THE ANCESTORS AND ZULU FAMILY TRANSITIONS: A BOWEN THEORY AND PRACTICAL THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

by

MICHAEL JOHN NEL

**submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY

in the subject

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

PROMOTER: DR. M E HESTENES

CO-PROMOTER: PROF M B C MOTLHABI

NOVEMBER 2007

DECLARATION

Student number: 3247-972-7

I declare that **THE ANCESTORS AND ZULU FAMILY TRANSITIONS: A BOWEN THEORY AND PRACTICAL THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

…………………………..   …............................
SIGNATURE   DATE
(REV M J NEL)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to Dr. Mark Hestenes for his guidance and patience as we worked through numerous issues associated with this dissertation, also to Professor M. B.C. Motlhabi for his insightful comments. To Catherine Smith whose expertise and knowledge carefully and meticulously shaped the final document, my thanks. A special thanks to my wife, Pamela, whose encouragement kept me going and who was always willing to set aside whatever she was doing in order to read the numerous rewritten sections. Her constructive criticisms were not always received with grace, but were always greatly appreciated. She also deserves my thanks for bearing, on a number of occasions, the brunt of my frustration. Thanks to my daughters, Natasha, Michelle and Nicole whose quiet encouragement and confidence in their father's ability was a precious gift that kept me going. A special thanks to my friend, Cathie Demetrioff, whose faith in me from the very beginning was unwavering, never once doubting that I would complete and submit this dissertation. This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Grace, and to my grandson, Zoen.

SUMMARY

The commandment to honour one's father and mother is not limited to honouring parents while they are living. In Zulu culture, for both the traditionalist and Christian Zulu, honouring parents, whether alive or dead, is to relate to them with great respect. Unfortunately, this respect for the ancestors has been misunderstood by many and labeled as "worship" or, more recently, as "veneration".

Affixing a religious connotation ("worship", etc.) to the relationship led to the expectation that Zulu Christians would reject their ancestors and all the rites and practices associated with them. In spite of injunctions from the Church, a marked shift is occurring among Zulu Christians as many reincorporate their ancestors into their family process. This dissertation, an exploratory study, addresses this process of reincorporation by offering a new, non-religious interpretation of the relationship.

Historically, the Zulu have sought and welcomed the presence of the ancestors during stressful family transitions such as marriage, birth, puberty and death. If the Church focused on the increased anxiety and destabilization associated with these family transitions, new insights could be gained into the functional importance of the ancestors (as anxiety binders) in the family process.

The application of Bowen theory, a new paradigm for practical theology, to the research data provides new perspectives and understanding into the functional importance of the ancestors for Zulu families. Central to Bowen theory is the concept of the family as an emotional unit that includes all generations, including the ancestors. This concept

correlates closely with the Zulu understanding of kinship. The concepts of

multigenerational transmission process and triangulation in Bowen theory offer effective

theoretical bases for interpreting the ongoing relationship Zulu families have with their

ancestors.

This dissertation critiques certain Church practices and offers a practical theological

response that can inform and enrich the Church's pastoral care. By developing a practical

theology of relationships—one informed by Bowen theory, Scripture and the traditions of

the Church—the Church can assist Zulu Christians pastorally as they reincorporate their

ancestors into their family process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 2: A SYSTEMIC PRACTICAL THEOLOGY OF RELATIONSHIPS

CHAPTER 3: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

CHAPTER 4: BOWEN THEORY AND THE FAMILY AS AN EMOTIONAL UNIT

CHAPTER 9: A SYSTEMIC PRACTICAL THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION ON FAMILY TRANSITIONS

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIXES

LIST OF TABLES

x

CHAPTER 1–THE ANCESTORS AND ZULU FAMILY TRANSITIONS:
A BOWEN THEORY AND PRACTICAL THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Introduction and Orientation

While teaching a course in pastoral counselling at the School of Theology, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, I became aware of the difficulties that the African students were having, in applying the traditional Western individualistic social science theories to their experience in family. This difficulty became even more apparent when the students attempted to describe the multigenerational emotional process that shaped their families. Western psychological paradigms, which have been informed by Individual theory, fail to completely understand or adequately explain the relationship that Zulu families have with their ancestors. Practical theology, which has relied upon these same social science paradigms, faces a similar problem. The lack of an adequate paradigm for understanding multigenerational relationships has hindered the ability of practical theology to assist the Church in formulating its response to the increasing importance of the ancestors to Zulu Christian families.

As a therapist using Bowen theory, I became interested in this topic when a student described the way in which his family related to a schizophrenic family member. He described a relationship of great respect and caring. When I asked the reasons for treating the schizophrenic family member in this manner, he replied simply that she was going to be an ancestor. Another student related how the family ancestors were responsible for a healing in his family. It became apparent from the family-of-origin presentations that for many of the students and their families, even though the students were all Christian and most were ordained Lutheran pastors, their ancestors continued to have a functional importance in their family emotional processes.

