stage 3), is dependent on certain cognitive changes, more specifically, between what Piaget identified as concrete operational and formal operational thinking (Croucher, 2010; Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987).

Other considerations included that stages should not be thought of in a higher and lower (signifying better or worse) fashion (Croucher, 2010; Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987). However, maturity does signify the use of higher cognitive functions and the ability to “...deal with greater complexity and resolve conflicts and tensions that earlier patterns are not able to resolve” (Dykstra, 1982, sec. 2, para. 1). While Fowler (1981, 1984, 1987) also provided typical ages of onset for the transitions between the stages, the transitions are not automatic. For example, adolescents or adults may be found in the *mythical-literal* stage and the imperial self which, typically, describes later primary school children.

The final three considerations included that Fowler (1981, 1984, 1987) also identified some minimum ages under which it would be unusual to find certain age groups in certain stages simply for developmental reasons. Transitions to the later stages (from *synthetic-conventional faith* onwards) may also only occur later in life than typical for some persons and for some, not at all. And finally, when individuals find themselves at the stage of *synthetic-conventional faith* (or higher stages), the next, higher stage looks like a loss of faith to the individual, while the previous stage seems repulsive to the individual (Croucher, 2010).

Movement through the faith development stages requires change. In the following section both the categories and dynamics of change are discussed.

5.5 Faith and the Categories and Dynamics of Change

“If there is anything we can safely assume that we share with all of our contemporaries... it is the experience of relentless, ongoing, disruptive and dislocating change” (Fowler, 1987, p. 99). Fowler (1984, 1987) discussed three broad categories of change with which an individual has to deal in a lifetime. He focussed on both the categories and the dynamics of change.

5.5.1 The categories of change

The categories are (a) developmental change, (b) reconstructive change, and (c) change as response to intrusive marker events. The categories of change influence and interact with one another (Fowler, 1984, 1987). These are discussed individually in the following section.

Developmental change occurs when a turning point or crisis point arises where things can no longer remain the same. A crisis or turning point does not, necessarily, refer only to the negative. It simply implies the point at which change has to occur (Fowler, 1987). This pattern is a function of maturation in different dimensions like biological maturation, cognitive development, emotional maturation, changes in social perspectives and responsibility taking,

moral development and, finally, development in faith (Fowler, 1987). Developmental transitions, even as part of normal development, may be long and protracted since they bring about changes in how individuals view themselves, relate to others and view their being in the world, acquire new skills, beliefs and abilities. The developmental theories discussed earlier in this chapter (see section 5.3) enable us to map the changes in terms of cognitive, social, moral and faith development (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

Reconstructive change refers to the transformation and reconstruction that occurs in response to some crisis, struggle or failure (Fowler, 1987). Crisis points in need of reconstructive change are due to either the choices and influences of the environment, or people in an individual's life or the individual's own choices, weaknesses, vulnerabilities, fallibilities and complexes (Fowler, 1987). When circumstances, other crises or life in general, confronts the individual with these fallible and vulnerable areas, it is then that the individual needs some help in making sense of, and engaging in the reconstructive work necessary (Fowler, 1984).

Change as response to intrusive marker events is the third category of change. Fowler defined marker events as "...events after which our lives are never the same again" (1987, p. 106) and include events like divorce, natural disaster, getting married, being retrenched, having a baby, the death of a loved one, recovery from serious illness like cancer and emigrating. Some marker events are less disruptive than others and some are awaited with great excitement and positive anticipation, however, these marker events have in common that they require massive adjustment and reorientation on the part of the individual (Fowler, 1987).

The types or categories of change, as identified by Fowler (1984, 1987), were discussed. The following section focuses on the dynamics of change as identified by Fowler (1984, 1987).

5.5.2 The dynamics of change

With regard to the dynamics of change, three distinct processes can be identified: (a) ending, (b) the neutral zone, and (c) new beginnings. **Ending** a previous phase or chapter in the life of an individual begins the process of change which normally contains four stages, according to Fowler (1987). *Disengagement* means that the emotional connection to a relationship, meaning or context has to be given up. *Disidentification* involves the individual also having to give up a part of his/her identity. Stage three, *disenchantment* is the stage in which the individual has to accept that a part of the previous, valued construction of reality that had to be given up, only existed in his/her mind and not in reality. The final stage, *disorientation*, follows

the previous stage and the individual loses his/her 'place' and surefootedness. The individual may feel adrift and it is precisely then that he/she will enter the second phase of change.

Ending is usually followed by *the neutral zone*. The neutral zone can be described as "...the dark night of the soul...One is dislocate in time and space and the structures of meaning have been shaken or emptied" (Fowler, 1987. p. 109). It is tempting to escape the neutral zone and the chaos, uncertainty and emptiness. However, any attempt to escape, bail out or numb the experience will rob the individual of the great gift of the neutral zone. If an individual patiently and attentively waits out this phase, the rewards include greater insight, wisdom and understanding. Being in the neutral zone also brings the opportunity for great spiritual growth (Fowler, 1987).

Once the healing and learning work of the neutral phase is complete, new opportunities will arise in our lives, signifying *new beginnings*. Once the signs of new beginnings emerge, a gradual reintegration into life takes place (Fowler, 1987). In his theory, Fowler (1981, 1984, 1987) also focussed on the aspect of vocation or life work in relation to faith development. This aspect is discussed in the following section.

5.6 Faith and Vocation or Life Work

Vocation is not merely our job, profession or occupation. It refers to what a person feels 'called' to do in this life. Fowler defines vocation as "...the response to the address of God and to take the calling to a partnership" (1984, p. 95). Thus, vocation involves the shaping of all the aspects of one's life (including relationships, work, leisure, public and private life, as well as resources) in the service of God and the neighbour.

5.6.1 Partnership with God's work

Fowler (1984) employed the categories identified by theologian H. Richard Niebuhr to divide God's work. These are (a) God's work of creation, (b) God's work of governance, and (c) the liberative and redemptive work of God. Fowler (1984, 1987) postulated that humans may participate in partnership with God in this work. The ways in which humans may participate in the three categories of work will be discussed in the following section.

5.6.1.1 Partnership with God's work of ongoing creation

Partnership with God's work of ongoing creation means participating in "...procreative and nurturing processes...to be intentionally involved in the maintenance and extension of ...and

ecology of care for persons and for the environment” (Fowler, 1984, p. 46). This work may involve biological parenting, being involved with the care of children or the youth in other ways, nurturing people toward wholeness and participating in caring for and preserving the physical environment, as well as the spirit-culture environment which refers to the context of the social and cultural environment (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

5.6.1.2 Partnership with God’s work of governance

This facet has to do with the way in which we organise and structure our worlds, societies, behaviour and conduct (Fowler, 1984). In principle, partnership with God’s ongoing work of governance means cultivating a spirit of lawfulness, justice and active restraint of wrongdoing in our societies, to enforce decency and to maintain order. Ideally we should also strive to make the punishment of wrongdoing restorative rather than merely punitive. The distribution of common resources should be in service of the common good and conditions that could potentially lead to violence and revolt ought to be changed in order to avoid chaos and violent revolt (Fowler, 1987). Persons engaged in this work “...believe, hope, act and repent in the conviction that God is involved as the structure intending righteousness in the complex struggles of contending nations and parties” (Fowler, 1987, p. 49).

5.6.1.3 Partnership with the liberative and redemptive work of God

God’s work of redemption and liberation is particularly tied to the political, social and economic liberation in societies where “...polity and political economy have become vehicles for the aggrandizement of elites at the price of dehumanising the people and despoiling common resources” (Fowler, 1987, p. 50). In this context, humans learn the mystery and terrible cost of vocation. Partnership with God’s liberative and redemptive work requires solidarity with the oppressed persons in a society, the ‘little people’ in a society like the poor, the destitute, the AIDS victim, the orphans and widows, the oppressed, the substance abusers and prisoners (Fowler, 1987). In conjunction with solidarity with these groups, we also need to “...repent our solidarity with the betraying and abandoning disciples and of our kinship with the compromised and compromising officials of temple and empire” (Fowler, 1987, p. 51). As individuals are liberated from their egocentric preoccupations with power, purpose, security and significance through faith, they grow in the ability to embrace greater participation with God’s liberative and redemptive work (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

5.6.1.4 *The vocational ideal and faith development*

When considering the vocational ideal and faith development, the argument may be made that *universalising faith* characterises human maturity and may provide the ideal route to participate in the partnership with God's work of creation, governance and liberation, and redemption. Therefore, it may be considered *the* faith development stage that humans should strive for, the logical 'end point' to the journey (Fowler, 1984, 1987). While this argument would not be entirely wrong, some commentators are also of the opinion that *conjunctive faith* may be a more realistic 'end point' and more universally applicable to individual faith development journeys for the following reasons:

1. *Conjunctive faith* "...meets the criteria for life in an interdependent, pluralistic global world" (Fowler, 1984, p. 73).
2. *Conjunctive faith* has continuity with the progression of earlier developmental stages (Fowler, 1984).
3. *Conjunctive faith* does not require a religious or theistic orientation like *universalising faith* does (Fowler, 1984).

5.6.2 Adulthood and the vocational dream

Fowler (1987) also discussed the interaction and practical implementation of vocation through the developmental stages of what he refers to as young adulthood through middle and late adulthood.

5.6.2.1 *Young adulthood*

The challenge of late adolescence and young adulthood is to clarify and refine individual identity, which includes values, interests, talents, abilities and gifts. Additionally, a calling or vocational dream has to be identified to pursue in which the individual may employ his/her talents, abilities and gifts to address some needs in the world in order to engage in partnership with God's work (Fowler, 1987).

5.6.2.2 *Middle adulthood*

This phase is for the purification and deepening of vocation. The ages of 28-40 may be a time of turmoil and vocational questioning. During these crisis points, opportunities may arise to re-evaluate, modify and extend the vocational dream or even to answer a calling in a different

direction of partnership with God's work. In their 40's, individuals have lived through a few triumphs and tragedies, gained insight into the self and realised what the really important things in life are (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

In midlife, a hunger for vocational purification and deepening may occur. If this hunger is ignored and an individual does not achieve his/her vocational destiny, that individual may experience symptoms of burn-out, and this may even contribute to what is commonly known as 'midlife crisis' (Fowler, 1984). According to Fowler, midlife brings the "...invitations of deepening the spiritual foundations of our lives and of readdressing the issue of partnership with the Transcendent" (1984, p. 146). This seems possible through types of spirituality that is able to accommodate polarities and certain paradoxes in life, much like *conjunctive faith* as discussed earlier (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

5.6.2.3 Older adulthood: Witnesses and guarantors of vocation

Fowler (1984) stated that a sense of dignity, courage and energy exists in those older adults who have lived up to their vocational calling. They are able to balance being true to their own vocational callings and truly being there for others. In other words, bearing the fruits of what Erikson (1965) refers to as Generativity. These adults seem free of having to justify their life work, as well as the freedom to pursue new tasks, new projects and new roles. They are also "...liberated from the intensifying cycle of self-absorption that obsessive self-actualization requires..." (Fowler, 1984, p. 147). These adults become witnesses and guarantors of vocation because they lend credibility and truth to the pursuit of vocational purpose. They have powerful testimonials of God's faithful support in our vocational endeavours. They also confirm and encourage with authority those on the threshold of vocation or those struggling in the vocational midstream (Fowler, 1984).

The FDT and how it applies to the vocational dream or life work was discussed in this section. This concludes the exploration and detailed discussion of FDT. The following section focuses on the contribution FDT had made to the understanding and knowledge of faith development.

5.7 The Contribution of the Faith Development Theory

According to Fowler (2001, 2004), FDT makes some important contributions to the understanding and knowledge of faith development. These are (a) a broad conceptual

understanding, (b) contributing to developmental theories, (c) guiding instruction and education, and (d) greater social understanding. These are discussed in turn in this section.

5.7.1 Broad conceptual understanding

A broad conceptual account of both of what faith is and what faith does. FDT aims to include the many traditions and dimensions of faith without being reductionistic (Fowler, 2004).

5.7.2 Contribution to developmental theories

Fowler (2004) identified seven constructive dimensions of FDT. These constructive dimensions served to broaden and enrich developmental theories (see sections 5.3 and 5.4.4) (Fowler, 2004; Wing, 1997).

5.7.3 Guiding instruction and education

In terms of religious education, FDT "...offers implications and points to methods that resonate with what we think we have learned about how religious nurture and formation can most faithfully do its work" (Fowler, 2004, p. 413). Supporters of FDT see the contribution of the theory in matching educational methods with developmental readiness. In other words, the theory helps to match "...the competencies of each stage... with ways of teaching and with the symbols, practices and contents of faith at different levels of reflective inquiry and complexity" (Fowler, 2004, p. 417).

5.7.4 Greater social understanding

Another contribution of FDT is that the theory is a useful tool for the study of individuals, families, or social groups (like congregations) with the view to characterising the mindset or temperaments of these large, seemingly contrasting sections of a population (Fowler 2001). FDT has been used in adult research in the disciplines of medicine, psychology and theology (Wing, 1997).

FDT is regarded as a very influential framework relevant to religious or faith development. It has become a popular resource for pastoral care, pastoral counselling, pastoral theology, Christian education, as well as spiritual direction. As such, FDT has attracted much critical comment and evaluation (Croucher, 2010). These criticisms are discussed in the following section.

5.8 Criticisms of the Faith Development Theory

Division exists among supporters and critics of the FDT, regarding the issue of faith being defined in both structural and functional forms, as well as the inclusion of the dynamics of faith as expressed by many religious or spiritual traditions, (including secular ideologies as held by some groups or individuals) (Coyle, 2011; Fowler, 2004). Craig Dykstra formulated major criticism against the FDT in 1986, concerning the issue of exclusivity (or in this case, lack of exclusivity). Dykstra stated that the issue of faith should be unique to Christian or other specific religious traditions. Therefore, the development within that religious tradition should be specific and unique to that tradition (Fowler, 2004). “For them, faith is not generic and it is not definable apart from the contents and practices of particular traditions” (Fowler, 2004, p. 417).

Fowler (2004) responded to the criticism by explaining that faith development should always be seen in the context of a specific religious tradition, even though his research indicates that faith appears to develop in the same manner in individuals, regardless of their specific religious traditions. He also stated that the goal of religious education should never be the mere advancement through developmental stages, but rather the matching of education to developmental stages with the aim of deepening the understanding of the content, symbols and practices within a specific religious tradition (Fowler, 2004).

In 1991 Streib stated that FDT provided a more formal account of the emotional and cognitive development of faith instead of the content or story, regarding the development of faith in individuals. Fowler (2001) responded by stating that the structural aspects of FDT only provides half an account of faith development and that the content of faith (symbols, practices, traditions and the community of faith) accounts for the other half of the story of faith development in an individual’s life. Fowler (2001) also emphatically stated that an adequate faith biography would represent or include both these important aspects in order to provide a full account of an individual’s faith development.

Additionally, Fowler (1981) reported that during the course of the research, he encountered opposition for using the term ‘faith’ from both the religious and secular camps. The religious groups maintained that the term faith cannot be seen separate from a religious tradition or expression. The secular group maintained that no term with any sort of religious link should be used. They proposed terms such as world view development or belief system development (Fowler, 1981). However, Fowler (1981) maintained that no other term, other than ‘faith’, would adequately describe the unique way of knowing, valuing and committing that he was studying the development of.

John McDargh also formulated a criticism against FDT in 2001 stating that the theory did not address the issue of development of the self fully and adequately (Fowler, 2001). Fowler responded to the criticism by explaining that FDT has a triadic structure comprising the self, then the primal and others and the relational engagement that exists between self and others, and then the self and the third area of relational engagement, being the individual's "...ultimate other or centers of value and power" (Fowler, 2001, p. 163). FDT attends to the changes that take place in those relationships and the relationship matrix over time. This includes aspects such as personal choice and affinities with others and with the Holy, as well as changes and transformations these relationships undergo which are due to the ongoing development and to the changes in the content and shape of one's life experiences (Fowler, 2001).

Some questions have also been raised regarding the gender and cultural specificity of FDT (Coyle, 2011). Slee (2004) pointed out a discrepancy that women scored lower than men on the Faith Development Interview and also proceeded to more advanced stages of faith development in later ages. Fowler himself has conceded an element of underscoring for woman and over scoring for men (Coyle, 2011) and "has suggested the inclusion of 'relational knowing' in the fourth stage" (Coyle, 2011, p. 17). FDT has also been accused of cultural specificity (Coyle, 2011). Fowler (2001) maintained that the stages of faith operate alongside the cultural environment of the individual. Baxter (2006), however, observed that the concept of faith as identified by Fowler (1981) occurred within the context of late 20th century, Euro-American intellectual cultures.

Some of the criticisms of FDT, as well as Fowler's comments on the criticisms were discussed in this section. The application of FDT in other psychobiographies is briefly discussed in the next section.

5.9 Faith Development Theory and Other Psychobiographies

According to Fowler (2001), psychobiographical faith development studies included John Wesley, the founding father of Methodism (Fowler, 1985), as well as an earlier collection of five studies. These studies were conducted by students of Fowler and included the analysis of the faith development in the lives of Anne Hutchinson, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Blaise Pascal and Malcolm X, which were edited by Fowler and Lovin (1979). South African academic psychobiographical studies employing the FDT included Stroud's (2004) psychobiographical study on the life of Mother Teresa.

Sigelman and Shaffer (1991) stated that the cross-sectional comparisons of children and adults that Fowler employed in the development of FDT supported the stages and age ranges of the stages he identified. They observed, however, that longitudinal research was lacking to determine if people actually progressed through the stages in the order suggested by FDT (Sigelman & Shaffer, 1991). Stroud (2004) noted that this observation by Sigelman and Shaffer (1991) indicated that FDT is particularly well suited to psychobiographical research, since the development of the individual being studied can be traced in a longitudinal fashion.

5.10 Conclusion

In this chapter the Faith Development Theory was presented and explored. It included an overview of the rationale and development of the theory, a discussion of the developmental theories that underpin the FDT. The stages of faith development and selfhood were explored and the relationship between faith and vocation was also discussed. The categories and dynamics of change as it applies to faith development were also discussed. Some of the contributions and criticism of FDT were reviewed and the use of FDT in other psychobiographies concluded this chapter. In the following chapter certain preliminary methodological considerations in conducting psychobiographical research are explored and described.

Chapter 6

Preliminary Methodological Considerations

6.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter discusses the methodological issues that require consideration when undertaking a psychobiographical study. These issues include researcher bias, reductionism, issues of diversity, analysing an absent subject, elitism and easy genre, infinite amount of biographical data and inflated expectations. Strategies employed in this study to minimise or counteract these methodological considerations are also discussed. Issues related to reliability and validity in qualitative research are also explored. A discussion of ethical considerations concludes the chapter.

6.2 Methodological Considerations

Psychobiographical research has evolved as a research method. Despite this, it still faces harsh criticism. Disparity seems to exist between the potential and actual execution of psychobiographical research (Anderson, 1981a; Howe, 1997; Runyan, 1983, 1984). Psychobiographers face many challenges, constraints and obstacles that other researchers do not face. Therefore, it remains a challenging and demanding endeavour to write 'good' psychobiographies (Fouché, 1999; McAdams, 1996). Runyan (1983, 1984) stated that many of the criticisms against psychobiography are linked to the idiographic research method. Anderson (1981a) indicated that the disparity between the potential and execution of psychobiographical research may be linked to the methodology employed.

In this chapter these difficulties are discussed theoretically as major methodological considerations that have to be overcome or minimised in order to produce good psychobiographical research. Since these considerations also apply to this psychobiographical study of Naudé, particular emphasis is then placed on the strategies employed in this psychobiographical research endeavour to overcome the methodological challenges and reduce the disparity between the potential and actual execution of psychobiographical research.

6.2.1 Researcher bias

6.2.1.1 *Explanation of researcher bias*

Qualitative research designs are by nature fluid, open ended and discovery-oriented (Haverkamp, 2005). Therefore, it is very important in the analysis of qualitative data for the researcher to guard against what Kvale (1996) referred to as biased subjectivity which could lead to inaccurate, careless work if interpretations are selective and counterevidence is disregarded (Haverkamp, 2005). Instead, the qualitative researcher should aim for perspectival subjectivity (Kvale, 1996) which is "...viewed as a thoughtful elaboration of meaning within a constructivist paradigm" (Haverkamp, 2005, p. 147).

A major pitfall in psychobiographical methodology is the idealization or denigration of the research subject by the psychobiographer (Elms, 1994; Simonton, 2003). Due to the in-depth and long term nature of a psychobiographical research endeavour, researchers very often develop complicated and/or intensely personal reactions to the research subject which is almost counter-transference like in nature (Anderson, 1981a). Although these reactions may be unintentional and unconscious, it is important to minimise and counteract any researcher bias (whether positive or negative) (Anderson, 1981a). To this end, Anderson (1981a) proposed that the psychobiographer should examine all feelings (both positive and negative) about the subject, through the process of introspection. The researcher should also examine why a particular subject was chosen. Another strategy suggested by Elms (1994), to control either strongly positive or strongly negative reactions or emotions, is to simply keep in mind, throughout the research process, that the work will be submitted for inspection or examination by more critical colleagues, promoters and/or examiners. This should serve as a warning to the researcher to maintain "intellectual honesty" (Elms, 1994, p. 20).

Another strategy to minimise researcher bias involves developing empathy with the subject as empathy safeguards against the tendency to be disparaging (Anderson, 1981a). Elms (1994) referred to psychobiographers needing to cultivate "controlled empathy" (p. 5) towards their research subjects combined with a commitment to "collecting solid biographical data" (Elms, 1994, p. 5). Anderson (1981a) also suggested the review of the manuscript by both intimate acquaintances of the researcher as well as biographical specialists to comment, specifically, on the psychobiographer's relationship with the subject in order to minimise researcher bias.

6.2.1.2 Strategies applied

During the research endeavour, the researcher engaged in a process of introspection and examined her feelings and attitude toward the research subject. The feelings and attitude were briefly diarised during the entire research journey. These strategies were purposefully employed by the researcher to minimise researcher bias in this study. Additionally, the researcher continuously discussed her feelings and attitude regarding Naudé, with a colleague and fellow psychobiographer. The colleague is also a clinical psychologist and a doctoral candidate and reviewed the documented study and commented on her impression of the relationship between the researcher and the research subject.

The researcher discussed her feelings and attitude towards Naudé with the study promoter and co-promoter. The researcher also discussed her feelings and attitude regarding both the study and Naudé with her personal supervisor (also a psychologist and PhD graduate) in order to examine any transference or counter-transference issues in the study as well as how the entire research process impacted on the researcher on a personal level. This was a valuable and enriching practice, especially, in terms of the content of the research journal mentioned earlier. Finally, the document was submitted to the subject's eldest son, Johann Naudé, for review and comment by family members.

6.2.2 Reductionism

6.2.2.1 Explanation of reductionism

Psychobiography is not the mere application of fixed psychological formulas or concepts to a historical individual and deeming that process a sufficient analysis (Anderson, 1981a). Schultz (2005a) stated that “we over-simplify when we seek single aims” (p. 6). One form of reductionism in psychobiography that is criticised is the emphasis of psychological factors to the exclusion of external social, historical, cultural, political, and religious factors (Anderson, 1981a; Izenberg, 2003; Simonton, 2003).

A second form of reductionism in psychobiography is the excessive focus on pathology and therefore, limited focus on coping, normalcy, wellness and health (Anderson, 1981a; Elms, 1988b, 1994; Schultz, 2005a). The earlier psychobiographies were aimed at the psychodynamic understanding of great men (Elms, 1988b, 1994). These approaches aimed at identifying and documenting the ‘foibles’ and ‘follies’ of the subjects under study. A subject cannot be reduced to merely a diagnostic label or collection of symptoms (Schultz, 2005a).

A third type of reductionism is what Erickson referred to as originology (Anderson, 1981a). This refers to the overemphasis on childhood experiences at the expense of later experiences to explain development (Anderson, 1981a; Kóváry, 2011). According to McAdams (1996), originology relates to the controversial issue of continuity and consistency in human development from childhood to adulthood.

Reductionism may be counteracted or reduced by conducting thorough research based on multiple sources. A psychobiography is no better than the research on which it rests (Schultz, 2005a). Schultz (2005a) also stated that psychobiographies were persuasive "...when their conclusions rest on a convergence of evidence" (p.7). Anderson (1981a) maintained that psychological interpretation was not a short cut for thorough historical research.

McAdams (2006c) stated that life stories are social constructs and should reflect the various social, historical, cultural and political influences on an individual. Furthermore, interpretations also need to integrate psychological and contextual/ social/historical/cultural evidence. The psychobiographical subject should be seen holistically and the psychobiographer should maintain appreciation for the complexity of the subject's personality, as well as the complexity of the interplay between the subject and the subject's sociohistorical and sociocultural background and context (Anderson, 1981a; Howe, 1997).

Information and facts should also be checked and verified by the psychobiographer in order to present accurate evidence and avoid psychological reductionism (Anderson, 1981a; McAdams, 1996; Schultz, 2005a). Another strategy that may be employed to minimise reductionism involves avoiding the excessive use of psychological terminology and jargon. The mere application of terminology or jargon does not denote sufficient explanation (Anderson, 1981a).

Elms (1994) proposed that employing a eugraphic approach may also minimise or counteract reductionism. In the eugraphic approach, the psychobiographer explores and explains how a subject became healthy and well adjusted. The eugraphic approach may also be referred to as the nonpathographic approach and reduces the possibility of pathologising or originology (Elms, 1994).

6.2.2.2 Strategies applied

An extensive and thorough literature study was undertaken in this study, in order to prevent an overly reductionistic psychobiography. Psychological material was studied and an

in-depth study of sociohistorical material was undertaken as it applied to the sociopolitical and sociocultural context of Naudé. The multiple sources and sociohistorical material studied (e.g., a biography, an autobiography, books written on Naudé, newspaper articles, research studies on Naudé, published interviews, interviews conducted by the researcher with people who knew and worked with Naudé, as well as input from his family) minimised the possibility of engaging in a reductionist study.

Additionally, the multidimensional and eugraphic theories of wellness and faith development that were employed in this study also prevented over-pathologising. Furthermore, the faith development theory employed is lifespan oriented and developmental in nature. This minimised the possibility of originology. In addition, the model of wellness and to an extent the faith development theory, are multifaceted and the importance of psychological, social, cultural, historical and political factors are acknowledged. This enabled the researcher to conduct a holistic study on Naudé within the broader sociocultural and sociohistorical background.

6.2.3 Issues of diversity in psychobiographical research

6.2.3.1 Explanation of issues of diversity in psychobiographical research

This consideration relates to the cross-cultural (Anderson, 1981a) and gender differences between subject and researcher in psychobiographical research (Elms, 1994). Since many of the subjects in psychobiography are not contemporary figures, an important criticism of psychobiography is the application of contemporary psychological theories to individuals of other cultures and historical periods (Anderson, 1981a; Runyan, 1984). Psychobiographers, who do not take these cultural and historical differences into account, bias their interpretations. This is referred to as ethno-centrism and temporo-centrism (Runyan, 1984). Anderson (1981a), Elms (1994) and Runyan (1984) emphasised the importance of studying both the historical as well as the cultural context of psychobiographical subjects, in order to develop empathy for the subject and integrating the material into the interpretations made. To this end, Anderson (1981a) suggested the use of the emic approach that is employed by anthropologists. In this approach, a single or very few subjects are studied and categories of meanings derived from the individuals studied (Morrow, 2005). In the emic approach the researcher attempts, as far as possible, to get to know the culture from the viewpoint of those who live in the culture, specifically, from the viewpoint of the research subject(s) (Anderson 1981a; Flores & Obasi, 2003). Elms (1994) stated that it may be easier to establish and

maintain empathy with a psychobiographical subject if the subject and researcher share a similar cultural background or have experienced similar life histories.

As far as cross-gender issues are concerned, Elms (1994) believed that this issue possibly has many different angles to consider. On the one hand, a female psychobiographer, for example, may be able to provide unique insights into certain aspects of the female subject's life where a male psychobiographer may not be able to do so. On the other hand, male psychobiographers may have more empathic understanding of the female subject (Elms, 1994).

Elms (1994) also stated that it is possible for a psychobiographer, regardless of race, gender or culture, to develop useful ideas about any subject as long as enough life history data are available. "In some regards humans are humans regardless of gender, race or nationality" (Elms, 1994, p. 249). Useful interpretations and empathic understanding of a subject in psychobiographical research can occur cross-culturally and across gender and ethnic groups (Elms, 1994) and are not necessarily dependent on the researcher being "race-correct" and "gender-correct" (Elms, 1994, pp. 249-250). Elms (1994) also stated that since psychobiography is still a developing field, there is not much benefit to limit studies where subjects are only studied by like-gendered or like-cultured psychobiographers. The focus should rather be on completing good psychobiographical research to make additions to our understanding of subjects from different perspectives (Elms, 1994).

6.2.3.2 Strategies applied

With respect to this research study, the researcher and research subject shared a few similar sociocultural and sociohistorical characteristics: South African nationality, Calvinistic religion in childhood years, lived in both apartheid South Africa as well as post-apartheid South Africa.

The differences between the researcher and Naudé included that he was brought up in a staunch, purist, traditional Afrikaans home and was a young adult as the apartheid system was being introduced into South Africa. The researcher was brought up in a bilingual, liberal home having had an English father and Afrikaans mother. The researcher was a young adult at the birth of the New South Africa, having achieved eligibility to vote only in 1992. There is also the obvious gender difference to take into account as well.

In an attempt to bridge the cross-cultural, cross-gender and cross-historical differences and to develop empathy with Naudé, historical and political texts were studied and

incorporated into the literature review (e.g., Allott, 1975; Barnes, 2008; Clements, 2006; Coetzee, 2010; De Gruchy, 1985; Durandt, 1985; Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007; Levy, 1999; Nash, 1985; O'Malley, n.d; Rampen, 1972; South African History online, n.d.). Additionally, the researcher also conducted interviews with various individuals (across cultural, language and gender lines), who knew Naudé to gain insight into the sociohistorical and sociopolitical context of the time (see section 6.2.4.2). Visits to the Robben Island Museum (Cape Town) and Apartheid Museum (Johannesburg), as well as the archives at the Beyers Naudé Centre (University of Stellenbosch) further served to illuminate the social and personal context of the time.

The gender difference between the subject and researcher was taken into account in this study and the researcher attempted to develop further empathy for the subject by studying and incorporating the information gathered above to illuminate the Afrikaner, male gender role of Naudé's era.

6.2.4 Analysing an absent subject

6.2.4.1 Explanation of analysing an absent subject

In the process of psychotherapy, the psychologist can extract detailed information from the client or patient. The process of information extraction and collection is vastly different in psychobiographical research, since the psychobiographer often has the disadvantage of extracting the sparse information available in historical texts. The subject is studied 'from a distance'. Many critics regard psychobiography a futile exercise since very often the subject cannot be questioned directly (Anderson, 1981a; Munter, 1975). However, some psychobiographers like Anderson (1981a) and Mazlish and Demos (1978) have stated that there are several respects in which the psychobiographer is in a more advantageous position than the psychotherapist. These include: (a) being able to gather information from sources other than the subject, like biographies, speeches, letters, interviews, diaries and drawings for example; (b) being able to learn how different informants viewed certain situations and the personality of the subject; and (c) being able to review the subject's whole life. Anderson (1981a) and Mazlish & Demos (1978) also believed that a careful, well-researched psychobiography produces a well-rounded, balanced portrait of the subject, while in psychotherapy the therapist often only focuses on the maladaptive, dysfunctional and problematic behaviour or aspects of the client or patient. Another advantage included that with a subject who was recently alive, the psychobiographer can interview individuals who

knew the subject (Anderson, 1981a; Mazlish & Demos, 1978), although Anderson (1981a) stated that the ideal outcome is to be able to interview a subject who is still alive. Jansen (2011) stated that there may be advantages to studying a person from a distance “...for it offers at once a broader view of the man and demands a more intensive study of the subject...” (para. 5) to really understand what makes a person exceptional or an icon.

6.2.4.2 Strategies applied

In order to overcome the criticism of analysing an absent subject and the related issue of inadequate personal data relating to the subject, an extensive literature study of various sources was conducted in this study. By conducting an extensive literature study, the researcher was able to collect a wealth of personal data from the various sources. The sources included:

- An autobiography, *My Land van Hoop* (Naudé, 1995).
- A biography, *Pilgrimage of Faith* (Ryan, 1990).
- Books regarding the life and work of Naudé (see Bryan, 1978; Villa-Vicencio & De Gruchy, 1985; Villa-Vicencio & Niehaus, 1995).
- Unpublished doctoral dissertations related to Naudé (see Coetzee, 2010; Potgieter, 1994).
- Interviews, summaries and transcripts of interviews.
- The transcript of Naudé’s trial.
- Personal documents like sermons, letters, and memos.
- Copies of *Pro Veritate* (see section 3.2.5).
- Newspaper articles and obituaries.
- A television programme regarding Naudé’s life and work in the context of apartheid South Africa.
- Information gathered from the family via Naudé’s son, Johann.
- Interviews were also conducted with several individuals who knew him well and/or worked with him (These included Dr Murray Coetzee, Prof. Jaap Durandt, Prof. Daan Cloete, Dr Shun Govander, Dr Wally Mazimiza, Dr Carl Anthonissen and Mr Horst Kleinschmidt).
- Archival information gathered from the Naudé Centre for Public Theology Department, University of Stellenbosch.

The key sources of data utilised for this research were published documents. The diverse nature of the published material included a biography, autobiography, books focussing on Naudé's work and ministry, transcribed interviews, newspaper articles, speeches and sermons. The materials were written by Naudé, biographers, historians, politicians, theologians, academics, colleagues, critics and acquaintances. Published documents allowed for easy, convenient accessibility to the material and the opportunity to cross-check, back reference and engage with the material on a 'long-term' basis. Furthermore, the biography and autobiography and some of the other published works, provided a longitudinal and lifespan impression of Naudé. The majority of the materials consulted were documented by Naudé himself, as well as by biographers and individuals who had personal contact with him. This provided an excellent opportunity to collect and analyse more personal and lifestyle data on Naudé as well. Unpublished doctoral dissertations on various aspects of Naudé's life were also studied, interviews were conducted with several individuals who knew and worked with Naudé and some additional information was gathered from his family as well. This allowed for additional personal and lifestyle data to be gathered on an 'absent' subject.

6.2.5 Elitism and easy genre

6.2.5.1 Elitism and easy genre explained

Other criticisms levelled at psychobiographical research, is that this type of research is seen as (a) elitist, and (b) an easy genre (Runyan, 1988b). The argument is made that psychobiographies focus too much attention on prominent, privileged and influential people like kings, queens, political leaders, artists and entertainers rather than on less well-known or important individuals (Runyan, 1988b; Schultz, 2005a). Runyan (1988b) responded to the criticism by stating that social class should not be confused with levels of aggregation, which should be the actual issue under consideration.

In reply to the criticism related to easy genre, Runyan (1988b) and Schultz (2005a) argued that superficial psychobiographies were easily written, while good, persuasive psychobiographies required thorough research, good literary skill, and psychological knowledge. Additionally, in order to produce a coherent and consistent representation of a life narrative, the psychobiographer not only has to gather comprehensive data from many sources, but also gain an understanding of the sociohistorical and sociocultural context of the subject (Anderson, 1981a; Runyan, 1984; Schultz, 2005a).

6.2.5.2 Strategies applied

Some critics may argue that a psychobiographical study on a single, privileged individual is an elitist endeavour. However, while Naudé may have been born into the elite of the Afrikaner society, rose through the rank and attained high status in the Afrikaner community (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990), his decisions and actions later in life saw him ostracised, marginalised and denigrated by the ruling establishment of the time. Only much later in his life, with the change in political dispensation in South Africa, was he vindicated.

An additional counter-argument against the accusation of elitism is that the South African context requires studies of individuals who demonstrate qualities of strength and well-being, with particular focus on adaptability, flexibility and the capacity to build and enhance general psychological well-being, faith and meaning in life. It is believed that the intensive study of faith development and wellness over the life-span of a seemingly contradictory personality like Naudé could enrich the understanding and theory development of wellness and faith development with particular focus on the South African context.

The researcher would argue the contrary to the criticism that a psychobiographical study is an easy genre. The multidimensional and holistic nature of Naudé's life from the perspective of two approaches (the wellness model and the faith development theory) over the lifespan made this an exceptionally complex endeavour. Moreover, the researcher triangulated data sources and theoretical perspectives (see section 6.2.8), in order to increase the validity and trustworthiness of the study. This multiplicity of data sources increased the amount of salient data that needed to be collected and analysed.

6.2.6 Infinite amount of biographical data

6.2.6.1 Explanation of infinite amount of biographical data

A major disadvantage of psychobiographical research is the infinite amount of information (Anderson, 1981b; Schultz, 2005a) which makes the appropriate management and analysis of the data both complex and critical (Baker, 2011). Anderson (1981b) proposed a split-half approach to manage the sheer amount of data or information. This approach suggests dividing the data gathered into two parts. The first half is employed to identify theoretical propositions and constructs, while the second half is examined to test the theoretical propositions and constructs previously identified.

Alexander (1988, 1990) also proposed two ways in which to approach the data

collected. The first method involves asking the data a question (Alexander, 1988, 1990). This is an obvious method employed by psychobiographers who possess large amounts of data to answer specific questions. The second is a method of sorting raw data using nine useful categories which refer to direct communications or productions by the subject and allowing the data to reveal itself. These categories are referred to as principal identifiers of saliency and include: primacy, frequency, uniqueness, negation, emphasis, omission, error or distortion, isolation, incompleteness (Alexander, 1988, 1990). McAdams (1996) also proposed an approach to investigating life stories. This approach may be employed to sort relevant life history data in addition to Alexander's indicators of saliency in order to assist the process of allowing the data to reveal itself. The model proposed by McAdams (1996) examines the life story by answering five questions. These are: (a) what is a life story? (b) what does a life story do? (c) how does a life story change over time? (d) what kinds of life stories are there? and (e) what is a good life story?

6.2.6.2 Strategies applied

Several strategies were employed in this study to manage the infinite amount of biographical data gathered. Alexander's (1988, 1990) proposed method of questioning the data was adapted and applied in this study of Naudé (see section 7.6.1.1.1). The second method proposed by Alexander (1988, 1990) to sort the information, involved allowing the data to reveal itself. This involved utilising Alexander's (1988, 1990) nine indicators of saliency to sift and sort and extract relevant material (see section 7.6.1.1.1 as well as Appendix D). Additionally, the model proposed by McAdams (1996) to investigating life stories, was also employed in this study (see section 7.6.1.2 as well as Appendix E) in order to highlight additional relevant biographical data. These approaches proposed by Alexander (1988, 1990) and McAdams (1996) are discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

6.2.7 Inflated expectations

6.2.7.1 Explanation of inflated expectations

Anderson (1981a) cautioned psychobiographers to be aware of the limitations of psychobiographical research and not to see the approach as a cure-all for a wide range of problems. Psychological explanations only add to and do not replace our understanding of a person and should be recognised as speculation only and by no means the only way in which

certain behaviours, actions, decisions of the psychobiographical subject can be understood (Anderson, 1981a; Elovitz, 2003).

6.2.7.2 Strategies applied

Despite the complex, multifaceted nature of Naudé, this study focussed specifically on holistic wellness and faith development of Naudé. To this end, the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and Fowler's (1981) FDT provided the required frameworks. The researcher maintained a realistic view of the limitations of the study for its primarily psychological perspective. It is the researcher's opinion, however, that the expectations were realistic in terms of the aims of the study.

6.2.8 Validity and reliability criticisms

It is important to address issues related to validity and reliability since it relates to the objectivity and credibility of social research (Peräkylä, 2004). In qualitative research, validity refers to the truthfulness and trustworthiness in a study, while reliability is related to the concept of consistency (Cresswell, 2013; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008).

Qualitative research is often criticised for lacking scientific rigour, being overly subjective or biased, as well as creating difficulty in generalisation and reproduction (Mays & Pope, 1995; Simonton, 2003). Other criticisms relate to trustworthiness of qualitative studies where the process of judging truth and logic are shaped by the knowledge generating process (Krefting, 1991; Morrow, 2005). Criticisms against case studies, specifically, pertain to the lack of controls and problems with generalisation (Runyan, 1982, 1983; Yin 2003, 2009). Psychobiographical research, as an example of case study research, is frequently criticised for validity and reliability issues (Runyan, 1983). Yin (2003, 2009) discussed four 'tests' as applicable to all social science research which may be used to assess and ensure the quality of case study (e.g., psychobiographical) research. These were: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. Some qualitative researchers refer to these constructs as confirmability, credibility, transferability and dependability, respectively (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These concepts are explored in this section. Strategies and precautions implemented in this study to address validity and reliability issues are discussed in section 6.2.8.5.

6.2.8.1 Construct validity and confirmability

Construct validity refers to the adequate explanation and definitions of concepts (Gilgun, 1994; Yin 2003, 2009) and, thus, refers to establishing the “correct operational measures for concepts being studied” (Yin, 2009, p. 40). In qualitative research, some researchers also refer to this construct as confirmability (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Confirmability relates to the neutrality in research which is achieved when interpretations are unbiased and confirmable (Chéze, 2009, Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Construct validity is especially challenging in case study research (Fouché, 1999; Kvale, 1996; Yin, 2003, 2009). Case studies are often criticised for failing to develop a sufficiently operational set of measures and/or that subjective judgements are used to collect data (Yin, 2003, 2009). Yin (2003, 2009) proposed three strategies to increase construct validity. These are: (a) making use of multiple sources of data and evidence which is referred to as data triangulation (Yin 2009), (b) establishing a chain of evidence, and (c) having the draft case study reviewed or audited by key informants (Krefting, 1991; Yin, 2003, 2009). Gilgun (1994) also proposed the use of multiple data sources to increase or ensure construct validity as well and stated that construct validity encompasses ideas such as thick descriptions. In describing ‘thick descriptions’ Silverman (2005) refers to the maxim of ‘saying a lot about a little’ in qualitative research.