My interest in this topic was also stimulated by reading Dr. Axel-Ivar Berglund's *Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism*. He noted that the ancestors had a particular importance for Zulu families during times of crisis (Berglund, 1976, 129, 222). Of particular interest to me was that Berglund (and others who have made the same observation) could not account for or adequately explain the phenomenon. The papers in "Ancestor Religion in Southern Africa", presented at the LUMKO Missiological Institute (Kuckertz, 1981), also lacked a clear explanation and adequate understanding of the function of ancestors, especially in times of crisis. While offering interesting and informative insights, and affirming the importance of the ancestors, the LUMKO papers were limited by their acceptance of the prevailing theological, anthropological and sociological assumptions. To gain an adequate explanation for, and understanding of, the relationship that Zulu families have with their ancestors, a new paradigm is needed. This new paradigm needs to look at family relationships using a wide-angle-lens perspective that includes the nuclear, extended and multigenerational families. Bowen theory, a natural systems theory, offers just such a broad perspective. The need for a new paradigm inclusive of all generations has also been pointed out by Louw (Louw, 1997, 392).

The uniqueness of Bowen theory is its understanding of the family as an emotional unit and its ability to include in the concept of "family" all generations of the family, both living and dead. It further allows insights into family relationships from a biological and evolutionary perspective, with a focus on those relational processes that all humankind, which includes the Zulu, share with other species.

There are eight concepts in Bowen theory; they will be explored in more depth in chapter 4 [section 4.5]. Relative to these eight concepts, differentiation of self and anxiety are

two key variables in the shaping of family relationships and individual functioning. Using a Bowen theory perspective, this dissertation will look at the underlying relational processes associated with the increase of anxiety during Zulu family transitions. The theological response will be informed by a relational theology that creates a framework for a practical theological understanding of family process.

1.1 The Research Problem

Although the relationship between the Zulu and their ancestors has always been an integral part of traditional Zulu family life and practice, a new phenomenon has been observed. Christians appear to be reintegrating the ancestors into their family emotional process (Nxumalo, 1981; Manona, 1981; Partain, 1986; Olupona, 2000; Kahakwa, 2003; Lutheran World Federation Study document, 2004). Reintegration is taking place in spite of past injunctions by some Christians against this practice. This dissertation addresses that reintegration phenomenon because it challenges Christian theologians, and those who are entrusted with the pastoral care of Zulu Christian families. Due to the limitations of their theoretical orientation, past responses have had difficulty accounting for the enduring presence of the ancestors in African family life. This dissertation attempts to overcome this difficulty by approaching the phenomenon from a Bowen theory perspective.

1.2 The Research Question

The following key research question is addressed in this study: What underlies the enduring importance of the ancestors for Zulu families? Their importance persists despite the influences of Western culture and challenges from various sectors of the Christian faith.

To explain and provide an understanding of this enduring legacy, the author draws upon Bowen theory to offer new insights into the important anxiety-binding function of the ancestors—a function that restores the emotional balance of Zulu families during times of crisis.

The researcher seeks to address this phenomenon by discovering important functional facts about Zulu family emotional process. This information will be interpreted through the lens of Bowen systems theory. To facilitate the research process, the research question is divided into three sub-problems: (1) to what extent have Zulu Christians appropriated the ancestors into their family emotional process? (2) to what extent has reincorporation of the ancestors into the family process been effective and of value for these families? and (3) to what extent can Bowen theory and practical theology provide useful insights into this phenomenon?

1.3   Research Hypothesis

The research seeks to explore the following hypothesis: That the ancestors function to restore the emotional balance of Zulu families disturbed by the increased anxiety associated with times of family transition.

To facilitate the study of this hypothesis, four subhypotheses will focus on four main family transitions: the birth of a child, puberty, marriage and death. The subhypotheses are presented here and discussed by transition type. The four subhypotheses are as follows: (1) *that those Christian families who have reincorporated ancestors into the family emotional process have done so at times of high anxiety associated with the birth of a child; (2) that the ancestors function as a resource for families as they deal with the*

anxiety associated with emotional attachment issues as the child at puberty separates

emotionally from the parents and moves into adult status; (3) that the ancestors help

balance the couple's and family's togetherness following disruption caused by the

marriage of a child;(4) that the ancestors assist with emotional rebalancing when a

family has been disturbed and unbalanced by the death of a family member.

1.4   The Context of the Research Problem

Several authors have noted the trend among African Christians to reincorporate the

ancestors into their family process (Nxumalo, 1981; Manona, 1981; Partain, 1986;

Olupona, 2000; Kahakwa, 2003; Lutheran World Federation Study document, 2004).

This trend is creating particular difficulties for the Church in Africa because the Church

lacks a social science paradigm to adequately inform a theological response, nor is it clear

about its pastoral response to those who have already reincorporated—or are in the

process of reincorporating—the ancestors into the family process.

The underlying problem concerns the clash of two very different world views: the African

and Western world views. The Western world view, rooted in Western social science and

Western theological constructs and assumptions, has dominated the discussion on the

ancestors' reincorporation and influence. The early missionaries' and anthropologists'

understanding of African culture was shaped by this Western world view (Bediako,

1983). Hence, African culture, rites and practices and the understanding of family life

were interpreted through these biases. The biases were most evident in the imposed

interpretation of the Africans' relationship with their ancestors. The Western Christian

response was to view the relationship as worship and idolatry (Bujo, 1992). Africans who

converted to Christianity were expected to forsake essential aspects of their culture—

particularly their relationship with the ancestors—and adopt a Western cultural

understanding of the world (Bediako, 1983; Becken, 1993). As early as 1981, Fr. H.

Kuchertz described the rigidity and harshness of the earlier responses in his remarks:

> …ever since Christian missionaries and pastors started proclaiming
> Christ's message in Africa, the subject of the ancestors has been
> encountered and the problem has to be solved—one way or another. All
> too often there has been no alternative solution, but for the condemnation
> of the "call" which both the converted Christians, and their non-believing
> brothers and sisters, heard. The pastors' attitude was usually that the
> "past" had been "washed away" and something entirely "new" had come
> in its place. The break was total and the way it was done involved
> methods which hardly inspire us today[1*] (Kuchertz, 1981, 10).

This insistence on the Westernizing and not just the Christianizing of Africans led to an

increasing resistance among African Christians and has stimulated a renewed interest in

the importance of the ancestors, in addition to other African cultural traditions (Moila,

1989).

Western Christian assumptions divide the world and life into one of two categories:

sacred or secular. Those African rites and practices that did not fit into a "sacred"

Western world view were assigned to the "secular", which was understood to be

essentially non-Christian, even anti-Christian. Under this paradigm these practices had to

be denied if an African was to become a Christian. An ancillary problem, which arose

out of a Western Christian mindset, was that the relationship of Africans to their ancestors

was essentially religious. This led to the categorization of the rites and practices

associated with the ancestors being referred to as worship and, therefore, idolatrous. This

religious classification of Africans' relationship with their ancestors still persists (Pobee,

1976; Uchendu, 1976; Calhoun, 1980; Wadley, 1999) and is reflected now in the use of

the term "veneration" (Olupona, 2000, 49). Becken (Becken, 1993, 335) indicates that

both the terms "veneration" and "cult" (Daneel, 1991; Anderson, 1993) are expressions of

a Western belief system. Within the last decade Malek noted that "It is hard to draw the line between veneration and cult, and there is a real danger of misunderstanding and compromising the content of faith" (Malek, 1997, 18).

This dissertation offers primarily a non-religious systemic understanding of the relationship that the Zulu have with their ancestors, and this is very different than the traditional religious interpretation. These two interpretations of the relationship are in many ways irreconcilable, and consequently, there is little common ground for constructive dialogue between them. The theological and social science literature overwhelmingly describes the relationship between African families and their ancestors as religious. What the literature and those who hold to this religious view fail to recognize is that this understanding is essentially a Western cultural and religious interpretation of the relationship (Bediako, 1983; Balzer, 1997). Not all writers share the Western interpretation; the religious designation was also challenged recently by Berg who notes that "Ancestor reverence is a way of seeing and understanding the world; it is not a religious system" (Berg, 2003, 196). She further states that this religious designation of the relationship "is a European prejudice" (Berg, 2003, 196). The religious understanding can be traced back to the assumptions and interpretations of early Western missionaries which Müller refers to as "exaggerated Europeanism" (Müller, 1997, 198). These early assumptions have also influenced Western-oriented social sciences.

A religious understanding assumes that the relationship the Zulu have with their ancestors is the same as that which is described in the Bible as worship and, thus, idolatry. Those who agree with these assumptions point out that the Bible condemns such practices (Malek, 1997, 17). "In the Old Testament, ancestor worship was irreconcilable with faith

in Yahweh" (Malek, 1997, 17). The problem is that what the Bible describes as idolatrous worship of the ancestors does not equate to the Zulu understanding of the relationship with the ancestors. The issue is further complicated and confused when it is inferred from comparative studies of Asian and Oceania cultures that the Zulu understanding parallels those practices (Malek, 1997, 17).

The assumptions underlying the religious interpretation need to be questioned. Do the relationships that African families have with their ancestors fit with descriptions in Leviticus 19:28 and Deuteronomy 14.1? Do Zulu families break the first commandment when they seek to relate to their ancestors (Malek, 1997, 17)? Is labelling the relationship as religious, whether referred to as worship, idolatry, and veneration or cultic, not rooted in the assumptions of a particular Western Christian world view? The unquestioning acceptance of Western theological and social science assumptions has perhaps led to observational blindness, and this blindness may recognize that other possible interpretations of the phenomenon exist, but due to its assumptions, fails to take them into account.

The religious interpretation of the relationship of African families with their ancestors has been questioned over the years by many writers (Driberg, 1936; Bediako, 1983; Becken, 1993; Balzer, 1997). "The term 'ancestor worship' in its conventional English form has been contested by Africans for some time" (Balzer, 1997, 20). Driberg (1936) rejected the religious designation for what he referred to as a "social" understanding of the relationship. According to Driberg, life for the African is social rather than religious (Driberg, 1936). Unfortunately, he does not adequately define "social". Others who reject the relationship of Africans with their ancestors as religious note that for the

African the world is whole, and life cannot be divided into categories such as sacred and secular (Olupona, 2000; Uchendu, 1976). What makes dialogue difficult with those who hold the religious understanding is that those who offer a "social" or functional view are questioning and, in effect, rejecting, the assumptions on which the religious view is based.

A number of problems are associated with the strictly religious understanding of the relationship. Not least of these is the question about whether the religious understanding is informed and limited by the use of particular Western social science and theological paradigms. Furthermore, does the religious understanding provide an adequate understanding and explanation of the phenomena? If the relationship is only understood as religious, then those who hold this view need to explain what it is about the relationship that makes it religious. Martin Luther, in the Large Catechism, points out in his explanation of the first commandment that "to have a god, truly means to have something in which the heart puts all trust" (Luther, 1967). For the relationship to be religious means that the Zulu must put all their trust in the ancestors. Is this an accurate characterization of the relationship of the Zulu with their ancestors? Farley describes an idolatrous relationship as one in which the penultimate is related to as if it has ultimate importance (Farley 1990). Do the Zulu relate to their ancestors as having ultimate importance in their lives? If they do, is this characteristic of all Zulu families?