6.2.8.2 Internal validity and credibility

Internal validity refers to the establishment of causal relationships (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1984; Yin 2003, 2009) and raises the question whether the research is adequate to support the conclusions drawn (Gilgun, 1994; Yin & Heald, 1975). Another term also used in qualitative research related to internal validity, is credibility (Chéze, 2009, Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Triangulation has been identified as addressing the issue of internal validity (Mays & Pope, 1995; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008; Sokolovsky, 1996) by employing multiple data sources (Barbour, 2001; Cresswell, 2013) for the purpose of clarifying meaning and verifying repeatability of interpretations or observations (Stake, 2005). Four types of triangulation may be identified. These are: (a) data triangulation which refers to the use of different data sources aimed at corroborating the same fact or phenomenon, (b) investigator triangulation which involves different observers or researchers examining the same phenomenon to reduce bias, (c) theory triangulation which involves gathering different

perspectives on the same data, (d) methodological triangulation which involves the utilization of different methods (Flick, 2006; Tellis, 1997b; Yin, 2009).

6.2.8.3 External validity and transferability

External validity refers to the extent research results may be generalised (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Gilgun, 1994; Runyan, 1984; Yin & Heald, 1975). As mentioned previously, the difficulty in generalising results is a major point of criticism against the case study approach (Runyan, 2005; Tellis, 1997b; Yin, 2003, 2009). In qualitative research, the term transferability is also used to indicate extent to which findings may be transferred to other contexts (Chéze, 2009, Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In order to address the criticism related to external validity, Yin (2003, 2009) proposed that the case study researcher (of which a psychobiographer is an example) should not attempt at generalising the research results to other case studies or the larger population which is referred to as statistical generalisation (Kvale, 1996; Yin, 2009). Instead, Yin (2003, 2009) proposed analytical generalisation which means that findings should be generalised to the theory employed in a research study.

6.2.8.4 Reliability and dependability

Reliability in a research study demonstrates the extent to which the operations of a study can be replicated with the same results (Fouché, 1999; Kvale, 1996; Yin, 2009). “The goal of reliability is to minimise the errors and biases in a study” (Yin, 2009, p. 45). In qualitative research, the term dependability is sometimes used to refer to this construct (Chéze, 2009, Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Utilising a consistent coding system during data collection represents one strategy through which to enhance the reliability of qualitative research (Stake, 2005). Another strategy proposed to increase reliability is to provide as much detail as possible and describe as many steps as possible in the data collection strategy. This ensures auditability (Flick, 2006; Mays & Pope, 1995; Yin, 2009). Yin (2009) referred to this process as compiling a case study protocol that contains the specifics of the steps taken in the data collection process. This involves documenting the precise procedures followed in a case study so that “an auditor could in principle repeat the procedures and arrive at the same results” (Yin, 2009, p. 45).

6.2.8.5 Strategies applied

The following strategies were implemented in this research study in order to account for validity and reliability related criticisms in this study.

6.2.8.5.1 Construct validity and confirmability

In order to overcome this criticism of case study research (Fouché, 1999; Gilgun, 1994; Yin, 2009), the researcher clearly and unambiguously conceptualised the constructs related to wellness and faith development. The conceptualisation of these constructs was based on the literature review of wellness (Chapter 4) and faith development (Chapter 5). More specifically, the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney 1992) and Fowler's (1981) FDT were extensively considered.

Construct validity was also achieved by categorising Naudé's life according to the life tasks as stipulated by the wellness model as well as the developmental stages as stipulated by the faith development theory employed in this study. Construct validity was further ensured in this study by employing data triangulation and using multiple data sources (see section 6.2.4.2) as well as providing the Naudé family the opportunity to review a draft of the study.

6.2.8.5.2 Internal validity and credibility

Internal validity was not a major concern in this research study, since internal validity is particularly important for causal (i.e., explanatory) case studies and is less significant for exploratory and descriptive case studies. The primary aim of this case study was to explore and describe wellness and faith development over the lifespan of Naudé.

Having said that, it was, however, important in this study that a high level of credibility be maintained in making general inferences throughout the study. This was achieved by means of the following:

1. A prolonged engagement with the literature on the life of Naudé. For example an in-depth analysis was made of each document gathered by the researcher relating to Naudé.
2. The strategy of data triangulation was employed in this study. Multiple sources were consulted and examined as well as cross referenced, in order to prevent and overcome distorted interpretations of the literature.

3. Theoretical triangulation was utilised. Two relatively compatible and complementary approaches, namely a holistic wellness model and faith development theory, were used.
4. Investigator triangulation was also employed as both study promoters, who are expert consultants in the field of psychobiographical research in South Africa, provided feedback and critique on the data analysis and collection procedures.

6.2.8.5.3 External validity and transferability

Since the aim of this research study was not to generalise the findings to a larger population (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004), external validity was not a major concern in this study. Instead, the findings of the study were generalised to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney 1992) and Fowler's (1981) FDT. This is known as analytic generalisation, the aim being to confirm or refute aspects or facets of a theory (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004; Yin, 2009).

6.2.8.5.4 Reliability and dependability

The auditability or replication of the study was ensured by utilising a consistent coding scheme for raw data. The coding scheme consisted of conceptual and operational matrices of categories in which the evidence was placed. The matrices were compiled from significant historical-chronological periods in Naudé's life, the constructs of Witmer and Sweeney's WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) as well as the developmental stages in Fowler's FDT (see Tables 10-12). Furthermore, Alexander's (1988) guidelines for the extraction of salient data and McAdams' (1996) approach to investigating life stories were also employed in this study. A detailed discussion and explanation is provided in Chapter 7 (see sections 7.6.1.1 and 7.6.1.2).

Besides the abovementioned methodological considerations that need to be taken into account when undertaking a psychobiographical research study, ethical considerations are also vital. These are discussed in the following section.

6.3 Ethics in Psychobiographical Research

6.3.1 Overview of ethical considerations

Since qualitative research is fluid, open-ended and discovery-oriented by nature (Haverkamp, 2005), it poses unique ethical challenges (Haverkamp, 2005; Ponterotto, 2010)

“given the researcher’s often intense, personal and prolonged interaction with participants...” (Ponterotto, 2010, p. 587). Haverkamp (2005) suggested following a “contextualized, process-oriented approach to ethical decision-making, one informed by trustworthiness and professional reflexivity” (p. 155) to avoid ethical pitfalls in qualitative research. The process should include (a) attention to, and consideration of, one’s professional ethical standards; (b) aspiration principles; and (c) ethical theory (Haverkamp, 2005). In psychological qualitative research specifically, “researchers have additional responsibilities that calls for professional reflexivity” (Haverkamp, 2005, p. 152). Case study research, specifically, contains unique ethical issues due to the emergent nature of the research, the methodology employed and the distinctive nature of researcher and subject relationship (Haverkamp, 2005).

With specific regard to psychobiographical research, there is limited availability of ethical guidelines. Despite the lack of ethical guidelines for psychobiographical research, psychobiographers still need to be ethically accountable (Elms, 1994). Runyan (1984) stated that psychobiography raises issues of potential embarrassment or harm to the subject or relatives and associates, as well as invasion of privacy. To this end, Elms (1994) emphasised that it was imperative to make a concerted effort to treat all intimate knowledge obtained with respect and empathy and to present the major conclusions of a psychobiographical study diplomatically. The major guideline suggested by Runyan (1984) and Elms (1994) is obtaining informed consent from the subject (if still alive) or the subject’s close family and relatives. Ideally, psychobiographical subjects should be long deceased individuals with no living relatives so there may be no risk of embarrassment by potential undesirable or unsavoury revelations and findings (Elms 1994).

With respect to ethical considerations, Elms (1994) posed the following question that each psychobiographer should keep in mind during the research process:

Are we just having voyeuristic fun here, rummaging through the intriguing intimacies of someone’s life and spreading them out for public consumption or are we contributing meaningfully to a clearer picture of this person’s life and beyond that, adding another strand to...psychological understanding” (Elms, 1994, p. 155)

6.3.2 Ethical considerations applied

The researcher contacted Naudé’s family and obtained written consent to conduct this study from Mr. Johann Naudé, Naudé’s eldest son, on behalf of the family. The researcher also adhered to the principal of treating intimate information obtained with respect throughout

the research process and also adhered to the general ethical principles of any psychologist conducting research. Throughout the research process, the researcher attempted to comply with the ethical and research guidelines stipulated by the governing body of the medical and allied health professions (including psychology) in South Africa, the Health Professions Council of South Africa, referred to as the HPCSA. These included specifically the principles of (a) non-maleficence, (b) respect for research participants, and (c) informed consent (HPCSA, 2008).

6.4 Conclusion

The important methodological considerations in psychobiographical research and the strategies to minimise the criticisms related to psychobiographical research were discussed in this chapter. These methodological considerations included researcher bias, reductionism, issues of diversity, analysing an absent subject, elitism and easy genre, infinite amount of biographical data and inflated expectations. Additionally, the strategies applied to address these considerations in this study were also discussed. The chapter concluded with a discussion regarding reliability, validity and ethical considerations. In the next chapter, the research design and methodology of this study is discussed.

Chapter 7

Research Methodology

7.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter describes the research objectives, research design and method as well as the psychobiographical subject of the research study. Additionally, the research procedures and data collection methods are discussed and a description of the data extraction and analysis is given. A short discussion of reflexivity in qualitative research concludes the chapter.

7.2 Research Objectives

The primary objective of this research was to explore and describe holistic wellness and faith development over Naudé's life in terms of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and Fowler's (1981) FDT. According to Edwards (1998), this objective is reflective of the exploratory-descriptive nature of the study which entails an accurate and detailed description of a single case, with the aim of providing an in-depth understanding of the person within his/her sociohistorical context.

The secondary objective of the study involved the process of 'informally' validating or refuting aspects or facets of the theoretical propositions of the WoW model and FDT by comparing the findings in the study to the expected outcomes of the model or theory. By applying the process of analytical generalisation, early theoretical models were informally 'tested' and modified according to case findings (Cavaye, 1996; Yin, 2009). Thus, the descriptive-dialogic approach (Edwards, 1998) of this study forms a dialogue between the conceptualisations and theoretical propositions (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004) of the WoW model and the FDT, on the one hand, and the exploratory-descriptive findings, on the other.

The study also aimed at contributing to the field of psychobiographical research, specifically in the South African context. Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) reviewed the trends of psychobiographical research in South Africa from 2005 and concluded that there seemed to be increased interest in academic psychobiographical research amongst research supervisors and postgraduate students at South African universities and definite growth in psychobiographical research. Naudé was a highly celebrated political figure, specifically with regard to the anti-apartheid struggle and this study will add to the existing body of South African psychobiographical research.

7.3 Research Design and Method

As previously discussed (see section 2.3), the study may be described as life history research (Cara, 2007; Runyan, 1984). Life history research is qualitative research and documents the life events and experiences of an individual that shaped the unique personality of the individual (Runyan, 1983, 1984). This study of the life of Naudé may be described as longitudinal life history research with a single case idiographic design (Flick 2006; Runyan, 1984). More specifically, the research study can be classified as psychobiographical research, which is a particular type of life history research that extensively employs psychological theory and/or research in order to illuminate the interior lives of biographical subjects (Edwards, 1998; McAdams, 1988; Runyan, 1983, 1984; Schultz, 2001b). According to Elms (1994), this type of research may be described as qualitative morphogenic since the individual is studied as a holistic unit instead of studying the individuality encountered in certain elements only (Runyan, 1983). A qualitative holistic description is provided of an individual within his/her sociohistorical context. The qualitative research methodology presents the researcher with many challenges and obstacles. These were discussed in Chapter 6 as preliminary methodological considerations and the strategies applied to overcome the challenges or obstacles in this study, were also described.

7.4 The Psychobiographical Subject

According to Simonton (1999), the majority of psychological studies involve samples consisting of groups of individuals that are representative of a general population, which yields results that may be generalised to the general population. In this regard, the individuals in the sample are in essence interchangeable with other members of the same group. However, research may sometimes be conducted on samples of individuals who are extraordinary in some way, for example great historical figures, influential political or humanitarian figures, extraordinary athletes or individuals whose lives have made a significant contribution in some field. These types of studies may be referred to as having a significant sample (Simonton, 1999). Significant samples include "...all those persons who have attained an unusually pervasive and lasting reputation, regardless of whether that reputation be great or small, positive or negative" (Simonton, 1999, pp. 426-427). Significant samples are studied since they make meaningful contributions to general psychological research. The rationales for employing significant samples may include the fact that in some cases, these eminent individuals display unique characteristics and personality traits on the one hand, and in some

other instances the individuals are representative of all humans (Simonton, 1999; Song & Simonton, 2007; Stroud, 2004).

Case studies, typically, focus on the individual case of a rare, atypical individual who is extraordinary somehow (Sokolovsky, 1996; Yin, 2006, 2009). In this study Naudé served as the single-case whose life history was uncovered in this psychobiography. A pilot literature study on the life history of Naudé revealed that he was an extraordinary South African, characterised by many as having a remarkable and rich life. His life had a major impact on the history of South Africa, with specific reference to the anti-apartheid struggle (Bam, 1995; Mandela, 1995a; Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). He also seemed to embody, to some extent, holistic wellness and a strong faith (Ryan, 1990). Naudé's life appeared to have theoretical significance and applicability to both the holistic wellness model, the WoW (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the faith development theory, FDT (Fowler, 1981). Therefore, Naudé was selected as subject for this study by means of purposive sampling (Barbour, 2001; Flick, 2006; Morrow, 2008; Van Niekerk, 2007) also known as theoretical sampling (Barbour, 2001; Flick, 2006; Van Niekerk, 2007) on the basis of the interest, value and the significance of his life. The literature review also revealed that none of the existing literature on the life of Naudé has specifically a psychological focus and no psychobiography on the life of Naudé exists (see section 7.6).

7.5 Data Collection Procedures

The data in this research study were biographical and historical materials collected in accordance with the primary aim of this study. In the data collection procedure of this study, both primary (documents produced by the subject himself) and secondary (documents produced by others) published documents were consulted (Elms, 2007; Simonton, 1999; 2003). These documents included an autobiography, biography, various published books and articles, sermons, letters, newspaper articles, transcribed interviews, transcriptions of Naudé's and other archival information. The search for and selection of published data sources for this study was conducted via the World Wide Web, the EBSCOhost database, as well as the Sasol Library of the University of the Free State. Several published documents were retrieved from other South African university libraries and commercial publishers as well. Furthermore, unpublished doctoral dissertations focussing on Naudé, and different aspects and historical periods of his life, as well as other psychobiographical research studies, were also retrieved from the Sasol Library of the University of the Free State as well as other South African university libraries by means of the inter-library loan services.

The diverse nature of the documentation collected and consulted is discussed in section 6.2.4.2 and the database sources are indicated in the reference list. In order to gain additional insight into the life of the subject, information was also gathered from specifically his eldest son, Johann Naudé (by means of e-mail communication) and other people who knew and worked with him via informal interviews. All the sources from which data were extracted, yielded significant and important information regarding significant experiences, views and opinions of the subject and important incidents. Alexander (1988) stated that it was also important to gather information from living persons in order to provide "...dynamic sequences or other personological aspects" (p. 267). Making use of a wide range of diverse sources, which cover the subject's entire lifespan, serves to strengthen the internal validity of the data and the study (Yin, 2003, 2009).

The analysis and interpretation of biographical and historical materials provided the researcher with the opportunity to engage with an inaccessible and enigmatic subject (Simonton, 2003). Other advantages of collecting and analysing published materials included that: (a) published material represented stable data sources that could be reviewed repeatedly, (b) published materials are useful for verifying information like dates and the correct spelling of names and titles, (c) information can be corroborated for factual accuracy, (d) published materials are relatively accessible, and (e) the researcher can retrieve and study the material at length and at his/her convenience (Yin, 2003, 2009).

Yin (2003, 2009) did caution, however, that published materials may be subject to the disadvantage of bias. In order to overcome bias and enhancing the validity of the study, the researcher employed the strategy of data triangulation in this study where multiple sources were consulted in order to corroborate the data gathered (also see section 6.2.8.2 and 6.2.8.5.2) (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Yin, 2009). Other strategies employed to minimise and/or overcome distorted interpretations of the literature, included reflexivity (see section 7.7) and investigator triangulation (see section 6.2.8.2 and 6.2.8.5.2).

A wealth of information was gathered in this study. One of the greatest challenges for a psychobiographer is the examination, extraction, categorisation and analysis of the collected material (Alexander, 1988; McAdams, 1994). A critical question that arises at this juncture is how to extract or sort from the wealth of information the units of data which should be singled out for closer examination (Schultz, 2005b). In the following section the data extraction and analysis procedures are discussed.

7.6 Data Extraction and Analysis Procedures

In life history research, making sense of a person's life depends on "...a system for identifying especially important word-based communications, and a posture for interpreting those communications" (Schultz, 2002, p. 151). Since the psychobiographer is faced with a vast amount of data containing both fact and opinion, he/she must be able to clearly demarcate content which may be set aside and content that will be privileged and psychologically significant (Schultz, 2005b). Morrow (2008) stated that the researcher should immerse him/herself in the data during the data analysis phase. A systematic and general analytic approach must be employed for sifting, categorising, extracting and examining useful and applicable units of information (referred to as 'evidence') from all the data collected from which conclusions may be drawn (Morrow, 2008; Tellis, 1997a; Yin, 2003, 2009). Two of the strategies proposed by Yin (2003, 2009) in this general analytic approach included: (a) data analysis guided by aspects and facets of the theoretical approaches and propositions, and (b) a case description.

In the first strategy, the research objectives and theoretical orientation are employed by the researcher to identify and focus attention on salient data in the collected material. In order to achieve this, the researcher has to formulate questions that will highlight or provide insight into both the objectives of the study as well as the content of the theoretical approaches employed in the study (Fouché, 1999). This strategy is discussed in detail in section 7.6.1.

The second strategy involves developing a descriptive framework to organise and integrate case information. This is achieved by means of, for example, the development of conceptual matrices to facilitate data extraction and categorisation (Fouché, 1999; Morrow, 2005). This strategy is discussed in detail in section 7.6.2.

7.6.1 Identifying and Extracting Salient Information

7.6.1.1 *Irving Alexander's Model*

Alexander (1988, 1990) proposed a model to extract salient data from the "productions of an individual" (Alexander, 1988, p. 266) which could be found in the research subject's own words like diary or journal entries, letters by the subject, and the autobiography or interviews with the subject (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2005b). This model was utilised in this study as a way to extract core-identifying units, which could also be referred to as scripts, themes or messages from the biographical data Alexander (1988, 1990). Alexander

(1988, 1990) proposed two avenues to follow to extract the core-identifying units. These are (a) questioning the data and, (b) letting the data reveal itself. Both these methods are discussed in greater detail in the next section.

7.6.1.1.1 Questioning the data

Alexander (1988) stated that this method was not restricted to "...any particular kind of question or any significant consequent mode of analysis" (p. 287). He did however suggest that the investigator provide the steps of reasoning that would allow an answer to the proposed question (Alexander, 1988, 1990). In this study all the published material gathered on, about and by Naudé was subjected to the process of 'questioning the data'. Specific questions were designed based on both the theoretical approaches employed in this study as well as the objectives and aims of the research. All the collected published materials were approached with the following two questions in mind:

- "Which sections or units of data enable and facilitate the exploration and description of the development and status of holistic wellness and faith over the lifespan of Naudé?"
- "To what extent does the content of the holistic wellness model and the faith development theory compare with or match the indicators of holistic wellness and faith development embodied in the sections or units of collected data and vice versa?"

In order to operationalise the aforementioned questions, the following specific questions were formulated:

- Question 1: "How will each of the characteristics, indicators or components of holistic wellness and faith development be conceptualised and operationalised?"
- Question 2: "How will the status of holistic wellness and the development of faith be conceptualised and operationalised?"
- Question 3: "How will a dialogue be established and facilitated between (a) the extracted evidence from the published material and (b) the content of the holistic wellness model and the faith development theory?"

In answering the first question, the researcher relied on Myers et al. (2000) and Witmer and Sweeney's (1992) conceptualisation of holistic wellness and Fowler's (1981) conceptualisation of faith development. A detailed discussion of the components and indicators of holistic wellness and faith development are discussed in sections 4.3 and 5.4, respectively.

In attempting to address the second question, the researcher was guided by existing research and literature on the characteristics, indicators and development of wellness and faith (see Chapters 4 and 5). It must be emphasised that the objective of the research was not to explain causal factors of holistic wellness and faith. Rather, the objective was to explore and describe the nature of holistic wellness and development of faith over Naudé's lifespan.

Major historical periods in the life of Naudé were discussed in Chapter 3. These stages served as a chronological framework over which changes and the development of holistic wellness and faith in the life of Naudé were viewed. Yin (2003, 2009) stated that changes in events or trends over time may be studied by means of a time-series analysis of which a historical chronology is an example. Changes over time may be systemised or categorised over time with a degree of chronological consistency. This strategy may enhance the eventual reliability of the data analysis (Fouché, 1999).

In terms of the third question, the strategy of analytic generalisation was applied in order to facilitate the 'dialogue' between the extracted units of data and the content of the theoretical approaches. The researcher compared significant units of data with the conceptualisations and propositions of Myers et al. (2000) and Witmer and Sweeney's (1992) WoW model and Fowler's (1981) FDT.

7.6.1.1.2 Letting the data reveal itself

The second method of data extraction is letting the data reveal itself. In this method the researcher takes into account that certain significant units of data may require further scrutiny. The data may have been highlighted or imparted by the subject or through other collected data. In order to assist in this process, some authors have proposed certain strategies or markers which may be employed to sort through the data to reveal which material requires further investigation (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Fouché, 1999; Schultz, 2005b). Singer and Salovey (1993) introduced the concept of self-defining memories as well as the method for identifying or extracting these memories. Schultz (2002, 2005b) introduced the concept of the

prototypical scene which may also be employed to identify data that require further investigation, exploration and explanation.

In the same way, Alexander (1988; 1990) also proposed markers or indicators of salience as a method by which to sift, sort and extract relevant material from the large collection of data. “The more global questions are likely to be raised in psychobiographical study where some salience indicators are likely to point out known but unexplained aspects of a life already lived (Alexander, 1990, p. 36). Alexander identified nine indicators of salient data. Alexander’s (1988; 1990) nine indicators of salience are based on strategies used in psychoanalysis, thus, some Freudian concepts. As such, the indicators rely on direct communications by the subject, either written or spoken communications or media such as poetry and art (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Elms, 2007) and serve as markers in the abundance of biographical data (Schultz, 2005b). Elms (1994) stated that the list of salience indicators appealed to him both as individual items and as a complete list and that he has been able to identify virtually every one of the salience indicators in his own work over the years. The nine saliency indicators are: (a) primacy, (b) frequency, (c) uniqueness, (d) negation, (e) emphasis, (f) omission, (g) errors or distortions, (h) isolation, and (i) incompleteness.

These indicators of salience were employed in this study in order to focus on and pinpoint psychologically significant information. These nine indicators are discussed in turn in the discussion to follow. Specific examples of the salience indicators from Naudé’s life are highlighted in Appendix D.

- *Primacy*

What comes first in a text usually indicates something significant (Schultz, 2002, 2005b) and may tell us more than anything else (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2002). Alexander (1988) also suggested this indicator may be applied to material spontaneously produced by the subject him- or herself, whether in a document or face-to-face interview.

- *Frequency*

Frequency (also referred to as repetition) may include frequently repeated communications, events, scenes, conflicts, obsessions and relationship patterns (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2002; 2005b). Repetition may also indicate unfinished, unresolved or psychologically compelling material (Schultz, 2002). The kind of importance a frequent message has may be complex in terms of its value for “the discovering of dynamic sequences.

In many instances, frequency may be an expression of powerful conscious value schema” (Alexander, 1988, p. 270-271).

- *Uniqueness*

This indicator identifies material considered unprecedented or singular by the subject (Schultz, 2005b). According to Alexander (1988; 1990), uniqueness may also be indicated more subtly by clear departures from the usual language of the subject. Material may also stand out due to oddity or even its unrelatedness regardless of whether the subject draws attention to the material in speech or writing (Schultz, 2002). Uniqueness may also be indicated not so much by the event itself, but by the subject’s response to it (Alexander, 1988).

- *Negation*

Schultz (2005b) refers to this as the “suspiciously emphatic, sometimes also incongruous” (p. 47) or the *Gertrude rule* when people “protest too much” (Schultz, 2005b, p. 47). Elms (1994) suggested that it is prudent to pay as much attention when a subject tells you who he or she is not, as when they tell you who they are. Alexander (1988, 1990) suggested that imagery framed negatively should be tagged for further investigation, but he also cautioned against making any immediate assumptions regarding the nature of importance or extent to which meaningful patterns may be revealed.

- *Emphasis*

This indicator refers to the obvious forms of accent or underlining in oral or written communication of the subject (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2005b). Alexander (1988) distinguished between three types of emphasis: (a) overemphasis which refers to attention focussed on something typically considered commonplace, (b) underemphasis when a major event or trauma is passed over with little comment, and (c) misplaced emphasis which may occur, for example, when the subject focussed on the humorous in an essentially tragic or traumatic event.

- *Omission*

Omission refers to material that is left out or not mentioned by the subject. A prominent form of omission is possibly material connected to affect rather than cognition (Alexander, 1988; 1990). Omissions may include significant figures in autobiographical writings or the omission

of an expected affective response to an event (Alexander, 1988; Schultz, 2002). Elms (1994) suggested that this indicator may also be referred to as the *Sherlock Holmes rule*. He explained that “sometimes we should ask more questions when a dog doesn’t bark than when it does” (Elms, 1994, p. 246). He used the example of why C.G. Jung hardly mentioned his wife and never mentioned his close collaborator, Toni Wolff in his autobiography and suggested that these would be important questions for the psychobiographer to take note of (Elms, 1994).

- *Errors or distortions*

Errors include all forms of verbal slips, distortions, contradictions or miscommunications by the subject in written or verbal form (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2002, 2005b) and may indicate important hidden motives (Alexander, 1988). While one cannot analyse or ascribe meaning to every little error, Schultz suggested that errors should be treated as “provisionally meaningful” (2005b, p. 47) until convinced otherwise.

- *Isolation*

“As a mark of salience, isolation is best recognised by the criterion of ‘fit’” (Alexander, 1990, p. 21). When, while listening to the subject, the researcher has the question: ‘Where did that come from?’ or ‘That doesn’t seem to follow’, it is likely that psychologically significant information is contained in that material (Alexander, 1988; 1990). Statements or communications that fit this saliency indicator are, seemingly, irrelevant associations or asides (Schultz, 2002). Elms (1994) referred to this criteria as the “Come again?” criteria and Schultz referred to it as the “sore thumb” clue since “isolated material simply and jarringly, stick out” (2005b, p. 46). Schultz (2005b) also stated that the task of the psychobiographer, when encountering isolated material, is to “restore the link between the isolated fragment and the web of unconscious ideas from which it stands” (2005b, p. 46), since without the link, the clue can not serve its optimal purpose, which is uncovering the meaning.

- *Incompletion*

This occurs for example when a topic is introduced and then abruptly terminated and the subject fails to see a thought through to the end. (Alexander, 1988, 1990; Schultz, 2002, 2005b). Schultz (2005b) postulated that isolation could be seen as a form of avoidance and, specifically, perhaps a way in which to void thoughts that provoke feelings of guilt or anxiety.

Alexander (1988, 1990) stated that this list of saliency indicators is by no means exhaustive. Other indicators he suggested which may also indicate psychologically significant material, include recency, conflict, inconsistency and congruity. Alexander (1988) cautioned that in "...extracting salience, the investigator should always be prepared to elaborate the principle upon which it is based" (p. 278). See Appendix D for a summary of the specific examples of saliency indicators in Naudé's life.

As discussed previously, the indicators of salience as identified by Alexander (1988, 1990) rely on direct communications by the subject in various forms. In the pursuit of thoroughness and also utilising more information than only the direct communications of the subject (whether in his own writing or interviews conducted), the researcher also utilized a model for investigating the life story proposed by McAdams (Kőváry, 2011; McAdams, 1996). According to Kőváry, McAdams argued that "dynamic narratives derived from the individual's life stories ensure the personality's goals and unity (identity)" (2011, p. 754) and then developed "...an empirically tested structural model of identity/life story that can be applied well in psychobiographical analyses" (Kőváry, 2011, p. 754). This model represents an additional way in which the data can reveal itself and allow for the use of information gathered from sources other than direct communications or productions from the subject. The model is discussed in the following section and specific examples extracted from Naudé's life utilising this model are presented in Appendix E.

7.6.1.2 Dan McAdams' Model

McAdams (1996) is a personality psychologist who developed a model for investigating personality development. The model consists of investigating an individual on three levels, and the third level proposes a model for investigating the life story of an individual to gather information regarding that individual. While the aim of this study is not a study of the personality development *per se* of Naudé, the researcher is of the opinion that McAdams' (1996) approach to investigating life stories may be applied with equal success in this psychobiographical endeavour in order to investigate the life of Naudé in greater detail. Therefore, only the third level of McAdams' model is discussed and employed in this section in addition to Alexander's model.

McAdams (1996) proposed examining the life story by focusing on and answering five questions: (a) What is a life story? This question focuses on the structure and content of a life story, (b) What does a life story do? This question focuses on the function of a life story, (c)

How does a life story change over time? This question focuses on the development of the life story, (d) What kinds of life stories are there? This question focuses on individual differences in a life story, and (e) What is a good life story? This question focuses on issues of mental health and wellness. Each of the questions is discussed in turn in the following section.

7.6.1.2.1 *What is a life story?*

This question refers to the structure and content of a life story. McAdams (1996) suggested that adult life stories may be examined and understood in terms of the following features:

1. *Narrative tone.* Narrative tone implies the overall emotional tone or attitude in the life story "...ranging simply from hopeless pessimism to boundless optimism" (McAdams, 1996, p. 308).
2. *Imagery.* This feature refers to the narrative 'feel' created by the word pictures of a life story.
3. *Themes.* "Themes convey the human motivation- what characters want, what they strive to get and avoid over time" (McAdams, 1996, p. 308).
4. *Ideological setting.* This feature relates to the individual's religious, political and ethical beliefs and values as well as an account of how those beliefs and values were formed.
5. *Nuclear episodes.* The scenes that draw attention to themselves and stand out in a life story may be called nuclear episodes (McAdams, 1996). These are specific and consequential scenes in a life history (McAdams, 2001) and include the high points, low points, beginning points, ending points, and turning points in the life story (McAdams, 1996, 2001).
6. *Imagoes.* In a life story, the main character may appear in various different forms, each identifying particular aspects of the main character (McAdams, 1996, 2001). These imagoes often "personify the narrative theme" (McAdams, 1996, p. 309). One may be able to identify between two and five main imagoes in an adult life story (McAdams, 1996). These imagoes "...seem to reflect more

clearly contemporary culture, including the implicit character models a society lays out for the good or appropriate life” (McAdams, 1996, p. 309).

7. *Endings and the generative script.* One of the pressing tasks for adults as they move through middle age is the “...fashioning of an anticipated ending for the life story that ties together the beginning, and the middle to affirm unity, purpose and direction in life over time” (McAdams, 1996, p. 309). Part of this ending should ideally include also developing a positive legacy for future generations. This is referred to as the generative script (McAdams, 1996; 2001).

7.6.1.2.2 *What does a life story do?*

The second question speaks directly to the function of a life story (McAdams, 1996). Life stories (like any story) may serve to entertain, instruct, admonish, or even impart moral lessons (McAdams, 1996, 2006c).

7.6.1.2.3 *How does a life story change over time?*

This question involves the development of identity of the individual. McAdams (1996) identified three eras of development: (a) prenarrative era, (b) narrative era and (c) postnarrative era.

In the *prenarrative era* (usually occurs in childhood and early adolescence) social and cultural influences are important and experiences and material is gathered that will be used to construct the life stories (McAdams, 1996; 2001). In the *narrative era* (usually in late adolescence and young adulthood) (McAdams, 1996, 2008) the “...individual begins to create a self-defining life story through most, if not all, of adulthood” (McAdams, 1996, p. 310). Personal beliefs and values are formed against the ideological setting which provides the “...moral compass for those strivings that will be enacted in time to form the future chapters” (McAdams, 1996, p. 311). The reconstructed past and anticipated future are integrated at this stage to provide the life story with unity and purpose (McAdams, 2008) The *postnarrative era* is similar to Erikson’s (1965) stage of Ego Integrity vs. Despair. The life story may be looked back upon and evaluated but no longer changed (McAdams, 1996).

Midlife may “usher in either concern for harmony and reconciliation” (McAdams, 1996, p. 312) or the need to create a “...satisfying ending” (McAdams, 1996, p. 312) to the life story. Erikson (1968) stated that in midlife people realise that “I am what survives me”

(p.14) and with this motivational force, the individual life story may turn attention to the generativity script and to what the individual legacy is that is being left behind for future generations.

7.6.1.2.4 *What kinds of life stories are there?*

This question focuses on the different kinds of life stories. Different classification schemas exist for stories drawing upon mythology, folklore, literature, and drama (McAdams, 1996). For example, Elsbree (1982) proposed five archetypal actions upon which stories are built: (a) establishing or consecrating a home, (b) winning a contest or fighting a battle, (c) taking a journey, (d) suffering and (e) pursuing consummation. Another example of a classification schema for a story may include Hankiss' (1981) description of four ontologies of the self relating to the positive and negative pasts and positive or negative presents (McAdams, 1996; Siebenschun, 1989). These are: "the dynastic form... (e.g., the rich get richer); the antithetical form... (e.g., rags to riches); the compensatory form... (e.g., 'fall from grace'); and the self-absolutory form... (e.g. paying now for the sins of yesterday)" (McAdams, 1996, p. 313). McAdams (1996) stated that although life stories may feature different narrative tones, imagery, nuclear episodes and themes, common types of stories may be identified. McAdams, Diamond, de St Aubin and Mansfield (1997) identified one such type of story as the 'commitment story'. The features of the commitment story include:

1. A protagonist who believes early on that he or she has a special advantage.
2. This contrasts directly with the misfortune and suffering of others.
3. The protagonist believes that people need to care for one another and "commits to living in accordance with a set of clear and enduring values and personal beliefs that continue to guide behaviour throughout the lifespan (moral steadfastness)" (McAdams et al., 1997, p. 687).
4. As the protagonist moves through life certain personal misfortunes, disappointments and even tragedy occurs.
5. These tragedies, misfortunes and disappointments are however, transformed or redeemed into good outcomes (this is referred to as the redemptive sequence, also see section 5.3.4.7.1), either due to the efforts of the protagonist or chance or external design.

6. The protagonist sets pro-social goals to benefit others, especially the next generation and to the progressive development of the whole society in which the protagonist lives (McAdams et al., 1997).

7.6.1.2.5 *What constitutes a good life story?*

In the fifth question McAdams (1996) identified six standards by which a good life story may be identified: (a) coherence, (b) openness, (c) credibility, (d) differentiation, (e) reconciliation, and (f) generative integration.

Coherence refers to the structure and or content of the story (McAdams, 2006c). A coherent life story consists of characters whose actions and motivations make sense in the context of the story and events follow in a causal manner. However, life stories "...need not make everything fit together in a person's life... Modern adults do not need perfect consistency to find unity and purpose in life" (McAdams, 1996, p. 315).

In terms of *openness*, McAdams (1996) maintained that a good life story shows considerable "openness to change and tolerance for ambiguity" (p. 315). Good modern life stories need to be flexible and show resilience as the protagonist needs to change, develop and grow over time. However, McAdams (1996) cautions that too much openness in the life story may indicate a lack of commitment and resolve.

Credibility refers to the factual accuracy of events in the life story, since the "...good, mature and adaptive life story cannot be based on gross distortions of fact... and should be accountable to the facts that can be known or found out" (McAdams, 1996, p. 315). The feature of *differentiation* refers to the extent to which, as the adult moves through his/her life, a good life story becomes more complex and rich as the characters and plot develop and become multifaceted (McAdams, 1996). With the increase of differentiation, the protagonist of the story may seek to reconcile conflicts in the life story to achieve harmony, especially, in midlife and beyond (McAdams, 1996), which refers to the feature of *reconciliation*. Finally, *generative integration* relates to the protagonist in a good life story being able to function as a productive and contributing member of society by carrying responsibility in terms of family and work (McAdams, 1996). Most importantly the protagonist in a good life story also makes a contribution to guiding the next generation "to contribute...to the survival and enhancement of progressive development of human enterprise... and involvement in a social world that is larger and more enduring than the self" (McAdams, 1996, p. 315). See Appendix E for

specific examples from Naudé's life relating to the model McAdams (1996) proposed for studying a life story.

In this section the strategies utilised by the researcher to sort and categorise collected data, were discussed. These strategies provided the researcher with guidelines to approach the collected materials in a relatively consistent and systematic fashion. This consistent approach was employed in order to enhance the reliability of the study.

The researcher also developed three conceptual frameworks in the form of matrices of categories for the screening of data. The conceptual frameworks are discussed in section 7.6.2.

7.6.2 Conceptual Framework and Matrixes

One of the criticisms of case study research reports, is the lengthy narrative with a lack of clear structure. This pitfall may be avoided if a clear conceptual framework is developed (Yin, 1981) which enables the researcher to make meaning of, and interpret, the data in a systematic fashion (Morrow, 2005). Yin (2009) also proposed that the researcher may develop his or her own analytic strategies in order to sort through and structure the vast amount of collected and archival information. To this end, Yin (2009) suggested the analytic manipulation of the data as a possible starting point and he focused specifically on a model developed by Miles and Huberman (1994) which included, among other features, (a) a matrix of categories into which the data may be placed, and (b) organising the information into chronological order.

The researcher developed three conceptual matrixes for the categorisation of the core data. The first two matrixes were used for categorising the characteristics of holistic wellness over the lifespan of Naudé and are represented in Tables 11 and 12. The third matrix was used to categorise the nature and components of faith development over the lifespan of Naudé. This matrix is represented in Table 13.

In Table 11 the vertical columns represent the wellness components related to the five life tasks of spirituality, self-regulation, work, friendship and love. In Table 12 the vertical columns represent the wellness components of life forces (family, community, religion, education, media, government and business/industry) and global events. These wellness components are based on the WoW model as proposed by Witmer and Sweeney (1992) and Myers et al. (2000) which are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. The horizontal rows in Tables 11 and 12 represent the major historical periods over the lifespan of Naudé. These stages are

based on the historical overview of the life of Naudé as discussed in Chapter 3. The shaded areas in Table 11 denote the overlaps between the life tasks and historical periods. In Table 12 the shaded areas denote the overlaps between life forces and global events and historical periods. Although two matrices (Table 11 and 12) were employed to denote the different components of the WoW model, the findings related to wellness were discussed in a combined fashion in Chapter 8.

Table 11

Matrix A of Holistic Wellness over the Historical Lifespan of Beyers Naudé

Periods in Historical Lifespan	Components of Holistic Wellness Expressed Through Life Tasks				
	1. Spirituality (Life-enhancing beliefs about human dignity, human rights and reverence for life)	2. Self-Regulation (Long-term patterns of positive and goal orientated behaviour)	3. Work (Social, economic and psychological benefits to individual and other achieved by work)	4. Friendship (Social relationships with individuals or groups)	5. Love (Intimate, disclosing, inter-dependent, long-term commitment with another)
1. Childhood Years (1915-1931)					
2. University Years (1932-1938)					
3. The Early Ministry Years (1939-1954)					
4. Doubt and Disillusionment (1955-1960)					
5. Turning Point: The Aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)					
6. A Liberal Ministry Develops (1964-1968)					
7. Transition to Political Activism (1969-1976)					
8. The Years of Silence (1977-1984)					
9. Towards Ecumenical Unity (1985-1987)					
10. Vindication (1988-2004)					

Note: Shaded sections denote periods of overlap between the developmental stages in Naudé's life and the life tasks related to holistic wellness.

Table 12

Matrix B of Holistic Wellness over the Historical Lifespan of Beyers Naudé

Periods in Historical Lifespan	Components of Holistic Wellness Expressed through Life Forces and Global Events							
	Life Forces							GLOBAL EVENTS
	1. FAMILY	2. COMMUNITY	3. RELIGION	4. EDUCATION	5. MEDIA	6. GOVERNMENT	7. BUSINESS/INDUSTRY	
1. Childhood Years (1915-1931)								
2. University Years (1932-1938)								
3. The Early Ministry Years (1939-1954)								
4. Doubt and Disillusionment (1955-1960)								
5. Turning Point: The Aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)								
6. A Liberal Ministry Develops (1964-1968)								
7. Transition to Political Activism (1969-1976)								
8. The Years of Silence (1977-1984)								
9. Towards Ecumenical Unity (1985-1987)								
10. Vindication (1988-2004)								

Note: Shaded sections denote periods of overlap between the developmental stages in Naudé's life and the life forces and global events related to holistic wellness.

In Table 13 the vertical columns represent the components of the faith development over the lifespan. These components were based on Fowler's (1981) FDT and were discussed in Chapter 5. The horizontal rows in Table 13 represent the major historical periods over the lifespan of Naudé. These stages are based on the historical overview of the life of Naudé as discussed in Chapter 3. The shaded areas in Table 13 denote the overlaps between the faith development stages and historical periods.