If the relationship is not always religious, then there needs to be an adequate explanation that accounts for the shift from the relationship being non-religious to being religious. When can the relationship with the ancestors be appropriately characterized as religious and when not? If there is an aspect of the relationship that is religious, under what

circumstances does it shift from being solely "social" (Driberg, 1936) to being religious? Another way of posing this question is to ask, when does the relationship with the ancestors shift from penultimate to ultimate importance? What processes are involved in this shift?

The religious understanding of the relationship cannot be totally rejected. Those who hold only to a social or a functional interpretation of the relationship between Zulu families and their ancestors need to adequately explain the shift in some Zulu families from a functional to a religious relationship. Even though the relationship is essentially functional, under stress and with the increase of anxiety, some Zulu families may seek ultimate security, safety and protection from their ancestors. When this occurs the relationship becomes an idolatrous attachment. Perhaps it is at this point that there is sufficient common ground for dialogue between the religious and functional views.

This study proposes that the ancestors have an essential penultimate, or functional, importance for Zulu family life and relationships. They function as the means by which Zulu families manage their anxiety during family transitions. Using a Bowen theory approach allows a broader understanding of the phenomenon, one that is inclusive of the functional and social aspects of the relationship as well as the religious. A functional view of the relationship can have religious significance especially when Zulu families seek ultimate security, satisfaction, relief, and affirmation from the ancestors in order to manage intense anxiety. Is there the possibility that under intense stress some Zulu families may change the relationship with the ancestors from a functional one into one that can be described theologically as an idolatrous attachment? The significance of this

understanding is that the relationship of Zulu families with their ancestors is a dynamic family emotional process, and not merely a static relationship.

Western individualism stands in stark contrast to the African concept of *umuntu* in which the self is shaped in relationship, within community. Concepts such as self-realization and self-sufficiency, as well as the idea that there can be an isolated individual, are all alien to African self-understanding (Berglund, 1965). Self-consciousness arises in the context of belonging and is informed by group consciousness (Oosthuizen, 1988). In African culture, the kinship associated with family and community is not severed by death (Berglund, 1976).

In the Western world's view, death is the permanent removal of the person, the total cut-off from the family, and the creation of an unbridgeable gap (Berglund, 1976). The Western view of death is essentially spatial. For the Zulu, death is understood in terms of kinship and is viewed more as a separation (Moila, 1989), and a change of status (Uchendu, 1976) within the family. This Zulu view of life and death is essentially relational. Death does not end the relationship. The "religious" designation of the relationship with the ancestors required that Christians deny all connection with their ancestors. This rejection went beyond forbidding Christian participation in the rites and ceremonies associated with the ancestors. What was not appreciated was that this demand was, in essence, the negation of the importance of community that gives birth to and shapes the self in African life (Steadman and Craig, 1996, 63).

It is the hypothesis of this dissertation that this demand made on Zulu Christians ignored the functional importance of the ancestors in Zulu family process. Zulu families lost an

essential process for dealing with increased anxiety, especially the increase associated with family transitions. The failure of the Church to understand the functional importance of the ancestors left Zulu Christians without an adequate support system in times of crisis. The family support process, which included the multigenerational family, was lost. According to Rabbi Friedman, "Rites of passage, were the first human efforts to deal with modern psychotherapy's major areas of concern: change and separation" (Friedman, 1985, 163).

1.5   The Scope of the Dissertation

This dissertation seeks to provide a theoretical and theological explanation for the observation in anthropological literature that the Zulu ancestors have an ongoing importance and function for their families, especially during times of crises associated with family transitions. Berglund observed the following:

> Four distinct and definable rites are related to the brooding of the shades. All four are to be found in rituals connected with times of crisis in life, i.e., birth, sometimes ear-piercing, puberty, marriage and funerals (Berglund, 1976, 129).

By focusing on the function facts of the ancestors during family transitions and interpreting the research data from a Bowen theory perspective, the research data will be the basis for a practical theology of relationships.

1.6   Question of Terminology and Definitions

1.6.1   Ancestors.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the ancestors, also referred to as shades, are broadly defined as those elders, living and dead—of the family, clan and tribe—with whom there is a significant emotional attachment.

1.6.2 Brooding

Brooding refers to the intensity with which the ancestors dwell as a benevolent presence with the family during times of transition.

1.6.3   Function

Function refers to the dynamic biological process by which each member of the colony or family strives to assist the colony in maintaining a homeostatic balance. As an integral part of a living system, the function of individual members in a system can change.

1.6.4   Family as an Emotional Unit

The concept of the family as an emotional unit describes the interconnectedness of family members. This mutuality of relationships means that each member of the emotional unit is affected by each other member and the system as a whole. At the same time the system as a whole affects each member. The family as an emotional unit includes members of the nuclear, extended family and multigenerational family which includes the ancestors.

1.6.5   Rites of Passage

The dissertation focuses on those particular major family transitions referred to as rites of passage. These rites of passage affect the whole family even though they are based in biological changes in one family member. One such example is puberty (Howard and Dunaif-Hattis, 1992, 473). The cultural rites and ceremonies associated with these transitions assist families as they cope with the increase of anxiety, (Friedman, 1985, 162) and seek a restoration of the family harmony and equilibrium.

1.7   Theoretical Orientation

1.7.1   The Need for a New Paradigm

This dissertation brings a new theoretical perspective to the study of the relationship of Zulu families with their ancestors. Even though the traditional anthropological and sociological studies have all made major contributions to the body of knowledge about Zulu families and their relationship to the ancestors, they are limited by their Western social science theoretical biases and orientations. Furthermore, the failure of these social sciences to provide an adequate understanding and explanation for the reincorporation of the ancestors into Zulu family process has had major consequences for practical theology and pastoral care, a shortcoming which has been noted by Professor Louw of Stellenbosch University (Louw, 1997). Professor Louw has called for a new practical theology that is not bound by the assumptions of traditional Western individualistic social science theories. The Western and African worldviews are so dissimilar that pastoral care in Africa needs a new paradigm (Louw, 1997, 392). Systems theory, according to Louw, provides the best paradigm for a practical theology that addresses the concerns of African Christians (Louw, 1997, 392). The particular systems theory Louw refers to is Bowen theory. Bowen theory addresses relational processes that are deeply rooted in humankind's evolutionary heritage and which are common to peoples of all cultures.

Even though Bowen researched families in the USA, the cross-cultural importance of his research and theory resides in his seeking understanding and an explanation for what he was observing in biology and in evolution and not in Western psychology. This approach offers a broader understanding of human relationships and functioning, one that is not limited to traditional Western views. By focusing on the biological roots of human behaviour, Bowen provides neither a Western nor a non-Western understanding. The

question then is whether his theory applies to all human relationships. The validity of his

theory does not lie in where he lived and did his research, but in the testing of his claims

that the biological roots of relational processes are consistent across all cultures. Bowen

noted that there are deeply rooted relational patterns that are an integral part of

humankind's evolutionary heritage and which humankind shares with other species.

These relational patterns are shared by all cultures. There may, however, be significant

variation between cultures as each culture manages these processes differently. Except

for evolutionary anthropology, the biological and evolutionary aspects of human

behaviour have been largely ignored by the social sciences (Gilbert, 1993; Friesen, 1993;

Friedman, 1999). Evolutionary anthropologists have identified the importance of the

evolutionary underpinnings of culture.

> Because the primary goal of anthropology is to fully understand
> humankind, we seek to understand *how* and *why* this particular type of
> biological and cultural being arose—questions that cannot be answered
> without an understanding of biological evolution. In addition, biological
> evolution continues to influence humankind, together with cultural forces,
> in shaping patterns of human adaptation. It follows that the study of
> biological evolution can help us better understand contemporary human
> societies, since biological evolution is basic to explaining why these
> adaptations came about, why cultures change, and why they continue to
> exist (Howard and Dunaif-Hattis, 1992, 52).

This understanding has been reinforced by the observations that culture is not a uniquely

human phenomenon but is also a characteristic of primates (Howard and Dunaif-Hattis,

1992, 97).

Louw contends that a systemic understanding of relationships is consistent with the

holism of the African worldview. He writes that what is needed is a "systemic thinking

which deals with patterns, structures and social relationships" (Louw, 1997, 393). Such a

shift in thinking, he claims, would affect not only practical theology (Louw, 1997, 393)

but also practical anthropology (Louw, 1997, 399). A new paradigm has the potential of providing a corrective to the theoretical blindness of Western practical theology. A systems approach has particular relevance for understanding the function of the ancestors in Zulu family life.

1.7.2 The Theological Orientation of the Dissertation

To address the concerns associated with Zulu family transitions, practical theology needs to focus on the relational aspects of life. Such a relational, practical theology needs to be broad enough to encompass all relationships: with God, others, self and nature. It needs to be inclusive of relationships in the family as a multigenerational unit that includes the ancestors.

Theology can be approached from either a propositional or a relational perspective. The propositional approach focuses on the content of theology and places the emphasis on what is believed. It assumes that it has the truth and that there is no longer a need for questions since the immediate context is not of significance. The experiences of life are responded to with doctrines. Hall counters propositional theology with the statement that "Doctrine must serve life, not life doctrine. Like the Sabbath, Christian theology was and is made for humankind, not humankind for theology" (Hall, 2003, 203). In propositional theology faith is no longer trust (*fiducia*) but is turned into "assent to doctrinal propositions (*assensus*)" (Hall, 2003, 19). A focus on theological propositions and on faith as assent cannot tolerate questions and responds by turning theology into ideology (Hall 2003, 25). The way in which the relationship Zulu families have with their ancestors is approached bears many of the marks of propositional theology.

Disagreement is often not about the relationship but over which theological interpretation has the truth.

A relational theology focuses on relational processes. It explores relationship processes in the context of relationships between God and humankind. Faith in this context is characterized as trust rather than assent. In a relational theology there is a place for ambiguity, questions and exploration. Not only does this relational theology address questions concerning God and humankind, but this primary relationship becomes the ground for exploring and understanding humankind's relationships with others, self and nature. A theology of relationship allows for a variety of interpretations. This approach makes possible a different understanding of the relationship Zulu families have with their ancestors. When the relationship processes with the ancestors are explored within this context, it is possible to raise the question about whether the relationship is always religious. Can this relationship be understood as respect rather than idolatry, worship or veneration? Is it possible that relational processes can become so intense that they do take on ultimate importance for particular families? If they do, can this relationship then be described as idolatrous?