Table 13

Matrix of Faith Development Stages over the Historical Lifespan of Beyers Naudé

Periods in Historical Lifespan	Faith Development Stages						
	0. Primal Faith (Infancy)	1. Intuitive-Projective Faith (Early Childhood)	2. Mythic-Literal Faith (School Age)	3. Synthetic-Conventional Faith (Adolescence)	4. Individuative-Reflective Faith (Mid 20's- Late 30's)	5. Conjunctive Faith (Mid-Life)	6. Universalising Faith (Late Adulthood if at all)
1. Childhood Years (1915-1931)							
2. University Years (1932-1938)							
3. The Early Ministry Years (1939-1954)					*		
4. Doubt and Disillusionment (1955-1960)					*		
5. Turning Point: The Aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)							
6. A Liberal Ministry Develops (1964-1968)					*		
7. Transition to Political Activism (1969-1976)							*
8. The Years of Silence (1977-1984)							
9. Towards Ecumenical Unity (1985-1987)							
10. Vindication (1988-2004)							

Note: Darker shaded sections denote periods of overlap between the developmental stages in Naudé's life and the faith development stages. Lighter shading (as indicated by a *) denotes transitional phases into the next stage.

The employment of these matrixes allowed for a longitudinal perspective and facilitated a systematic and consistent categorisation and analysis of the biographical data over the lifespan of the subject (Fouché, 1999; Morrow, 2005). Another important aspect to address in qualitative research is reflexivity (Willig, 2008). In the following section, reflexivity and the strategies employed in this research to address issues of reflexivity are discussed.

7.7 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a very distinctive feature of qualitative research (MacBeth, 2001) and requires awareness of the researcher's contribution to the meaning and knowledge construction during the research process (Malterud, 2001; Punch, 1993; Willig, 2008). Willig (2008) identified two types of reflexivity: (a) personal reflexivity, and (b) epistemological reflexivity.

Personal reflexivity refers to the personal assumptions, beliefs, values, purpose and aims, interests and political views of the researcher that may have influenced or shaped the research study, process or results (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Malterud, 2001; Willig, 2008). Personal reflexivity recognises that knowledge is subjective and contextual and emphasises therefore the need to "...account adequately for the effects of the positioned researcher" (Malterud, 2001, p. 484). Thus, the effect of the researcher on the research project should be assessed in a deliberate process of reflection throughout the research process (Haverkamp, 2005; Malterud, 2001). One way in which to understand and report any relevant preconceptions or biases is through the method of reflexive journaling by the researcher throughout the research process (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008; Morrow, 2008; Williams & Morrow, 2009). Reflexivity should be incorporated in the research report, either in a separate section or commented upon throughout the discussion of the research findings (Creswell & Miller, 2000). According to Willig (2008) epistemological reflexivity refers to the aspects such as how the research question was defined and limited in what may be 'found out' or how the research question could have been investigated differently. Epistemological reflexivity even involves critical language awareness and how the words we use in research may influence the meaning construction process (Willig, 2008).

In this research project, the researcher employed a research journal (Cohen & Crabtree, 2008) to describe, explore, reflect and interpret her experiences during the research process. The researcher also examined her choice of topic, choice of subject as well as the purpose and intentions, expectations, experiences, decisions and emotions. In this way, the researcher hoped to identify any biases or preconceived assumptions. Brief reflexive analysis was integrated into various sections of this dissertation. See 'The Researcher's Personal Passage' (section 1.5) as well as the 'General Thoughts and Remarks' (section 11.5). Ethical considerations are also an important aspect in research and were discussed in section 6.3.

7.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the research objectives, research design and method as well as the psychobiographical subject were presented. Additionally, the data collection methods were discussed and a description of the data extraction and analysis procedures was given. In order to identify and extract the salient information, two models were employed in this study. These were Alexander's indicators of saliency as well as McAdams' model to examine a life story. Conceptual frameworks and matrices were also employed in this study, which enabled the systematic collection and interpretation of data. These were also presented in this chapter. A discussion of reflexivity in qualitative research concluded the chapter. In the following chapter, the findings related to Naudé's holistic wellness are presented.

Chapter 8

The Holistic Wellness of Beyers Naudé: Findings and Discussion

8.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter the research findings on the holistic wellness of Naudé are presented³¹. A conceptual outline to the discussion is presented, followed by findings regarding the holistic wellness over the lifespan of Naudé. The findings are discussed according to the life tasks of spirituality, self-direction, work, friendship and love. Findings related to the interaction between life tasks and life forces (government, media, education, family, religion and community) are presented as well. The interaction between life tasks, life forces and global events which impacted on Naudé's wellness are also discussed. These dimensions (life tasks, life forces and global events) are dimensions of wellness as presented by Witmer and Sweeney (1992) and Myers et al. (2000) in the holistic wellness model, the WoW model (see section 4.3).

8.2 Conceptual Outline to the Presentation of Findings

The discussion of findings in a psychobiographical study entails a biographical account of the life history within the context of psychological theory (McAdams, 1988; Schultz, 2001a, 2001b, 2005a). The nature of psychobiographical research design and method requires the collection, extraction, analysis and presentation of salient biographical data (see sections 7.3, 7.5 and 7.6) which is conducted within the context of the psychological theory applied to the research subject (Fouché, 1999).

The description and discussion of Naudé's holistic wellness is presented separately within each of the life tasks, by analysing biographical accounts related to his wellness within each life task over his lifespan. The holistic wellness model, the WoW model of Witmer and Sweeney (1992) and Myers et al. (2000) (see section 4.3) is employed in the analysis. The impact of life forces and global events (as defined by WoW model in section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3, respectively) are also considered in the discussion of Naudé's life tasks, since these impacted significantly on individual wellness as well. The life forces that impacted significantly on Naudé with regard to a specific life task are discussed in the corresponding

³¹ Due to the holistic and multi-faceted nature of the WoW model, this chapter is quite lengthy. The researcher is aware that, in order to give due consideration to ALL of the aspects and components of the model throughout the lifespan of Naudé, this chapter may be a laborious and time-consuming read.

historical period. Global events occurred during the following historical periods in Naudé's life: (a) childhood years (see section 3.2.1), (b) university years (see section 3.2.2.), (c) early ministry years (see section 3.2.3), (d) a liberal ministry develops (see section 3.2.6), and (d) towards ecumenical unity (see section 3.2.9). Where applicable, global events that impacted on the life tasks are discussed in the corresponding historical period as well.

8.3 Holistic Wellness Throughout Naudé's Lifespan

8.3.1 Life task 1: Spirituality

Spirituality relates to the personal and private beliefs that transcend the material and impart a deep sense of wholeness, connectedness and openness to the Infinite (Myers et al., 2000). According to Witmer and Sweeney (1992), spirituality includes certain beliefs regarding promoting and preserving human dignity, human rights and a respect and reverence for human life which translates to a certain moral, ethical, and even legal duty to sustain the sacredness of life. The life task of spirituality includes aspects such as belief in a higher power; hope and optimism; meaning and purpose in life that forms part of the individual's life philosophy; some form of worship, prayer or meditation in relation to the Infinite; love, compassion and service to others; moral and ethical values for guiding everyday life and transcendence which includes inner peace, harmony and oneness with nature, the universe or the Infinite (Myers et al., 2000). According to the WoW model of Witmer and Sweeney (1992), spirituality is seen as the core characteristic for the maintenance of health, wellness and well-being. As the core characteristic it also impacts positively on the other life tasks of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Findings pertaining to life task one in each historical period throughout Naudé's lifespan are highlighted and discussed in this section.

8.3.1.1 *Childhood years (1915-1931)*

The findings of the study indicate that Naudé inherited from his family of origin a strong connection to religion (Naudé, 1995). As the son of a minister of religion and deeply devout Christian parents, regular church attendance and bible study was a significant part of Naudé's life as a child (Randall, 1982; Villa-Vicencio, 1985). From the information gathered, it seems that Naudé's encounters with any kind of spirituality or spiritual experience was very closely related to the religious belief system his parents and the community he was exposed to,

adhered to. During his adolescence he also had Christian ‘rebirth’ which would prove to be a very significant event in his life, since after that he never deviated from his strong faith (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). Later in this historical period (Childhood years 1915-1931), spirituality became a more personal and individual experience for Naudé.

Another dimension of spirituality is love, compassion and service to others (Myers et al., 2000). During his childhood, Naudé witnessed the plight of many poor Afrikaner people on who the Great Depression had a devastating economic effect. Many were unemployed and destitute. This made a very big impression on Naudé. He recalled that his parents attempted to help these people in whichever way they could. Naudé also mentioned developing a moral sensitivity to the plight of his Zulu playmates as a child during this historical period (Naudé, 1995).

During this historical period of Naudé’s life, the dimensions of spirituality included belief in a power beyond himself, worship and prayer in relation to the Infinite, the beginnings of moral and ethical values for guiding everyday life and the beginnings of compassion for and a feeling of service to others (see section 3.2.1).

Findings also indicate that the life forces of family, community and religion impacted on the life task of spirituality in this historical phase of Naudé’s life.

1. Family. Strong family ties and religious practices (bible study and praying) within the family unit influenced and exposed Naudé early on to the concept of a ‘higher power’ and certain ethical and moral obligations to his fellow man (Ryan, 1990).
2. Community. Large parts of community of which Naudé was a part, was suffering financially as a result of the Great Depression and this initiated feelings of compassion for fellow human beings in Naudé (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1990).
3. Religion. As a minister of religion’s son, Naudé was exposed very early on to a specific religious belief system. His Christian ‘conversion’ during this historical period occurred within that specific religious tradition (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

In terms of global events, findings indicate that the Great Depression and the resulting financial hardship of many of the Afrikaner people Naudé was exposed to also had a significant impact on his spirituality in the development of compassion and a feeling of moral obligation and service to others (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982).

8.3.1.2 University years (1932-1938)

During this historical period, Naudé continued to be a devout Christian and participated in many church activities, regular worship and even joined the Christian Student Association (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). While his faith remained unchanged, the exposure to the integrated missionary community at Genadendal, through Ilse (who would later become his wife) Naudé started to question the segregation policy of the country and his church. It can be said that during his student years, Naudé developed a form of religious scepticism with regard to certain religious institutions and ecclesiastical hierarchies (Villa-Vicencio, 1985). His belief in a higher power and the practice of worship, prayer and reflection with regard to the higher power remained an important part of Naudé's life at this time of his life.

The life forces that impacted greatly on Naudé's spirituality in this historical period of his life included religion and government.

1. Religion. Naudé developed a certain religious scepticism towards the religious institutions and ecclesiastical hierarchies (Villa-Vicencio, 1985).
2. Government. Through his exposure to the Genadendal missionary community, Naudé also began to question certain government policies of segregation, especially with regard to church attendance and worship. A form of political dissent began to develop during this historical period in Naudé's life (Clur, 1997; Randall, 1982).

The Depression as global event continued to impact on especially the Afrikaner community and many families were still suffering economically and many were destitute and starving. Naudé continued to feel compassion for the suffering of these families (Naudé, 1995).

8.3.1.3 The early ministry years (1939-1954)

According to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), compassion for others, reverence for human dignity and human rights as well as high moral and ethical values are important dimensions of the life task of spirituality. This historical period in Naudé's life represents a spiritual awakening in that Naudé began to question apartheid theology and the apartheid policies of the time to a greater extent in terms of the

dimensions of spirituality related to compassion for others, a reverence for human dignity and human rights as well as moral and ethical values (Naudé, 1995; Rampen, 1972; Ryan, 1990). This process was initiated by a few events: In the first place, he began to question the difference in status and training of ministers trained to serve White congregations and the ministers trained to serve the Coloured churches. He also witnessed the suffering, severe poverty and disadvantage of the underprivileged Coloured community at his first congregation in the Karoo town of Loxton (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). Naudé derived much meaning and purpose from his congregational work and serving his community (Naudé, 1995). He also had a desire to remain obedient to the call of Christ and to the truth of the Gospel (Ryan, 1990). Naudé saw upliftment of the community as very much part of his ministry. His belief in a higher power and the practice of worship, prayer and reflection with regard to the higher power remained an important part of Naudé's life at this time (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

The life forces that impacted on Naudé during this historical period included religion and community (see section 3.2.3).

1. Religion. The disparity in the church system at the time with regard to separate churches for White and Coloured people within the NGK (*Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* translated as the Dutch Reformed Church, DRC), as well as the lower status and shorter training of ministers who trained to serve in the Coloured churches, impacted negatively on Naudé (Potgieter, 1994; Rampen, 1972).
2. Community. Naudé became more aware of the suffering of certain sectors in the community due to segregation policies and the resulting disadvantage and poverty (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990).

The global event of World War II had an impact on the spirituality dimension of Naudé's life in this historical period due to the issues of tolerance and reconciliation as well as reverence for human life (Naudé, 1995), which are all aspects related to spirituality, according to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

8.3.1.4 *Doubt and Disillusionment (1955-1960)*

High moral and ethical values, the preservation of human rights and dignity as well as reverence for human life are important aspects of spirituality (Myers et al., 2000). Naudé experienced significant spiritual growth in this historical period with regard to, specifically,

morality and ethics and the focus on the preservation of human dignity, human rights and a reverence for life (see section 3.2.4). He began questioning what the primary truth was that he had to adhere to in order to be obedient to the Gospel (Ryan, 1990). He also began to realise how much suffering the apartheid policies were causing in African, Coloured and Indian communities, after he visited some of the congregations and met with families affected by the policies (Naudé & Sölle, 1986). Another event that greatly influenced Naudé was the criticism of apartheid from international theologians at the World Reformed Ecumenical Synod meeting that Naudé attended in Potchefstroom in 1958 (Potgieter, 1994). It confirmed for him that he was on the right track with regard to his views on apartheid (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé attributed his questioning of the apartheid policies to the growing and persistent voice of his conscience (Naudé, 1995). Naudé also realised the need for inter-racial association and to this end joined a multi-racial bible study group of ministers opposed to apartheid (Randall, 1982). Even though Naudé had misgivings and doubts regarding the apartheid politics, he did not speak about it to anyone. Naudé was deeply affected by the loss of life during the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 (Clarke, 2004; Naudé, 1995). Sharpeville renewed the urgency Naudé felt regarding the need for reconciliation between the races in South Africa (Randall, 1982). While Naudé's beliefs regarding the apartheid system grew stronger in this historical period, and the beliefs were linked to a sense of inner harmony, peace and spiritual growth (Naudé, 1995; Naudé & Sölle, 1986; Ryan, 1990), it also brought him into increasing overt conflict with the Afrikaners, the NGK and the apartheid government for decades to follow (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

Life forces that impacted on Naudé's spirituality during this historical period in his life included government, religion and community (see section 3.2.4).

1. Government and Religion. Both the government and the NGK developed, enforced and condoned the policies of apartheid, division and separate development. These policies and the resulting suffering it caused people that Naudé witnessed firsthand intensified his yearning to find spiritual answers (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
2. Community. The community of the Afrikaner community and specifically his *Broederbond* 'brothers' that accepted and actively supported these policies, caused Naudé to hesitate even to mention his misgivings and doubts. He found himself isolated and searching for answers alone without being able to

share his concerns, questions and doubts within the close brotherhood of the *Broederbond* (Naudé, 1995).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of spirituality during this historical period.

8.3.1.5 Turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)

This short historical period represents a period of great significance in the life of Naudé. He realised during the aftermath of Sharpeville, that he would no longer be able to remain silent regarding the injustices of the apartheid system and the massacre of individuals who were protesting peacefully (Naudé, 1995). Naudé attended the World Council of Churches' (WCC) Cottesloe Conference with delegates from all the South African churches. The aim of the conference was to discuss the race situation in South Africa (see section 3.2.5). The findings of the conference included the rejection of racial and cultural segregation and discrimination and proclaimed that all citizens had the right to share in the privileges, freedom and responsibilities of their country (see section 3.2.5). The conference also could not find any biblical justification for the prohibition on mixed marriages and agreed that every Christian should see that all people were treated with justice and dignity (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). Naudé agreed with all these findings, but the Afrikaner community and government reacted negatively to these findings and all the delegates were instructed by the Prime Minister to publicly renounce the findings of the conference (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé felt that he could not renounce beliefs that he held to be true and in line with his spiritual and Christian beliefs (Naudé, 1995). About a year after the incident, Naudé also preached a sermon in his congregation at Aasvoëlkop in accordance with his beliefs. The sermon centred on the exclusion of persons from a church to worship due to race and that any laws that prohibited or hindered love and justice between people were against the word of God (Ryan, 1990). Many in the congregation and *Broederbond* condemned Naudé for this sermon (Naudé, 1995).

Findings indicate that Naudé had started down a spiritual path that he could not turn away from. He was committed to the whole cause of justice and liberty in South Africa (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé's sense of meaning and purpose were broadened to include not only his own community, but the larger context of South Africa. The path was irreconcilable with mainstream Afrikaner, NGK and *Broederbond* beliefs and in September 1963 Naudé

resigned his position as minister in the NGK, was defrocked and stripped of the title of *dominee*. His final sermon contained the message of obedience to God over obedience to the laws of man (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). These findings refer to the aspect of spirituality related to developing an individual life philosophy, and living out the moral and ethical values that guide everyday life (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

The life forces that impacted greatly on Naudé with regard to pressure to change his convictions were the government, religion and community.

- Government, religion and community. The life tasks of government, religion (in the form of the NGK) as well as his community, particularly the *Broederbond*, exerted pressure on Naudé to turn back to the mainstream way of thinking. This was reinforced with promises of reward for returning to ‘the fold’ (with the reward of leadership positions and prestige) and threats of ostracism and rejection if he did not return to ‘the fold’ (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of spirituality during this historical period.

8.3.1.6 A liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)

During this historical period, Naudé was finally free from the constraints of being a minister in the NGK and could openly admit and acknowledge his true beliefs and ethical position regarding the apartheid and separate development policies of the government and the NGK (see section 3.2.6) (Ryan, 1990). He used every opportunity to attempt to convince the NGK and other churches that the apartheid system was unchristian, unjust, inhumane and morally abhorrent through his position as director of the Christian Institute (CI) as well as through the journal *Pro Veritate* (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). The CI (under the leadership of Naudé) and the South African Council of Churches (SACC) drafted a *Message to the People of South Africa* regarding the concerns the CI and SACC had for the path the country’s apartheid policy may take South Africa down (see section 3.2.6). It confirmed the belief that apartheid was unchristian and unjust, made reconciliation between people impossible and may even eventually destroy the Church (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). His belief in a higher power and the practice of worship, prayer and reflection with regard to the higher power remained an important part of Naudé’s life at this time (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

The life forces of government, religion (through the NGK), and community dynamically interacted with the life task of spirituality during this historical period with fierce criticism and attacks on Naudé and the CI.

1. Government. The security police raided Naudé's home in Greenside with the excuse that they were looking for documents related to communism and the African National Congress (ANC). They found no such documents, but left with copies of *Pro Veritate* and a report from the British Council of Churches (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). In reaction to the *Message to the People of South Africa*, the Prime Minister John Vorster, even criticised the CI and Naudé of being leftist and liberalists and instructed them to return to the Church and preach the Word of God (Naudé, 1995).
2. Religion. The religious institutions supporting the government's apartheid policy, specifically the NGK, also took steps to ostracise Naudé. He lost the appeal against the synodical commission's decision to defrock him (Potgieter, 1994). He was elected as an elder onto the Parkhurst congregation church council, but the Johannesburg Circuit of the NGK declared the election invalid despite opposition from six NGK ministers (Clur, 1997). It seemed that the NGK would not allow Naudé to have an official platform to air his views (Ryan, 1990).
3. Community. In this time, Naudé attempted to keep the channels of communication open with the Afrikaner community and explain his views. To this end, he agreed to address a youth group at the Belgravia congregation of the NGK. This caused major controversy in the congregation and broader community. Several angry church council members marched into the meeting, accused Naudé of trying to corrupt and influence their children and physically removed Naudé from the church premises (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). It seemed that Naudé had fallen completely from grace with the majority of his beloved Afrikaner community. Attempting to raise awareness and change or influence the views of Afrikaners provided Naudé with an additional sense of meaning and purpose to the work he was doing (Naudé & Sölle, 1986). A sense of meaning and purpose is an important aspect of spirituality (Myers, 2000).

Economic sanctions and boycotts were initiated against the South African government by the international community in opposition to its apartheid policies during this historical period (Barnes, 2008). While this global trend impacted on other life tasks (these are discussed in subsequent sections), findings do not indicate that these global trends impacted specifically on the life task of spirituality during this historical period.

8.3.1.7 Transition to political activism (1969-1976)

As Naudé's inter-racial contact increased, his understanding regarding the extent of the damage that the apartheid system was doing to people increased as well. His beliefs that apartheid was morally and ethically abhorrent and unchristian intensified in this historical period (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). These views and life-philosophy supported spiritual growth, inner peace and harmony (Myers et al., 2000). 16 June 1976 saw the start of the Soweto uprising with the senseless deaths of 18 protesting school children on that day. Riots and violence erupted and the death toll rose to 176 by the end of the week. By the end of 1977 the riot-related death toll had risen to over 700 as the government attempted to quell the protests by force. This deeply disturbed Naudé for the lack of reverence for human life the apartheid system engendered (see section 3.2.7) (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994).

Both the life forces of government and community interacted with the life task of spirituality during this historical period.

1. Government. The South African government of the time grew ever more determined to crush any clergyman it deemed a threat to the security of the state. Many passports were confiscated, raids exercised, people deported and arrested (Naudé, 1995). Naudé called for an urgent meeting between the government and the churchmen to discuss the growing conflict in the country, but the request was shunned (Ryan, 1990).
2. Community. On numerous occasions Naudé attempted to engage with the Afrikaner community and explained that the race policy instituted and supported by Afrikaners was morally and ethically wrong and was not supported by scripture. His warnings fell on deaf ears and he became more and more criticised and ostracised (Naudé, 1995; Naudé & Sölle, 1986).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of spirituality during this historical period.

8.3.1.8 The years of silence (1977-1984)

The years during which he was banned, represented a period of great spiritual growth and enrichment (Naudé, 1995) as well as a test of his faith (Ryan, 1990) for Naudé. Naudé had decided that he would not allow his Christian witness, Christian concern or Christian judgement on political matters to be restricted by the banning order, even if it meant facing a trial for contravening his banning order (Ryan, 1990). Even though the ANC was also a banned organisation, he became involved with its activities by distributing documents outlining the mission of the ANC. Naudé hoped that by doing this, the nation would understand what the ANC was advocating for and that it would minimise the armed struggle (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). These actions related to the spiritual aspects of reverence for human life, dignity, as well as love, compassion and service to others (Myers, et al., 2000). Through these actions Naudé attempted to serve both the disenfranchised Black population as well as to educate and enlighten the White (specifically the Afrikaner) population (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Of his involvement with assisting individuals who were part of the armed struggle against apartheid, he said that he felt compelled to ask them whether they had attempted all nonviolent avenues to bring about change. He stated that he believed it would have been morally 'more wrong' if he had not helped these individuals in their liberation struggle (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). His belief in a higher power and the practice of worship and reflection with regard to the higher power remained an important part of Naudé's life at this time of his life (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

The life forces of government and community interacted the most significantly with the life task of spirituality (see section 3.2.8).

1. Government. The banning order, which constituted a period of great personal enrichment and growth for Naudé, was also a source of major embarrassment for the South African government and eventually, they relaxed some of the restrictions of the banning order (Ryan, 1990).
2. Community. Naudé was completely ostracised from the Afrikaner community because he overstepped the 'boundaries' of dissent and disagreement within the

community and was, therefore, deemed a traitor to his people. Naudé explained that the Afrikaner people believed the true nature of patriotism lay in the fact that “you stood by your people” (Naudé & Sölle, 1986 p. 11), regardless of the question of right or wrong. And if you could not do that, you were evicted from the community and never taken back (Naudé & Sölle, 1986).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of spirituality during this historical period.

8.3.1.9 Towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)

This short historical period was a particularly rich spiritual period for Naudé in that the inner conviction of the power of truth and love of the human community that he experienced sustained him and enriched his life (Naudé & Sölle, 1986). Naudé also saw reconciliation between races and calling for repentance that leads to affirmation of life as part of his spiritual duty (Nash, 1985). He experienced a deep sense of meaning and purpose (Naudé & Sölle, 1986) and attained a certain degree of transcendence in that “traditional value systems lost their meaning for him...” (Naudé & Sölle, 1986, pp. 23-24) and “... therefore an inner peace of mind came, also a loss of fear...” (Naudé & Sölle, 1986, pp. 23-24). Naudé also remained in service to others (Tutu, 2005) by addressing communities, visiting the families of victims of violence related to anti-apartheid demonstrations, working towards ecumenical unity for all Christians in South Africa and participating in protest marches against apartheid with other clergy (see section 3.2.9).

During this historical period, the life force of community interacted significantly with Naudé’s life task of spirituality.

- **Community:** In his role as General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), he engaged with the much wider South African community, especially with the African, Indian and Coloured communities for whom the apartheid policies still caused much suffering (Naudé, 1995, Ryan, 1990). In this capacity, he was able to promote reconciliation between races which he saw as part of his spiritual duty (Nash, 1985).

The global trend of intensified economic sanctions in the mid-1980s against the South African government for its apartheid policies (Barnes, 2008), impacted on other life tasks (these are discussed in subsequent sections). Findings do not indicate that these global trends impacted significantly on the life task of spirituality during this historical period.

8.3.1.10 Vindication (1988-2004)

In terms of the life task of spirituality, findings indicate that this historical period featured prominently. It represents an affirmation of the long years of service to, and love and compassion for the people of South Africa, specifically for those involved in the apartheid struggle (Mandela, 1995b; Ryan, 1990; Tutu, 2005). In a sense there was also some reward for the long years of suffering for his beliefs that apartheid was not in line with the 'Will of God', that apartheid was morally and ethically abhorrent (Naudé, 1995; Tutu, 2005). Naudé felt the culmination of a deep sense of meaning and purpose during this historical period, as well as the transcendence, inner peace and harmony he attained in the previous historical period (see section 3.2.10) (Naudé & Sölle, 1986).

The life forces of government and religion impacted greatly in Naudé's life at this historical stage.

1. Government. With the abolishment of the apartheid system and the birth of a new dispensation and a democratic society, Naudé was able to see and experience that which he had envisioned (the beginnings of a just and equal society for everyone) and fought tirelessly against (the apartheid system) (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990; Tutu, 2005).
2. Religion. Since religion is (and religious organisations are) seen as manifestations of spirituality (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), it was significant and meaningful that the NGK, as a religious institution, made an apology to Naudé and Ilse at a meeting of the General Synod in 1994, for the way that they had been treated. He was even invited by the NGK to preach a sermon at the age of 81 in the Aasvoëlkop congregation from which he had been dismissed 32 years before. Naudé expressed being very grateful for being welcomed back (Tutu, 2005) and that reconciliation between him (Naudé) and the church was possible (Clur, 1997).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of spirituality during this historical period.

8.3.1.11 Conclusion: Spirituality

Findings suggest that spirituality always featured very prominently in Naudé's life through all the historical periods and suggest the development of great spiritual depth in the later historical periods through to the end of his life. During the earlier historical stages (childhood years, university years and the early ministry years) Naudé's spirituality was very closely linked to the organised religious traditions and policies of the NGK. As his awareness grew, and his life philosophy and values developed in later life stages, his spirituality grew beyond the religious traditions of the NGK *per se* to include inter-racial love, compassion and service to others, as well as a growing inner harmony and peace despite the external 'conflict' it brought him into with the Afrikaner community, the *Broederbond*, the NGK and government. The data revealed that Naudé also cultivated the following aspects of the life task of spirituality (according to Myers et al., 2000) during the course of his life: (a) belief in a higher power; (b) hope and optimism; meaning and purpose in life that forms part of the individual's life philosophy; (c) some form of worship, prayer or meditation in relation to the Infinite; (d) love, compassion and service to others; (e) moral and ethical values for guiding everyday life; and (f) transcendence which includes inner peace, harmony and oneness with nature, the universe or the Infinite (see sections 8.3.1.1- 8.3.1.10). Other aspects of spirituality, according to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), that Naudé also cultivated and embodied during the course of his life were: belief about promoting and preserving human dignity, human rights and a respect and reverence for human life which translates into a certain moral, ethical and even legal obligation to sustain the sacredness of life (see sections 8.3.1.1-8.3.1.10).

According to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992), spirituality is the core dimension to be developed that will impact positively on the development of the other dimensions of the model. Spirituality is also viewed as the most important characteristic of well-being (Myers & Sweeney, 2008) and a key component in both longevity and quality of life (Sweeney, 2009). In spite of the challenges and hardships in his life, he maintained hope (Meyer, 2006) and optimism (Ryan, 1990) throughout his life. He also lived a full and fairly healthy life to the advanced age of approximately 85 years before his health seriously declined (Clarke, 2004). In this regard, the

findings in this study coincide with the WoW model that spirituality is the core characteristic for the maintenance of health, wellness and well-being in an individual. Life forces also interacted dynamically with the life tasks. In Naudé's case, it was particularly the life forces of religion, community and government that impacted very prominently on the life task of spirituality over the course of his life.

The Great Depression as well as World War II, as global events, impacted on the life task of spirituality during Naudé's life, and most specifically with regard to the suffering of his fellow man and reverence (or the lack thereof, in the case of war) for human life. Both these aspects feature prominently in the life task of spirituality according to the WoW model.

Naudé was able to successfully incorporate the life task of spirituality throughout his lifespan. This impacted positively on his holistic wellness as set out in the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). In the following section, findings related to the second life task, self-direction is explored and discussed.

8.3.2 Life task 2: Self-direction

According to the WoW model, the second life task enables the individual to direct, control and manage the self in a self-enhancing manner (see section 4.3.1.2). This life task enables the individual to regulate, discipline and direct the self in both daily pursuits and in pursuit of long term goals (Hattie, et al., 2000; Myers, et al., 2000). Self-direction is expressed in the following characteristics or subtasks: sense of worth; sense of control; realistic beliefs; emotional awareness and coping; problem solving and creativity; sense of humour; nutrition; exercise; self-care; stress-management; gender identity and cultural identity (Myers et al., 2000). Findings pertaining to life task two in each historical period throughout Naudé's lifespan are highlighted and discussed in this section.

8.3.2.1 Childhood years (1915-1931)

Findings regarding self-direction in general during this historical period of Naudé's life are limited. Naudé's self-direction in this historical period was not aimed so much at exercising control over his long-term goal directed behaviours, due to the developmental stage Naudé was in (see section 3.2.1). In terms of *sense of control*, findings indicate an incident in adolescence that may indicate that Naudé had a certain amount of self-confidence, belief that certain desired outcomes are possible and the ability to directly express needs. This incident refers to the letter of complaint Naudé and five matric classmates compiled and distributed

against the authoritarian behaviour of the school principal (Meyer, 2006; Randall, 1982). Although the students were made to retract the letter and apologise to the principal, the fact that Naudé could engage in the writing of the letter indicates self-confidence, a belief that positive outcomes are possible and the ability to express needs, even at a relatively young age (see section 3.2.1).

Findings suggest that even at this young age, Naudé was aware of the suffering many Afrikaners had to endure due to the Great Depression and was touched by their distress and helplessness (Randall, 1982). This relates to the subtask of *emotional awareness and coping*. As a child, Naudé regularly participated in sports activities as well, swimming and cycling as leisure activities (Naudé, 1995). Growing up in a rural setting (Naudé, 1995) would also have promoted a physically active lifestyle due to the chores the Naudé boys were assigned (Naudé 1995) and the leisure activities he pursued like exploring the hillocks around town and hunting (see section 3.2.1). Later in this historical period, he also enjoyed reading, particularly the Dutch books his sisters were bringing home from university (Ryan, 1990). Physical exercise seems to be a feature that started in childhood and carried on throughout his lifetime, and relates to the self-direction subtask of *exercise* and Naudé played tennis and rugby.

Findings also indicate that another subtask of self-direction, namely *cultural identity*, seemed to be deeply and powerfully established in this historical phase of Naudé's life. The strong cultural focus of his parents on the plight of the Afrikaners, and the struggle for independence of the Afrikaner people and their language, Afrikaans (Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1985), as well as the participation of his father in organisations like the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (League of Brothers) in order to promote Afrikaner dominance in South Africa (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982), may have served to entrench a solid *cultural identity* in Naudé as a child. Naudé's father also worked tirelessly to establish Afrikaans as a language used in education and churches, since English was still employed exclusively in schools and churches at the time. The fact that Naudé matriculated from the first Afrikaans High School in Graaff-Reinet (Naudé, 1995) is evidence of the massive effort and clear cultural ideals of his father. This enabled Afrikaans children to be educated in their home language for the first time. With regard to *gender identity* as a subtask of self-direction, Naudé also had very clear, entrenched ideas, even as a child regarding expected gender roles and associated duties. His sisters were responsible for the 'traditionally female' tasks of laundry, mending of clothes and other household chores. The boys in the family were involved with gardening chores, the slaughtering of animals for domestic use and were allowed to accompany their father on congregational home visits into the district (Naudé, 1995). In the family the impression was

also given that the boys were somehow more important than the girls and there was a lot of focus on the boys from Ada (Ryan, 1990). The Naudé children were strictly prohibited to use alcohol or tobacco (Ryan, 1990). These findings relate to the subtask of *self-care*. In this historical period, findings specifically related to the following subtasks were limited: (a) sense of worth, (b) realistic beliefs, (c) problem-solving and creativity, (d) sense of humour, (e) nutrition, and (g) stress management.

Life forces that impacted significantly on Naudé in terms of his self-direction in this historical period included family, community and education.

1. Family. In terms of *sense of control*, Naudé's parents both expressed their opinions and defended their beliefs. The family culture entrenched a strong *cultural* and *gender identity* as well as the encouragement of participation in sports activities (*exercise*) in Naudé during this historical period of his life (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
2. Community. The shared ideals relating to Afrikaner Nationalism within the community that Naudé was exposed to during this historical period, also contributed to the development of the strong *cultural identity* of Naudé. Additionally, the plight of the Afrikaner community migrant workers due to the depression also impacted on Naudé and awakened a social conscience (Clur, 1997; Randall, 1982).
3. Education. Naudé was able to be educated in his home language and this may have endorsed and sanctioned Afrikaans as a language of equal standing to English (Naudé, 1995) may also have contributed to his strong *cultural identity* in this historical period.

The Great Depression, as a global event (Cook & Stevenson, 2005), and the ensuing financial difficulties, also impacted on the Afrikaner community Naudé would have witnessed the suffering of many of the Afrikaner migrant workers in his community (see section 3.2.1). This would have impacted on the subtasks of *emotional awareness and coping* as well as *cultural identity*.

8.3.2.2 *University years (1932-1938)*

During this historical period, Naudé filled leadership positions and participated and excelled in many extracurricular activities. These included being elected into leadership positions as well as being known as a very strong debating opponent, for example, (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990) and would have had a positive impact a *sense of worth* and a *sense of control* in Naudé. These are both important subtasks of self-direction (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000).

Findings also indicate that he had an open, enquiring mind, a need to know. Naudé described himself as questioning all the time and seeking justification and explanations for his position (Naudé, 1995). He and his brother both joined the editorial staff of the clandestine *Pro Libertate* student newspaper that challenged many of the aspects of Afrikaner culture and politics on campus (Ryan, 1990). Naudé also began to read very widely in English, Dutch and Afrikaans and slowly started to question certain theological and religious beliefs his parents held (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). The questioning and investigating in order to find out the truth relates to the subtask of *realistic beliefs* (Hattie et al., 2004). A creative pursuit Naudé engaged in was photography and he became the student correspondent for the *Cape Times* newspaper. This is how Naudé also earned extra pocket money as a student (Naudé, 1995). In order to solve transport problems, Naudé also learned how to restore and service old cars. These findings speak to aspects of the subtask of *problem solving and creativity* of the self-direction life task (Myers et al., 2000).

Two other subtasks feature in the findings of this historical period in Naudé's life, namely *exercise* and *cultural identity*. During his university years, Naudé was an avid hiker and was a member of the hiking club. He also played tennis (Naudé, 1995) which refers to the subtask of *exercise*. He participated in many cultural activities as a student like debating and serenading as well as the symbolic ox-wagon trek in 1936, which commemorated an important event in the Afrikaner culture and history regarding the Afrikaners pursuit of independence (Randall, 1982). While Naudé may have begun to question certain aspects of Afrikaner Nationalist politics and policy, he was still loyal to, and very connected to the cultural aspects of his heritage. This strong *cultural identity* would remain the same throughout his life (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1985, 1995).

During his university years, Naudé was very sociable and popular and participated in many activities and engaged with members of both genders (Bryan, 1978; Clur, 1997) and this relates to the subtask of *gender identity* (Myers et al., 2000). Through the hiking club he met

Ilse with whom he established a very close, romantic relationship. The relationship was reciprocal and the couple was married a few years later. Naudé was able to recognise and express these positive emotions. During this historical period, Naudé also wrote his father a strongly worded letter in which he expressed strong negative emotions and complained that Ada (Naudé's mother) was using her illness to manipulate the father (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). These findings relate to the subtask of *emotional awareness and coping*.

While not directly related to this historical period, findings also indicated that throughout his life Naudé was seen to have a good *sense of humour* (M. Coetzee, personal communication, October 26, 2011; C. Lombard, personal communication, October 26, 2011). This is another subtask of self-direction (Myers et al., 2000). Findings also reveal that throughout his life, Naudé also refrained from regularly using or abusing harmful substances like alcohol (Naudé, 1995). This relates to the subtask of *self-care* (Myers et al., 2000).

The life forces that impacted significantly on Naudé during this time were religion, government and family.

1. Religion and government. Naudé began to question certain aspects regarding religious institutions and hierarchy (specifically related to separation of the races) as well as questioning certain political policies instituted by government (see section 3.2.2).
2. Family. Family featured at this stage with regard to Naudé's changing beliefs and the fact that he was challenging ideas regarding religion and nationalism. His parents were not happy with these changes in their son, and this led to tension in the family (Naudé, 1995).

This historical period of Naudé's life falls within the global events of the Great Depression, and the recession that followed the depression in 1937. Due to the economic climate at the time, Naudé did not have a lot of extra pocket money. In order to earn more pocket money he became a student photographer and a student correspondent for the Cape Times (see section 3.2.2). In order to secure cheaper transport, Naudé and his brother also bought a dilapidated car and set about learning how to restore and repair it (see section 3.2.2). This relates to the subtask of *problems solving and creativity*.

8.3.2.3 *The early ministry years (1939-1954)*

Findings indicate that with regard to the life task of self-direction, Naudé displayed many of the subtasks during this historical period of his life. With the succession of calls to various congregations and the good relationships he was able to nurture in the various congregations (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990), Naudé must have experienced feelings of adequacy with regard to the subtask of *sense of worth*. His professional success during this historical period (Clur, 1997) relates to the subtask of *sense of control* relating to feelings of mastery, competence and self-confidence (Myers et al., 2000). Naudé also displayed *emotional awareness and ability to cope* with those emotions (related to the bitter division in the country between mostly English South African supporters of the war and the majority of Afrikaners who did not support Britain in the war), in others and within himself (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He also was able to *identify and solve problems* and resolve conflict. An example of which was the issue of division in his congregation regarding serviceman attending church services in uniform (see section 3.2.3) (Naudé, 1995).

Naudé embarked on a journey of theological self-study in order to investigate and find answers for himself regarding the political and religious policies of the time (Randall, 1982). He was also able to realistically evaluate the invitation to join the para-military organisation, *Ossewabrandwag* (Ox-wagon Guard), but declined (Naudé, 1995). This relates to the subtask of *realistic beliefs* (Myers et al., 2000). Naudé took care of physical aspects such as *exercise* during this historical period, as was his habit throughout his life. He enjoyed hiking with his family (Clarke, 2004; Ryan, 1990). He also used alcohol very rarely (Naudé, 1995), which relates to the subtask of *self-care* (Myers et al., 2000). Naudé was very fond of listening to music, specifically classical and organ music. Throughout his life, he found the music calming and relaxing (Clements, 2006; Ryan, 1990). This relates to the subtask of *stress management* (Myers et al., 2000).

His *cultural identity* also remained firmly rooted in the Afrikaner Nationalist cause (Randall, 1982). Findings also indicate that Naudé also had a well-developed *sense of humour*, a characteristic that remained throughout his life (M. Coetzee, personal communication, October 26, 2011; C. Lombard, personal communication, October 26, 2011). An example of this is the humorous anecdote Naudé recounted regarding a few bottles of wine gifted to him by a winemaker friend when he left Wellington. The wine was packed into the removal van. Members of the new congregation were eagerly awaiting their new minister, and to their shock and surprise, the first item to be offloaded from the removal van, was a basket

full of wine (Naudé, 1995). In terms of *gender identity*, Naudé shared close relationships with the other members of the all-male *Broederbond* which he joined during this historical period (Randall, 1982; Ryan 1990).

Life forces that impacted on Naudé's self-direction during this historical period included community, religion and government.

1. Community. With the political division in the country regarding the war, and the strong reactions against support for the British cause, Naudé was faced with a conflict ridden situation to manage within his congregation (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990).
2. Religion and government. Both the NGK and government were developing policies with regard to separate development, division and apartheid at this time. Naudé embarked on a journey of self-study with regard to the policies of both the NGK and government at the time. Naudé was searching for answers regarding unity and diversity of the human race, the unity and diversity of the church, the nature and responsibility of the church in as well as the governmental policy of separate development and apartheid (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982).

World War II, as a global event (Cook & Stevenson, 2005), impacted on Naudé's self-direction life task and community life force during this historical period on his life. There was political division in the country regarding the war and strong reactions regarding support for Britain. Naudé had to manage his own emotions regarding the war as well as manage conflict in his congregation regarding the servicemen attending church services in uniform while some congregants were completely against the war (see section 3.2.3) (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). This refers to the specific subtasks of emotional awareness and coping and problem solving and creativity.