By turning to Bowen theory for insight into relationships, it becomes possible to identify how anxiety affects relationships. This understanding provides a non-religious interpretation of the relationship Zulu families have with their ancestors. It is also possible to gain insight into how, due to intense anxiety, the relationship with the ancestors may become one of idolatrous attachment. A relational theology that draws upon the biblical and historical traditions of Christianity will be developed and used to interpret the relationship Zulu families have with their ancestors.

1.8   Aims of the Research

Anthropological studies have focused on the religious or cultic aspects of the relationship of Zulu families with their ancestors. This dissertation, however, delves into the underlying emotional processes that cultural practices have shaped. While some studies have identified the importance of the ancestors for family functioning, especially during times of crises, they have largely ignored their own observations. The first goal of this dissertation is to provide insight into, and an explanation of, the underlying emotional process by identifying and focusing on the ancestor's function as anxiety binders for the family. To achieve this goal, the dissertation will use a combination of exploratory, descriptive and Case Study methodologies.

To accomplish this goal, families from three separate groups were interviewed. One group of interviewees was from Zulu families who have maintained their traditional beliefs and practices. Another group will consist of Christians who continue to maintain a separation from any ancestral practice. The third group will be of Christians who are in the process of reincorporating their ancestors into their family life. The research will focus on the gathering of functional facts of the family relationship processes. The data will be organized and interpreted from a Bowen theory perspective. The focus will be on the function of the ancestors as a means of regaining a homeostatic balance during times of increased anxiety associated with family transitions.

The second goal of the dissertation is to provide a preliminary framework for a practical theology that can assist the church as it addresses the reintegration of ancestors into Zulu family life. This is consistent with the concern of Professor Louw (i.e., that there is a

need for a practical theology that can form the basis for the pastoral care and counseling of Zulu families). The focus of a systemic practical theology will be on relationship processes in the family rather than on the intrapsychic processes of the individual. It will also take seriously humankind's phylogenetic heritage and affirm that humankind is an integral part of nature. A relational practical theology, however, does not negate the importance of culture. While affirming the importance of culture, it rejects any understanding of culture in terms of ultimate causation. Such a practical theology needs to provide an understanding of theological concepts such as self, sin, evil, human freedom, illness, death, forgiveness, law and Gospel and redemption.

1.9   Research Approach

1.9.1   Methodology

According to Mouton and Marais, the paradigm used by the researcher influences the choice of research methodology (Mouton and Marais, 1990, 1993, 146). Bowen theory, as a new paradigm for research, presents the researcher with a major methodological challenge since the traditional individualistic understanding of relationships no longer applies. Relationships, according to Bowen theory, are complex and dynamic. In a relationship system each member's thoughts, feelings and behaviour is influenced by the other members of the system. To accommodate the complex nature of relationship systems, the research will focus on gathering functional facts of the family process during times of family transitions. This concern for the understanding of family process avoids asking "why" questions since such questions suggest a simplistic linear cause-and-effect process. Systems research of relationship systems gathers functional facts by seeking responses to "who, what, where, and how?" questions about the family's experience. This process of observing and gathering functional facts is somewhat similar to

sociobiological research of living systems such as ant colonies and herds. To gain the best possible functional data, this qualitative study combines the Exploratory, Descriptive and Case Study research methodologies. Throughout this qualitative study there is an ongoing dialogue between observations and the initial position.

1.9.2   The Research Process

Zulu families were interviewed and the conversations were taped. These families were selected according to three categories. One group consisted of traditional Zulu families for whom the ancestors had always been an important part of their family process. Another group consisted of members of Christian families who were reincorporating their ancestors into the family process. The third group of interviewees was those Christians who maintained the traditional Christian attitude that rejected all association with the ancestors.

1.9.3   Interpretation and Evaluation of the Research Data

Since this is a qualitative exploratory study, there was a very limited attempt to score the research data. The data, however, were collated according to category, and in order to maintain anonymity each interviewee was assigned a number or a letter. Those who had been interviewed by the researcher were assigned a letter of the alphabet, while those who were interviewed by trained interviewers were assigned a number.

Bowen theory is used to analyze and interpret the research data. This is consistent with the development of the research problem that during times of increased anxiety and stress, Zulu families turn to their ancestors as a means of binding their anxiety. The research data is used to demonstrate that the ancestors have a continued functional importance for

Zulu families as they seek to manage anxiety associated with family transitions. The ancestors function to restore homeostatic balance in the relationship system.

1.10   The Limitations of this Study

This is an introductory study that uses Bowen theory to explore the underlying family emotional processes in which the ancestors have an important function. This is also the first study of African families using Bowen theory as the theoretical paradigm for research and interpretation. As a break with the traditional social science approaches, this study can best be described as exploratory. It is also limited by the research methodologies. As a qualitative explorative and descriptive study of Zulu families, there are limitations to how this study can be applied beyond those families who were interviewed. By limiting the study to rites of passage, the important function of ancestors during times of illness is ignored.