8.3.2.4 Doubt and disillusionment (1955-1960)

In terms of the life task of self-direction in this historical period, Naudé must have felt a *sense of self-worth* as well as a *sense of control* with regard to the calls to prestigious congregations (Ryan, 1990) and the position of NGK Moderator that was dangled in front of Naudé, the second most powerful position in the country after that of the Prime Minister (Naudé, 1995). Findings also indicate that he had *realistic beliefs* with regard to the fact that most of the Afrikaners in his congregation and the *Broederbond* were not ready to accept his

belief that the apartheid policies of the day were inhumane and not supported by scripture. Despite this Naudé still felt he had a duty to prove to the church that the race policies were wrong (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He also realised that once he made his convictions regarding apartheid known, he would face severe criticism and held *realistic beliefs* regarding the possible consequences of his actions (Randall, 1982; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).

While he questioned the race policies of church and state, Naudé remained loyal to his Afrikaner culture and did not want to be deemed a traitor for harbouring these misgivings (Naudé, 1995). His *cultural identity* remained as strong as ever as is indicated by the fact that he was able to seek out and appreciate relationships with the ministers of other cultures with whom he was in the multi-racial bible study groups with (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé also had very traditional, chauvinist views on the gender roles of males and females and, specifically, with regard to the role of a wife (Ryan, 1990). As a woman and wife, Ilse's duties included raising the children, taking care of the household and performing the duties of the minister's wife in the congregation (Ryan, 1990). This relates to the subtask of *gender identity* in the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000).

With regard to the subtask of *emotional awareness and coping* (Myers et al., 2000), Naudé experienced firsthand the suffering of people under the apartheid system. The Sharpeville massacre also occurred in this historical period and he experienced and had to cope with many negative emotions (Bryan, 1978; Naudé & Sölle, 1986). As mentioned earlier, Naudé engaged in regular physical exercise. He and Ilse often went on long walks together (Ryan, 1990). He used alcohol very infrequently (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). These findings refer to the subtasks of *exercise* and *self-care* (Myers et al., 2000). According to Ryan (1990) friends and family of Naudé often spoke of his "twinkling" (p. 207) *sense of humour*. A *stress management* technique that Naudé employed was listening to classical and organ music since he found music calming and relaxing (Clements, 2006; Ryan, 1990).

The life forces that impacted most on Naudé during this historical period include religion and government.

- Religion and government. Both the NGK as well as government supported and instituted draconian apartheid policies (see section 3.2.4). The resulting Sharpeville massacre and international outcry also impacted greatly on Naudé (Bryan, 1978).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of self-direction during this historical period.

8.3.2.5 Turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)

This historical period marks a sharp diversion in Naudé's life from the long-term goals that he may have previously pursued and the process involved to regulate and direct daily activities to reach these goals (see section 3.2.5). These findings relate to the life task of self-direction, according to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000). This change is probably most noticeable in the subtasks of *realistic beliefs* and also *emotional awareness and coping* and required a strong *sense of self-worth* and *self-control*. Naudé realised that neither the church nor the government would change the stance on the policy of apartheid and separate development, or the issues of justice and equality for all South Africans. He also realised that he could no longer align himself with this thinking and support the church and government with regard to the apartheid policies and laws (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). A parting of ways was inevitable. Naudé also realised that the parting of ways would not occur without difficulty and severe personal cost (both to him and his family) (Naudé, 1995). During this difficult, stressful time, Naudé also had to employ significant *stress management* even though he believed that the path he had chosen was the morally and ethically right one (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He found music (especially classical and organ music) relaxing (Clements, 2006; Ryan, 1990). With regard to his *cultural identity*, Naudé always wanted to remain part of the Afrikaner community, despite the fact that he did not agree with the policies of church and state at the time (Naudé, 1995). This was, however, not to be. Once he had made his positions and beliefs clear, he was branded a traitor and enemy of the state and he and his family were condemned and ostracised (Clur, 1997; Randall, 1982).

Naudé engaged in regular physical exercise throughout his life (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Ryan, 1990) and used alcohol very infrequently (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). These findings refer to the subtasks of *exercise* and *self-care* (Myers et al., 2000). Findings also indicate a characteristic that remained throughout Naudé's life was a well-developed *sense of humour* (N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011; C. Lombard, personal communication, October 26, 2011).

The life forces that impacted the most on Naudé's self-direction life task were community and government.

1. Community. During this time, South Africa had attained independence and become a republic under the leadership of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd (Clur, 1997) and an important Afrikaner Nationalist goal had been achieved (see section 3.2.5). Naudé realised the cost of staying true to his beliefs would be to lose a very important link with the Afrikaner community (Naudé, 1995).
2. Government. Despite the achievement of the Nationalist government it also faced severe criticism from the international community, especially the UN, for its apartheid policies (see section 3.2.5) (Barnes, 2008). This would have served to confirm to Naudé that his opposition to apartheid was justified.

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of self-direction during this historical period.

8.3.2.6 *A liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)*

In this historical period of Naudé's life, his spiritual convictions played an integral part and interacted with the second life task of self-direction which enabled him to act in a self-enhancing manner despite very difficult circumstances. Naudé, displaying strong faith in his beliefs, was able to manage significant stress due to the negative criticism he faced from the NGK, the Afrikaner community as well as the governmental pressure he faced (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He also had to cope with strong negative emotions such as disappointment, anger and sadness in this time (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). His mother also passed away in 1967 and his sister Hymne and her husband severed all ties with Naudé (Naudé, 1995). These findings refer to the subtasks of *stress management* and *emotional awareness and coping* (Myers, et al., 2000).

In spite of the severe criticism Naudé and the Christian Institute (CI) faced, Naudé continued to work hard to garnish support for and reach the CI's goals. Naudé's faith in and commitment to the CI's ethos and mission (see section 3.2.6), reflect the subtasks of *sense of worth*, *sense of control* and *realistic beliefs*. The subtask of *realistic beliefs* is also reflected in

how Naudé's anti-apartheid position was solidified and his thinking altered regarding the management of the racial situation in South Africa after he attended the World Council of Churches conference in Geneva in 1965. The conference dealt with the wider repercussions of social and economic injustices (Coetzee, 2010). Even though Naudé criticised and opposed the apartheid policies, his *cultural identity* still remained firmly rooted in the Afrikaner culture (Randall, 1982).

The decision Naudé took to bring a libel suit against Adriaan Pont who launched a smear campaign against Naudé in the church journal, *Hervormer* (see section 3.2.6) (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990) is also an example of self-enhancing, assertive action believing that a desired outcome is possible, with specific reference to the subtasks of *sense of control* and *problem solving and creativity* (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000). As mentioned earlier, regular physical exercise remained a feature throughout his life and he used alcohol very infrequently (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). These findings refer to the subtasks of *exercise* and *self-care* (Myers et al., 2000). Findings reveal that Naudé maintained a *sense of humour* throughout his life. An example of Naudé's wry sense of humour was recalled by Martin West. He and Naudé were walking in the street and he was greeted by an old acquaintance. As they walked on again, Naudé chuckled and remarked that the man had given him the old *Broederbond* handshake (Ryan 1990).

The life forces of the community, media and government interacted with the life task of self-direction during this historical period.

1. Community. Naudé faced a lot of criticism and ostracism by the majority of the Afrikaner community during this historical period (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990).
2. Media. The media fuelled the criticism against Naudé with negative and sensationalist reporting (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990).
3. Government. The South African government also still faced criticism, isolation and boycotts from the international community for its apartheid policy in this period (Barnes, 2008).

During this historical period, the international community initiated boycotts and sanctions against the apartheid policies of the South African government (Barnes, 2008). While Naudé faced much criticism for his anti-apartheid views (see section 3.2.6), this global trend of the international community also opposing apartheid may have served to confirm to

Naudé that his views and beliefs regarding apartheid were justified. This relates to the subtask of *realistic beliefs*.

8.3.2.7 Transition to political activism (1969-1976)

Realistic beliefs, a subtask of self-direction (Myers et al., 2000), features quite prominently in this historical period as Naudé challenged and adjusted his thinking regarding many issues related to the race-policy of the time. Another topic he had to adjust his thinking about was that of the armed struggle. While he was opposed to violence, he also realised that all the other non-violent methods had failed to bring about liberation (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Ryan, 1990). Naudé also had to consider the issue of economic sanctions. Although, initially, opposed to economic sanctions, Naudé also began to see that this may be the last peaceful means to persuade White South Africans to accept the political change (Randall, 1982). He realised that the leadership of the Black Consciousness Movement needed to be involved in the process of bringing about change in the country in order to eradicate all unjust social and political structures (Naudé, 1995). From 1974 onwards, the CI (and Naudé) began to recognise that even if the racial situation were to change, the true nature of apartheid (that of economic disparity between the rich and poor) would remain. The apartheid system exploited race to ensure class, economic, and educational disparity in South Africa where the Afrikaners remained in an advantageous position over the other races (Bryan, 1978; Ryan, 1990). The Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) and the Special Project for Christian Action in Society (SPROCAS-2) (see section 3.2.7) was strongly supported by Naudé (Clur, 1997). The programmes were an attempt to begin addressing the issues in the South African society related to apartheid (Potgieter, 1994). This relates to the subtask of *problem solving and creativity* (Myers et al., 2000).

In this period, Naudé received the Reinhold Niebuhr award as well as honorary doctorates from Vrije Universiteit (Netherlands) and the University of the Witwatersrand (South Africa) to honour the work that he was doing (see section 3.3). These awards reflect aspects of the subtasks of *self-worth* and *sense of control*. Naudé and other members of the CI also refused to give testimony in front of the Schibusch committee, since they were disturbed by the secret nature of the committee and were unclear on the exact indictments against the CI. Naudé and the others were charged under the Commissions Act. This refusal to give evidence reflects the subtask of *sense of control*. The refusal on the grounds of conscience did not stand

up in court and Naudé lost the appeal after a three-year battle (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). This was clearly also a time where Naudé had to manage a lot of stress as well as negative emotions, which he seemed to manage well, with heavy reliance on his faith and spirituality (Ryan, 1990) and by discussing difficulties and frustrations with like-minded colleagues and friends, like Prof. Jaap Durandt, for instance (J. Durandt, personal communication, October 25, 2011). This refers to the subtasks of *stress management* and *emotional awareness and coping* (Myers et al., 2000).

His *cultural identity* remained very strong during this time. He always regarded himself an Afrikaner and emphatically believed that Afrikaners could be part of this new vision for South Africa (Clur, 1997). The subtasks of *exercise* and *self-care* continue to feature in this historical period, since findings reveal that Naudé followed a regime of regular physical exercise throughout his life, as well as refrained from regular use of harmful substances like alcohol (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé was also described by family and friends as having a “twinkling” *sense of humour* (Ryan, 1990, p.207).

The life forces that interacted most with the life task of self-direction during this time were community and government.

1. Community. All the attempts Naudé made to convince the Afrikaner community of the unfeasibility and moral unacceptability of apartheid only caused greater criticism and ostracism from the Afrikaners (Ryan, 1990). On the other hand, Naudé was gaining standing and respect as anti-apartheid activist both in the international community and the African, Indian and Coloured South African communities (Clur, 1997; S. Govander, personal communication, October 26, 2011; W. Mazamiza, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Ryan, 1990).
2. Government. In view of the growing unrest and dissatisfaction amongst especially the Black community, Naudé severely criticised the apartheid government for no longer being able to direct the course of political events (Naudé, 1995). At the same time, the government was taking steps (like convening the Schibusch commission and conducting raids and investigations against the CI) to indicate its dissatisfaction with the ethos, work and belief system of such organisations and the individuals, like Naudé, who were a part of these organisations (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of self-direction during this historical period.

8.3.2.8 *The years of silence (1977-1984)*

During this challenging historical period, there is much evidence of Naudé acting in a self-enhancing manner and regulated his daily activities in order to pursue long-term goals. The findings are discussed as they pertain to the subtasks of self-direction (Myers et al., 2000). Naudé's decision to express his Christian convictions and concerns regarding apartheid despite the prohibitions of the banning order (Ryan, 1990), relates to assertiveness, a specific feature of the subtask of *self-control*. During this period Naudé also received the Bruno Kreisky Award, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Award as well as an honorary doctorate from the University of Cape Town (South Africa) for his work. The national and international recognition that these awards represent, relates to the subtasks of *self-control* and *self-worth*. He displayed *realistic beliefs* in this time with regard to the brutality of the apartheid system and the bitterness it had engendered to the point that the Black leaders were concluding that counter-violence was inevitable (Ryan, 1990). He also realised that South Africa was entering a very difficult period of suffering, anguish and conflict (Ryan, 1990).

Naudé also had to deal with difficult emotions related to bereavement during this historical period with the deaths of Steve Biko, his sister Lierieka, as well as his close friends Fred van Wyk and Frikkie Conradie (Naudé, 1995). He also had to manage significant stress during the years of the banning order, knowing their mail was being opened and that he and Ilse were under constant surveillance by the security police (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). One strategy Naudé employed to manage the stress was to discuss the difficulties and frustrations with like-minded colleagues and friends (J. Durandt, personal communication, October 25, 2011). Another strategy may also have included listening to music, which he found relaxing (Clements, 2006; Ryan, 1990). These findings refer to the subtasks of *emotional awareness and coping* and *stress management* (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000).

During the years that Naudé was banned, he became increasingly involved with the illicit activities of the ANC, specifically, distributing documents outlining the ANC's mission. He believed the nation was entitled to understand what the ANC was advocating in the hope that it would minimise the armed struggle (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). This reflects the subtask of *problem solving and creativity* (Myers et al., 2000). Naudé's *cultural identity*

was still deeply rooted in the Afrikaner community despite the fact that the community ostracised and vilified him (Naudé, 1995; Naudé & Sölle, 1986).

As mentioned earlier, Naudé engaged in regular physical exercise throughout his life and only used alcohol very infrequently (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). These findings refer to the subtasks of *exercise* and *self-care* (Myers et al., 2000). Findings also indicate a characteristic that remained throughout Naudé's life was a well-developed *sense of humour* (M. Coetzee, personal communication, October 26, 2011; N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011).

Life forces that impacted on the life task of self-direction in this historical period included government, community, religion, family and media.

1. Government. The death of Steve Biko raised the question for Naudé regarding what the Nationalist government of the time was achieving with foolishness of apartheid laws, the banning orders and restrictions (Clur, 1997). The government imposed a banning order on Naudé which had far reaching effects in terms of social interactions and certain limitations on movement (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). The international community also continued to impose cultural and sports sanctions during this historical period in order to force the South African government to abandon apartheid (see section 3.2.8) (Barnes, 2008).
2. Community. Naudé believed that it was the banning order that communicated to the Black community that he was trustworthy and supportive of the liberation struggle (Naudé, 1995). So, while the Afrikaner community was turning its back on Naudé, the African, Indian and Coloured communities were welcoming Naudé (Ryan, 1990).
3. Religion. During this historical period, Naudé took a decision to leave the NGK and become a member of the NGKA (*Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in Afrika*) (translated as the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa) because he felt the NGK refused to heed the biblical instruction of church unity (Naudé, 1995).
4. Family. While Naudé left the NGK, Ilse remained a member of the Parkhurst NGK congregation (Potgieter, 1994). Ilse also opposed him when he considered leaving the country (Naudé, 1995). His brother-in-law, Frans O'Brien Geldenhuys who was also a minister of religion in the NGK, disagreed with Naudé's decision to leave the NGK.

He believed that the ministers who were opposed to apartheid could generate change from within the ranks of the church (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995).

5. Media. Despite the fact that Naudé was banned, he still featured prominently in the press due to his actions, letters and speeches to try and convince the Nationalist government and his fellow Afrikaners of the evils of apartheid (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). This piqued the government (Randall, 1982).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of self-direction during this historical period.

8.3.2.9 Towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)

During this historical period, Naudé worked very hard and tirelessly as General Secretary of the SACC (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). His position in the SACC served as platform where Naudé could regulate his daily activities in order to pursue the long term goals related to justice and equality in South Africa. This relates to the life task of *self-direction* (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000). Having been appointed to this position by a majority of Black representatives of Black churches, he would have experienced a sense of *self-worth* in feelings of adequacy and competence as well as a *sense of control*, emerging as an important church leader in the country after his banning order (Nash, 1985). The subtasks of *self-worth* and *sense of control* would have been further highlighted by the international recognition and awards Naudé was receiving in this period (see section 3.3). The awards included honorary doctorates from the University of Notre Dame and the Garret Evangelical Seminary, as well as the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award and the Swedish Labour Movement Award.

Additionally, this new position in the SACC would have validated his *realistic beliefs* regarding the evils of apartheid and the resulting suffering it caused, as well as confirming his ecumenical vision (Nash, 1985; Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). During this time, Naudé also cultivated relationships with many people from different cultural backgrounds and had a lot of cross-cultural contact with fellow clergy, attending talks and meetings with various groups and speaking at various gatherings, while always maintaining his own cultural roots (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). This reflects the subtask of *cultural identity* (Myers et al., 2000). Through the vast amount of cross-cultural exposure Naudé experienced during this historical period, he received firsthand exposure to the suffering and injustice of apartheid (Ryan, 1990). Naudé

would have experienced and had to cope with many emotions, especially, when visiting family members of apartheid protestors who died (see section 3.2.9) (Naudé, 1995). These findings relate to the subtask of *emotional awareness and coping* (Hattie et al., 2004; Myers et al., 2000).

As was Naudé's habit throughout his life, he did regular physical exercise and refrained from the excessive use of harmful substances like alcohol (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). These findings refer to the subtasks of *exercise* and *self-care* (Myers et al., 2000). Naudé's "twinkling" *sense of humour* remained a feature throughout his life (Ryan, 1990, p. 207).

The life forces that impacted on the life task of self-direction in this historical period were religion and community.

1. Religion. The position of General Secretary of the religious organisation of the SACC enabled Naudé to interact with South Africans across cultural lines and from all walks of life. It also enabled him to publicly express his views regarding the race policies and the general political situation in the country (see section 3.2.9).
2. Community. Through his position as General Secretary of the SACC, Naudé was able to join the community of other clergy in marches, give speeches and connect with people at a grass roots level, which allowed him to interact with the wider South African community (see section 3.2.9) (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

Economic sanctions by the international community were intensified in the mid-1980s (see section 3.2.9). The international opposition against apartheid may have served to bolster Naudé's anti-apartheid and anti-establishment views and beliefs. This relates to the subtask of *realistic beliefs*.

8.3.2.10 Vindication (1988-2004)

During this historical period, Naudé was asked by the ANC to participate in the negotiations between the ANC and the government of the time. The negotiations were aimed at bringing about a peaceful change of dispensation in South Africa (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). This would have been a great affirmation of the beliefs Naudé always held and paid

such a high price for (Tutu, 2005). These findings related to the subtask of *realistic beliefs* (Myers et al., 2000). His inclusion and participation in the negotiations at this very important juncture in the history of South Africa, would have strengthened both Naudé's *sense of worth* in the recognition of positive qualities by others (the ANC in this case) as well as his *sense of control* with regard to the belief that certain desired outcomes are possible, and also beliefs regarding his competence and self-confidence (see section 3.2.10). These aspects would have been further highlighted by the many awards, honours and accolades he received, both nationally and internationally, during this time (see section 3.3) (Tutu, 2005). The awards included the Order for Meritorious Service (Gold) (South Africa), the order of Merit (Germany), the Freedom of the City of Johannesburg in 2001 (Coetzee, 2010; South African Council of Churches, 2004a). Honorary doctorates from the following universities were bestowed upon him during this period: University of Limburg in Maastricht (Netherlands), University of Natal (South Africa) and the University of Durban Westville, (South Africa, 1993). Also see section 3.3).

Naudé featured prominently during the negotiation process towards democracy in South Africa and was actively involved in the talks between the Nationalist government and the ANC at the time (Clarke, 2004; Clur, 1997). He also believed that a peaceful resolution was possible (Potgieter, 1994). These findings relate to the subtask of *problem-solving and creativity*, with specific emphasis on effective conflict resolution (Myers et al., 2000). While deeply involved in the negotiation processes between the Nationalist government and the ANC and committed to seeing a peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa (see section 3.2.10), his *cultural identity* was still rooted in the Afrikaner culture (Ryan, 1990).

In terms of wellness and health, Naudé continued to be physically active and relatively healthy well into his 80's and only really started experiencing health problems in the late 1990s (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Staff reporters, 2004) which included heart problems and mild strokes (Staff Reporters, 2011). He engaged in regular exercise, watched his diet and avoided excessive alcohol (see section 3.2.10). These findings relate to the subtasks of *exercise* and *self-care* (Myers et al., 2000). Findings also indicate that a characteristic that remained throughout Naudé's life was a well-developed *sense of humour* (N. Koopman, personal communication, October 25, 2011; C. Lombard, personal communication, October 26, 2011). An example of this is Naudé joking with Madiba saying while honoured to be part of the negotiation team, he had not actually joined the ANC (Naudé, 1995). Another example of his *sense of humour* is how he would jokingly refer to his

retirement in conversation with Ilse when at the age of 83 he was still going to the office every day (Meyer, 2006).

The life force that featured particularly prominently during this historical period and impacted on self-direction was that of community:

- Community. In this historical period, Naudé was able to participate in the process of community building through the creation of a democratic society, and promoting a feeling of shared values and purpose (Clarke, 2004).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of self-direction during this historical period.

8.3.2.11 Conclusion: Self-direction

Findings indicate that with regard to this life task, Naudé was able to direct, manage and control the self in daily pursuits as well as in long-term goals, through certain attributes. Findings indicate that Naudé employed most of the subtasks of this life task with a sense of intentionality to complete his life tasks and reach his goals. These subtasks included: (a) sense of worth; (b) sense of control; (c) realistic beliefs, (d) emotional awareness and coping; (e) problem solving and creativity; (f) sense of humour; (g) nutrition; (h) exercise; (i) self-care; (j) stress management; (k) gender identity; and (l) cultural identity (see section 8.3.2.1-8.3.2.10 and section 3.3). The subtasks represent the characteristics of a healthy person, according to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Specifically, with regard to the historical periods following the Sharpeville massacre (post-1960), findings indicate that Naudé's beliefs and long-term goals were greatly influenced by the spirituality life task and his spiritual awakening and the desire to be obedient to the 'Will of God' or gospel over obedience to the laws of man. His beliefs, actions and decisions were guided and shaped by his spiritual awakening and faith. In the difficult years of opposing apartheid that followed and the resulting denigration and vilification of Naudé by the majority of the Afrikaners, the *Broederbond*, NGK and government, the spiritual awakening and faith also sustained him as a source of solace and comfort which enabled him to continue on his goal-directed path. The international opposition and criticism levelled at the apartheid government would have served to confirm Naudé's anti-apartheid views and

beliefs. In this regard the findings in this study coincide with the WoW model that spirituality, as the core characteristic, positively impacted on the development of the other dimensions in the model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Findings in this study indicate that the life forces interacted dynamically with the life tasks. In Naudé's case, all the life forces impacted very prominently on the life task of self-direction in the various historical periods, in various combinations. The life forces of religion, government and community, however, featured most prominently across the historical periods.

The Great Depression, as a global event, and the resulting financial hardships of many in the Afrikaner community impacted on Naudé and interacted with the subtasks of *emotional awareness and coping* and *cultural identity*. Due to the financial hardships related to the Great Depression, Naudé also had to find ways to supplement his pocket money as a student (see section 8.3.2.2). This interacts with the subtask of *problem solving and creativity*. World War II was another global event that required Naudé to employ the subtask of conflict resolution within his own congregation (which relates to the subtask of *problem solving and creativity*) as well as to deal with his own feelings related to the war (which relates to *emotional awareness and coping*). The international boycotts and sanctions were global trends that impacted on Naudé's life task of self-direction. The opposition of the international community may have served to support Naudé's anti-apartheid views. This refers to the subtask of *realistic beliefs*.

Naudé was seemingly able to successfully negotiate the life task of self-direction throughout his lifespan. This impacted positively on his holistic wellness as set out in the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Findings related to life task three, work and leisure, are discussed in the following section.

8.3.3 Life task 3: Work and leisure

Work is seen as a primary life task that serves economic, psychological and social purposes (Myers et al., 2000) in that it provides psychological and social benefits to the well-being of the self and others (see section 4.3.1.3.1) (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Leisure is also essential to wellness (Sweeney, 2009) and includes physical activities, social engagements, intellectual pursuits and creative work as well as providing the opportunity for intrinsic satisfaction (see section 4.3.1.3.2) (Myers et al., 2000). Findings pertaining to life task three in each historical period throughout Naudé's lifespan are highlighted and discussed in this section.

8.3.3.1 Childhood years (1915-1931)

In terms of the subtask of work, findings suggest that Naudé was assigned several chores in the family that served social purpose in contributing to family life during this historical period of his life. His contribution included gardening chores, milking the cows, taking care of the chickens and assisting when sheep were slaughtered (Naudé, 1995). Considering the second subtask of leisure, findings indicate that Naudé participated in a number of leisure activities. These included outdoor activities such as swimming, cycling, exploring the hillocks around town, the shooting of rock hyrax and hunting game during school holidays as a teenager. Cultural activities he pursued included playing the violin and piano, singing and reading (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

A life force that impacted significantly on Naudé in terms of work and leisure in this historical period is family.

- Family. The family culture of assigning chores (work) to the children and encouraging participation in leisure activities such as sport and cultural activities (Naudé, 1995) impacted positively on the development of this life task during Naudé's childhood years.

In terms of global events, the fact that so many Afrikaners struggled to find work due to the Great Depression would have made a considerable impression on Naudé during this historical period (see section 3.2.1).

8.3.3.2 University years (1932-1938)

Findings indicate that during this historical period of Naudé's life, he engaged in activities that served both an economic as well as social purpose and which relate to the subtask of work. While not the most studious of students (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982), he did manage to complete a master's degree and entered the Theology Seminary at Stellenbosch University (Ryan, 1990). As a student, Naudé enjoyed and participated in many of the leisure activities on campus. He joined the debating society, the student newspaper, *Pro Libertate*, his hostel's serenading group and the hiking club. Another hobby he engaged in included reading (as well as photography and the fixing of old cars mentioned earlier). Since Naudé had a talent for languages, he read material written in Afrikaans, Dutch and English (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

The life forces that impacted significantly at this historical stage in terms of work and leisure were community and education.

1. Community. This refers specifically to the student and academic community at Stellenbosch where Naudé engaged with the community in terms of both his academic pursuits as well as the leisure activities (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
2. Education. Naudé enjoyed the privilege of attending one of the prestigious universities of the time in South Africa and obtained a tertiary education in preparation for his future career. This was also the time when he encountered individuals like Ben Keet, who fuelled the fire of questioning certain political and religious issues (Randall, 1982; Villa-Vicencio, 1995), even though the institution and many of the staff members adhered to and supported the Nationalist government's political position (Randall, 1982).

In terms of global events, the Great Depression and resulting international recession forced Naudé to supplement his pocket money with additional work, since his parents could not give him enough pocket money. He turned hobbies (like photography) into ways to earn extra money, and even worked as student correspondent for a Cape Town newspaper (Naudé, 1995). He took photographs at student events and sold them to newspapers (see section 3.2.2). Due to the Depression there also was not enough money for Naudé to study law. He had to make a radical change with regard to his future career and study theology instead, for which he could obtain a bursary and loan from the NGK. He admitted that given the opportunity, he would have preferred to be a lawyer (Naudé, 1995).

8.3.3.3 The early ministry years (1939-1954)

In terms of work and leisure as a life task, this historical period represents a time when Naudé received calls from quite a few congregations, including very prestigious congregations (like the Pretoria-South congregation where the Prime Minister of the time, J.C. Smuts was a congregant). He proved to be a very hardworking, popular minister who was well-liked by congregants and colleagues alike (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994, Ryan, 1990). He also achieved success in terms of being elected to several positions of power within the NGK (Clur, 1997). Leisure activities Naudé participated in throughout his life included reading, gardening and listening to music (Clements, 2006; Ryan 1990). He also enjoyed family hikes (Clarke, 2004). Naudé and Ilse honeymooned in a cottage at Onrusrivier on the Cape coast.

They would return to this sanctuary often in their lives for periods of rest and relaxation (Ryan, 1990).

In terms of the life forces, findings indicate that the life force of religion and government impacted on the life task of work during this historical period.

- Religion and government. In terms of the policies of the NGK, Naudé began to question these policies of division, apartheid and separate development in this historical period. Outwardly he touted the party line of both the NGK and government, and continued with the work of a minister, but internally he had begun to question these policies (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994).

As a global event, World War II had an effect on the life task of work in terms of problems Naudé had to solve in his congregation with regard to differing political opinions related to the war and the support of Britain (Ryan, 1990).

8.3.3.4 Doubt and disillusionment (1955-1960)

In this historical period, Naudé achieved much success professionally and was a well-liked, respected and fiery minister. Both he and Ilse worked very hard in the various congregations he was called to (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982). Through his hard work, drive and ambition, he was also elected to serve in many positions of leadership within the NGK (Bryan, 1978; Ryan, 1990). There was talk of him becoming moderator of the NGK and he was called to the very prestigious Aasvoëlkop congregation in Northcliff, Johannesburg, a bastion of the Afrikaner establishment and influence (Bryan, 1978; Potgieter, 1994). As mentioned in the previous historical period, leisure activities Naudé participated in throughout his life included reading, gardening and listening to music (Clements, 2006; Ryan 1990).

The life force that impacted the most on Naudé with regard to the life task of work was community.

- Community. This refers specifically to his connection to the *Broederbond* (League of Brothers) community that enabled the almost meteoric rise to success of Naudé and the appointment to leadership positions and calls to very influential and prestigious congregations (Bryan, 1978; Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of work and leisure during this historical period.

8.3.3.5 Turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)

With his newfound spiritual enlightenment, Naudé worked very hard towards an inter-racial and ecumenical body and preparations began to launch the Christian Institute (CI) (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). A monthly theological journal, *Pro Veritate* was also launched by the inter-racial bible study group in 1962. The journal examined apartheid and related biblical and ecumenical issues in South Africa. Naudé was named editor of the journal (Randall, 1982). When the CI was officially launched in 1963 and Naudé was offered the job of Director (Potgieter, 1994). The NGK pressurised Naudé to resign both directorship of the CI and as editor of *Pro Veritate* (Naudé, 1995). It seemed that it would be impossible for Naudé to remain working as a minister within the NGK and promote the ecumenical ideals he so strongly believed in and he resigned his position as NGK minister at the end of 1963 (Ryan, 1990). Findings indicate that leisure activities Naudé participated in throughout his life included reading, gardening and listening to music (Ryan 1990, Clements, 2006) and family hikes (Clarke, 2004).

The life forces that impacted the most on this life task were religion and family.

1. Religion. The NGK would not allow Naudé to continue with both his work in the church as a minister as well as serve as Director of the CI or the editor of *Pro Veritate*. They forced the decision of Naudé's resignation and subsequently defrocked him and stripped him of the title of *dominee* (minister of religion) (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
2. Family. Naudé worked extremely hard in the period 1962-1963 to stem any criticism against him. He stated that during this period he neglected his wife and children due to his gruelling work schedule (Naudé, 1995).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of work and leisure during this historical period.

8.3.3.6 *A liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)*

In this historical period, it is impossible to separate the life task of work and leisure and his spiritual awakening. There is no doubt that, had it not been for Naudé's spiritual awakening, he would have progressed to the very top of clerical (or possibly even secular) offices in his career with all the status, adoration and privilege associated with such positions (Randall, 1982). As Naudé's conviction grew that the apartheid policy was inhuman, unjust and unchristian, it impacted on all the areas of his life, including his career (see section 3.2.6). In his new position as director of the CI his goals included expanding the ecumenical movement and promoting inter-racial contact between Christians in South Africa (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994). The CI continued to expand and grow. Through the non-racial and ecumenical nature and reputation of the CI Black separatist churches approached the CI for help regarding their theological training (Ryan, 1990). During these early years of the CI, Naudé travelled a lot and engaged in meetings and speaking events to garnish support for the CI and promote the goals of the CI (Clur, 1997). Findings indicate that leisure activities Naudé participated in throughout his life included reading, gardening and listening to music (Clements, 2006; Ryan 1990). The membership and popularity of the CI increased (Naudé, 1995).

The government, media, religion (in the form of the NGK) and family were life forces that impacted very significantly on Naudé with respect to this life task in this historical period.

1. Government. The security police conducted the first raid on the CI in May 1965 (Clur, 1997) and other raids followed (see section 3.2.6-3.2.8).
2. Media. While Naudé took great pains in attempting to engage with and explain the CI goals to the Afrikaans media, the CI and Naudé continued to face attacks and criticism and the CI was even branded a communist organisation by the media (Clur, 1997).
3. Religion. The religious institution of the NGK, specifically, criticised and shunned the CI and had it declared heretical in 1965, despite outrage from South African English and International church bodies (Ryan, 1990).
4. Family. Naudé's mother Ada, opposed the work he was doing at the CI initially and called Naudé a traitor to the Afrikaner cause. Only after he

persuaded her to attend a few meetings of the CI did she calm down somewhat (Naudé, 1995).

Naudé initially opposed the global trend of economic sanctions and boycotts against the South African government. He believed that the economic sanctions would not improve the economic position of the Black population (Ryan, 1990).

8.3.3.7 Transition to political activism (1969-1976)

Naudé's spiritual awakening had an immense impact on the life task of work during this historical period. The CI, with Naudé as the director of the organisation, launched Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society (SPROCAS) with the aim of proposing alternatives to apartheid in order to establish more acceptable Christian and moral policy (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). The follow-on project Special Project for Christian Action in Society (SPROCAS-2) had the aim of designing and implementing social change projects (Ryan, 1990). The CI and Naudé worked very closely (especially during the second phase of SPROCAS) with the BCM and leaders like Steve Biko and Bennie Khoapa (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994). The CI and Naudé had become explicit supporters of the liberation struggle in South Africa (Ryan, 1990). By the mid-1970s, Naudé was being recognised for the work he was doing both internationally and nationally and he received many awards and accolades (see section 3.3) (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). In terms of leisure activities, Naudé still employed his hobby of fixing old cars to provide transport to young black ministers and anti-apartheid activists (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; W. Mazamiza, personal communication, October 25, 2011).

Many life forces interacted with the life task of work and leisure during this historical period. These include community, business/industry, government and media.

1. Community. Through the involvement of the CI with the BCM, Naudé interacted and worked closely with young black activists like Steve Biko and got to know the struggle of the black population for independence, liberty and power well (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995).
2. Business/ Industry. During this historical period, Naudé initially opposed the idea of economic sanctions, and pleaded with British businessmen and industrialists rather to use their financial leverage to help black South Africans to improve their economic position (Ryan, 1990). But the continuing unrest and violence in the townships

ushered in a new stage in the liberation struggle (Ryan, 1990) and in 1976 the CI passed a resolution that supported the use of economic sanctions as a last peaceful means of persuading white South Africans to accept change (Randall, 1982).

3. **Government.** The government was angered by the resolution passed by the CI that supported economic sanctions (Naudé, 1995). The leaders of the CI (including Naudé as the chairman) were experiencing increased police harassment during this historical period and the Schlebusch report of 1975 to the government, stated that the CI was a danger to the security of the state. The report also stated that Naudé himself supported violence to bring about revolutionary change in South Africa (Naudé, 1995). The CI was pronounced an “affected organisation by the apartheid government (Ryan, 1990). In 1976 the security police conducted raids on the CI and South African Council of Churches (SACC) offices (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995).
4. **Media.** Some of the interviews Naudé gave abroad were distorted by the Afrikaans media in South Africa, which added to the negative impression of Naudé and the severe criticism he faced in the Afrikaner community (Ryan, 1990).

While there was a global trend of sanctions and boycotts against the South African government for its apartheid policies during this historical period (Barnes, 2008), findings do not indicate that it impacted on the subtask of work during this historical period. The sport sanctions (e.g., being expelled from the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games) (Barnes, 2008) did impact on the South Africans with regard to the subtask of leisure. Findings do not seem to indicate that this directly impacted on Naudé, however (see section 3.2.7).

8.3.3.8 The years of silence (1977-1984)

The CI was declared unlawful in 1977 and closed down. Naudé was essentially without a job. Once Naudé had received the banning order at the age of 62, he considered either leaving the country to continue the CI’s work in the Netherlands, writing a book or learning an African language like Xhosa or Zulu (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). As it turned out, he exercised none of those options. Instead, people of all walks of life and all races and ages flocked to his home in Greenside and he counselled and listened to them all to the wee hours of the morning (see section 3.2.8). This became the busiest time of his ministry (C. Anthonissen, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Naudé, 1995). Socialising was made difficult, however, with the constrictions the banning order placed on Naudé (see section

3.2.8) (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Findings indicate that leisure activities Naudé participated in throughout his life included reading, gardening and listening to music (Clements, 2006; Ryan 1990).

The life force of government impacted significantly on the life task of work during this historical period.

- Government. The government imposed the banning order on Naudé which effectively rendered him ‘mute’ and a social pariah, especially within the mainstream Afrikaner community (Clur, 1997; Naudé & Sölle, 1986).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of work and leisure during this historical period.

8.3.3.9 Towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)

This is a very significant historical period with regard to the life task of work for Naudé. At the age of 69, he was appointed General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) to succeed Bishop Desmond Tutu. While very honoured and humbled by the appointment, Naudé had doubts whether a person who had been banned was in touch with current issues in the church and was the most suitable candidate (Tutu, 2005). The position did, however, allow him to continue his work with regard to ecumenical unity (Naudé, 1995). In 1987 he was ordained into the NGKA (see section 3.2.9) 24 years after he was defrocked. It held particular symbolic significance for Naudé to be able to assume the title of *dominee* (minister of religion) again (Ryan, 1990). During this period, Naudé had a full work schedule and an extensive travelling itinerary (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). Findings indicate that leisure activities Naudé participated in throughout his life included reading, gardening and listening to music (Clements, 2006; Ryan 1990).

The life forces of government and business/industry impacted significantly on the life task of work during this historical period.

1. Government. Naudé was arrested again in 1985, along with 300 other clergy in Cape Town during a protest march against apartheid, but released on bail the next day (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé was also included in the Afrikaner delegates who held talks with the (still banned)

African National Congress in Dakar, Senegal (see section 3.2.9) (Telegraph Media Group, 2004).

2. Business/Industry. The political and economic climate deteriorated during this historical period. Renewed international pressure with economic sanctions and a financial crisis was aimed at forcing the South African government to abandon apartheid (see section 3.2.9) (Barnes, 2008).

The global trend of economic sanctions against South Africa was intensified in this historical period, which sparked a financial crisis in South Africa (Barnes, 2008). The international community hoped to force the government to change its apartheid policies (see section 3.2.9). Naudé would have seen firsthand the effect the financial crisis had on the communities he visited at grass roots level during his tenure as General Secretary of the SACC.

8.3.3.10 *Vindication (1988-2004)*

In this historical period, Naudé still engaged in activities that served a social purpose. He was invited to participate in the negotiations between the South African government at the time and the ANC that led to the birth of the new democratic dispensation in the country (Clarke, 2004; Clur, 1997). He was very pleased and honoured to be involved with the process (Clarke, 2004). He was also consulted unofficially by the ANC post-1994 (Clur, 1997). Despite health problems, he continued to work and play an important part in the public scene of the new South Africa. Even at the age of 83 he still went into the office every day. He continued to procure resources to help poor congregations as well as investigating funding opportunities for a journal to evaluate the social problems in South Africa (Meyer, 2006). In 1999 he participated in the inauguration ceremony of Pres Thabo Mbeki (see section 3.2.10). In an interview Naudé gave post-1994, he explained that he still enjoyed listening to classical and organ music as both a leisure activity and a means of relaxation (Clements, 2006). Up until the age of approximately 83 years, he and Ilse also continued to go on annual holidays together (Meyer, 2006).

The life forces that interacted most significantly in this historical period were government and business/industry.

1. Government. Naudé was involved in the negotiations towards democracy in

South Africa (Tutu, 2005). The ANC continued to consult with Naudé in the following years (Clur, 1997) and despite some health problems he continued to play an important part in the new South Africa public scene and in 1999 even opened Pres. Thabo Mbeki's opening address (SouthAfrica.info reporter, 2004).

2. Business/Industry. Naudé was involved with several businesses and organisations with the aim of assisting in areas such as social welfare, youth development, education and health (see section 3.2.10 and Appendix B).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of work and leisure during this historical period.

8.3.3.11 Conclusion: Work and Leisure

Findings in this study indicate that throughout his life, Naudé engaged in activities (whether paid employment or not) that served economic, social and/or psychological purposes. These activities also provided social and psychological benefits to Naudé and others which contributed to his well-being and the well-being of others. In this sense, findings coincide with the life task of work as outlined in the WoW model by Witmer & Sweeney (1992) and Myers et al. (2000). In the historical stages after 1960 Naudé's spiritual awakening and beliefs (life task one) significantly impacted on the type of work activities Naudé engaged in. This also coincides with the findings of the WoW model that spirituality, as the core characteristic to be developed, will impact positively (see section 4.3.1.1) on the development of the other dimensions in the model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Leisure activities are essential to wellness (Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and provide the opportunity for intrinsic satisfaction (Myers et al., 2000). Findings in this study indicate that Naudé regularly and habitually engaged in physical exercise, intellectual pursuits as well as creative work. According to the WoW model, this would have impacted positively on Naudé's well-being as well as providing opportunity for intrinsic satisfaction. Findings revealed that life forces also interacted dynamically with this life task. Specifically the life forces of government, community and religion featured prominently, while media, family, education and business/industry also featured in various combinations in the various historical periods.

The Great Depression, as a global event, impacted on Naudé in that he witnessed the financial hardships of many Afrikaners, as they struggled to find work. Even as a student, he had to supplement his pocket money by engaging in part-time student correspondence work and photography for a newspaper (see section 3.2.2). During the period of renewed economic sanctions and resulting financial crisis in South Africa during the mid 1980s, Naudé witnessed the effect of the financial crisis on the communities he visited at grass roots level during his tenure as General Secretary of the SACC.

Naudé was able to successfully negotiate the life task of work and leisure throughout his lifespan. This impacted positively on his holistic wellness as set out in the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Findings related to the life task of friendship are discussed in the following section.

8.3.4 Life task 4: Friendship

This life task is related to all social relationships with individuals or a community, but excludes marital, sexual or family relationships (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). It also deals with the broader issues of social connectedness and social interest (see section 4.3.1.4) (Myers et al., 2000). Findings pertaining to life task four in each historical period throughout Naudé's lifespan are highlighted and discussed in this section.

8.3.4.1 Childhood years (1915-1931)

Naudé is described a sociable child (Clur, 1997). As a small child while living in Piet Retief, he had Zulu playmates (Bryan, 1978, Coetzee, 2010). He also had a close relationship with his brother, Jozua and they spent a lot of free time together (see section 3.2.1) (Naudé, 1995). During the years he lived in Graaff-Reinet, he also spent summer times swimming with the Coloured boys in the river (Naudé, 1995). As an adolescent Naudé had a friendship with Anton Rupert. The Rupert's were family friends of his parents (Naudé, 1995). Naudé's conservative upbringing and lack of social contact with peers may have generated feelings of social isolation (Ryan 1990).

The life force that impacted significantly on this life task would be community.

- Community. Naudé's social contact was limited to, mostly, the Afrikaner community (Randall, 1982). His friends and social interest during this historical period were also limited to mostly the Afrikaner community (see section 3.2.1).

The international community was suffering the effects of the Great Depression after the stock market in the USA crashed in 1929 (Cook & Stevenson, 2005). South Africa was also adversely affected by this global event. As a child, Naudé saw the poverty and struggle of many in the Afrikaner community, specifically, the migrant workers as they stopped by at the parsonage that Naudé grew up in for a night's accommodation and meals (Clur, 1997; Randall, 1982). This relates to the broader aspect of social interest and social connectedness (Myers et al., 2000) of the life task of friendship.

8.3.4.2 *University years (1932-1938)*

Findings indicate that Naudé engaged socially with individuals as well as groups through all the activities he participated in as a student (Naudé, 1995). He formed a close friendship with Frans O'Brien Geldenhuys at university who would later become his brother-in-law. The leadership position he was elected to as Student Representative Council (SRC) president (Ryan, 1990) also indicates that he was a popular, well-known and well-respected individual within his university community. These findings suggest that Naudé had the social network and possessed the required social skills to interact with both small groups as well as individuals.

In terms of life forces, community and religion once again seemed to feature in the life task of friendship.

1. Community. The academic and student community of Stellenbosch University played an important role in the life task of friendship in this historical period of Naudé's life, since this was the primary environment of social contact and involvement (see section 3.2.2) (Bryan, 1978; Clur, 1997, Ryan, 1990).
2. Religion. Through Naudé's involvement with church groups and activities specifically, he would also have been able to provide social support to others as needed and share a sense of connectedness to something beyond the self while interacting with others (Myers et al., 2000).

While the Great Depression still continued as a global event, findings do not seem to indicate that it impacted on the life task of friendship during this historical period.

8.3.4.3 *The early ministry years (1939-1954)*

Findings indicate that Naudé and his wife Ilse were a popular couple in their social setting and had many friends and acquaintances (see section 3.2.3). Naudé also befriended young ministers like François Malan and Charl le Roux in this period (Naudé, 1995). A very important event in terms of the life task of friendship is his induction into the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (League of Brothers) at the young age of only 25 years (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). The *Afrikaner Broederbond* as an organisation promoted Afrikaner Nationalism and represented a significant social support structure as well as career advancement and promotion to its members (Randall, 1982; Naudé, 1995). This relates to the aspects of social interest and social connectedness as per the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000)

The life force of community featured prominently during this period.

- Community. Specifically the *Broederbond* community featured prominently in the life task of friendship during this historical period. At this stage, he was very loyal to the *Broederbond* (Ryan, 1990) and shared the *Broederbond* ethos (see section 3.2.3).

World War II was a global event during this historical period. At the time, animosity still existed towards the White English South Africans (Britain) by the Afrikaners due to the Anglo-Boer War. This led to opposing views in the country with regard to World War II and South Africa's involvement and support of Great Britain in the war. This caused much social tension in the country, even in Naudé's own congregation (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

8.3.4.4 *Doubt and disillusionment (1955-1960)*

While he still had close relationships within the *Broederbond* fraternity (Ryan, 1990), the most significant social relationships during this historical period in Naudé's life included the cross-cultural relationships he had established with the ministers he was in the bible study group with. They all opposed apartheid as well (Randall, 1982). Young White ministers (François Malan, Charl le Roux and Chris Greyling) who served in Indian, Coloured and African congregations also sought him out to discuss the problems in the congregations related to apartheid. He had befriended François Malan and Charl le Roux in Pretoria when he was the minister responsible for student welfare (see section 3.2.4) (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). Government as a life force influenced this life task during this historical period.

- Government. The governmental policies of apartheid made finding venues for the inter-racial bible study meetings difficult due to the multi-racial nature of the groups (see section 3.2.4). The meetings and bible studies remained informal and publicity was also avoided (Randall, 1982). No significant global events impacted on the life task of friendship within this historical period.

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of friendship during this historical period.

8.3.4.5 Turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)

Naudé still cultivated close individual friendships during this period, for example with Dr Willie Jonker (Ryan, 1990). The most significant social relationships during this historical period included the inter-racial bible study group(s) as well as the *Broederbond*. As Naudé's convictions regarding the misguidedness of the apartheid system increased, and his support of ecumenical goals grew, his social connection with the inter-racial bible study group(s) and the members intensified (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982). Conversely, despite the initial close relationships he enjoyed within the *Broederbond*, as Naudé's views changed, he became more disillusioned with the far-reaching impact and influence of the *Broederbond*. He realised that he could no longer align himself with the goals and purpose of the *Broederbond*. He resigned from the organisation in 1963 (Potgieter, 1994). After his resignation, he betrayed the oath of secrecy he took when he joined the *Broederbond* by handing over some confidential *Broederbond* documents to an acquaintance, Albert Geyser, to assist him in his court case (see section 3.2.5). The information was leaked and there was a media outcry and the *Broederbond* and Afrikaner community responded with severe criticism against Naudé's 'betrayal' (Bryan, 1978; Naudé, 1995).

Both the life forces of community and media impacted on Naudé during this historical period.

1. Community. The Afrikaner community reacted with severe criticism against Naudé (Naudé, 1995) and Naudé was even referred to as a traitor to his people and he and Ilse lost many friends within the Afrikaner community (see section 3.2.5).
2. Media. The media continued to fuel the negative view of Naudé within the Afrikaner community with sensationalist reporting (Randall, 1982).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of friendship during this historical period.

8.3.4.6 A liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)

During this historical period, findings reveal that Naudé was able to establish and maintain close interpersonal relationships. He had a close friendship with Chris Pailman, for example who shared Naudé's interest in old cars and assisted Naudé in the restoration and maintenance of secondhand cars for the young Black ministers as a means of transport (Naudé, 1995). The life task of friendship also includes, in a broader sense, the concepts of social connectedness and social interest, as well as broader relationships within a community (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Naudé's decision to remain true to his spiritual convictions also came at a price with regard to social relationships, in a broader sense. The criticism and ostracism of Naudé by the majority of the Afrikaner community in the previous historical period, continued in this historical period despite attempts by Naudé to keep the channels of communication open with the Afrikaner community (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He was regarded a pariah by the Afrikaner community and was even forced to resign as chairman of the governing body of his daughter's school (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Even in this difficult period, Naudé was also always courteous to everyone, as was his way, including his fiercest detractors and enemies. He would greet everyone like they were the best of friends, debate the issues of the day with them and try to change their minds (Ryan 1990).

The life force of community impacted the greatest on the life task of friendship in this historical period of Naudé's life.

- **Community.** Having not quite established many close relationships outside the Afrikaner community yet, this must have been a very difficult historical period for Naudé with regard to a loss of, and lack of social networks, social support and friendships (see section 3.2.6).

In this historical period, the global trend of international sanctions and boycotts against South Africa continued. Findings, however, do not seem to indicate that this trend had an impact on the life task of friendship (see section 3.2.6).

8.3.4.7 *Transition to political activism (1969-1976)*

As Naudé's contact with and acceptance of the BCM philosophy grew during this historical period, many of his White friends were confused since he never appeared to be a radical (Ryan, 1990). He formed close relationships with Black people as is evident from his close friendship with Reverend Tshenuwani Simon Farisani. Farisani even stayed over at the Naudé house in Greenside after the Security Police released him (Naudé, 1995). While his reputation grew more negative in South Africa, his international stature was growing and he met and engaged with many leading political and church leaders as well as government officials (Ryan, 1990). Naudé founded the *Broederkring* (BK) or Circle of Brothers during this historical period that constituted a significant social network (Potgieter, 1994). The group consisted of mainly African and Coloured as well as a few White ministers. They all shared an interest in bridging the racial divide in the country. The BK was the forerunner of the later *Beleidende Kring* (Confessing Circle) (Clur, 1997). While still considered an outcast and traitor by the majority of the Afrikaner community (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990), in more liberal circles Naudé and Ilse were still a very popular couple and were invited out to dinners and to people's homes (C. Anthonissen, personal communication, October 25, 2011).

The life force of community impacted on the life task of friendship during this historical period.

- Community. Naudé built close ties with BCM community and leaders like Steve Biko and Bennie Khoapa (see section 3.2.7) during this historical period as his sympathy for their struggle for independence, liberty and power grew (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). He also attempted to engage with the Afrikaner community and explain his beliefs regarding apartheid to those who also had questions or doubts about apartheid (Naudé, 1995).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of friendship during this historical period.

8.3.4.8 *The years of silence (1977-1984)*

Friends turned up at the Naudé house to support Ilse and Naudé once they heard of the banning order imposed on Naudé (Ryan, 1990). While Naudé was under the banning order, he received much support from church leaders both nationally and internationally. Archbishop

Dennis Hurley often visited him as did Bishop Desmond Tutu and other delegates from church groups in the Netherlands, The United States of America, Canada and other African countries (Clarke, 2004; Naudé, 1995). Over the years Naudé also cultivated friendships with older and younger people, as well as people of different cultural backgrounds (J. Naudé, personal communication, October 22, 2012). These included Dr Fred van Wyk, Rudolph Meyer (Meyer, 2006), Ds Frikkie Conradie, Horst Kleinschmidt, Theo Kotze, Peter Randall (Coetzee, 2010), Nelson Mandela (Clarke, 2004) and Prof Jaap Durandt (J. Durandt, personal communication, October 26, 2011). Friendships, like the one with Prof J. Durant for example, provided much social support in the difficult times for Naudé (J. Durandt, personal communication, October 26, 2011). While the available data revealed that Naudé was able to cultivate and maintain close personal relationships, he was also saddened by the loss of two very close friends during this historical period, namely Fred van Wyk and Frikkie Conradie (Naudé, 1995). Due to the restrictions of the banning order, Naudé missed the opportunity to discuss the emotional tensions of the banning order with close friends. He also missed the opportunity for free social associations and relaxation with friends during this period. (Ryan, 1990).

The life forces of community and government impacted on the life task of friendship during this historical period.

1. Community. While the majority of the Afrikaner community still shunned Naudé he went to a great deal of trouble to educate, engage with and inform Afrikaners who were interested in knowing more regarding or understanding his anti-apartheid views (C. Anthonissen, personal communication, October 25, 2011). Naudé never turned his back on his 'people', the Afrikaners, but always hoped to be able to re-engage with them (Naudé, 1995). During this historical period, the Black community in South Africa embraced Naudé as a fellow anti-apartheid activist and trustworthy ally (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).
2. Government. Any social contact or visits to Naudé's home in Greenside were made very difficult with the restrictions of the banning order (like only being able to engage with a single person at a time) (Naudé, 1995) and also the fear of the security police monitoring conversations inside the home. Therefore, many visits and conversations took place outside under the fruit trees in Naudé's yard (C. Anthonissen, personal communication, October 25, 2011; SouthAfrica.info reporter, 2004). Due to the restrictions of the banning order, Naudé was also not

able to attend the funeral of his close friend Frikkie Conradie in Alexandra, which he regretted tremendously (Naudé, 1995).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of friendship during this historical period.

8.3.4.9 *Towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)*

Due to his position as General Secretary of the SACC, Naudé travelled extensively and had a lot of social contact with many different groups in this historical period (Nash, 1985; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). This relates to the aspect of social connectedness and social interest, according to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000). He offered support to relatives of victims of anti-apartheid protests and participated in protest marches himself. He continued to work towards ecumenical unity as well as working to relieve the plight of the Black majority under apartheid (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994).

The life force of community impacted on this life task during this historical period.

- Community. Naudé continued to work towards a unified religious community, regardless of colour or creed in South Africa (Naudé, 1995).

In the mid-1980s, especially, the international community renewed the global trend of economic sanctions against the South African government with a view to force the government to change its apartheid stance, resulting in a financial crisis in South Africa (see section 3.2.9). Findings do not seem to indicate that this global trend impacted on the life task of friendship.

8.3.4.10 *Vindication (1988-2004)*

Findings indicate that during this historical period, Naudé (and Ilse) were socially very much in demand within both the Black and White communities. He played a prominent role in the negotiations toward democracy (Clarke, 2004), and many Afrikaners (perhaps not all) welcomed him 'back'. The NGK made a handsome apology to him (Tutu, 2005) and many accolades and awards were bestowed on him (Naudé, 1995; Tutu, 2005). This social contact and connections may have enforced for Naudé a connectedness to something beyond oneself (Myers et al., 2000).

The life force that interacts most significantly to this historical period is that of community.

- Community. During this historical period, findings indicate that Naudé was welcomed by both the White and Black communities. He made a great contribution to inter-racial relationship building in post-apartheid South Africa (Kgosana, 2004; Mandela, 1995b).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events that impacted on the life task of friendship during this historical period.

8.3.4.11 Conclusion: Friendship

Naudé was able to establish and maintain close interpersonal relationships throughout his life. Aspects related to social interest and social connectedness also played an important role throughout Naudé's life. In later historical periods, specifically after the Sharpeville massacre (post-1960), his scope of social interest and social connectedness widened to include all the race groups in South Africa. While he may have been ostracised by the majority of his own cultural group (the Afrikaners) during this time, he was also welcomed in by the other race and cultural groups in South Africa and received social support from them. The shift in social interest and social connectedness was very much related to Naudé's spiritual growth. According to the WoW model, close correlation exists between social support, social connectedness, interpersonal relationships and wellness (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). As far as the life forces are concerned, findings revealed that the life-forces of government and community interacted most prominently with the life task of friendship. The life forces of media and religion also featured in various historical periods, to interact with the life task of friendship.

In terms of global events, the Great Depression as well as World War II impacted on the life task of friendship with specific reference to the broader related concept of social connectedness and social interest. The poverty and struggle of many in the Afrikaner community due to the Great Depression, invoked feelings of sympathy in Naudé, even as a child. World War II invoked opposing views in the country with regard to South African involvement and support of Great Britain in the war (see section 3.2.3). This caused much social tension in the country, even in Naudé's own congregation (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

It appears that Naudé was able to successfully negotiate the life task of friendship throughout his lifespan. This impacted positively on his holistic wellness as set out in the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). Findings related to the fifth life task, love, are presented in the following section.

8.3.5 Life task 5: Love

This life task involves the building long-term relationships which are intimate, trusting, self-disclosing, cooperative, and compassionate and include both sexual/romantic relationships as well as familial relationships (see section 4.3.1.5) (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). These relationships are usually few in number over a lifespan (Myers et al., 2000). Findings pertaining to life task five in each historical period throughout Naudé's lifespan are highlighted and discussed in this section.

8.3.5.1 Childhood years (1915-1931)

Findings indicate that as a child, Naudé experienced very close family relationships (Villa-Vicencio, 1985) and had a particularly close relationship with his brother, Jozua, whom he shared chores, interests and leisure activities. He engaged in some cultural activities, like music, with his other siblings. (Naudé, 1995; Clur, 1997). He also felt great admiration for his father and the work he was doing (Naudé, 1995). The summer holidays the family undertook in the Port Elizabeth area every year, were remembered with fondness by Naudé (Naudé, 1995). With regard to the life task of love, the close, intimate relationships seem to be limited to family members only. Since relationships with the opposite gender were discouraged by his parents during Naudé's adolescent years (Ryan, 1990), the available data did not reveal any romantic relationships in Naudé's adolescence during this historical period (see section 3.2.1)

The life force that made a significant impact on the development of this life task in Naudé during this historical period was family.

- Family. The culture of Naudé's family of origin promoted close relationships, companionship, shared interests and interdependence (Ryan, 1990). These concepts relate to the life task of love (Myers et al., 2000).

The Depression as global event also impacted the family. Due to the shortage of money, it was a struggle to feed and clothe eight children. The family could also only afford a small 7-seater car which was not really big enough to transport a family of 10. During

summer holidays the family camped out in tents in the Port Elizabeth area, since they could not afford any other accommodation with a family of 10 (Naudé, 1995). Due to the shortage of money, these annual holidays were also an opportunity to shop at the summer sales in Port Elizabeth. Ada and the children would queue for days outside shops with other poor people in an attempt to obtain affordable clothes (Ryan, 1990).

8.3.5.2 University years (1932-1938)

Naudé met Ilse Weder during this period at Stellenbosch University. They courted and got engaged in 1937. Findings indicate that this was a trusting, caring reciprocal and romantic relationship which Naudé stated radically changed his life (Naudé, 1995). The influence of Ilse and her family at Genadendal's played an important part in Naudé beginning to questioning certain political policies of the country (see section 3.2.2) (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). An important feature of their relationship from early on, however, was that Ilse and Naudé did not discuss current issues or political matters. Ilse showed no interest in politics and Naudé preferred to discuss these matters with his male friends and fellow students. This was in keeping with the conservative Afrikaner viewpoint of the time that woman should defer to and support the decisions of the men folk (Ryan, 1990).

While the romantic relationship blossomed in this historical period, his relationship with his mother, Ada became strained due to his relationship with and engagement to Ilse. Ada wanted to direct her sons' decisions regarding relationships with girls (Ryan, 1990). Ada attempted to dissuade Naudé to break off the relationship with Ilse and when that failed, she implored Naudé's father to speak to him. One of his sisters was even dispatched to Genadendal by Ada (Naudé's mother) to talk Naudé out of the engagement to Ilse, to no avail (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). Findings indicate that he enjoyed a close relationship with his brother, Jozua during this historical period. They were in the same hostel and shared interests and hobbies like the student newspaper *Pro Libertate* and fixing old cars together (Naudé, 1995).

The life force that made a significant impact on the development of this life task in Naudé during this historical period was family.

- Family. While he enjoyed a close relationship with his brother, his parents were not in favour of the new ideas Naudé was bringing home and did not approve of either his involvement with *Pro Libertate* or his relationship and engagement to Ilse Weder (who was neither Afrikaans, nor a member of the NGK) (Naudé, 1995;

Ryan, 1990).

The aftermath of the Great Depression was a global event during this historical period in Naudé's life. While these global events impacted on other life tasks, findings do not seem to indicate that they had an impact on the life task of love during this historical period (see section 3.2.1).

8.3.5.3. *The early ministry years (1939-1954)*

Findings suggest that with regard to the fifth life task, some significant events occurred during this historical period. Naudé married Ilse Weder in 1940 (Clur, 1997). This was a very significant and important relationship for Naudé in terms of commitment, shared values and mutual affection and appreciation. Her strength and determination would be a great comfort to Naudé in the difficult times ahead in their life (Ryan, 1990). He did express regret at not sharing some of his doubts and misgivings he was experiencing (especially later in this historical period) regarding apartheid with Ilse (Naudé, 1995).

During this historical period, Naudé and Ilse also started their family. Their four children were born in this period (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990) and Ilse created a warm home environment for the family (Ryan, 1990). With regard to Naudé's family of origin, relationships became strained once again. This time, the conflict was centred on Ada's (Naudé's mother) dissatisfaction with the couple breaking with tradition and not giving their first born son family names. Instead, the couple named their son Johann (after John, one of Jesus' disciples) and Friedrich (which means peace in German). With this decision of names, they both wished to express their desire for the war to end. Tension continued between Naudé and his mother (Clur, 1997). In 1948, Naudé's father confirmed him into the Olifantsfontein congregation, a proud moment for Naudé to be confirmed by his father (Ryan, 1990).

Shortly thereafter, though, Naudé's father passed away, a sad time of loss for the family (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). After the death of Naudé's father, Ada periodically stayed with the family for extended periods of time (see section 3.2.3). Ada wanted things her way and this often caused friction in the family. Naudé's daughter, Liesel, also noticed that Ada frequently upset Ilse (Ryan, 1990).

An important life force that impacted on Naudé during this historical period is that of family.

- Family. With his marriage to Ilse and him becoming a father, the couple started their own family and Naudé had to begin exploring and defining his own role as a father (see section 3.2.3). Naudé considered the birth of his children as very significant personal events (Naudé, 1995). The family relationships were strained and it took a long time for Ada to accept the marriage between Ilse and Naudé (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). While Naudé expressed great respect for his father and admiration for the work he did (Naudé, 1995), his relationship with his mother was relatively conflict ridden and not particularly close (Ryan, 1990).

With regard to global events, World War II seemed to impact on this life task. Ilse had planned to continue her studies in Germany after she graduated, but due to the start of World War II and ill health at the time, however, she remained in South Africa and she and Naudé were married in 1940 (Naudé, 1995). Had Ilse gone to Germany to study, the outcome of the relationship may have been different. World War II also impacted on the couple since both Ilse and Naudé wished for the war to end. This wish influenced their choice of names for their first born son (see section 3.2.3).

8.3.5.4 Doubt and disillusionment (1955-1960)

Findings indicate this historical period, especially the years in Potchefstroom, were happy ones for the Naudé-family. The couple worked hard in that congregation and mutually supported each other. They shared a deep love and respect for each other. Ilse felt that Naudé's work commitments often interfered with his family responsibilities and that he did not always have enough time for the children. The children, however, felt supported and loved and always had access to their parents if the need arose (Ryan, 1990). Ilse was a supportive spouse and partner during these years (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

The life force of family featured prominently in this historical period.

- Family. Naudé's children experienced him as a loving father, true friend and that he always had time to listen to or assist with problems they may have had (see section 3.2.4). He also taught them respect for people regardless of colour or creed. Faith and religion featured prominently in the Naudé-family, but Naudé never imposed his will or opinions on his children (J. Naudé, personal communication, October 22, 2012).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of love during this historical period.

8.3.5.5 Turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)

This historical period was a difficult period for Naudé and his family. Naudé's sister Hymne and her husband Detlev Weiss severed all ties with the family due to Naudé's anti-apartheid and anti-establishment stance. The rift was never repaired (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). His other siblings stayed in contact although his political views and involvement with the CI were not always open points of discussion (Naudé, 1995). Ilse remained a pillar of strength for Naudé during this difficult historical period (Naudé, 2012; Ryan, 1990), although she also found the isolation and loss of church community particularly difficult to deal with (Ryan, 1990). Despite her support, Naudé still did not share his concerns with Ilse and regretted not involving Ilse in the decision-making process to a greater extent. He stated that at the time he was a typical Afrikaner patriarch and male chauvinist that would make vital decisions that would impact his family without involving them in the process (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

The life forces of community and family had the most impact on Naudé during this historical period.

1. Community. The family lost the support of the Afrikaner community and faced criticism, threats, ostracism and abuse the Afrikaner community (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
2. Family. There were also negative impacts on the family during this time. The family life was disrupted by snide, abusive phone calls and letter. Naudé's two younger children also faced snide remarks from teachers at their school who called their father a traitor (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Both Naudé and Ilse only found out years later what a difficult time this was for them (Clur, 1997). There was also the additional family strain related to Naudé's sister Hymne and her husband who severed all ties (see section 3.2.5) (Clur, 1997).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of love during this historical period.

8.3.5.6 *A liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)*

Ilse was, as ever, a pillar of strength and support for Naudé, although she may not always have agreed with the decisions Naudé had made (Naudé, 2012). In terms of his role as father, he continued to play a prominent role in his children's lives and they greatly respected him (Clarke, 2004). His mother passed away during this historical period in 1967. At her funeral, Naudé's sister Hymne and her husband still shunned Naudé despite his and Ilse's efforts at reconciliation. He was, however, able to maintain contact with his other siblings (Naudé, 1995).

The life force of family interacts dynamically with the life task of love in this historical period.

- Family. The rift between Naudé and his sister Hymne and her husband Detlev remained a difficult and painful situation for him and Ilse to deal with. The rift was never repaired (Naudé, 1995).

During this historical period, a global trend of sanctions and boycotts against the South African government was initiated for its apartheid policies. While this global trend influenced other life tasks findings do not seem to indicate that this global trend impacted on the life task of love during this historical period.

8.3.5.7 *Transition to political activism (1969-1976)*

Ilse continued to be a very supportive spouse to Naudé during this stressful historical period (Naudé, 1995). She even drove him to jail after he lost his court appeal and was sentenced to 30 days in jail (see section 3.2.7) (Naudé, 1995). As far as family relations were concerned, Naudé's sister and brother-in-law still shunned him for his anti-apartheid views (Ryan, 1990).

The life force of government impacted on the life task of love during this historical period.

- Government. The government intensified its focus on Naudé and the activities of the CI added to the stress associated with this historical period (see section 3.2.7). Both Naudé and Ilse had to find ways of coping with the stress.

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of love during this historical period.

8.3.5.8 *The years of silence (1977-1984)*

Upon hearing about the banning order their father received, the children gathered at their parents' house to support both Ilse and Naudé (Ryan, 1990). When the banning order was imposed on Naudé, he considered leaving the country in order to continue the CI's work abroad. This caused conflict in the marriage since Ilse refused to leave their children and South Africa behind. If Naudé wanted to leave South Africa to continue the CI's work abroad, he would have had to go without Ilse, which he was not prepared to do (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Despite their disagreement about leaving the country, Ilse continued to be a supportive spouse during the banning order years. Although she supported him, there were moments of great tension between them during this period, but through prayer and discussion they worked through their problems (Ryan, 1990). Naudé realised that she had paid a high price for supporting him and his beliefs. Naudé was also saddened by the death of his sister, Lierieka in 1980 (Naudé, 1995).

The life force of government impacted the most on the life task of love during this historical period.

- Government. Both Naudé and Ilse found living under the banning order imposed by the government and its restrictions as well as the constant surveillance, stressful and difficult, yet they managed to cope through prayer, discussion and open expression of their feelings (Ryan, 1990).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of love during this historical period.

8.3.5.9 *Towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)*

During this period where Naudé worked very hard, he had the support of his wife, Ilse as always (B. Naudé, 1995; J. Naudé, 2012). Ilse's care for Naudé is illustrated by her concern that he was working too hard during this period. She expressed concern that he must be growing tired or weary (Naudé, 1995; Naudé & Sölle, 1986; Ryan, 1990). Naudé continued to have close relationships with his children (Naudé, 2012).

As this was a relatively short historical period, information on the life task of love during this historical period seemed limited. The available data did not seem to highlight any life forces or global events that impacted specifically on the life task of love during this short historical period (see section 3.2.9).

8.3.5.10 *Vindication (1988-2004)*

Findings indicated that Naudé and Ilse had a close relationship throughout the 64 years of their marriage. She was a great source of support for Naudé (Naudé, 2012; Tutu, 2005) until his death in 2004. Naudé and his children always had a close relationship. They experienced him as someone they could turn to for counsel when they had problems (J. Naudé, personal communication, August 22, 2011).

As a life force, family played an important part during his historical period of his life.

- Family. Especially the final years, when his health was already failing, his family meant a lot to him. Ilse cared for him when his health seriously declined. When he died, he was surrounded by Ilse, and his children (Bernstein, 2004). Despite the close family relations with Ilse, the children and grandchildren, some of the rifts in the relationship with specifically his sister Hymne and her husband were never repaired (Ryan 1990).

The available data did not reveal any significant global events (as defined by the WoW model in section 4.3.3) that impacted on the life task of love during this historical period.

8.3.5.11 *Conclusion: Love*

As a child and adolescent, Naudé's family was a close-knit unit. However, from the time he left home, the relationship with his mother, Ada, became strained. Reasons for the conflict included for example, the new ideas he was bringing home, his choice in bride, the name of his first born son, to name but a few. At university he met Ilse Weder whom he would later marry. Their 64-year marriage was characterised by unwavering support from Ilse (Naudé, 1995; Tutu, 2005) though she may have had her own opinions and not always have agreed with Naudé's views or decisions (Naudé, 2012). He had respect for his father and admired him for the work he was doing (Naudé, 1995), but he did not have a particularly close relationship with his mother (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé was also able to cultivate strong relationships with his children (Naudé, 2012).

Findings in this study also indicate that Naudé seemed to successfully negotiate this life task, which would have had a positive effect on his life satisfaction, good health and longevity. According to the WoW model, this life task is essential to life satisfaction, good health and longevity (Sweeney & Witmer, 1991). In both Ilse and Naudé's case, the life task of spirituality was demonstrated through their faith, and interacted with the life task of love. This interaction featured prominently in their relationship as well as in the way they raised their children.

In terms of the life forces, findings reveal that the life force of family featured prominently and interacted with the life task of love throughout Naudé's life. While he maintained close relationships with his children and Ilse, his sister Hymne and her husband, criticised and shunned him for his anti-apartheid, anti-establishment views. The life tasks of religion, community and government featured less prominently in various historical periods in various combinations.

With regard to global events, World War II seemed to impact on this life task in two ways: In the first instance, Ilse did not further her studies in Germany as planned due to the start of World War II (Naudé, 1995). If she had returned to Germany to study, it may have changed the course of their relationship. Instead they were married in 1940. Secondly, both Ilse and Naudé wished for the war to end and that it influenced their choice of names for their first born son (see section 3.2.3).

It appeared that Naudé was able to successfully negotiate the life task of love throughout his lifespan. This impacted positively on his holistic wellness as set out in the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). A synopsis of the findings related to the five life tasks are presented in the following section.

8.4 Synopsis of findings

8.4.1 Spirituality

Spirituality always featured very prominently in Naudé's life. Findings also suggest the development of great spiritual depth in the later historical periods through to the end of his life. The data revealed that Naudé also cultivated the following aspects of the life task of spirituality during the course of his life: belief in a higher power; hope and optimism; meaning and purpose in life that forms part of the individual's life philosophy; some form of worship, prayer or meditation in relation to the Infinite; love, compassion and service to others; moral and ethical values for guiding everyday life and transcendence which includes inner peace,

harmony and oneness with nature, the universe or the Infinite (see sections 8.3.1.1-8.3.1.10). These coincide with the life task of spirituality according to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000). Other aspects of spirituality according to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) that Naudé also cultivated and embodied during the course of his life are: belief about promoting and preserving human dignity, human rights and a respect and reverence for human life which translates into a certain moral, ethical and even legal obligation to sustain the sacredness of life (see sections 8.3.1.1-8.3.1.10).

With regard to life forces, findings in this study revealed that life forces interact dynamically with life the tasks. In Naudé's case, it was particularly the life-forces of religion, community and government that impacted very prominently on the life task of spirituality over the course of his life. The Great Depression as well as World War II, as global events, impacted on the life task of spirituality during Naudé's life, and most specifically with regard to the suffering of his fellow man and reverence for human life. Both these aspects feature prominently in the life task of spirituality according to the WoW model.

8.4.2 Self-direction

Naudé was able to direct, manage and control the self in daily pursuits as well as in long-term goals, through certain attributes. Findings indicated that Naudé employed most of the subtasks self-direction, as indicated by Hattie et al. (2005) and Myers et al. (2000), with a sense of intentionality to complete his life tasks and reach his goals. These subtasks included: (a) sense of worth; (b) sense of control; (c) realistic beliefs; (d) emotional awareness and coping; (e) problem solving and creativity; (f) sense of humour; (g) nutrition; (h) exercise; (i) self-care; (j) stress management; (k) gender identity; and (l) cultural identity (see section 8.3.2.1-8.3.2.10). The subtasks represent the characteristics of a healthy person according to the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Sweeney & Witmer, 1991; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

In Naudé's case, all the life forces impacted very prominently on the life task of self-direction in the various historical periods, in various combinations. Both the Great Depression and World War II, as global events, impacted on Naudé with specific reference to the subtasks of *emotional awareness and coping* and *cultural identity and problem solving and creativity*. World War II and the opposing views in the country regarding the war required Naudé to employ the subtask of conflict resolution within his own congregation (which relates to the subtask of *problem solving and creativity*). The international boycotts and sanctions were also global trends that impacted on Naudé's life-task of self-direction. The opposition of the

international community against apartheid may have served to support Naudé's own anti-apartheid views. This relates to the subtask of *realistic beliefs*.

8.4.3 Work and leisure

Naudé engaged in activities (whether paid employment or not) that served economic, social and/or psychological purposes throughout his life. Findings coincide with the life task of work as outlined in the WoW model by Witmer and Sweeney (1992) and Myers et al. (2000). Naudé also regularly and habitually engaged in leisure activities such as hiking, gardening, walking as well as reading and listening to music, classical music in particular. According to the WoW model, this would have impacted positively on Naudé's well-being as well as providing opportunity for intrinsic satisfaction.

Findings revealed that life forces also interacted dynamically with this life task. Specifically the life forces of government, community and religion featured prominently, while media, family, education and business/industry also featured in various combinations in various historical periods. The Great Depression as a global event impacted on Naudé in that he witnessed the financial hardships of many Afrikaners, as they struggled to find work. Even as a student, he had to supplement his pocket money by engaging in part-time student correspondence work and photography for a newspaper (see section 3.2.2). During the period of renewed economic sanctions and resulting financial crisis in South Africa during the mid 1980s, Naudé witnessed the effect the financial crisis had on the communities he visited at grass roots level during his tenure as General Secretary of the SACC.

8.4.4 Friendship

Naudé maintained close friendships with individuals throughout his life. As his political views changed and his contact with people across all races increased, these friendships included friendships with individuals from different cultural and race groups. Aspects related to social interest and social connectedness played an important role throughout Naudé's life (Naudé, 1995). In later historical periods, specifically after the Sharpeville massacre (post-1960), the scope of social interest and social connectedness widened to include all the race groups in South Africa. While he may have been ostracised by the majority of his own cultural group (the Afrikaners) during this time, he was also welcomed in by the other race- and cultural- groups in South Africa and received social support from them.

The life forces of media and religion also featured in various historical periods, to interact with the life task of friendship. Both the Great Depression as well as World War II, as global events, impacted on the life task of friendship with specific reference to the broader related concept of social connectedness and social interest. The poverty and struggle of many in the Afrikaner community, due to the Great Depression, invoked feelings of sympathy in Naudé, even as a child. World War II invoked opposing views in the country with regard to South African involvement and support of Great Britain in the war (see section 3.2.3). This caused much social tension in the country, even in Naudé's own congregation (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

8.4.5 Love

Initially, Naudé had close relationships with his parents and siblings, particularly his brother, Jozua. He greatly respected his father, but his relationship with his mother was never particularly close (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). The relationship with his parents (particularly his mother) became strained when he left home to go to university. At university he would meet Ilse Weder whom he would later marry. Their 64-year marriage was characterised by unwavering support from Ilse (Naudé, 1995; Tutu, 2005) though she may have had her own opinions and not always have agreed with Naudé's views or decisions (Naudé, 2012). Naudé was also able to cultivate strong relationships with his children (Naudé, 2012).

In terms of the life forces, findings reveal that the life force of family featured and interacted very prominently with the life task of love throughout Naudé's life. While he maintained close relationships with his children, his siblings criticised and ostracised (and even severed all ties with him in the case of his sister Hymne and her husband) for his anti-apartheid and anti-establishment views. The life tasks of religion, community and government featured less prominently in various historical periods in various combinations. World War II, as a global event, impacted on this life task in that Ilse did not return to Germany to continue her studies due to the war as well as in the desire both Ilse and Naudé had for the war to end, that it influenced their choice of names for their first born son (see section 3.2.3).

8.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the research findings on the holistic wellness of Naudé were presented. A conceptual outline to the discussion was presented, followed by a discussion of the findings regarding the holistic wellness over the lifespan of Naudé. The findings were discussed according to the life tasks of spirituality, self-direction, work, friendship and love as well as with respect to the interaction of the life tasks with the life forces and global events within the various historical periods. A conclusion of the findings after each life task, served as a summary of the main conclusions regarding the holistic wellness of Naudé, as outlined by the WoW model. A synopsis of all the findings related to life tasks, life forces and global events concludes the chapter. In the following chapter the findings related to Naudé's faith development are presented.

Chapter 9

The Faith Development of Beyers Naudé: Findings and Discussion

9.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter the research findings on the faith development of Naudé are presented³². A conceptual outline to the discussion is presented, followed by findings regarding the faith development over the lifespan of Naudé. The findings are discussed according to the stages of faith and selfhood development, as identified by Fowler (1981, 1995) in the Faith Development Theory (FDT). The findings related to faith and vocation, as identified by Fowler (1984, 1987) in FDT, are also discussed.

9.2 Conceptual Outline to the Presentation of Findings

The discussion of findings in a psychobiographical study entails a biographical account of the life history within the context of psychological theory (McAdams, 1988; Schultz, 2001a, 2001b, 2005a). The nature of psychobiographical research design and method requires the collection, extraction, analysis and presentation of salient biographical data (see sections 7.3, 7.6 and 7.7) which is conducted within the context of the psychological theory applied to the research subject (Fouché, 1999). The description and discussion of Naudé's faith development is presented in the following section by analysing biographical accounts related to Naudé's faith development over his lifespan. Fowler's (1981, 1995) FDT (see section 5.4) is employed in the analysis.

9.3 Faith and Selfhood Development Throughout Naudé's Lifespan

9.3.1 Pre-stage: Primal faith and the incorporate self (Infancy)

This faith development stage occurs in the historical period of *childhood years (1915-1931)* in Naudé's life. While information regarding the infancy years of Naudé is limited, the Naudé family is reported to have been a close-knit, religious and pious family (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Although Naudé's father was a distant man and very busy with pastoral duties Naudé's mother, Ada was very involved with, and had strong ideas regarding how her children should be raised (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé was provided with consistent primary care

³² The Faith Development Theory (Fowler, 1981) employed in this study is a discrete, in-depth theory with only seven stages which focuses specifically on aspects related to faith development. This results and discussion chapter is therefore shorter and a less time-consuming read than the results featured in Chapter 8.

(Naudé, 1995), which developed trust that the primary caregivers were dependable and would return if they went away. This constituted the first experiences of super-ordinate power and wisdom as a baby and Naudé would have developed the pre-images of God. These findings coincide with the pre-stage of FDT (Fowler, 1981, 1984). The faith development stage coincides with the incorporate self, stage of selfhood development. During this stage, the consistent and dependable primary care that an infant receives enables the infant to develop a sense of separation and separate identity from the primary caregiver (Fowler, 1984, 1987). The consistent care that Naudé received as an infant (Villa-Vicencio, 1995) would also have, most likely, enabled him to develop a sense of separation and separate identity from his caregivers (primarily his mother, Ada).

9.3.2 Stage 1: Intuitive-projective faith and the impulsive self (Early childhood)

This faith development stage also coincides with the historical period of *childhood years (1915-1931)* in Naudé's life. This magical stage of faith development is filled with symbols and stories, and the child can experience profound emotions of guilt, fear, ecstasy and love related to the religious symbols and images of good and evil (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987). The child is also influenced by how the primary care-givers live out their faith on a daily basis (Sigelman & Shaffer, 1991). As a young child, Naudé would have experienced his parents both as devout Christians and through their examples as well as the rituals of their religion tradition, Naudé's transition to the faith development stage of intuitive-projective faith was facilitated (Naudé, 1995). Naudé was strongly influenced by the example of his parents in living out their Christian beliefs. They (especially Naudé's father) instilled an evangelical zeal in the children (Villa-Vicencio, 1995) and were also very involved in the Afrikaner cause and community (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982). The stage of selfhood development that coincides with this faith development stage is the impulsive self. While the child learns loco-motor control and coordination, integration of reflexes at this stage, the child is still embedded in his/her impulses, with little control over emotions or the self. A structured environment with clear boundaries and guidance can mediate this stage and teach control over the impulses. (Fowler, 1987). Naudé's upbringing was certainly marked by structure and discipline within the family context (Naudé, 1995), which would have most likely provided the necessary structure and boundaries with which control over the impulses could have been exercised.

9.3.3 Stage 2: Mythic-literal faith and the imperial self (School years)

This stage of faith development also coincides with the historical period of *childhood years (1915-1931)* in Naudé's life. Mythical-literal faith is typified by a stable understanding or representation of space, time and causality. The world becomes more linear orderly and predictable. The gift of this stage is that narrative and stories are recounted with richness and accuracy, but the child is not yet able to reflect upon meaning (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981, 1987). The child sorts out the real from the make-believe (Fowler, 1981; Stroud, 2004). During this stage, children also develop a sense of fairness based upon reciprocity, the child does not interpret or reproduce symbol or myth and faith becomes a reliance on the stories, rules and implicit values of the family and community (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1984). While the child, at this stage, lacks interiority (interiority refers to the internal world, wishes, motivation and personality), the child has developed the ability to differentiate between objects, people and groups which makes this kind of identifying an important aspect of this stage (Fowler, 1981, 1984). Due to Naudé's very strict, pious and conservative upbringing, he followed the rules and accepted the implicit values of his family and the community he was brought up in (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé was also raised with a strong moral code and a sense of social and political justice (Villa-Vicencio, 1995) and he was deeply influenced by the poverty and suffering of members of the Afrikaner community during the Great Depression (Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982). Naudé had additional contact with members of his community on the occasions that he and his brother accompanied their father on his home visits to congregants in the district (Naudé, 1995). The contact he had with his Zulu playmates when the family lived in Piet Retief, may also have afforded him the beginnings of a moral sensitivity for individuals outside the Afrikaner community (Bryan, 1978; Coetzee, 2010).