Only a few practical theologians have incorporated Bowen theory into their understanding of human nature and functioning. This study will be the first to use Bowen theory to provide insight and explanation of the relationship with Zulu families and their ancestors. Bowen theory with its understanding of the evolution of humankind raises other theological issues such as the relationship between science and theology. However, this relationship will not be addressed in this study.

Systems research focuses more on understanding process rather than content. A focus on process is mainly concerned with gathering functional facts, and in this study that means the functional facts associated with the ancestors in Zulu family life. One major process that will be studied in terms of functional facts is that of emotional attachment between

the generations of Zulu families. This means that the focus will not be on the nature or general meaning ascribed to those rituals associated with rites of passage and the ancestors. That is the task of the cultural anthropologists. By limiting the study to the gathering of functional facts associated with Zulu family emotional process, it is not necessary to define precisely *how* the ancestors are present. It is sufficient for the purposes of this study to focus on the fact that the family believes them to be present and that they have a functional importance for the family.

Dealing only with the management of anxiety during family transitions ignores the impact of larger societal emotional process on the family. The benefit of this limitation is that it provides insight into how Zulu families have traditionally dealt with an increase of stress and anxiety. However, it does not address the difficulties created for Zulu families by apartheid and urbanization. This dissertation will not address issues relating to the eighth concept of Bowen theory, namely societal emotional processes. The impact of societal emotional process on Zulu families can be the basis of a future study.

1.11   Dissertation Chapters

The second chapter presents a systemic practical theology that focuses on relationships. It provides a brief history of practical theology in order to show how its contribution has been limited by its adoption of individual theory and other assumptions of Western social sciences. A definition for a systemic practical theology is proposed whose focus is on relationships and relationship processes. It will also provide possible systemic interpretations of theological concepts.

Chapter three reviews the literature concerning the ancestors. It will examine how the literature of theology and the social sciences has identified the importance of ancestors during times of family crises, especially times of intense anxiety associated with family transitions.

The fourth chapter presents a brief overview of Bowen theory. This theory informed the research question and process, and is used to interpret the research data. This chapter will also present the concept of the family as an emotional unit in Bowen theory. Particular emphasis will be placed on the important influence of anxiety on human functioning.

Chapter five follows up on chapter four by examining areas of apparent congruence between Bowen theory and the Zulu understanding of family life. Special emphasis will be given to how the family as an emotional unit correlates with the Zulu understanding of family.

The sixth chapter provides a detailed description of the research process and describes the selection and training of the interviewers as well as the process used to select the families to be interviewed. The family data will be collated according to the categories, and tabulated. The data sheets are attached as appendixes.

In the seventh and eighth chapters, the research data will be interpreted from a Bowen theory perspective. Special attention will be paid to the function of the ancestors in assisting the families to manage the increased anxiety generated by family transitions. Chapter seven will analyze the family transitions associated with birth and puberty, and chapter eight will focus on marriage and death.

Chapter nine outlines how a systemic practical theology of relationships addresses issues associated with Zulu family transitions.

The final chapter draws conclusions and suggests future research possibilities.

CHAPTER 2–A SYSTEMIC PRACTICAL THEOLOGY OF RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

The traditional focus of practical theology has been on the intrapsychic processes of the individual while ignoring the larger context of relationships systems and their power to shape the individual's thoughts, feelings and behaviour. This chapter provides a brief overview of the history and development of practical theology both in North America and Europe. The individual theories that underlie these practical theologies have limited correspondence with the understanding of family life for Africans. This chapter responds by offering a practical theology that is not only systemic but one that can also address the concerns of Africans. It will also demonstrate that it is broad enough to address all relationships: with God, self, others and nature. Furthermore, it will be informed by Scripture, the tradition of the Church and the insights of science.

Since Scripture and tradition do not present a unified and consistent theological understanding of relationships, the task of the practical theologian is to identify and select from these theologies those relational concepts that are consistent with and supported by the insights of science. The practical theologian also needs to examine and formulate an appropriate theology of relationships from the conflicting theologies. Theology can be differentiated as being either a "theology of the cross" or a "theology of glory". This particular categorisation was one of Luther's contributions to theology (von Loewenich, 1976; Lienhard, 1982; Hall, 2003). A variation of these categories is the division of theology into being either "propositional" or "relational" (Hall, 2003). Depending on the category selected, the understanding and response, particularly relative to the Zulu's relationship with the ancestors, will be very different.

If practical theology is to be practical it cannot simply dwell in the esoteric realm of ideas when addressing concerns, crises and life transitions. Theological propositions are of little assistance to people in transition or crisis. What is more helpful is a relational theology that can address life's nodal points. It is also essential that a practical theology of relationships be able to transcend the limitations of Western individual social and psychological theories, while at the same time being cognizant of all relationships, including God's and humankind's relationship with nature. Such a broad-based practical theology of relationships can, therefore, no longer be anthropocentric since all of nature, the whole cosmos, is the object of God's love as Creator (John 1:1) and Redeemer (John 3:16).