With regard to selfhood development, the self, at this stage, is defined by the unexamined needs, wishes and interests that become the filters for the individual that shape the interpretation of experiences and other people (Fowler, 1987). During this stage of selfhood development, there is a yearning for independence rooted in self-esteem and competence. A school and family structure that supports the child as he/she explores the patterns of motivation in others, is also suggested (Fowler, 1987). Naudé's upbringing was certainly marked by structure and discipline within the family context. The Naudé children were also assigned chores which they were responsible for (Naudé, 1995) and this most likely would have fostered feelings of competence.

9.3.4 Stage 3: Synthetic-conventional faith and the interpersonal self (Adolescence)

In this faith development stage, as the capacity for social perspective taking develops, the individual's experience extends beyond the family, to include teachers, peers, a religious community or the community in general (Fowler, 1981, 1987). Synthetic in this context refers to the fact that "faith must synthesise values and information, and must provide a basis for identity and outlook" (Stroud, 2004, p. 196). At this stage there is a sudden awareness of, and interest in, oneself and others in terms of patterns, ideas, thoughts and experiences (Croucher, 2002) and the individual may also experience a feeling of connection to what Fowler refers to as 'Ultimacy' (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1987; Straughn, 2010). During this stage, the values, beliefs and opinions are derived from significant others and the individual also has to integrate and synthesise opinions and values that have not yet been critically reflected upon (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1981; 1984). Individuals, at this stage, may tend to conform to the majority views and beliefs are often stereotyped and individuals feel that certain 'rules' have to be followed (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981). Many people equilibrate at this stage and do not move past this stage in adulthood (Fowler, 1984; Wing, 1997).

The stage of selfhood that coincides with this faith development stage is the interpersonal self. At this stage, individuals are very aware of their dependence on social connectedness, although they may be resentful of this dependence (Fowler, 1987). The individual yearns to belong, finds conflict with others very difficult and interpersonal boundaries may become blurred and enmeshed (Fowler, 1984, 1987). At this stage the individual may internalise the values and opinions of the perceived authorities and may end up with strongly held, passionately felt, but largely unexamined beliefs and opinions (Fowler, 1984).

In Naudé's case, the stage of synthetic-conventional faith and the Interpersonal Self stretches over several historical periods, which include: *childhood years (1915-1931)*, *university years (1932-1938)*, *the early ministry years (1939-1954)*, and *doubt and disillusionment (1955-1960)*. In this section, Naudé's faith and selfhood development during Stage Three of FDT is explored by analysing biographical accounts related to each of these historical periods.

9.3.4.1 Childhood years (1915-1931)

At the age of 15 years Naudé experienced Christian rebirth during one of his father's

sermons. This event would prove to be very significant in Naudé's life. After the rebirth he never deviated from the religious path and every major decision he took was weighed against his faith (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). Through the rebirth, Naudé would have experienced a feeling of connection to 'Ultimacy' which in the Christian tradition would be known as "God". In addition to that connection, both the religious community and the Afrikaner community at large also continued to impact and shape Naudé's social perspective. During this historical period in his life, that perspective was still very much in line with Afrikaner Nationalist causes (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995), since individuals in this faith development stage tend to conform to majority views and stereotypes (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981).

With regard to selfhood development, evidence certainly suggests that Naudé had strongly felt values and beliefs based on the beliefs of his family, as well as the religious and Afrikaner communities to which he belonged (see section 3.2.1), that he had not yet begun to examine and investigate during this historical period (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).

9.3.4.2 University years (1932-1939)

In Naudé's case, his university experiences certainly broadened his horizons to an extent. For instance, he (and his brother, Jozua) joined the editorial staff of the covert and audacious student newspaper, *Pro Libertate*, which challenged some of the stultifying aspects of Afrikaner culture and politics (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). His parents, specifically his mother, were enraged and disappointed with these new 'ideas' their son was bringing home (Randal, 1982). He also met Ilse Weder whom he would later marry. Ilse was of German descent and her parents lived in Genadendal in a Moravian missionary community. The openness of relationships between Whites and Coloureds in Genadendal surprised Naudé and he started questioning and having doubts regarding the segregation policy in the country in terms of churches (Clur, 1997; Rampen, 1972; Potgieter, 1994). Naudé also stated that three individuals particularly influenced him during his university years to question the theology and politics of the day in South Africa (see section 3.2.2). These included the theologian Johan du Plessis, who was tried for heresy by the NGK, his sociology lecturer, H.F. Verwoerd who later became Prime Minister and was the eventual architect of apartheid, and B.B. Keet, Naudé's ethics professor at the Theology Seminary (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).

In terms of the selfhood development, ambivalence may exist regarding the dependence on others and the self being a function of its social ties (Fowler, 1987). At this

historical stage, Naudé was still very closely connected to and identified with the Afrikaner Nationalist ideals, values and beliefs (Naudé, 1995) although his experiences at Stellenbosch University evoked within Naudé the beginnings of questioning the religious institutions and ecclesiastical hierarchies and the beginnings of theological and political dissent (Villa-Vicencio, 1985). Despite these experiences however, Naudé had not completed the task of examining the beliefs, values and ideals of the “mainstream” Afrikaner establishment for himself at this historical stage, and he accepted and internalised these opinions and values (Clur, 1997; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).

9.3.4.3 Early ministry years (1939-1954)

During this historical period, Naudé was establishing his career and he and Ilse were also starting a family of their own (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Due to the increase in social perspective taking, Naudé developed misgivings regarding the difference in status and training of ministers for the White NGK and the missionary ministers trained to serve the sister churches in the Coloured community. He also questioned the existence of two separate churches that shared the same litany and beliefs, one church for white people and another for Coloured people (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). During his ministry at Loxton, he was deeply affected by the terrible living conditions and debilitating poverty of the Coloured community there. He questioned the White people’s justifications for these conditions. Naudé saw the upliftment of people very much a part of his ministry and questioned why social justice and upliftment (like what he witnessed at Genadendal) could not be achieved in other parts of the country as well (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990; Potgieter, 1994). Despite these lingering questions and misgivings, Naudé was still very committed to the Afrikaner Nationalist cause (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990) and conformed to the expectations, accepted the religious, political and social status quo in the country and even joined the *Broederbond* (see section 3.2.3) (Ryan, 1990). Some events like two books by authors Prof. Ben Marais and Prof. B. Keet questioning the apartheid policy in South Africa, as well as an overseas study tour to the United States of America and Europe (see section 3.2.3) where Naudé was asked some pertinent questions regarding the race policy in South Africa (Villa-Vicencio, 1995), caused Naudé to question and reflect upon these issues and he even embarked on a journey of theological self-study and reading to investigate the race issues both politically and theologically (Randall, 1982). Through this process, Naudé’s misgivings regarding the

apartheid policy grew but he did not speak out at this stage and still supported the government, the *Broederbond* and the NGK (Ryan, 1990).

In terms of the selfhood development during this historical period, the Interpersonal Self, it is evident that Naudé had a strong social connection to organisations such as the *Broederbond* and the NGK (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1995). Even after he began having misgivings regarding the apartheid policy in the country, he still did not openly discuss or challenge these policies. Findings indicate that Naudé may even have experienced some ambivalence about not being able to speak out regarding his misgivings and doubts about the apartheid policy, for fear of ostracism from the Afrikaner community, the *Broederbond*, and the NGK (Naudé, 1995).

9.3.4.4 Doubt and disillusionment (1955-1960)

Findings seem to indicate that this historical period represents the final transition from synthetic-conventional faith to individuative-reflective faith. This historical period, therefore contains features of both stages. In terms of synthetic-conventional faith, Naudé publicly still conformed to the majority of Afrikaners' political views and the apartheid policies of the day, despite the growing internal certainty that apartheid was abhorrent and against the Gospel (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He continued to make professional advancement in the NGK through his hard work, drive and ambition. The position of moderator of the NGK was dangled in front of Naudé and he realised the far-reaching consequences if he had to voice his misgivings about apartheid (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

According to the FDT (Fowler, 1981), transition from synthetic-conventional faith to individuative-reflective faith depends on certain shifts that need to take place. These shifts include: (a) clashes or contradictions between valued authority sources, and (b) experiences of or perspective changes that force the individual to critically reflect on his/her own values, opinions and beliefs. Naudé continued on his journey of self-study in order to increase his theological understanding by attending the Reformed Church Bible study groups in Potchefstroom (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Findings indicate that he certainly experienced a clash between what he learned the Gospel (as a valued authority source) revealed about apartheid and what the Nationalist Government and the NGK (other valued authority sources) were advocating and practically implementing (Clur, 1997; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). He knew he had an obligation to prove to the NGK that the race policies of the time contradicted the Gospel, but at the time, he did not act on it (Clur, 1997). Additionally, Naudé had contact with White

ministers working in Coloured, Black and Indian congregations that introduced Naudé to the great suffering the apartheid policies were causing in these communities (Naudé, 1995). He also realised the need for greater personal association and communication across the colour line (Randall, 1982). During this historical period, another experience was the deaths of people who were peacefully protesting against some of the apartheid laws and were gunned down by the police during the Sharpeville Massacre (see section 3.2.4). This incident had a profound impact on Naudé (Naudé, 1995). The World Council of Churches convened the Cottesloe Conference in the wake of the Sharpeville Massacre to discuss the apartheid policies of the time and the Churches' responsibility regarding apartheid (see section 3.2.4). The NGK also participated in the conference and Naudé was one of the delegates. The conference findings essentially opposed apartheid and racial discrimination and these were published (Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990). The findings were initially supported by all the delegates of the conference. The NGK later condemned the findings and Prime Minister Verwoerd ordered all the delegates to recant their support of the conference findings (Naudé, 1990; Randall, 1982; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Naudé did not recant (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). At that juncture he felt he had to decide whether to submit to the political pressure or to remain true to his convictions and conscience (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). This was the final step that facilitated the transition from synthetic-conventional faith to individuative-reflective faith.

Two important processes facilitate the final transition between Stage Three and Stage Four of FDT. The first process is the development of self-authorisation in the individual, and with it the individual also examines his/her social relationships. The second process involves the examination, objectification and clarification of one's own beliefs. Along with this process, a greater sense of commitment and accountability to one's beliefs and values develops (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1984, 1987; Straughn, 2010). According to FDT, transition to individuative-reflective faith is difficult because the individual has to let go of the authority of others and the fear that relationships may end. Individuals are also often insecure and anxious to formulate and express their own values, opinions and beliefs and the individual may even feel that he/she is abandoning his/her community with these changes. This can be a very disruptive process to the social system of the individual as well as confusing to the individual (Fowler, 1981, 1987; Wing, 1997). Findings indicate that in Naudé's case, this transition was indeed many years in the making and completed by publicly refusing to recant his support of the Cottesloe conference findings despite massive political and social pressure to do so. This choice Naudé made indicates that he had developed a sense of self-authorisation and was not only defined by his social roles anymore. The encounter he

experienced with being instructed to recant the Cottesloe findings, also provided Naudé with the opportunity to critically reflect on his own values, opinions and beliefs (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). A possible explanation for why Naudé had possibly not reached this transitional phase in earlier historical stages may be found in the fact that perhaps in earlier life stages Naudé had an innate prudence, and conceivably some fear regarding the consequences if he openly questioned and criticised the apartheid policies (Randall, 1982).

With regard to the selfhood development, there seems to be some evidence of a transition from the interpersonal self to the institutional self in that Naudé examined and reformulated some of his faith perspectives (Villa-Vicencio, 1995) during this historical period.

9.3.5 Stage 4: Individuative-reflective faith and the institutional self (usually in the 30's- late 40's)

In this faith development stage, a third person perspective develops, and individuals develop a greater awareness of their own ideology as well as external factors that may have nurtured it. They are also able to understand others' ideologies in the same way (Fowler, 1981, 1987) which allows the individual to evaluate others' and his/her own views and expectations and conflicting views may be carefully considered (Dykstra, 1982; Fowler, 1981, 1987). Clarity on boundaries and identity also develops (Straughn, 2010). Stroud (2004) summarised the tensions identified by Fowler (1981) for this stage as follows: (a) individuality vs. group membership, (b) objectivity and critical reflection vs. subjectivity and the power of emotions, (c) self-fulfilment or self-actualisation vs. service to and for others as primary concern, and (d) the question of "being committed to the relative vs. struggle with the possibility of an absolute" (Stroud, 2004, p. 201).

Fowler (1981) stated that what makes transition to this stage so difficult is the resistance of letting go of the authority of others and the fear that relationships may end when the reliance dynamic changes. A measure of insecurity and anxiety also exists about formulating and expressing one's own values, opinions and beliefs. In many instances, individuals may feel as if they are abandoning their community with the changes mentioned above (Croucher, 2003; Fowler, 1981, 1987; Wing, 1997).

In the stage of selfhood development that coincides with this faith development stage, the institutional self, the individual becomes concerned with establishing and maintaining clear interpersonal boundaries (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987), while faith perspectives are also examined and reformulated. The individual claims authorship of his/her life in this stage, but

the possibility also exists that individualism may develop (Fowler, 1984, 1987; Wing 1997). In Naudé's case individuating-reflective faith and the institutional self spans two historical periods: *Turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)*, and *a liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)*. In this section, Naudé's faith and selfhood development during Stage Four of FDT is explored by analysing biographical accounts related to each of these historical periods.

9.3.5.1 Turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)

During this historical period, findings reveal that Naudé was clarifying and establishing his own ideology and clarifying his boundaries with regard to his political and religious views with regard to apartheid (Ryan, 1990). He delivered a sermon in 1962 in which he shared his beliefs and views and in 1963 he resigned as a member of the *Broederbond* (Naudé, 1995). While clarifying his own views, he was also able to recognise how deeply entrenched apartheid had become in the Afrikaner community. He was able to recognise and reflect on how these different views were nurtured in the Afrikaner community, as well as how his own views may have been nurtured (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He also experienced some anxiety and insecurity about making his beliefs known to his community, the Afrikaners (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). Eventually, however, his faith perspectives and views led to a parting of ways between Naudé and the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK), translated as the Dutch Reformed Church. Naudé was eventually defrocked and lost his position as minister in the NGK (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). While this historical period features predominantly characteristics of Stage Four of FDT, it also includes some transitional characteristics to Stage Five of FDT:

1. Naudé had developed a restlessness with the outlook he had developed and was disillusioned with the compromises he was forced to make during this historical period (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990).
2. In this historical period, Naudé also learned that life is more complicated and complex in his struggle to reconcile and remain faithful to his own beliefs and convictions with the pressures from the NGK, the Afrikaner and *Broederbond* communities (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994; Ryan, 1990).

In terms of selfhood development (see section 5.4.5.5) Naudé was able to establish clear interpersonal boundaries with the sermon he delivered in 1962 in which he shared his

deeply felt Christian beliefs, as well as the work he did with the Christian Institute despite the fierce criticism from the Afrikaner community (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He also reformulated his faith perspectives and beliefs and commitment to the whole cause of justice, equality and liberty for all South Africans (Ryan, 1990). These findings indicate that Naudé had claimed authorship of his life. All these changes indicate the development of the institutional self according to the FDT (Fowler, 1984, 1987; Wing 1997).

9.3.5.2 A liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)

During this historical period, Naudé continued to develop his individual ideology and faith perspective, as well as clarifying his faith boundaries, especially in his position as Director of the Christian Institute (CI) (Ryan, 1990). Through the CI Naudé had increased interaction with independent black church groups which influenced his views and perspectives (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1994). In this process, Naudé developed a third person perspective and greater understanding into the views of both the Blacks and the Whites in South Africa (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé also continued to attempt to keep the channels of communication open with the Afrikaner community and the NGK to explain his views and beliefs to them in an attempt to sway them (Ryan, 1990). This historical period also includes disillusionment with the compromises he had to make is reflected in the open letter written by the CI leadership (including Naudé) to Prime Minister John Vorster in response to his criticism of the CI (Ryan, 1990). This is a transitional aspect between Stages Four and Five of the FDT (see section 5.4.5.5).

While this historical period featured predominantly aspects of Stage Four of FDT, it also included some features of conjunctive faith, Stage Five according to the FDT. Naudé could see the error of the apartheid system and the need for radical change (Ryan, 1990) and yet retained a very strong commitment to the 'old' in his connection to the Afrikaner community, a connection he was reluctant to lose (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). At the same time, he was also able to see the possibility of reconciliation between Whites and Blacks in South Africa (Ryan, 1990).

In terms of selfhood development, Naudé was able to continue developing the institutional self (see section 5.4.5.5) by establishing and maintaining clear interpersonal boundaries, and continuing to reformulate his faith perspectives (see section 3.2.6).

9.3.6 Stage 5: Conjunctive faith and the inter-individual self (usually in midlife)

Conjunctive faith is a complex stage involving a more dialogical and dialectical way of thinking and involves the rejoining of that which was separated in earlier stages (Fowler, 1981, 2000). In this stage the individual is no longer reflecting the views of the group or taking an individual stance (Fowler, 1981, 1986) and grasps the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of things (Fowler, 1981, 2000). Conjunctive faith allows the individual to come to terms with the dialectical dimensions and apparent paradoxes in faith and allows the individual to ‘hold’ these opposite tensions without collapsing in one direction or another (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987; Straughn, 2010; Stroud, 2004). In conjunctive faith the individual sees the error or corruption of the old way and is able to rejoice in the possibility of change and transformation, yet the individual may on the other hand still have attachments and commitments to the ‘old’ way that may make transformation or revolution too scary and costly (Fowler, 1984). Also see section 5.4.5.6.

The stage of selfhood development that coincides with this faith development stage is the inter-individual self. This stage focusses on the intra-personal dynamics and the driving forces of the spirit. The individual is far less focused on or influenced by external influences such as socially determined aspirations (Fowler, 1987).

In Naudé’s case conjunctive faith and the inter-individual self span the historical period of *transition to political activism (1969-1976)*. In this section, Naudé’s faith and selfhood development during Stage Five of FDT is explored by analysing biographical accounts related to this historical period.

9.3.6.1 Transition to political activism (1969-1976)

During this historical period, Naudé’s thinking changed into a more dialectical mode of thinking regarding certain issues. Examples of this dialectical thinking included:

1. Naudé developed a greater understanding of the negative and widespread impact of apartheid on the Black population in South Africa as well as a growing belief that the Afrikaners had to and could be part of a new vision for South Africa (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990).
2. Naudé also opposed economic sanctions initially, but as the situation in South Africa deteriorated, the CI (of which Naudé was the director) also supported

the economic sanctions during this historical stage as a final attempt at bringing about peaceful change in South Africa (Ryan, 1990).

3. While he still opposed violence, he began to understand the need for an armed struggle after 48 years of peaceful resistance in the struggle against apartheid which yielded no favourable results (Bryan, 1978; Naudé & Sölle, 1986) and provided assistance to members of the liberation struggle even though he suspected that they were involved in the armed struggle (Naudé, 1995).

Results also indicate that Naudé no longer took either an individual or a group stance with regard to certain issues in this historical period. Instead, he made several attempts to involve churches and the government in talks regarding apartheid and the political situation in the country. He also tried to convince government to enter into talks with Black leaders (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Through the Study Projects on Christianity in an Apartheid Society (SPROCAS 1 and 2) and the close working relationship that developed with members of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) Naudé began to understand and truly see the interconnectedness and interrelatedness of how apartheid impacted socially and economically on the Black population in South Africa (Naudé, 1995). He also realised his own involvement in the apartheid system and experienced feelings of regret and guilt (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Naudé, 1995).

In terms of selfhood development, this faith development stage coincides with the selfhood stage of inter-individual self. Findings reveal that in this historical period, Naudé showed great spiritual conviction in his vocal and public opposition to apartheid to the point where he even refused to give evidence before the Schibusch Commission (Allot, 1975; Ryan, 1990). Additionally, he was less influenced by external factors such as socially determined aspirations and expectations (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1990; Ryan, 1990). He withstood much criticism from the media, government, the NGK as well as the Afrikaner community and was also shunned and ostracised by most of the Afrikaner community for his views (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio 1985, 1995).

9.3.7 Stage 6: Universalising faith and the God-grounded self (usually in later life)

Universalising faith is also a very mature stage and is very rarely reached (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1984; Straughn, 2010) and can be called the stage of selfless service (Croucher, 2010). Universalising faith is marked by two important features: In the first instance, a decentration from the self (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981, 1984). The second feature of

universalising faith refers to the decentration of valuing and valuation. Therefore causes, people, institutions and sources of power cease to hold the promise of worth for us that they previously may have (Fowler, 1981, 1984). Individuals in this stage often display a kind of detachment from self and finite centres of value and are drawn in to a new quality of participation and grounding in God or Principle of Being (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1987; Straughn, 2010). These individuals are also able to engage with, and relate to, persons from any other faith tradition and at any other faith development stage (see section 5.4.5.7) (Croucher, 2010; Dykstra, 1982).

The stage of selfhood development that coincides with Stage Six of FDT is the God-grounded self, the stage of selfless service. This stage can be summarised as moving from loving only those who love us back and on whom we are dependent, a widening of the circle of ‘those who matter’ to the limitless love for all beings (Fowler, 1984).

In Naudé’s case, Stage Six spans three historical periods: *The years of silence (1977-1984)*, *towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)*, and *vindication (1988-2004)*. In this section findings regarding Naudé’s faith and selfhood development in Stage Six of the FDT is explored and discussed in each of these historical periods.

9.3.7.1 The years of silence (1977-1984)

During this historical period, Naudé was serving a banning order, because he was seen as subversive by the apartheid government due to his overt criticism of apartheid as well as his advocating for the transformation of the unjust social conditions of apartheid (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He also invested in a larger cause, obedience to what he believed to be the Will of God, instead of conforming to the beliefs held by the majority of the Afrikaners of the time. He stated that he would continue to express his Christian convictions and concern, even under the banning order, which expressly prohibited him from doing so (Ryan, 1990). Naudé stated that if he were to be charged for expressing his concerns and convictions, he would gladly face such a trial (Ryan, 1990). Naudé’s convictions reflect two other features of universalising faith: (a) a detachment from self and (b) investing in a greater cause to the extent that one is no longer concerned with personal cost (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

Another feature of universalising faith is a decentration from the valuing and valuations of institutions and people the person previously held in high esteem (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987). When Naudé left the NGK, he decentralized from institutions (NGK) and people he previously held in high esteem because he could no longer resign himself to the fact that

the NGK and his community ignored the Biblical instruction of church unity and also advocated apartheid and separate development (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé joined the Alexandra township congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church of Africa, under Rev. Sam Buti (Randall, 1982).

The years under the banning order became very busy years for Naudé. He counselled many people of different ages, cultural groups and religious backgrounds in his house in Greenside, day and night, often until very late (Naudé, 1995). This reflects more features of universalising faith: (a) acts of selfless service, and (b) the ability to engage with, and relate to, all kinds of people from different religious traditions and at different faith development stages (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1984, 1987).

In terms of selfhood development, this stage of faith development coincides with the selfhood stage of the God-grounded self. In Naudé's case, findings suggest that in this historical period Naudé experienced deep spiritual growth, a focus on the Will of God and being obedient to Scripture as well as a widening of the circle of 'those who matter' (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

9.3.7.2 Towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)

Findings suggest that many features of universalising faith were evident during this historical period. One of the features is a clear decentration of self (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981, 1984). For Naudé the circle of 'those who count' no longer only included his own community, peers or even those who shared his view. The circle expanded to become a community of humankind (Naudé & Sölle, 1986). Another important feature of universalising faith is selfless service to others (Fowler, 1981; 1987). As General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) during this historical period, Naudé spent a lot of time speaking to, counselling, meeting with and comforting the majority of people in South Africa who were still suffering under apartheid. He was 70 years old when he was elected as General Secretary of the SACC, an age where most people will already have retired (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1985). The ability to relate to people from all walks of life and from different faith traditions as well as people at different faith development stages is also an important feature of this faith development stage (Croucher, 2010; Fowler, 1981, 1984). As General Secretary of the SACC, Naudé had contact with many different people from different walks of life, different religious traditions. He met with ordinary citizens as well as political and church leaders (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). In this period, he continued to advocate for the

transformation of the unjust social and economic apartheid system (Naudé, 1995; Potgieter, 1997).

In an interview as early as 1986, Naudé expressed some of the characteristics of the universalising faith stage:

One of the most wonderful discoveries which I have made in this pilgrimage of my life is that there comes a moment when you don't look for a reward any longer, you don't feel it is important at all. What is of importance to you is your experience of life, of an inner peace, of a strength of faith, of a continuation of your commitment, however weak it may be, and of the fact that you simply forget, you simply do not regard the traditional value systems which have been built up in you and around you to be meaningful any longer...these values lost their meaning for me, and therefore an inner peace of mind came, also a loss of fear, that even if somebody asked me I'd say, well, suppose you go back, suppose now that you are being threatened, suppose that you may lose your life tomorrow, then, well, my response is, well if that happens, so what? Isn't then the death which you experience as a result of what you try to be in the deepest sense of the word, isn't that then something in a certain sense of a crowning of your whole life and what you try to convey? (Naudé & Sölle, 1986, pp. 23-24)

Evidence of God-grounded self (as the stage of selfhood development associated with Stage Six of FDT) may be seen in Naudé's continued efforts to establish ecumenical unity in the churches in South Africa through his work in the SACC (Naudé, 1995).

9.3.7.3 Vindication (1988-2004)

During this historical period findings indicate evidence of universalising faith in that Naudé continued investment in a larger cause which was contributing to the end of apartheid in South Africa (Tutu, 2005) and holding dear the ideal of truth, justice, equality and hope for a unified South Africa (Clarke, 2004). During this historical period Naudé also continued relating to and engaging with many people from different walks of life, different faith perspectives and traditions as well as different faith development stages (Clur, 1997, Potgieter, 1994). Naudé's participation in the negotiation process between government and the ANC during this historical period also assisted in creating liberation from social, political, ideological and economic shackles of apartheid (Clarke, 2004; Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994). Through the efforts mentioned above Naudé displayed a limitless love for his fellow man, fellow South Africans, regardless of creed or race (Clarke, 2004; Tutu, 2005) which reflects the God-grounded self stage of selfhood development.

In the previous section the findings related to the faith development and selfhood development stages related to the historical periods in Naudé's life were discussed. FDT also focussed on faith and vocation or life work (Fowler, 1984). This aspect of FDT and the findings related to Naudé's life are discussed in the following section.

9.4 Faith and Vocation or Life Work throughout Naudé's Lifespan

According to Fowler (1984), vocation or life work in adulthood, is a force that shapes all aspects of an individual's life (including relationships, work, leisure, resources and public as well a private life) in service of God and one's fellow man. Fowler (1987) divided adulthood into three developmental stages related to vocation or life work namely: (a) young adulthood, (b) middle adulthood, and (c) older adulthood. Fowler (1984, 1987) also described the partnership with God's work which an individual may be part of in three categories: (a) partnership with God's work of ongoing creation, (b) partnership with God's work of governance and (c) partnership with the liberative and redemptive work of God.

Partnership with God's work of ongoing creation involves participating in procreative and/or nurturing processes that maintain and extend the ecology of care for persons and the environment. This may involve active parenting, being involved with the care and education of the youth in the community, nurturing people towards wholeness and preserving both the physical as well as the 'spirit-culture' environment which relates to the social and cultural context (Fowler, 1984, 1987). Also see section 5.6.1.1.

Partnership with God's work of governance involves the organisation and structure of our worlds, societies, behaviour and conduct (Fowler, 1984) to promote righteousness (Fowler, 1987). This involves cultivating a spirit of lawfulness, justice, active restraint from wrongdoing, to enforce decency and to maintain order. The distribution of common resources should also be in the service of the common good and situations that could lead to violence and revolt should be addressed in order to avoid violence and chaos (Fowler, 1987). Also see section 5.6.1.2.

Partnership in the liberative and redemptive work of God refers to redemption and liberation with regard to political, economic and social aspects in societies where people are dehumanised in aid of the enrichment and enhancement of the elite and common resources are misused and squandered (Fowler, 1987). Partnership with the liberative and redemptive work of God requires from the individual (a) solidarity with the oppressed and rejected persons in a society, (b) repent his/her solidarity with the betraying and abandoning members of society as

well as kinship with the compromising and compromised officials of church and state, and (c) liberation from egocentric preoccupation with power, purpose, security and significance in order to embrace greater participation with the liberative and redemptive work of God (Fowler, 1984, 1987). Also see section 5.6.1.3.

Findings related to these categories are discussed in the following section as they related to each of Naudé's adult developmental stages³³ as indicated by Fowler (1984, 1987).

9.4.1 Young adulthood

The clarification and redefinition of individual identity is important at this stage. A calling or vocational dream also has to be identified in which the individual may employ talents, abilities and gifts to address some needs in the world in order to engage in partnership with God's work (Fowler, 1987). This stage usually occurs in late adolescence through to the late twenties (Fowler, 1984, 1987). In Naudé's case, this developmental stage also spanned his late adolescent years to the age of approximately 28 years and included the following historical periods: (a) the latter part of *childhood years (1915-1931)*, (b) *university years (1932-1939)*, and (c) the initial few years of *early ministry years (1939-1954)* (see sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.2.3).

9.4.1.1 Partnership with God's work of ongoing creation

During the historical periods of Naudé's life that coincide with this developmental stage, findings reveal that Naudé participated in God's work of ongoing creation in that during this period he married Ilse Weder. They started a family with the birth of two children, both sons, during this period. The union produced four children (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990). Naudé also saw the upliftment and empowerment of people, particularly the poor, rejected, the downtrodden and oppressed, very much a part of his ministry (Ryan, 1990) and this relates to the aspect of nurturing people towards wholeness, a facet of partnerships with God's work of ongoing creation (Fowler, 1984, 1987). With regard to nurturing and preserving both the physical and 'spirit-culture' environment (Fowler, 1984, 1987), Naudé instilled in his children the principle of non-racism and respect for fellow human beings regardless of creed or race (J. Naudé, personal communication, August 22, 2011).

³³ See Appendix F for a table depicting the categories of partnership with God's work as they relate to Naudé's adult development stages.

9.4.1.2 Partnership with God's work of governance

Findings reveal that Naudé began standing up for justice and fairness early in life, with the letter of complaint that he and five classmates compiled when they were in Matric against the authoritarian behaviour of their school principal (Bryan, 1978; Meyer, 2006). During his visits to the Genadendal missionary (see section 3.2.2) as a student and while courting Ilse Weder, Naudé witnessed the open relationships that existed between the races there. He began to question the justice and righteousness of the strict segregation policies of the NGK (Naudé, 1990; Rampen, 1972). He also had questions regarding righteousness of the difference in the status and training of ministers trained to preach in the White churches as opposed to those who preached in the Coloured churches (see section 3.2.3) (Randall, 1982). While he developed an interest in race and ministry work early on in life, it would be years before his beliefs would be solidified and his interest lived out (Ryan, 1990).

9.4.1.3 Partnership in the redemptive and liberative work of God

During Naudé young adult years, he may have been described as committed to the Afrikaner Nationalist cause (Randall, 1982), but findings also revealed the beginnings of Naudé taking note of and questioning the social and political circumstances that lead to oppression and certain members of society being rejected (see section 3.2.3) (Naudé, 1995; Rampen, 1972).

In this section the findings related to Naudé's vocational involvement during young adulthood were discussed with particular reference to partnership with God's work of ongoing creation, governance as well as redemption and liberation according to FDT. Findings regarding Naudé's vocational involvement in middle adulthood are discussed in the following section.

9.4.2 Middle adulthood

Middle adulthood is the stage for vocational purification and deepening. During certain crisis points, the individual has the opportunity to re-evaluate, modify and even extend the vocational dream. The individual may even answer a vocational calling in a different direction of partnership with God's work. This developmental stage according to FDT, usually occurs between the ages of approximately 28 and the late 40s. Usually, by this stage, an individual has experienced some triumphs and failures in life, has gained some more insight into him-/herself and even changed what they view as the important things in life

(Fowler, 1984, 1987). In Naudé's case, this developmental stage spanned a few historical periods. These were: (a) the latter part of *early ministry years (1939-1954)*, (b) *doubt and disillusionment (1955-1960)*, and (c) *turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1960-1963)* (see sections 3.2.3, 3.2.4 and 3.2.5).

9.4.2.1 Partnership with God's work of ongoing creation

During the historical periods that coincide with this developmental stage Naudé continued to participate in God's work of ongoing creation. Naudé and Ilse had two more children during this period and Naudé continued to raise their family (Ryan, 1990). Naudé also accepted a post as minister to students at the University of Pretoria. In this capacity he was responsible for the spiritual welfare, care and education of the youth in that community (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). Part of Naudé's work as minister also involved counselling and nurturing people in his congregation (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).

9.4.2.2 Partnership with God's work of governance

A study tour abroad during this period and the probing and critical questions Naudé had to answer regarding the race situation in South Africa, forced Naudé to investigate the NGK support of the race and nationalism policies of the government (Ryan, 1990). Through a process of self-study he investigated the righteousness and justice of the apartheid policies. He realised that the NGK was wrong to support the apartheid policies, although, at this stage, he did not speak out against apartheid (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990). During this period he also came into contact with people from different races and realised firsthand the suffering and injustice of apartheid (Potgieter, 1994). After the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 (see section 3.2.4), Naudé realised that the apartheid system had to be addressed since it was creating violence and revolt. At this stage Naudé slowly became more outspoken regarding the atrocities and moral abhorrence of apartheid (Randall, 1982; Ryan, 1990) and in 1962 he even preached a sermon outlining how apartheid directly opposed his Christian beliefs (Naudé, 1995). He also realised that if the Afrikaners did not change, the situation would lead to more bloodshed and violence (Clarke, 2004).

9.4.2.3 Partnership in the redemptive and liberative work of God

After the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, Naudé experienced renewed motivation to assist in the reconciliation between the races in South Africa, as well as urgency for the inter-racial Bible study groups on the Witwatersrand to continue and expand (see section 3.2.4)

(Randall, 1982). During the historical periods that coincide with this developmental stage Naudé's solidarity with the African, Indian and Coloured communities in South Africa who were oppressed under the apartheid system (Bryan, 1978; Naudé & Sölle, 1986) increased as the contact he had with people across different races increased (Randall, 1982). While he always considered himself a loyal Afrikaner (Naudé, 1995), he could not reconcile himself with the apartheid system they were supporting and perpetrating (Clarke, 2004) which is why he also resigned from the secret society, the *Broederbond* in 1963 (see section 3.2.5). After years of turmoil and questioning, he could also not reconcile himself with the compromises he had to make to remain in the NGK system that supported the government apartheid policies and also had its own apartheid policies (e.g., that people from different races may not worship together in the same church) (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1995). In 1963 he preached from Acts 5:29 regarding obedience to God over obedience to man-made laws. With this sermon he effectively resigned from his position of minister in the NGK. He was defrocked and stripped of his title of *dominee* (minister) (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). With this resignation as well as the work he did at the CI (see sections 3.2.5 and 3.2.6), Naudé was liberated from the preoccupations and shackles of the traditional/conventional sources of power and status and was able to embrace the partnership of liberative and redemptive work of God to a greater degree. The CI aimed at relating the truth of the Gospel to people as well as to bring about reconciliation between the divided and conflicting groups of Christians in South Africa (International Commission of Jurists, 1975).

In this section the findings related to Naudé's vocational involvement during middle adulthood was discussed with particular reference to partnership with God's work of ongoing creation, governance as well as redemption and liberation according to FDT. Findings regarding Naudé's vocational involvement in older adulthood are discussed in the following section.

9.4.3 Older adulthood

The stage that follows middle adulthood is older adulthood and usually occurs from the 50's in individuals (Fowler, 1984). According to Fowler (1984) a sense of dignity, courage and energy prevail for individuals in older adulthood who have lived up to their vocational calling. They also seem to have achieved a balance between being true to their vocational calling and truly being there for others. These individuals do not need to justify their life work and they are also free to pursue new tasks, projects and roles (Fowler, 1984). Individuals at this stage of development become the witnesses and guarantors of vocation in that they lend

truth and credibility to the pursuit of vocational purpose and serve as powerful testimonials of God's faithful support on our vocational endeavours. They also serve to encourage the younger generations on the threshold of vocation (Fowler, 1984). This stage relates to the stage the Erikson (1965) refers to as Generativity (Fowler, 1984).

In Naudé's case, this developmental stage spanned a few historical periods over four decades. These were: (a) *a liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)*, (b) *transition to political activism (1969-1976)*, (c) *the years of silence (1977-1984)*, (d) *towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)*, and (e) *vindication (1988-2004)* (see sections 3.2.6-3.2.10).

9.4.3.1 Partnership with God's work of ongoing creation

During the historical periods that coincide with this developmental stage, Naudé's participation in God's work of ongoing creation, for the most part, involved nurturing processes, although he was still parenting and grandparenting his own children and grandchildren (Naudé, 1995). Naudé and the Christian Institute assisted the separatist black churches with their theological training of young ministers (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). In the 1960s and 1970s (before his banning) Naudé also attempted to create a more wholesome spirit-culture by being involved in many speaking engagements and attempting to educate and inform people of the aims of the CI and the moral abhorrence of apartheid (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). In 1965 Naudé was going to speak to a youth group in the Belgravia congregation of the NGK to explain his views and attempt to inform and educate them. In the end, he was only able to address a few members of the youth group in a private home because some church council members objected to him addressing the youth group in their church buildings (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He went to great trouble to explain his views and beliefs to people (especially Afrikaners) who were also beginning to question apartheid. He freely gave of his time and shared information (C. Anthonissen, personal communication, October 25, 2011). Even during the time of his banning order (1977-1984), Naudé continued to counsel individuals from all cultures, ages and walks of life (Ryan, 1990). During the years he served as General Secretary of the SACC, as well as the contribution he made post-1994 he also contributed to a nonviolent, transformational spirit-culture in South Africa, through the many meetings he attended, speeches he made and visits involving ordinary citizens, politicians, church leaders and other groups (Nash, 1985; Ryan, 1990; Tutu, 2005).

9.4.3.2 Partnership with God's work of governance

Naudé continued attempts to raise the awareness of Afrikaner people, the government

and the NGK regarding his views and beliefs regarding apartheid. He often expressed views regarding the unlawfulness and injustice of the apartheid system in the journal *Pro Veritate* (see section 3.2.5) (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995). The CI (of which Naudé was director) and the SACC even compiled a *Message to the People of South Africa* in which the convictions of the injustice of the apartheid system was described as well as warnings regarding the potential for violent revolt if the situation was not addressed (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995) and in 1969 Naudé called for an urgent meeting between the government and churchmen to discuss the growing conflict in the country at the time. Both the *Message* as well as his request for a meeting was shunned (Ryan, 1990). Even as General Secretary of the SACC (1985-1988) Naudé continued to speak out and demonstrate for justice and righteousness and the abolition of apartheid (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Post-1994 Naudé also played a prominent role in the transition to, and later organisation and structure of, a society to promote non-violence, justice, righteousness and reconciliation (Clur, 1997; Potgieter, 1994, Tutu, 2005).

9.4.3.3 Partnership in the redemptive and liberative work of God

Once Naudé had openly opposed the apartheid system, he continued to advocate against the injustices of the apartheid system and support the racially oppressed majority in South Africa (Clur, 1997). He continued to support the liberation struggle actively (see sections 3.2.7-3.2.9) to the point where he was deemed a traitor by his own people and even banned for seven years (Ryan, 1990). Even then he continued to support the liberation struggle and assisted individuals involved in the struggle wherever he could (Naudé, 1995). He always considered himself an Afrikaner and never denied his roots (Ryan, 1990), but he could not reconcile himself with the apartheid policies that the majority of the Afrikaner community supported. He could also not condone the institutionalised brutality of the apartheid system supported by both the government and the NGK (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). After the CI was closed down and Naudé received his banning order and became for all intents and purposes a social outcast he was once again liberated from (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990) any additional trappings related to the conventional sources of security, power, significance and was able to embrace the partnership of liberative and redemptive work of God to a greater degree (Fowler, 1984). He continued to show solidarity with the oppressed during the period of banning and continued to assist individuals in the liberation struggle where he could. This is also indicative of partnership with God's liberative and redemptive work according to Fowler (1984).

During the period he was General Secretary of the SACC, he still showed solidarity with the oppressed majority. He visited the families of the victims of anti-apartheid protest violence and continued to advocate against the apartheid system (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). This relates to participating in God's liberative and redemptive work (Fowler, 1984). During the transitional process in South Africa Naudé was also an ANC delegate in the talks between the government and the ANC. The aim of the discussions between the Nationalist government and the ANC was to attempt to find a way to peaceful transition (Ryan, 1990). Post-1994 Naudé was still a public figure and as such played an important role and participated in society building and in the establishment of a democratic, non-racist South Africa (Mandela, 2005b; Ryan, 1990; Tutu, 2005). This is also indicative of participating in God's redemptive and liberating work (Fowler, 1984).

9.4.4 The redemptive self

As mentioned earlier, older adulthood is closely linked with Erikson's (1965) stage of Generativity. Based on the challenges of this stage as identified by Erikson, McAdams (2006a, 2012) conducted research into the types of life stories generative adults may construct to give meaning to their generative efforts. From this research a model was developed that is referred to as *the redemptive self* (McAdams, 2006a, 2006b, 2012; McAdams et al., 1997). This model represents a transformative story lived by an individual who scored high on psychological measures of Generativity and the life narrative includes five interrelated themes (McAdams, 2006a, 2006b). These themes include an individual who: (a) enjoyed a special advantage early in life, (b) expressed sensitivity to the suffering of others or the societal injustices as a child, (c) established clear and strong values in adolescence that remained a source of unwavering conviction throughout his/her adult years, (d) experienced significant struggles or conflicts between desires of power/agency and communion/love, and (e) works toward achieving goals that will benefit society and future generations (also see section 5.3.4.8) (McAdams, 2012).

In Naudé's case the themes related to *the redemptive self* model may be traced as follows:

1. Naudé enjoyed a special advantage in that he was born into the Afrikaner elite and was poised to advance to very high positions within the Afrikaner community (Randall, 1982). Naudé's station in life contrasted significantly with many Afrikaners who suffered greatly during the Depression years and he

was even fortunate enough to attend tertiary training at Stellenbosch University (Naudé, 1990).

2. As a child, Naudé was touched by the plight of many Afrikaners who were very poor and attempted to earn a living as migrant workers in the Depression years (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1995).
3. Due to his Christian conversion as an adolescent (Naudé, 1995) as well as the values taught to him by his parents, Naudé lived with a set of unwavering moral values. His faith and will to follow the Gospel remained a source of unwavering convictions throughout his life (Naudé, 1995, Ryan, 1990).
4. While he attempted to remain obedient to the Gospel, he also felt a sense of deep loyalty to the Afrikaner people. When the Afrikaner Nationalist Party adopted the apartheid system it caused more and more inner conflict for Naudé. He could not reconcile the suffering the apartheid system was causing with obedience to God, but at the same time he did not want to turn his back on the Afrikaner people. He also realised that if he spoke out against apartheid he would be branded a traitor, ostracised and most probably lose his job as minister of religion in the NGK. This conflict raged for many years (Naudé, 1995).
5. Once he started speaking out publicly against apartheid, he continued to work in support of the liberation struggle. After apartheid had been abolished, he participated in establishing a democratic society and attempted to contribute to reconciliation between the races in South Africa in order to build a better society for future generations (see sections 3.2.7-3.2.10) (Mandela, 1995a, 1995b; Naudé, 1990; Ryan, 1995).

9.4.5 Summary of findings regarding Naudé's faith and vocation or life work

In each of the developmental stages of adulthood according to FDT (Fowler, 1984, 1987) findings indicate that Naudé participated in all categories of partnership with God's work, namely (a) partnership with God's work of ongoing creation, (b) partnership with God's work of governance, and (c) partnership with the liberative and redemptive work of God. During young adulthood, however, the focus of Naudé's participation in God's work was centred on work of ongoing creation.

As he grew and evolved spiritually, his focus changed in middle adulthood to partnership with God's work of governance. In this developmental stage, Naudé gained greater understanding and clarity regarding the injustices related to and suffering caused by the apartheid system on the Black, Indian and Coloured community in South Africa, on the one hand, as well as how entrenched the apartheid thinking had become in the minds of the Afrikaner community, on the other hand. While the focus of middle adulthood was on work of governance, Naudé also began getting involved with the liberative and redemptive work of God and remained committed to partnership with God's work of ongoing creation as well.

With continued spiritual growth and development into older adulthood, Naudé's participation in all the categories of God's work also deepened and changed. In terms of God's work of ongoing creation, Naudé extended this work to include the larger community of South Africa. In terms of God's work of governance, Naudé participated to a greater degree during this developmental period (older adulthood) by becoming more involved and outspoken regarding the injustices of apartheid. Findings suggest that in this developmental stage, Naudé focussed most prominently on partnership with the redemptive and liberative work of God. He showed great solidarity with the oppressed under apartheid, repented and regretted his own involvement with the structures that initiated, defended and maintained apartheid and was liberated from preoccupation with previous sources of power, status and security. As spiritual growth occurred in Naudé, a widening circle is noticeable of 'those who matter' to include all South Africans as well as a deepening of concern and greater urgency for addressing systems (like apartheid) that cause harm and suffering.

9.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the research findings on the faith development of Naudé was presented. A conceptual outline to the discussion was offered, followed by findings regarding the faith development over the lifespan of Naudé. The findings were discussed according to the stages of faith development and selfhood as identified by Fowler (1981, 1995) in FDT. Findings related to each historical stage within the particular faith development stage were presented and discussed. A discussion of the findings related to faith and vocation as identified by Fowler (1984, 1987), was also presented and a summary of these findings conclude the chapter. The following chapter presents an integration of findings and a summary of the corresponding and congruent findings in Chapters 8 and 9.

Chapter 10

Integration of Findings

10.1 Chapter Preview

In this chapter a conceptual outline is presented for the integration of findings followed by a discussion regarding the similarities and differences between the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981). The extent to which the WoW model and the FDT complemented each other – or not – is also discussed, followed by a summary of corresponding and congruent findings. A reflexive discussion regarding the use of the WoW model and the FDT in this study concludes the chapter.

10.2 A Conceptual Outline for the Presentation of Integrated Findings

The aim of this chapter relates to the integration of findings regarding Naudé's holistic wellness and faith development. As such, the similarities and differences between the theoretical frameworks of the WoW model and the FDT employed in this study are presented at the outset of the chapter. This presentation will facilitate the evaluation of how the model and theory complemented each other, and how they may not have complemented each other in this study. Thereafter, a summary of corresponding and overlapping findings related to Naudé's holistic wellness and faith development is presented.

10.3 Similarities and Differences between the WoW Model and the FDT

As previously discussed, the paradigmatic framework in this study comprised a holistic wellness model, the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and a faith development theory, the FDT (Fowler, 1981). Certain similarities and differences may be identified between the model and the theory that impacted on the study of the life of Naudé. In this section these similarities and differences between the model and theory are explored and discussed.

10.3.1 Similarities between the WoW model and the FDT

Several similarities may be identified between the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981). In the first instance, both the model and the theory emphasised aspects related to adaptive and optimal human functioning, strengths and coping. This eugraphic emphasis corresponds with the Positive Psychology

movement as opposed to a pathogenic or psychopathological emphasis. Both the model and the theory explored optimal adaptive functioning and interpersonal relationships (see Chapters 4 and 5, respectively).

Secondly, both theories emphasised a construct related to spirituality. The WoW model emphasised spirituality as the core life task of the model and it is “depicted as the centre of the wheel and the most important characteristic of well-being” (Myers & Sweeney, 2008, p. 483) since it is a key component in both longevity and quality of life (Sweeney, 2009). Longevity and quality of life refer to constructs such as health, wellness, interpersonal relationships and adaptive functioning (Myers et al., 2000; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Sweeney, 2009; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992). The FDT (Fowler, 1981) also emphasised the construct of spirituality expressed as faith or a belief in the ‘Ultimacy of Being’ (see section 5.4.5) (Fowler, 1984, 1987). Additionally, the FDT explored the reciprocal impact of faith (and changes in faith) on interpersonal relationships (Fowler, 1995) and aspects related to work/vocation expressed as participation in God’s work (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

Finally, both the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981) explore the concept of ‘optimality’. The WoW model explores fostering holistic wellness and the constructs and forces that may support optimal holistic wellness (see section 4.4.4). The FDT explores the progression in faith development to more sophisticated and mature stages of faith development. According to the FDT each individual strives to reach his/her own optimal level of faith development (see section 5.4.5). In the following section, the differences between the WoW model and the FDT are discussed.

10.3.2 Differences between the WoW model and the FDT

Several differences may be identified between the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981). Firstly, the FDT (Fowler, 1981) is a theory that incorporates a lifespan perspective in terms of faith development. It explores the developmental changes that occur in order for an individual to progress to the next stage of faith development. The WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) on the other hand, does not incorporate a lifespan or developmental orientation *per se* but rather explores the constructs and tasks related to holistic wellness and forces that may promote or prohibit holistic wellness. These constructs, tasks and forces of the WoW model are not linked to specific developmental stages across an individual’s lifespan (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992).

Another difference between the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981) refers to the structural differences between the model and the theory. The FDT has specific, demarcated successive stages that are clearly identified and presented (see section 5.4.5). The WoW model on the other hand presents holistic wellness related constructs that individuals may (or may not) incorporate across different stages in their lives. The model does not present these constructs, life tasks or life forces in a successive stage format (see section 4.3).

Finally, the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) is multidimensional, multi-faceted in nature (see section 4.3). Findings related to all the aspects and components of the WoW model had to be presented and resulted in a lengthy chapter which has resulted in a laborious application and a time-consuming read (see Chapter 8). The FDT, on the other hand, presents with a focussed and discrete emphasis on aspects related to faith development only (see section 5.4.5). The presentation of findings resulted in a shorter, less time-consuming chapter.

10.4 A Summary of Corresponding and Overlapping Findings Concerning the Holistic Wellness and Faith Development of Naudé

When comparing the findings in this study regarding holistic wellness and faith development over the lifespan of Naudé, there seem to be points of correspondence and overlap. The points of correspondence and overlap related to: (a) the construct of ‘spirituality’, specifically (the life task of spirituality according to the WoW model and the construct of faith in the FDT), (b) the construct of ‘work’ (the life task of work in the WoW model and the construct of life work/vocation in the FDT), and (c) external influences like community, family, government, religion (in the WoW model these are referred to as life forces). Findings related to these points of correspondence and overlap are presented and discussed in the following section according to the historical periods of Naudé’s life.

10.4.1 Childhood years (1915-1931)

As an *infant* Naudé experienced consistent primary care which impacted positively on both the life task of spirituality (see section 8.3.1.1) as well as his faith development (see section 9.3.1). The consistent care enabled Naudé to separate from his family and develop a separate identity. Naudé would have developed pre-images of God, as described in the pre-stage of FDT, primal faith. The life force of family (WoW model) also impacted positively on

both Naudé's spirituality and faith development in terms of the consistent care he received during this period. During Naudé's *early childhood*, the development of the life task of spirituality was still closely linked with the religious belief system of his parents, family and community, and the NGK. Naudé also witnessed his parents' attempts at assisting the poverty stricken Afrikaner migrant workers in the wake of the Great Depression (as a global event according to the WoW model). This impacted on the development of the life task of spirituality according to the WoW model. In terms of faith development in this period, Naudé was influenced by how his parents lived out their faith on a daily basis. The religious rituals would have most likely facilitated the development of stage 1 of FDT, intuitive-projective faith (see section 9.3.2). The life forces of family, community and religion (in the form of the NGK) impacted on both Naudé's spirituality as well as faith development. In his *early school years* Naudé was still exposed to the Christian religious traditions and dogma of the NGK. His parents were devoutly religious and Naudé had a strict, conservative upbringing. His parents instilled a strong moral sense in their children, specifically with regard to assisting their fellow man as well as a sense of social and political justice (see section 8.3.1.1). This background impacted positively on both Naudé's life task of spirituality (WoW model) as well as mythical-literal Faith (FDT). The life forces of family, community and religion provided the necessary structure during this period in Naudé's life to facilitate the development of self-esteem and competence during this period of exploration (see section 9.3.2).

In his *adolescence*, Naudé experienced a Christian 'rebirth'. The life task of spirituality (WoW model) was closely linked to his religious rebirth. This was a significant event since after that, Naudé based all the decisions in his life on the principle of 'obedience to God' (see section 8.3.1.1). In terms of Naudé's faith development, his adolescence is associated with stage 3 of FDT, synthetic-conventional faith (see section 9.3.4). A wider social context (including peers, teachers, the community and religious community) played a significant role in faith development during this stage. The individual usually accepts and integrates the majority views without critically examining them (Fowler, 1981, 1984, 1987). The NGK community, his family and the Afrikaner community in general, shaped Naudé's social perspective which he accepted without questioning (see sections 8.3.1.1 and 9.3.4). Naudé was also touched by the plight of the poverty stricken migrant workers in the wake of the Great Depression (as a global event according to the WoW model).

In terms of the life task of work (WoW model), Naudé's parents instilled a strong work ethic in their children and all the children had responsibilities in the family home. His parents also instilled an awareness of 'a duty of care to others' in the children (see section

8.3.3.1). The plight of the migrant workers awakened Naudé's sense of service to others and compassion for others which also relates to the FDT vocation/life work aspect of nurturing the spirit-culture environment (see section 9.4.1.1). In this regard he was influenced by the sense of duty to others instilled in him by his parents. From the time Naudé was an adolescent, he also stood up for justice and fairness. An example was the letter of complaint he and five classmates wrote against the headmaster of their school for his authoritarian behaviour (see section 9.4.1.2). Standing up for justice and fairness relates to God's ongoing work of governance (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

10.4.2 University years (1932-1938)

As a student, Naudé began to develop a sense of religious scepticism regarding religious institutions and ecclesiastical hierarchies (Villa-Vicencio, 1985). This impacted on Naudé's life task of spirituality (see section 8.3.1.2). During this period Naudé was still in the stage of synthetic-conventional faith according to the FDT, which meant that he accepted the majority views without critically examining them. However, during Naudé's visits to Genadendal while courting Ilse (see section 3.2.2), he was exposed to a racially integrated community which made an indelible impression on him and broadened his horizons (Naudé, 1995). Naudé began to question some of the segregation policies imposed by both the government and NGK at the time (see section 9.3.4.2).

In terms of the life task of work (WoW model), Naudé engaged in various extracurricular activities in order to earn pocket money as a student. The effects of the Great Depression also impacted the choice of vocation available to Naudé. He wanted to study law, but since he was financially dependent on bursaries from the NGK to study, he was forced to study theology (see section 8.3.3.2). In terms of vocation/life work (FDT), the visits to Genadendal during his student years impacted (see section 3.2.2) on aspects related to God's work of governance (see section 9.4.1.2). The open relationships he witnessed between the races at Genadendal caused Naudé to question the justice and righteousness of the segregation policies of the Government and NGK at the time (Ryan, 1990).

10.4.3 Early ministry years (1939-1954)

In terms of the life task of spirituality the plight of the poor Coloured community in the small town of Loxton where Naudé was a minister, weighed heavily on him. This referred specifically to the aspect of spirituality related to compassion for others and reverence for

human dignity and human rights according to the WoW model. World War II, as a global event, impacted on these aspects of spirituality as well (see section 8.3.1.3). In this historical period, Naudé was also in the stage of synthetic-conventional faith (FDT) which implied an acceptance of the majority view without critical examination (see section 5.4.5.4). Additional experiences, however, continued to cause Naudé to question certain social realities. For instance, Naudé was touched by the abject poverty of the Coloured community in the town of Loxton. He questioned the White community's indifference to, and excuses for, the plight of the Coloured community. Naudé saw the upliftment of communities very much a part of his ministry (see section 3.2.3). Naudé did not openly discuss his misgivings with anyone or publicly challenge the policies of racial segregation in the country. Despite the misgivings, he remained a loyal Afrikaner Nationalist and even joined the *Broederbond* (see section 3.2.3). Therefore the life forces of religion (in the form of the NGK) and community (Afrikaner community in general and *Broederbond* specifically) inhibited Naudé from questioning or challenging the certain social and political conditions in the country. This impacted negatively on both the life task of spirituality as well as Naudé's faith development.

During this historical period, Naudé began the process of establishing his career as young minister in the NGK and was called to several congregations during this period. This relates to the WoW model life task of work (see section 8.3.3.3). In this historical period, he also participated in God's work of ongoing creation (FDT). He and Ilse had children and began raising their own family and Naudé was also called to the Pretoria-East congregation where he was responsible for the spiritual well-being of the youth and students (see section 9.4.1.1). Naudé saw the nurturing, upliftment and empowerment (particularly the poor, the downtrodden and oppressed) as an integral part of his ministry work in all his congregations (Ryan, 1990). This reflects Naudé's participation in the redemptive and liberative work of God (see section 9.4.1.3) since he began questioning the social and political circumstances that lead to the oppression of certain members of society. The study tour abroad (see section 3.2.3) brought the international community's rejection and opposition into sharp focus for Naudé through the questions posed to them (Naudé and his colleague on the tour). This contributed to Naudé questioning and investigating, through a process of theological self-study, the righteousness of the apartheid and racial segregation policies of the government and NGK at the time (see section 3.2.3 and 9.4.2.2). This reflects participation in God's work of governance (Fowler, 1984, 1987).

10.4.4 Doubt and disillusionment (1955-1960)

This historical period was one of significant spiritual growth (related to the WoW model life task of spirituality) for Naudé. Areas of specific growth related to the aspects of spirituality concerning morality, ethics and the preservation of human rights and dignity (see section 8.3.1.4). As his anti-apartheid stance solidified, Naudé experienced a greater sense of inner peace and harmony despite the growing conflict with the government, NGK and Afrikaner community (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). In terms of faith development, this historical period represents a transition from the FDT stage of synthetic-conventional faith to individuative-reflective faith (see section 9.3.4.4). The transition in faith development stages was especially facilitated by Naudé witnessing at grass roots level how negatively the apartheid laws and policies were affecting individuals, families and communities (see section 3.2.4). After the Cottesloe Conference, all the delegates were ordered by the Prime Minister of the country to recant their support for the findings of the conference that was held in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre (see section 3.2.4). In order to remain true to his convictions and conscience, Naudé did not recant his support (Naudé, 1995). This refusal marked the final transition of Naudé into individuative-reflective faith since he expressed his own beliefs and values, was able to let go of the authority of others and developed a sense of self-authorization (see section 9.3.4). Both the growth in Naudé's spirituality and the faith development during this historical period occurred despite pressure from the life forces of religion (in the form of the NGK), government as well as community (Afrikaner community) on Naudé.

Publicly, however, Naudé still seemed to accept and agree with the majority political and religious viewpoints. During this period Naudé continued to work hard in the congregations he was called to and to build his career as a minister in the NGK (this relates to the life task of work according to the WoW model). He was called to many prestigious congregations and filled many leadership positions (see section 8.3.3.4). In terms of vocation/life work (FDT), Naudé continued to participate in God's work of ongoing creation since he and Ilse were still busy raising a family during this historical period (see section 9.4.2.1). In terms of nurturing the 'spirit-culture' (as part of God's work of ongoing creation), Naudé instilled in his children an attitude of non-racism and respect for all people (see section 3.2.4). During this period, Naudé was also exposed to people and congregations who were affected by the apartheid policies. He saw firsthand the suffering and injustices the apartheid system was causing. Then, after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 (see section 3.2.4), Naudé

realised he could no longer remain silent regarding the injustices of the apartheid system. He realised that the apartheid system had to be addressed since it was causing revolt and violence and if things did not change, it would lead to more violence and bloodshed (Clarke, 2004). This relates to partnership with God's work of governance (see section 9.4.2.2). Naudé's feelings of solidarity with the oppressed majority in this period relates to the concept of partnership with God's liberative and redemptive work. While he always considered himself a loyal Afrikaner, he could not reconcile himself with the apartheid system (see section 9.4.2.3).

10.4.5 Turning point: The aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)

This historical period was particularly significant for Naudé in terms of spiritual growth. His sense of meaning and purpose broadened to include the larger context of South African society. He developed an individual life philosophy and lived out the moral and ethical values that guided his everyday life (see section 8.3.1.5). As discussed in section 3.2.5, this spiritual growth, however, came at great personal cost towards the end of this historical period through the life forces of religion (the NGK defrocked him and stripped him of his position and title of minister), community (the majority of the Afrikaner community ostracised and rejected him), and government (much pressure was exerted on Naudé to 'return to the fold'). In terms of faith development, during this period, Naudé was still in the stage of individuative-reflective faith. While his political and religious views were solidified during this period, he did experience some anxiety (especially earlier in this historical period) regarding making his beliefs known to the Afrikaner community for fear of the possible repercussions (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Also see sections 5.4.5.5 and 3.2.5.

According to the life task of work (WoW model), Naudé resigned as minister of the NGK and was defrocked during this period due to his inability to reconcile himself with the apartheid system. He continued to work towards an inter-racial ecumenical Christian community and started the Christian Institute (CI) (see section 8.3.3.5). As such, his career path took a very different turn from what it might have been had Naudé not started to oppose apartheid. By speaking out and opposing the apartheid system, Naudé participated in God's work of governance (according to FDT) (see section 9.4.2.2). He also nurtured the 'spirit-culture' by openly criticising and opposing the apartheid system which relates to participating in God's work of ongoing creation (see section 9.4.2.1). As far as participating in the liberative and redemptive work of God, this was a very significant historical period for Naudé. He had to come to terms with the compromises he had made in the years he remained silent

and in the NGK and repented his kinship with the supporters of the apartheid system (be it in government or the Church) (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). The more Naudé was able to make his opposition against apartheid publicly known, the more he was able to be liberated from the preoccupations and shackles of the traditional/conventional sources of power and status (see section 9.4.2.3). The CI and Naudé's work at the CI aimed at relating the truth of the Gospel to people and attempted to bring about reconciliation between the divided and conflicting groups of Christians in South Africa (Naudé, 1990).

10.4.6 A liberal ministry develops (1964-1968)

This historical period continued to show spiritual growth (regarding the WoW model's life task of spirituality), specifically with regard to the suffering of people under the apartheid laws (see section 8.3.1.6). He continued to clarify his personal boundaries regarding faith as well as his beliefs about the apartheid system during this period as he became more aware of the injustice of the apartheid system and yet he retained a strong commitment to the Afrikaner community (see section 3.2.6). This period still represents the individuative-reflective faith development stage, although Naudé also began his transition to the next stage, conjunctive faith, in this historical period (see section 9.3.5). As life forces, the government and religion (in the form of the NGK) influenced both Naudé's spirituality and faith development in this period due to both the government and the NGK refusing to amend their apartheid policies (see section 8.3.1.6).

The life task of work (WoW model) is very closely linked to the continued spiritual growth Naudé experienced in this period. Through his work as director of the CI, he continued to express his anti-apartheid views. He also continued to expand the ecumenical movement and worked towards greater inter-racial contact between Christians in South Africa. The life forces of government, media and religion (through the NGK) particularly opposed all the work Naudé was doing at the CI (see section 8.3.3.6). In terms of life work/vocation, according to FDT, Naudé participated in God's work of ongoing creation during this period in three ways: (a) he and Ilse continued to parent their children and be grandparents, (b) Naudé mentored young black ministers who approached the CI for assistance, and (c) he continued to participate in establishing a positive 'spirit-culture' by engaging in speaking engagements where he explained the aims of the CI and educated people about the injustice of the apartheid system (see section 9.4.3.1). Naudé continued to participate in God's work of governance too by expressing the unlawfulness of the apartheid system during this period (see section 9.4.3.2.)

and participated in the liberative and redemptive work of God by supporting the liberation struggle actively (see section 9.4.3.3).

10.4.7 Transition to political activism (1969-1977)

In this historical period Naudé continued to develop the life task of spirituality (according to the WoW model), with specific emphasis on reverence for human life in the wake of the deaths following the Soweto uprising in 1976 (see sections 3.2.7 and 8.3.1.7). In terms of Naudé's faith development this period also represents the complete transition from individuative-reflective faith to conjunctive faith according to the FDT. Naudé no longer took either an individual or group stance but rather a dialectical view regarding certain political and religious issues (see section 9.3.6.1). This dialectical view is the hallmark of the conjunctive faith stage (see section 5.4.5.6). The life forces of government and community (specifically the Afrikaner community) continued to impact on both Naudé's spirituality and faith development with their (the majority of the Afrikaner community and government) intractable position and refusal to see the injustice of the apartheid system (see section 8.3.1.7).

Through the course of Naudé's work at the CI (linked to the WoW model life task of work) and involvement with the SPROCAS projects (see section 3.2.7) he had close contact with leading figures in the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The CI and Naudé became explicit supporters of the anti-apartheid struggle. Through the SPROCAS projects the CI also attempted to investigate the apartheid-related issues as well as possible solutions for the race issues in South Africa (see section 8.3.3.7). External forces like the government, media, community, and NGK (all life forces according to the WoW model) opposed and criticised Naudé's views, beliefs and work he was doing. With regard to life work/vocation (FDT), Naudé continued to contribute to a wholesome 'spirit-culture' (related to God's work of ongoing creation) by engaging with any individuals, specifically Afrikaners, who wished to understand his beliefs regarding apartheid better (Naudé, 1990). This relates to God's work of ongoing creation (Fowler, 1984, 1987). In terms of participating in God's work of governance, Naudé continued to try and persuade 'the establishment' of the injustices of the apartheid system and the potential for increased violence and bloodshed if the race-situation was not addressed (see section 9.4.3.2). During this historical period, Naudé's warnings came in the form of the *Message to the People of South Africa*, a letter compiled by the CI (of which Naudé was director) and the SACC as well as requests for a meeting between the government and churches to discuss the race situation. Both the letter and Naudé's requests were shunned

(see section 3.2.7). With regard to participating in God's liberative and redemptive work, this historical period shows and increase in Naudé's opposition to the institutionalised brutality of the apartheid system (see section 9.4.3.3).

10.4.8 The years of silence (1977-1984)

Naudé's development in terms of the life task of spirituality continued during this period. Naudé had to make a few difficult decisions in this period in order to remain true to his broader values. For instance, he assisted anti-apartheid activists who supported an armed struggle even though he always denounced violence. When asked about this contradiction, he replied: "I simply say that I would have been more guilty if I had done nothing. The ultimate judgement I must leave up to God" (Villa-Vicencio, 1995, p. 30). The many hundreds of individuals he counselled in his home during this period also contributed significantly to his spiritual growth (see section 3.2.8 and 9.3.7.1). Naudé's faith development during this historical period coincides with the continued growth in the life task of spirituality discussed here. During this period, Naudé transitioned to universalising faith according to the FDT. Two important features of this faith development stage are (a) a decentration of the self, and (b) a decentration of the valuing and valuation (see section 5.4.5.7 and 9.3.7.1). Naudé invested in a larger cause in obedience to what he believed the 'Will of God' was despite the personal cost. He also opposed the ideological positions of social structures he previously supported, the government and NGK. He was also advocating for the transformation of an unjust social system (see section 9.3.7.1). The life force of community played an important role during this historical period. On the one hand, Naudé was shunned and ostracised by the majority of the Afrikaner community (including the government and NGK) for what they deemed treason. Their negative attitude towards Naudé and his beliefs were exemplified by the banning order. While ostracized on the one hand, Naudé was being welcomed by the much larger Black community, on the other. His anti-apartheid work was also being recognised by the international community (see section 5.4.5.7).

While Naudé was not formally employed during this period, he remained very busy counselling many people from different walks of life, different ages and different cultural background in his home in Greenside. This relates to the life task of work according to the WoW model (see section 8.3.3.8) as well as to God's work of ongoing creation (one of the constructs of work/vocation according to FDT), since through this process he contributed to a wholesome 'spirit-culture' (see section 9.4.3.1). In terms of the other constructs related to life

work/vocation he participated in God's work of governance by continuing to support the anti-apartheid activists regardless of the banning order since he viewed the apartheid system as unjust (see section 9.4.3.2). The banning order further served to liberate Naudé from the trappings related to conventional or traditional sources of power, significance and security. This enabled him to embrace partnership in the liberative and redemptive work of God to a greater extent (see section 9.4.3.3.).

10.4.9 Towards ecumenical unity (1985-1987)

In terms of the life task of spirituality (life task one according to the WoW model), Naudé experienced a deep sense of meaning and purpose and attained a degree of transcendence in that he experienced tremendous inner peace and a loss of fear during this historical period (see section 8.3.1.9). The characteristics of universalising faith (according to FDT) that featured most prominently during this period is the selfless service of Naudé in the communities that Naudé engaged with as General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). In this position, he was able to interact with people of all walks of life, all stages of faith development as well as different faith traditions. He was also still advocating for the transformation of the unjust social and political system of apartheid (see section 9.3.7.2). Most significantly, he lost attachments to certain traditional value systems (Naudé & Sölle, 1986) during this historical period which is also an important characteristic of universalising faith (see section 5.4.5.7). Community as a life force played a major role in both Naudé's life task of spirituality and faith development during this historical period due to the amount of contact he had with various communities as General Secretary of the SACC (see section 8.3.1.9 and 9.3.7.2).

This historical period was a particularly busy period for Naudé regarding the life task of work (WoW model). When other people would be considering retiring, he accepted the position of General Secretary of the SACC at the age of 62 and he was ordained as minister into the NGKA (see section 8.3.3.9). In terms of life work/vocation (FDT), the position of General Secretary of the SACC enabled Naudé to participate in God's work of ongoing creation. Through the many speaking engagements and contact with people at grass roots level, he was able to contribute to the wholesome 'spirit-culture' (see section 9.4.3.1). In his position in the SACC, he also continued to speak out against apartheid and in so doing continued to participate in God's work of governance (see section 9.4.3.2). He also continued

to show solidarity with the oppressed majority under apartheid and this relates to participating in God's liberative and redemptive work (see section 9.4.3.3).

10.4.10 Vindication (1988-2004)

In terms of the life task of spirituality (according to the WoW model) Naudé experienced a culmination of the deep sense of meaning and purpose in persevering in his opposition against the apartheid system and remaining obedient to what he understood the 'Will of God' to be (see section 8.2.10). During this historical period the data still supported that Naudé was in universalising faith development according to FDT (see section 9.3.7.3). He contributed significantly to, and continued to support the transition from the apartheid system to a democratic political and economic dispensation in South Africa. Fowler (1981) explained that in universalising faith the circle of 'those who matter' expand to include all humanity. In Naudé's case, he was especially concerned with justice for all South Africans under a new political dispensation. With the change in dispensation in South Africa post-1994, both the life forces of religion and government impacted on Naudé's life task of spirituality and faith development in acknowledging that Naudé had been justified opposing the apartheid system all along. The NGK made him a handsome apology and the ANC involved Naudé in the Dakar, Senegal and Groote Schuur talks with the Nationalist government (see section 3.2.10).

In this historical period, Naudé continued to engage in activities that served a social purpose, despite his age. These activities relate to the life task of work according to the WoW model. He participated in the talks between the Nationalist government and the ANC that led to the birth of a new democratic dispensation in the country. Post-1994 he continued to be an important public figure and promoted righteousness, reconciliation and non-violence. Through his actions during the last years of his life he continued to participate in God's work of ongoing creation and creating a positive 'spirit-culture', God's work of governance as well as participating in the liberative and redemptive work of God (see sections 9.4.3.1.-9.4.3.3).

10.4.11 Concluding remarks regarding corresponding and overlapping findings

From the discussion in sections 10.4.1-10.4.10 it seemed that Naudé's life task of spirituality, on the one hand, was far more flexible and free to develop when faced with broadening and deepening life experiences. On the other hand, Naudé's faith development

seemed far more stunted especially in the period of 1930-1960 (see Chapter 3). It seemed that the life forces had an impact on both the development and growth with regard to the development of the life task of spirituality, on the one hand and the stunting of faith development, on the other. The life forces of government and community seemed to promote Naudé's process of inner questioning of the apartheid system and promoted growth in terms of spiritual maturity and wellness (see section 8.3.1). Naudé's faith development on the other hand seemed to be stunted (initially at least in the case of Naudé) by some life forces such as family, government, community and religion. These social systems did not condone an overt questioning or criticisms against the sources of authority that included the government of the time and the NGK (see section 8.3.1).

While the manner and rate at which the life task of spirituality and faith developed, varied, it seemed that the 'end point' was the same with regard to spiritual and faith development in Naudé's life. Naudé's life is marked by growth in terms of spiritual wellness and maturity as well as continued faith development to the stage of universalising faith. The findings of the research supported that Naudé's holistic wellness and faith development were mostly consistent with the constructs of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1991) and pattern of development of the FDT (Fowler, 1981).

Regarding the findings related to the life task of work (WoW model) and life work/vocation (FDT), it seemed that during the earlier periods in Naudé's life he engaged in typical activities related to career building and raising a family (related to the life task of work and participating in God's ongoing work of creation, respectively). This pattern changed somewhat from the period of the late-1940s and onwards (see sections 10.4.3-10.4.10). As his views and beliefs regarding apartheid and race relationships changed, his work and vocational involvement also changed to incorporate more of participation in God's work of ongoing creation and governance as well as the liberative and redemptive work of God. His spirituality development and his advancement through the faith development stages impacted on both the life task of work (WoW model) and life work/vocation (FDT). The argument could be made that his work activities (WoW model) and vocational involvement (FDT) also most likely facilitated both spiritual growth and faith development as well.

In this section a summary was given regarding the corresponding and congruent findings in this study. In the following section, practicalities related to the utilisation of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1991) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981) are discussed.

10.5 The Utilisation of the WoW Model and the FDT in this Study

The employment of both the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1991) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981) in this study held both advantages and difficulties from a practical implementation perspective. These are discussed in this section. The WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1991) and practicalities related to the implementation of the model in this study are discussed first, followed by a discussion regarding practicalities related to the implantation of the FDT (Fowler, 1981).

As mentioned previously, the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1991) provided a multidimensional and multi-faceted model from which to discuss the holistic wellness of Naudé. The advantage of this was a broad basis from which to engage in an extensive discussion regarding many facets and constructs related to holistic wellness. The constructs discussed in the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1991) were, however, not overly complicated to understand and was relatively simple to link to the overall concept of holistic wellness. The disadvantage in the practical application of this model is related to the structuring and presentation of findings. The numerous constructs of the model were applied to each historical period in Naudé's life in order to investigate his holistic wellness. This may have resulted in a lengthy and time-consuming read of the findings.

The FDT (Fowler, 1981), on the other hand, was a developmental theory that focussed, specifically, on constructs related to faith development. The theory is a discrete, focussed theory. The explanation regarding each of the individual faith stages was, however, complicated which may have added to findings that were potentially more laborious to read. Additionally, while the faith stages were presented as discrete, focussed stages, the practical utilisation of the stages was more complicated. In the application of the stages to data related to Naudé's faith development, there seemed to be a few stages (particularly the later faith development stages) where two faith development stages overlapped in a specific historical period. It seemed that the transitions between faith development stages are not as clear cut when applied to the life history of an individual.

A final comment regarding the utilisation of the specific combination of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1991) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981) needs to be made. The model and theory employed in this study explored many constructs and facets related to holistic wellness and faith development, respectively, which relate to adaptive and optimal human functioning. The divergent nature of the model and theory, however, made the exploration of overlapping and corresponding findings, a challenging enterprise. The

researcher was able to explore the corresponding constructs of spirituality and work (life tasks of WoW model) and faith development and life work/vocation (FDT). The interaction of external forces (life forces and global events, as identified by the WoW model) on all these constructs were also discussed where applicable.

10.6 Conclusion

In this chapter a conceptual outline was presented for the integration of findings followed by a discussion regarding the similarities and differences between the WoW model and the FDT. A summary of corresponding findings was also included. These findings related to the aspects of correspondence and overlap between the WoW model and the FDT. These aspects of correspondence and overlap included the constructs of spirituality and faith development as well as work/vocation. The influence of external forces (e.g., family, community and government) on these constructs was also explored. The summary of findings was presented according to the historical periods of Naudé's life and a reflexive discussion regarding the use of the WoW model and the FDT in this study, concluded the chapter. The next chapter is the final chapter in this study. In this chapter the conclusions of the study, and limitations and recommendations are discussed.

Chapter 11

Conclusions, Limitations and Recommendations

11.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter concludes the research study. In this final chapter the aim of the study is revisited. This is followed by discussions regarding both the limitations and value of the research. Recommendations are also made for future research. General comments and a brief reflexive analysis conclude the chapter.

11.2 The Aim of the Study Revisited

The primary aim of this psychobiographical study was to explore and describe the holistic wellness and faith development across Naudé's lifespan. According to Edwards (1998), this aim is reflective of the exploratory-descriptive nature of the study which entails an accurate and detailed description of a single case, with the aim of providing an in-depth understanding of the person within his/her sociohistorical context.

The aim of the study also included the process of informally 'testing' aspects or facets of the theoretical propositions of both the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981) by comparing the findings in the study to the theoretical propositions of the model or theory. This process is referred to as analytical generalisation (Cavaye, 1996; Yin, 2009). Thus, the descriptive-dialogic approach (Edwards, 1998) of this study formed a dialogue between the conceptualisations and theoretical propositions (Fouché, 1999; Stroud, 2004) of the WoW model and the FDT, on the one hand, and the exploratory-descriptive findings, on the other. In light of the aim of the study mentioned in this section, the researcher concluded this study by providing a discussion on (a) the limitations of the research study and recommendations for future research, and (b) the value of this research study and recommendations for future research.

11.3 The Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

In this section the limitations of the study as well as recommendations for future research, are outlined and discussed by referring to (a) the conceptual model and theory employed in this research study, (b) psychobiographical research methodology, and (c) the psychobiographical subject, Beyers Naudé.

11.3.1 The conceptual model and theory employed in this study

11.3.1.1 The holistic wellness model

The first limitation regarding the use of the WoW model is the lack of a sufficient explanatory framework regarding how wellness develops and is shaped over the lifespan (Fouché, 1999). Future research may aim to explore and elaborate on causal factors of wellness and extend on the explanatory framework.

Two related criticisms regarding the WoW model relate to the lack of specific wellness indicators across different developmental stages (Fouché, 1999). The indicators of wellness seem to be more applicable to adult developmental stages with no clear, specific indicators for the childhood and adolescence developmental stages. Likewise, there also do not seem to be wellness criteria related, specifically, to age, gender and cultural differences either. Future research may aim at a more elaborate contextualisation of wellness criteria regarding age, gender and cultural differences (Fouché, 1999).

Another criticism is related to the impact the ecological environment can have on individual wellness, since ecological environment may impact directly on aspects such as quality of life and a holistic wellness lifestyle as indicated by Fouché (1999) in his study on Jan Smuts. Future research may incorporate a model or theory that addresses the construct of ecological environment as it relates to holistic wellness. The WoW model does not address the impact the ecological environment may have on individual wellness *per se* (Fouché, 1999).

The final criticism is also discussed as a value of this research study and relates to the multidimensional and multidisciplinary nature of the WoW model. This creates difficulties concerning in-depth description and discussion of findings related to holistic wellness (Fouché, 1999). The multidimensional nature of the model created a lengthy description which resulted in a laborious and time-consuming read. A model or theory that is more discrete and focussed on the in-depth exploration of specific constructs related to holistic wellness, may be employed in future research to augment and expand on findings related to holistic wellness in this study.

11.3.1.2 The faith development theory

In section 5.8 the criticisms against the FDT were discussed and Fowler's responses to the criticisms were also noted. In this section the limitations of the theory as they pertained to the research study on Naudé, were explored. Stroud (2004) commented on the complexity of

detail in the stages of faith development as set out in the FDT (Fowler, 1981). This characteristic may have created aspects of the study that are cumbersome to read, difficult to understand and challenging in the process of analysis and application. A second criticism was raised by Sigelman and Shaffer (1991) (see section 5.8). They stated that the cross-section comparisons of ages, as identified by Fowler, seemed to coincide with the stages and age ranges identified in FDT. However, they stated that longitudinal research to support the stages and ages as identified by FDT, was lacking. It is recommended that additional longitudinal research be conducted regarding to the FDT stages and ages in future research.

11.3.1.3 Concluding remarks regarding the conceptual frameworks

The discussion regarding the findings in this study was contextualised within the conceptual frameworks of the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981). Alternative descriptions and explanations regarding the holistic wellness and faith development of Naudé may be explored in future research. The findings and discussion presented in this study should, therefore, be added to additional, as well as alternative descriptions and findings regarding holistic wellness and faith development across the lifespan of Naudé. Other dimensions or constructs, besides holistic wellness and faith development, may also be investigated and added to the body of findings and knowledge available regarding one of the ‘great’ figures in contemporary South African history.

11.3.2 Psychobiographical case study research

Psychobiographical research methodology is often criticised. These criticisms were discussed in detail in Chapter 6. These included researcher bias, reductionism, issues of diversity, analysing an absent subject, elitism and easy genre, infinite amount of biographical data and inflated expectations. The recommendations to address these issues as well as the methods employed in this study to address these issues, were discussed in section 6.2. In order to avoid a duplication of the content, the reader is referred to that section. However, certain limitations are highlighted and explored in this section to fully emphasise their influence on the study.

The study has relatively low external validity and transferability. The results regarding Naudé’s holistic wellness and faith development can therefore not be generalised to a larger population. Instead, the study aimed at analytical generalisation (Yin, 2009). This involves comparing the findings in the study with the theoretical propositions of the WoW model

(Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1991) and the FDT (Fowler, 1981). The findings are generalised to the model and the theory in order to (a) informally ‘test’ the relevance of aspects or facets of the model and theory on Naudé’s holistic wellness and faith development, and (b) to identify areas of inadequate theoretical conceptualisations and to make suggestions to elaborate on them. An example of this may be the findings concerning the statements of Naudé and others who repeatedly referred to the integral and supportive role Ilse played in Naudé’s life and their close relationship, as the 64 year marriage indicated (H. Kleinschmidt, personal communication, October 24, 2011; Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). This type and quality of relationship speaks to the life task of love (according to the WoW model), described as featuring an intimate, disclosing, interdependent relationship and long-term commitment to another person. In this regard the collected data coincides with the theoretical components of the WoW model of Witmer and Sweeney (1992) and Myers et al. (2000). However, despite the close, supportive relationship with Ilse, and the fact that he credited her influence and his early experiences at Genadendal for planting the seed of non-racism in him (Naudé, 1995), Naudé never discussed his misgivings and doubts regarding the apartheid system with her, even as early as 1953, when he embarked on a journey of theological self-study (Ryan, 1990) or even after the Cottesloe meeting in 1962 (Clur, 1997; Naudé, 1990; Ryan, 1990). In this regard, the theory and collected data do not coincide and in this instance the dialogue between theoretical content and collected data thus also presents a degree of uncertainty. This may create the possibility and scope for further investigation and future research related to the topic.

The study also has low internal validity and credibility regarding causal explanations. The aim of the study, however, was not to explore causal relationships but rather to explore and describe the nature, status and development of holistic wellness and faith development over the lifespan of Naudé. Instead, structural corroboration (Yin, 2009) was employed in this study to enhance the inferences made by the researcher. The specific strategies employed to achieve this included the following:

- Prolonged engagement with, and an in-depth analysis of, the literature on the life of Naudé.
- The employment of data triangulation and the use of multiple sources in order to prevent and overcome distorted interpretations of the literature.

- The utilisation of theoretical triangulation which involved the two compatible and complementary approaches to holistic wellness and faith development that were used.
- The employment of investigator triangulation since both study promoters (which are both expert consultants in the field of psychobiographical research in South Africa) provided feedback and critique on the data analysis and collection procedures.

In order to produce a methodologically sound study, the researcher conducted an in-depth study of an absent subject. As such, the researcher developed new skills in the field of psychobiographical and qualitative research. In the researcher's experience, the criticism that psychobiographical research is an easy genre is biased, due to the in-depth nature of analysing an absent subject. The findings in this study are also contextualised within the frameworks of holistic wellness and faith development. The researcher recognises that other theories and approaches may also provide insight into wellness, faith development and other psychological aspects of Naudé. Therefore, this research study should add to descriptions and explanations related to wellness, faith development and other psychological aspects. It is recommended that future research projects investigate other developmental or psychological aspects of Naudé.

Psychobiographical research is often criticised for its lengthy and time-consuming nature. Due to the nature of qualitative, psychobiographical research, the analysis and presentation of findings require time, as well as extensive elaboration and precise documentation and at times, repetition. This relates to the criticism of 'infinite amounts of biographical data' that was discussed in section 6.2

11.3.3 The psychobiographical subject

The possible criticisms against the choice of Naudé as the research subject were discussed in detail in Chapter 6 (see section 6.2). In this section, the researcher highlights two specific criticisms here to fully explore their influence on the study. These criticisms centred on the single case design of the study as well as Naudé's perceived 'greatness' which could have made this study an elitist endeavour.

The choice of a single case should be based on the theoretical significance of the individual life to confirm or refute certain aspects of the psychological theory utilised in the

study (Fouché, 1999). This was discussed in sections 7.4 and 10.5, since findings regarding Naudé's life were of theoretical significance and interest to this study.

Naudé was also considered a 'great' figure and as a fairly privileged individual, the study can be criticised as an elitist endeavour. Despite his perceived 'greatness' the researcher did not idealise the subject. During the research and data collection process the researcher became aware of many of Naudé's 'flaws'. These were discussed in section 3.3. For example, Naudé was described as stubbornly independent and at times over-enthusiastic about ideas that were impractical (Villa-Vicencio, 1985). He was also said to have been a poor judge of human character due to his acceptance of people and he would often be let down by them (Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1985). Naudé himself also stated that he was patriarchal and a male chauvinist with regard to unilaterally making decisions that would affect the family life without even consulting with his wife (Naudé, 1995). The 'flaws' mentioned were considered during the data analysis procedure as well as during at the presentation and discussion of findings.

11.4 The Value of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research

In this section the value of the study as well as recommendations for future research, are outlined and discussed by referring to (a) the conceptual model and theory employed in this research study, (b) psychobiographical research methodology, and (c) the psychobiographical subject, Naudé.

11.4.1 The conceptual model and theory employed in the study

Both the holistic wellness model, the WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1991) as well as the faith development theory, FDT (Fowler, 1981) proved to be valuable frameworks for this psychobiographical study of Naudé. The value of the model and theory is outlined in this section. The model and theory provided useful frameworks for the exploration and description of holistic wellness and faith development over Naudé's lifespan, respectively. The findings of the study regarding holistic wellness and faith development indicated that the WoW model and FDT were theoretically relevant and practically applicable to the understanding of holistic wellness and faith development of Naudé.

The use of both a conceptual model (the WoW model) and a theory (the FDT) had methodological value in their contribution to the construct validity/confirmability and reliability/dependability. Construct validity/confirmability was enhanced by the clear

conceptualizations of the factors that influence holistic wellness and faith development. Therefore the salient biographical data related to holistic wellness and faith development could be operationalised with an acceptable and suitable degree of reliability. This was achieved through the use of conceptual frameworks in order to extract, analyse and contextualise salient data (see section 7.6.2). This resulted in a consistent pattern of data extraction and categorisation which enhanced the construct validity/confirmability and reliability/dependability of this study.

Additionally, both model and theory were useful in extracting, analysing and interpreting positive dimensions regarding the holistic wellness and faith development of Naudé. This enabled a psychobiographical study to be conducted from a eugraphic perspective as opposed to a pathogenic perspective (Fouché, 1999). Finally, the lifespan perspective of WoW model and the FDT provided a longitudinal perspective on both holistic wellness and faith development over Naudé's entire lifespan. The value of specifically the WoW model in this study is discussed in the following section.

11.4.1.1 The holistic wellness model

The WoW model (Myers et al., 2000; Witmer & Sweeney, 1992) provided both a multidimensional framework from which to explore and describe a variety of factors that impacted upon Naudé's holistic wellness. The multiplicity of dimensions of holistic wellness provides such a study with a holistic focus (Fouché, 1999) on wellness. The WoW model also incorporates and acknowledges the systemic influence of family, community, religion, education, government, media and business/industry on an individual life. Furthermore, it also takes the impact of global events on systems and individuals into account and allows for a more holistic investigation of a life, and includes a spiritual component which was a central component in the life of Naudé. The value of specifically the FDT in this study is discussed in the following section.

11.4.1.2 The faith development theory

The FDT (Fowler, 1981) provided a lifespan perspective to Naudé's faith development from childhood to old age which enabled the researcher to present both a holistic as well as lifespan examination of Naudé's faith development. Faith development is seen as a cyclical and dynamic patterned process. The FDT therefore enriched the understanding of lifespan development (Stroud, 2004). Fowler (1981) also emphasised that faith development should

not merely be seen as a step-wise progression through the stages of FDT, nor as an achievement scale by which to judge the worth of people (Stroud, 2004). Progression through the stages does however require maturation and the ability to deal with and resolve ever-increasing more complex tensions and conflicts (Dykstra, 1982). The value of psychobiographical case study research is discussed in the following section.

11.4.2 Psychobiographical case study research

The value of psychobiographical case research was discussed in general terms earlier in this study (see section 2.3.4). The value of the psychobiographical research approach in this specific study, however, is highlighted in this section. In the first instance this study highlights a different and new dimension in the life of Naudé that has not previously been presented in biographical form. This different and new dimension refers to Naudé's holistic health and faith development. Secondly, the longitudinal life history approach followed in this study served to illustrate the value of biography as a means to study certain constructs and development over the entire lifespan of a subject. The study of finished lives (Carlson, 1988), as is the case with psychobiographical research, enables the researcher to trace these developmental processes and patterns.

According to Elms (1994) and Fouché (1999) another value of psychobiographical research highlights the value biography holds for psychology since biographical material provided valuable sources of information and data for studies such as this one. Psychology, on the other hand also holds value for biography in providing useful scientific, conceptual models from which biographies may be conducted. Thus psychobiographical research represents the effective synthesis between psychology and biography (Elms, 1994).

This psychobiography on Naudé illustrated the value and importance of uncovering his holistic wellness and faith development within the sociohistorical and sociocultural context of the time. The influence of these larger contextual forces on Naudé's holistic wellness and faith development was also taken into consideration during the analysis of data and the presentation of findings. Another advantage of this study was the availability of the vast amount of biographical data on the life of Naudé. This enabled the researcher to corroborate the salient biographical findings. In turn, the cross-corroboration enhanced the internal validity (credibility) of the findings pertaining to Naudé's holistic wellness and faith development. Finally, this psychobiographical study also contributed to the still limited, but growing number of psychobiographies that have been completed in academic settings in South

Africa. Life history research (such as psychobiography) may serve to enrich our understanding of human development in such areas as psychosocial and personality development (Stroud, 2004). The inclusion of Naudé as subject in this psychobiography held various advantages for this study. These are discussed in the following section.

11.4.3 The psychobiographical subject

As subject, Naudé served as an exceptional personality who modelled a rich, multi-faceted, deeply religious and spiritual life. Comprehensive and rich amounts of biographical data exists on the life of Naudé from which relevant information could be gathered and cross-corroborated. Life history researchers (such as Elms 1994; Runyan 1988a; Schultz, 2005a; Simonton, 1999) have advocated for the study of ‘great’ lives in order to learn why and how they became ‘great’ and also to unravel the lessons they may have to teach humanity.

Fouché (1999) stated the importance of reframing and reconstructing the lives of significant figures in South African history within psychological paradigms. South Africa has produced a variety of ‘rich’ personalities. It could benefit contemporary South African society to investigate these personalities in order to present them in more than merely a political light (Fouché, 1999). Given the iconic figure Naudé became as a White, Afrikaner involved in the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, he was a fitting and appropriate choice as a psychobiographical subject.

11.5 General Thoughts and Remarks

As mentioned earlier, reflexivity is a distinctive feature of a qualitative research process and refers to the researcher’s awareness of, and contribution to, the meaning and knowledge construction during the research process (Malterud, 2001; Punch, 1993, Willig, 2008). The researcher would like to add briefly to the discussion by noting the following general thoughts and remarks regarding this psychobiographical study on Naudé. This research study on the life of Naudé was loosely informed by the researcher’s interest in the ability of some individuals to change seemingly intractable beliefs and to embrace change that requires a radical change to their life course and in their belief system.

During the lengthy research process, the researcher was confronted by an extensive amount of data and research material based on Naudé, written about Naudé and about the historical context of the time in South Africa. In this process, the researcher was confronted with the sobering and chilling reality of apartheid South Africa. Naudé referred to the

dichotomy of the South Africa experienced by Whites on the one hand, and the South Africa experienced by Black people on the other hand during the apartheid era (Rampen, 1972). During the research process the researcher experienced some of this dichotomy: Robben Island Prison Museum in Table Bay stood in stark contrast to the natural beauty and tranquillity of the Western Cape wine lands and coast, while, on the outskirts of vibrant Soweto in Gauteng, the Apartheid Museum serves as a sobering reminder of the reality of Apartheid South Africa and of a history never to be repeated.

South Africa remains steeped in contradiction even today. On the one hand, the peaceful transition to our democracy was seen as miraculous by many (Mandela, 1995b). On the other hand South Africa is still a country coming to grips with establishing a mature democratic society, needing to address the ever-present social problems related to education, abject poverty, crime and healthcare. Naudé shared a vision for South Africa and all South Africans with liberation fighters and activists like Mandela, Tutu, Biko, Lutuli, Sisulu and Tambo, to name but a few. In the interviews conducted with individuals who lived under apartheid, it emerged that Naudé's presence and example was a beacon of hope for them during dark and troubled times. Research projects such as this may serve to illuminate what characteristics, values, attitudes and beliefs need to be fostered and developed in people in order to meet the challenges of contemporary South Africa and to realise the vision of the men and women who fought for liberation.

Taking into account the limitations noted earlier in the chapter, this study has nonetheless been a valuable research undertaking as Naudé's life exemplifies a 'great' life. The general aim of the research was to explore and describe Naudé's holistic wellness and faith development over his lifespan. This study may be regarded as a point of departure for additional research to be conducted on Naudé. As such, other psychological constructs may be investigated. Other conceptual frameworks may provide additional insights into a 'great' figure in South African anti-apartheid history. For example, Naudé's psychosocial and moral development may be investigated further by the use of Erikson's (1965) psychosocial development theory and Kohlberg's (1984) moral development theory, respectively. Other useful research endeavours may include employing Tomkins's (1962, 1963) script theory and investigating Naudé's personality development in greater detail, or Jung's (1960) analytic theory may be useful to explore Naudé's process of individuation.

The specific theories employed in a study of this nature, dictate the parameters of the study. While these parameters often contribute to the limitations of a study, it is important also to consider the parameters within which research is conducted. The limitations of this

research study were discussed earlier in the chapter. The researcher however is of the opinion that the limitations in a study often indicate avenues for new research. Despite the limitations of the study, it is the opinion of the researcher that this research study is a valuable endeavour as an example of how some of the psychological aspects of a 'great' life may be illuminated.

11.6 Conclusion

In this final chapter the aim of the study was revisited. The limitations and the value of the research study as well as recommendations for future research were presented. A brief reflexive analysis, as general thoughts and remarks, concluded the chapter. The last word on the lived life of Beyers Naudé has not been written. There are many more lessons to be learnt and insights gained from a life lived in the manner Naudé chose to live his. The researcher concludes with the following description by Mandela (1995b, para. 2):

Standing in the tradition of great Afrikaners and Patriots like Bram Fischer, Betty Du Toit and others, his life is a shining beacon to all South Africans - both Black and White. It demonstrates what it means to rise above race, to be a true South African. If someone asks me what kind of a person a New South African should be, I will say: Take a look at Beyers and his wife Ilse.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: A Concise Biographical Outline of the Life of Dr C. F. Beyers Naudé (Summarised from the information in Chapter 3)

• Childhood Years (1915-1931)

- 1915: Born 10 May in Roodepoort, Transvaal, South Africa.
- 1919: The Naudé family moved to the town of Piet Retief.
- 1921: The Naudé family moved to Graaff-Reinet when Naudé was 6 years old.

• University Years (1932-1938)

- 1932: Naudé enrolled in a BA Degree at Stellenbosch University; during this period he meets and courts Ilse Hedwig Weder; Naudé began questioning the separatist policy of the country at the time during visits to Ilse's home in Genadendal near Caledon; joined the editorial staff of the student magazine *Pro Libertate* with his brother.
- 1935: Completed a MA Degree.
- 1936: Enters the Theology Seminary.
- 1937: Elected to the president of the Student Representative Council and served for two years; announced his engagement to Ilse Hedwig Weder.

• Early Ministry Years (1939-1954)

- 1939: Completes his Theology Seminary training; accepts position as trainee minister at Wellington.
- 1940: Marries Ilse Hedwig Weder on 3 August; inducted as trainee minister in Wellington by his father on 27 July; becomes the youngest member of the *Afrikaner Broederbond* at the age of 25.
- 1941: First child Johann Friedrich Naudé born.
- 1943: Accepted a ministry position in Loxton, Karoo.
- 1945: Accepted a ministry position in Pretoria-South, Transvaal; second child, Jozua Francois Naudé born.
- 1946: Third child, Emile Hermann Karl Naudé born.
- 1948: Accepts the ministry position in Olifantsfontein after the Pretoria-South congregation was split; despite harbouring misgivings about the apartheid policy of the government votes Nationalist Party; father passes away.
- 1949: Appointed minister in Pretoria-East.
- 1950: Daughter, Liesel Naudé born.
- 1953: Begins intensive programme of self-study and reading in theology; embarks on a 6-month study tour overseas; came to realisation that policy of apartheid could not be justified on scriptural grounds.
- 1954: Accepts a ministry position in Potchefstroom, western Transvaal; Verwoerd spells out his 'separate development' policy in government.

• Doubt and Disillusionment (1955-1960)

- 1955: Disillusioned by the *Broederbond* at the Transvaal synod meeting; co-authored the book *Kerk en Jeug in die Buiteland en Suid-Afrika* with W. de W Strauss.
- 1958: Attended the World Reformed Ecumenical Synod meeting in Potchefstroom; elected to the leadership position of vice-chairman to the Transvaal synod; young ministers begin to seek Naudé out to discuss dilemmas about apartheid; Naudé begins to see the effects of apartheid policy on the people and started studying the race laws of the country; realises that he had a duty to prove to the church that the race policy of the time was wrong.
- 1959: Accepted a ministry position at the prestigious Aasvoëlkop congregation in Northcliff, Johannesburg.
- 1960: 21 March, Sharpeville Massacre.

- **Turning Point: Cottesloe and Beyond (1960-1963)**

- 1960: Attends meeting with Dr. Robert Billheimer in April with other leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC); appointed as one of the representatives of the Transvaal DRC on the planning committee for the Cottesloe meeting; 7-14 December Cottesloe conference takes place.
- 1961: Cottesloe statement condemned at a mass meeting in Pretoria; Naudé continues to support ecumenical movement.
- 1962: Afrikaans theology journal 'Pro Veritate' started with Naudé as editor; Christian Institute (CI) established.
- 1963: 14 March -Naudé resigns from the AB.; 26 March - elected as moderator of the Southern Transvaal Synod in Pretoria; 15 August - CI formally launched and Naudé offered the job of Director of the CI; September applied to the examining committee of the DRC whether he would retain his status as minister if he accepted the position as director of the CI and the committee refused the request; 23 September - resigns his position as minister of the Aasvoëlkop congregation; 3 November - delivers a farewell sermon and was handed his document of dismissal as a minister in the DRC; towards the end of 1963 confidential *Broederbond* information was leaked to the press and Naudé was accused of being the leak, evoking further judgement and criticism from the larger Afrikaner community.
- 1963: 15 December – Naudé delivers inaugural service of the CI.

- **A Liberal Ministry Unfolds (1964-1968)**

- 1964: February – Naudé appeals against the decision to deprive him of the status as minister which was denied; May – Naudé elected as an elder onto the Parkhurst congregation church council and in July the Johannesburg circuit of the DRC declared Naudé's election invalid; the CI faces a lot of criticism and 'attacks' in that year.
- 1965: February – Naudé elected an elder again and was inducted in March; after complaints were lodged with the synodical commission and in May the commission declared his election as an elder invalid; also in May – security police carry out the first raid on the CI and the 'attacks' on the CI intensify; June – the African Independent Churches Association (AICA) formed.
- 1967: February - Case against Pont started in the Rand Supreme Court and Naudé and Albert Geyser won the libel case in June; mother passes away.
- 1968: International support for the CI grows while national criticism and opposition against the CI grows especially among the Afrikaner community; *Message to the People of South Africa* compiled, challenging apartheid.

- **Transition to Political Activism (1969-1976)**

- 1969: March – Launch of The Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society (Spro-cas) Programme to Combat Racism proposed in London and supported by the World Council of Churches; during late 1960s and early 1970s Naudé's views on the Black Consciousness Movement became more changed amid increasing pressure from the apartheid-government to silence the 'activists'; Questions regarding economic sanctions and the use of violence to change the status quo emerged during these years.
- 1972: May – Preaches at Westminster Abbey against using violence in the freedom struggle; acts of violence perpetrated against members of the CI nationally.
- 1973: CI executive committee refuse to testify before the Schlebusch Commission and are charged under the Commissions Act; Naudé's trial begins in November and he is found guilty as charged but appealed.
- 1974: Awarded the Reinhold Niebuhr Prize, and an honorary doctorate from Wits University.
- 1975: A commission of inquiry deemed the CI to be a danger to the state; CI declared an 'affected organisation' by the government.
- 1976: June - The Soweto uprising of school children against Afrikaans as instruction medium; October – Naudé finally sentence to 30 days' jail sentence or a R50 fine in for refusing to testify at the Schlebusch commission and served a day in jail before his fine was paid; security police raids on the offices of the CI and the South African Council of Churches (SACC) offices.

- **The Years of Silence (1977-1984)**

- 1977: Political and racial tensions continue to intensify in SA; leader of the Black Consciousness movement, Steve Biko dies in police custody after having being tortured; CI declared unlawful along with 17 Black Consciousness organisations; *Pro Veritate* banned; 19 October - the leadership of the CI (including Naudé aged 62) receive banning orders for 5 years.
- 1980: Naudé confirmed into the DRC of Africa.
- 1982: Banning order extended for another 3 years.
- 1984: September - Banning order lifted by Minister of Justice.

- **Towards Ecumenical Unity (1985-1987)**

- 1985: Accepts position as secretary in SACC.
- 1987: Confirmed as minister in the DRC of Africa; succeeded by Frank Chikane as General Secretary of the SACC.

- **Vindication (1988-2004)**

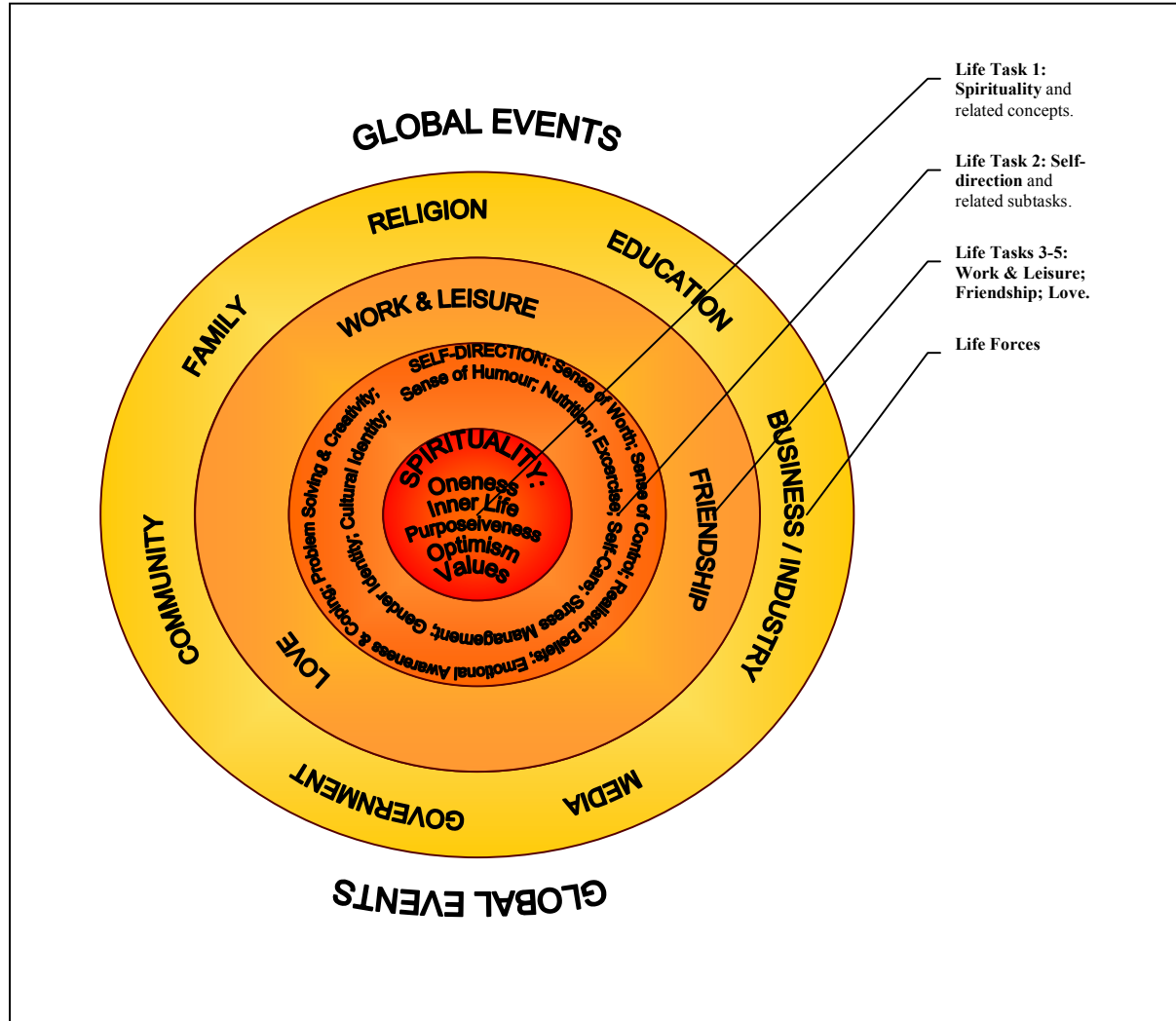
- 1990: Participates in the Groote Schuur talks as part of the ANC delegation.
- 1994: NGK publicly apologises to Naudé and Ilse at the DRC Synod meeting in Pretoria.
- 1995: 13 August - at the age of 80 invited by Aasvoëlkop congregation to preach there, 32 years after his dismissal from the DRC.
- 1999: Participates in Pres. Thabo Mbeki's inaugural ceremony.
- 2004: 7 September - Naudé dies* and is survived by his wife, Ilse and their children and grandchildren.
18 September - Official state funeral conducted by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rev. Tsele (General Secretary of the SACC at the time) as well as Rev. Bartlett.

*The awards, honours and accolades bestowed on Naudé in his lifetime are discussed in section 3.3.

APPENDIX B: SOCIAL INTEREST ORGANISATIONS BEYERS NAUDÉ WAS INVOLVED WITH

Organisation	Date Established	Aim of the Organisation	Founding Members/Trustees
Kagiso Trust.	May, 1985 (Kagiso Trust, 2013).	Catalyst for new development institutions and initiatives in the areas of social welfare, health and education (Kagiso Trust, 2013).	Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Dr Beyers Naudé; Dr Max Coleman; Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa; Dr Abe Nkomo; Prof. Jakes Gerwel; Rev. Alan Boesak (Kagiso Trust, 2013; J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013).
Thebe Investment Corporation.	July, 1992 (J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013; Thebe Investment Corporation, 2013).	The organisation aimed at making economic self-sufficiency a reality for the majority of South Africans (Thebe Investment Corporation, 2013).	Original board of trustees included: Mr Nelson Mandela (Chairman); Mr Walter Sisulu; Dr Beyers Naudé; Mr Siddik Ahmed; Mr Vusi Khanyile (Founding CEO) (J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013; Thebe Investment Corporation, 2013).
Ecumenical Service for Socio-Economic Transformation (ESSET).	1996 (Esset, 2013; J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013).	An independent ecumenical organisation promoting socio-economic justice (Esset, 2013; J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013).	Dr Beyers Naudé; Dr Wolfram Kistner (Esset, 2013; J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013).
African Youth Development Fund.	2004 (African Youth Development Fund, 2013; J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013).	The organisation offers programmes in Southern and East African on life skills; the development of organised sport; drug and alcohol awareness and HIV/AIDS prevention for youths (African Youth Development Fund, 2013).	Dr Beyers Naudé was involved with this organisation (J. Naudé, personal communication, May 27, 2013).

APPENDIX C: THE WHEEL OF WELLNESS FIGURE



Note. Adapted from *Counseling and Psychotherapy. Theories and Interventions* (2nd ed.) (p. 121), by D. Capuzzi and D. R. Gross, 1999, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall. (A version of the original figure can be found in "Wellness Counseling: The evidence base for practice" by J. E. Myers and T. J. Sweeney, 2008, *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 86, p. 483).

Appendix D: Specific Examples of Alexander’s Saliency Indicators from Naudé’s Life

Type of Saliency Indicator	Examples of Saliency Indicators as expressed by Naudé
Primacy	Naudé begins his autobiography describing the night of his birth coinciding with the fires of rebellion lighting the church square as townsfolk rebelled against their leaders who were forcing them to engage in a war against the Germans in what is known today as Namibia (Naudé, 1995). The start of his life on a night of rebellion may have been prophetic of his rebellion against the apartheid system later in his life.
Frequency	There are quite a few instances where (even as a young scholar and student) Naudé rebelled against especially oppression, injustice and stifling authority. These included the letter of protest against the school principal, joining the editorial staff of the audacious and covert student newspaper, <i>Pro Libertate</i> (Ryan, 1990), the letter to his father as student expressing that the father had been too weak and had been manipulated by his mother (Randall, 1982), later on, the marriage to Ilse against his mother’s express wishes (Naudé, 1995) and the refusal to follow tradition and give their first born son family names (Ryan, 1990).
Uniqueness	The available data revealed that the only significant romantic relationship that Naudé engaged in was with Ilse Weder. When Naudé was an adolescent, relationships with the opposite gender were disapproved of by his parents (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). He married Ilse and they were married for 64 years (Ryan, 1990; SAPA, 2011).
Negation	After the Cottesloe statements were condemned by the South African government and NGK in 1961, and Naudé backed down again in speaking out against apartheid, Naudé stated that he could not continue living this way, justifying the “duplicity... and a life of hypocrisy and deviousness” (Ryan, 1990, pp. 61-62). In fact he did continue to live with the duplicity and hypocrisy he mentioned until September 1963 when he delivered his Acts 5:29 ‘Obedience to God rather than man’ sermon and publicly declared his beliefs regarding apartheid (see section 3.2.4). Naudé stated in subsequent interviews that the fear of the consequences of declaring his true beliefs regarding apartheid had kept him silent for so many years until eventually he could remain silent no longer (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
Emphasis	Naudé often emphasised his desire to follow God’s will as a motivating factor in his choices, behaviour and decisions (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). Naudé also stated that <u>the most difficult decision</u> he had to make in his life was the decision whether to remain within the confines and restraints of the NGK or to step into the unknown by remaining obedient to his faith and his theological beliefs (International Commission of Jurists, 1975; Ryan, 1990). Naudé also often emphasised his desire to follow God’s will as a motivating factor for his decisions and behaviour (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
Omission	The relationship between Naudé and his mother Ada was somewhat conflict ridden. Naudé did not express particularly warm feelings towards his mother (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).
Errors or distortions	This particular saliency indicator also refers to contradictions (Alexander, 1988), and many contradictions may be identified in Naudé’s life: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Naudé had a very traditional, strict, conformist, almost oppressive upbringing (Naudé, 1995) yet, even as a child and student, he showed a rebellious streak in the face of perceived injustice (see section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2) (Meyer, 2006; Randall, 1982). • Naudé had such strong Afrikaner Nationalist background and expressed such strong Afrikaner Nationalist views yet he ended up with contradictory views post-Sharpeville (see sections 3.2.4 and 3.2.5) (Clur, 1997). • The years under the banning order Naudé feared would become the bleakest, loneliest and most isolated, which in fact became the richest and most fulfilling of his ministry (see section 3.2.8) (Naudé, 1995). • Naudé denounced violence all his life. From the 1970s onwards he expressed, however, understanding for the need of an armed struggle if all other strategies and attempts to bring about social transformation and justice had failed (Ryan, 1990) and he continued to assist individuals whom he knew to be involved in the armed liberation struggle (see section 3.2.8) (Villa-Vicencio, 1995). <p>The argument can be made that due to the constriction and sanctioning of information by the Nationalist government, Naudé would have had a very constricted perspective regarding the true situation in the country earlier in his life. Through the exposure to other race groups and seeing first hand the suffering and damage apartheid was causing, Naudé was able to adjust his perspective and change his views.</p>
Isolation	In his autobiography Naudé refers to English-speaking people as “Rooinekke”(translated as ‘Rednecks’) (Naudé, 1995). It does not ‘fit’ in with the rest of the narrative because it is a derogatory term and it is the only example the researcher could find where Naudé used derogatory language when referring to a race or cultural group. This slur may indicate the influence of Ada’s (Naudé’s mother) very strong anti-British and anti-English stance, which Naudé refers to in his autobiography.

Appendix E. McAdams' Model of Life Story Examination: Specific Examples from Naudé's Life

The five questions a life story is examined by	Features related to each question	Specific examples from Naudé's life
<p>1. <u>What is a life story?</u></p> <p>This question refers to the structure and content of a life story (see section 7.6.1.2.1) (McAdams, 1996, 2001).</p>	<p><i>Narrative tone</i> which implies the overall emotional tone or attitude of a story (McAdams, 1996, 2001).</p>	<p>Naudé's life story can be said to exude a tone of optimism despite the hardships (Ryan, 1990; W. Mazamiza, personal communication October 25, 2011; D. Cloete, personal communication, October 26, 2011).</p>
	<p><i>Imagery</i> which refers to the narrative 'feel' created by the word pictures of a life story (McAdams, 1996, 2001).</p>	<p>When Naudé described his younger years, the oppressive, authoritarian influence of his parents and especially Ada (Naudé's mother) is clearly illustrated. On a positive note, when Naudé described his pastoral work with his congregants over the years, clear images of enjoyment, joy, vigour and purpose are conjured (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).</p>
	<p><i>Themes.</i> "Themes convey the human motivation- what characters want, what they strive to get and avoid over time" (McAdams, 1996, p. 308).</p>	<p>Two very prominent themes that emerge in Naudé's life story is (a) obedience to God, and (b) striving towards societal justice and reconciliation among all groups in South Africa (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).</p>
	<p><i>Ideological setting</i> relates to the individual's religious, political and ethical beliefs and values as well as an account of how those beliefs and values were formed (McAdams, 1996, 2001).</p>	<p>In Naudé's case, he was exposed at an early age to the plight of the disenfranchised, the poor and was brought up in a home concerned with political matters as far as the plight of the Afrikaner in South Africa was concerned. Through his exposure as a young adult to Genadendal (the missionary community Ilse was from) and the racially integrated community there as well as the influence of Ilse, Naudé was able to apply these values and beliefs to the wider context of the racial discrimination and inequality of the apartheid system in South Africa (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1985, 1995).</p>
	<p><i>Nuclear episodes.</i> The scenes that draw attention to themselves and stand out in a life story may be called nuclear episodes (McAdams, 1996). These are specific and consequential scenes in a life history (McAdams, 2001).</p>	<p>An important turning point in the life narrative of Naudé was his decision not to recant the Cottesloe findings and was the beginnings of the isolation and loneliness he would experience in the years to come (Villa-Vicencio, 1995).</p>
	<p><i>Imagoes.</i> In a life story, the main character may appear in various different forms, each identifying particular aspects of the main character (McAdams, 1996, 2001). These imagoes often "personify the narrative theme" (McAdams, 1996, p. 309).</p>	<p>In Naudé's case some of the imagoes were identifiable in his life story could include, as a young adult, "the loyal nationalist Afrikaner" and "the <i>Dominee</i>" (the minister of religion). Later in life, as he began to question apartheid, the imagoes could include 'the rebel' or 'troublemaker' or even the 'traitor' and 'outcast' in the Afrikaner community, and at the same time he was always 'a spiritual leader' and a 'family man'. Among the Black and activist communities, some may even have seen him as a 'redeemer' (see Chapter 3).</p>
	<p><i>Endings and the generative script.</i> One of the pressing tasks for adults as they move through middle age is the "... fashioning of an anticipated ending for the life story that ties together the beginning, and the middle to affirm unity, purpose and direction in life over time" (McAdams, 1996, p. 309). Part of this ending should ideally include also developing a positive legacy for future generations. This is referred to as the generative script (McAdams, 1996; 2001).</p>	<p>In Naudé's life narrative, he often voiced his concern for the future not only of the Afrikaner, but South Africa as a whole if the apartheid system was not abolished. He worked towards a future for all South Africans based on justice and liberty and advocated for reconciliation (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990).</p>

<p>2. <u>What does a life story do?</u></p> <p>This question relates to the function of a life story (see section 7.6.1.2.2).</p>	<p>Life stories (like any story) may serve to entertain, instruct, admonish, or even impart moral lessons (McAdams, 1996, 2006).</p>	<p>Naudé's life could be said to certainly have, at the very least, served to instruct (or attempted to instruct) Afrikaners regarding the evils and injustice of the apartheid system and to have imparted moral lessons regarding the importance of justice, equality and reconciliation (Mandela, 1995a, 1995b; Naudé, 1995; Randall, 1982; Tutu, 2005).</p>
<p>3. <u>How does a life story change over time?</u></p> <p>This question refers to the development of identity of the individual (see section 7.6.1.2.3).</p>	<p>McAdams (1996) identified three eras of development: (a) prenarrative era, (b) narrative era and (c) postnarrative era (see section 7.6.1.2.3 for a description of the stages).</p>	<p>In the <i>prenarrative era</i> of Naudé's life his religious conversion ushered in the theme that very prominently featured throughout his life: "obedience to God". During the <i>narrative era</i> of Naudé's life, he struggled to reconcile the apartheid system with obedience to God's will. This ultimately led to the parting of ways between Naudé and the Afrikaner establishment, which came at great personal cost to Naudé and his family. In the <i>postnarrative era</i> in Naudé's life, he was concerned with the future of South Africa and the future generations and relationships between South Africans of various cultural backgrounds (Clur, 1997; Ryan, 1990; Naudé, 1995).</p>
<p>4. <u>What kinds of life stories are there?</u></p> <p>This question focuses on the different kinds of life stories McAdams, Diamond, de St Aubin and Mansfield (1997) identified one such type of story as the commitment story (see section 7.6.1.2.4).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A protagonist who believes early on that he or she has a special advantage. 2. This contrasts directly with the misfortune and suffering of others. 3. The protagonist believes that people need to care for one another and "commits to living in accordance with a set of clear and enduring values and personal beliefs that continue to guide behaviour throughout the lifespan (moral steadfastness)" (McAdams et al., 1997, p. 687). 4. As the protagonist moves through life certain personal misfortunes, disappointments and tragedy may even occur. 5. These tragedies, misfortunes and disappointments are however, transformed or redeemed into good outcomes (this is referred to as the redemptive sequence), either due to the efforts of the protagonist or chance or external design. 6. The protagonist sets pro-social goals to benefit the next generation and the society in which the protagonist lives (McAdams et al., 1997). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Naudé was born into the Afrikaner elite and was poised to advance to very high positions within the Afrikaner community (Randall, 1982). 2. Naudé's station in life contrasted significantly with many Afrikaners who suffered greatly during the Depression years and as a child, Naudé witnessed his parents attempt to assist them where possible (Clur, 1997). As an adult Naudé witnessed the suffering the apartheid policies and laws were causing in African, Indian and Coloured communities (Naudé & Sölle, 1986). 3. Due to his Christian conversion as an adolescent (Naudé, 1995) as well as the values taught to him by his parents, Naudé lived with a set of unwavering moral values, which, in Naudé's case included "...remaining obedient to the call of Christ and to the truth of the Gospel" (Ryan, 1990, pp. 38-39). 4. In order to remain obedient to the will of Christ, Naudé eventually had to speak out publicly against apartheid. This caused great suffering to both Naudé and his family. Family and friends turned their backs on them, they were ostracised by the Afrikaner community, criticised and vilified and Naudé was called a traitor by the Afrikaners. He lost his job and was defrocked as a minister and even had to serve a seven-year banning order (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990). 5. With the demise of apartheid post-1994, Naudé was vindicated (Tutu, 2005) 6. Through Naudé's ecumenical efforts and contributions to the negotiations that lead to the birth of a democratic dispensation in South Africa, Naudé made a valuable contribution to the development of South African society which benefited millions at the time and will continue to benefit future generations (Clarke, 2004; Clur, 1997; Tutu, 2005).

<p>5. <u>What constitutes a good life story?</u></p> <p>McAdams (1996) identified six standards by which a good life story may be identified (see section 7.6.1.2.5).</p>	<p><i>Coherence.</i> This may refer to the structure and or content of the story (McAdams, 2006)</p>	<p>Naudé’s life story is knitted together coherently in that his choices, decisions and motivation for action were always motivated by the single desire to be obedient to the will of God (Naudé, 1995).</p>
	<p><i>Openness.</i> McAdams (1996) maintained that a good life story shows considerable “openness to change and tolerance for ambiguity” (p. 315).</p>	<p>In Naudé’s case, many writers refer to his openness and facility for introspections and ability to change where necessary (Ryan, 1990; Villa-Vicencio, 1985, 1995).</p>
	<p><i>Credibility.</i> This characteristic relates to the factual accuracy of events in the life story</p>	<p>Many different sources were consulted in the information gathering process of this study. There do not seem to be any glaring distortions or factual inaccuracies in the life story of Naudé (see section 6.2.4.2).</p>
	<p><i>Differentiation.</i> As adults move through their life, the good life story becomes more complex and rich as the characters and plot develop and become multifaceted (McAdams, 1996).</p>	<p>From the narrow confines of staunch Afrikaner, small-town beginnings, Naudé was able to develop and mature into an internationally acclaimed figure of opposition to the apartheid system who supported such ideals as justice, liberty and reconciliation. He advanced from defrocked NGK minister to CI director, minister in the NGK of Africa and General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (Naudé, 1995; Villa-Vicencio, 1995).</p>
	<p><i>Reconciliation.</i> With the increase of differentiation the protagonist of the story may seek to reconcile conflicts in the life story to achieve harmony.</p>	<p>Reconciliation and justice for all South Africans was a theme in Naudé’s life. On a personal note, the apology from the NGK and the reconciliation with his church meant a lot to Naudé (Naudé, 1995; Ryan, 1990; Tutu, 2005).</p>
	<p><i>Generative Integration.</i> In a good life story, the protagonist is able to function as a productive and contributing member of society by carrying responsibility in terms of family and work (McAdams, 1996).</p>	<p>In the legacy left by Naudé he showed all South Africans what it meant to transcend race and see the common humanity in all people. This would have to be the foundation of non-racial future for South Africa (S. Govander, personal communication, October 25, 2011; Mandela 1995b)</p>

APPENDIX F: Table Depicting the Categories of Partnership with God’s Work as They Relate to Naudé’s Adult Development Stages

	Adult Development Stages as Identified by Fowler (1984, 1987)										
	Young Adulthood			Middle Adulthood			Older Adulthood				
	<i>Historical Periods in Naudé’s life</i>										
	<i>Latter part of Childhood Years (1915-1931)</i>	<i>University Years (1932-1938)</i>	<i>Initial few years of The Early Ministry Years (1939-1954)</i>	<i>Latter part of The Early Ministry Years (1939-1954)</i>	<i>Doubt and Disillusionment (1955-1960)</i>	<i>Turning Point: The Aftermath of Cottesloe (1961-1963)</i>	<i>A Liberal Ministry Develops (1964-1968)</i>	<i>Transition to Political Activism (1969-1976)</i>	<i>The Years of Silence (1977-1984)</i>	<i>Towards Ecumenical Unity (1985-1987)</i>	<i>Vindication (1988-2004)</i>
Partnership with God’s ongoing work of Creation											
Partnership with God’s work of Governance											
Partnership in the liberative and redemptive work of God											

Note: Shaded sections denote periods of overlap between the developmental stages in Naudé’s life and partnership with God’s work.