2.1   The Background

2.1.1   The Limitations of Practical Theology

Practical theology has been limited by its reliance on, and the acceptance of, the assumptions and values of the Western social sciences. This has limited practical theology to a narrow individualistic perspective with a focus on the individual's thoughts and feelings which are then extrapolated to the larger group. Individual theory has offered a limited perspective of the processes involved in Zulu family transitions. This approach has not provided practical theology with the necessary insight into, and a deep appreciation for, the Zulu understanding of family life. For the Zulu, the understanding of the individual is always in the context of the family. It is this broader context of family, clan and community that needs to be the starting point for practical theology and practical theological research. This broader context is the underlying assumption of concept of *umuntu*. Furthermore, a focus on the individual fails to appreciate the importance and power of relationships upon the individual's feelings, thoughts and

behaviour. It is a relational perspective that provides insight into the importance of belonging and communion for the African.[1] Belonging, for the African, is not about ownership. It is also more than being a member of a family or an organization. At its core it is a profound sense of being connected. African students at the School of Theology in Pietermaritzburg reinforced their understanding of belonging by coupling it with the word *communion* which stresses the intimacy associated with belonging. The importance of communion was associated with the sharing of a meal together.[2]

The capacity of practical theology to adequately explain and respond to African family concerns has been limited by its neglect of the life sciences. This is particularly noticeable in its failure to appreciate the revolution in the understanding of humankind as being an integral part of nature. Haught writes "Our concern here, though, is with theology, and I think it can be said safely that contemporary religious thought has yet to make a complete transition into a post-Darwinian world" (Haught, 2000, 1-2). His conclusion about theologians is that, "Their attention remains fixed primarily on the human world and its unique concerns" (Haught, 2000, 2).

2.1.2   Defining Practical Theology

2.1.2.1 A Brief History of Practical Theology

Since its inception, theological reflection has informed and shaped the Church's practice and function. Already in the letter to Timothy an incipient practical theology is to be

---

[1] The importance of belonging and communion became clear to me when counseling African students at the School of Theology, Pietermaritzburg. From a Western individual theoretical perspective loneliness resides in the individual. Loneliness for the African clients while experienced by the individual, was understood more as a relational concept. For them it was about not belonging and having communion with family and clan.

[2] This understanding of belonging and communion relates closely to the importance for St. Paul of "discerning the body" (1 Cor. 11:29) in Holy Communion. Discerning the body is more than identifying the relationship between the bread and Christ. It is about the awareness of, and participation with, the community with whom one is sharing this meal.

found; however, not until 1750 was practical theology accepted as a separate discipline (Mills, 1990, 865). Unfortunately, since then practical theology has had a chequered history (Browning, 1976; Holifield, 1983; Farley, 1983).

Among practical theologians, significant differences of opinion exist as to what constitutes practical theology. These differences exist not only between Protestants and Roman Catholics, but also within the Protestant community itself. A further complication is the difference of understanding that exists between the European and the North American practical theologians (Heitink, 1993, [English Translation 1999], 115). According to Heitink, practical theology in Europe has shifted from a narrow focus on "ecclesiastical or ministerial practice" (Heitink, 1993, [English Translation 1999], 6) to a broader understanding in terms of its function and purpose. This shift in emphasis led to the European preference for the term "practical theology" instead of pastoral theology (Heitink, 1993, [English Translation 1999], 6).

Because there appears to be no consensus among practical theologians about the definition of practical theology, Burck and Hunter offer three general definitions (Burck and Hunter, 1990, 867):

> (1) Traditionally, the branch of theology that formulates the practical principles, theories, and procedures for ordained ministry in all of its functions (although in the nineteenth century this often excluded homiletics); (2) The practical theological discipline concerned with the theory and practice of pastoral care and counseling. In addition to a study of methods of helping and healing, this includes studies of moral and religious life and development, personality theory, interpersonal and family relationships, and specific problems like illness, grief, and guilt; and (3) A form of theological reflection in which practical experience serves as a context for the critical development of basic theological understanding. Pastoral theology in this sense generally focuses on topics like illness, death, sexuality, family, and personhood, although in principle any theology topic may be considered from a pastoral perspective—faith,

hope, love, salvation, and God, for example (Burck and Hunter, 1990, 867).

A central concern of the traditional definition is with the training of clergy for ministry; emphasis was generally on the "how to" of ministerial acts. The second definition introduces a concern that there be a theological and theoretical, as well as an ethical, basis for pastoral care and counselling. The third definition focuses on the context of practical care, particularly the importance of the context for theological reflection. "Here practical theology is not a theology *of* or *about* pastoral care but a type of contextual theology, a way of doing theology pastorally. Practical theology in this sense is complementary, not competitive, with definitions 1 and 2" (Burck and Hunter, 1990, 867). Both Protestant and Roman Catholic practical theologians have used the contextual approach. The contextual approach was used in a study of the Roman Catholic Church in Lesotho (LaPointe, 1986). In this study the author clearly states that his research methodology is practical "praxeology", "a theological study which begins essentially from the praxis of a Church, evaluates it and eventually proposes a renewed pastoral practice" (LaPointe, 1986, 9).

The second and third definitions would also characterise European practical theologians such as Van der Ven and Heitink. Heitink writes, ". . . .practical theology as a theory of action is the empirically oriented theological theory of the mediation of the Christian faith in the praxis of modern society" (Heitink, 1993, [English Translation 1999], 6). For Van der Ven "the central concept of practical theology is that of *praxis*" (Van der Ven, 1993). Practical theologians such as Van der Ven, Heitink, and Heyns and Pieterse (Heyns and Pieterse, 1990) believe that the praxis of practical theology needs to be supported by empirical studies that have been described as "a theological operational science and an empirical theological approach" (Heyns and Pieterse, 1990, 1). Heyns and Pieterse have

included aspects of all three categories in their definition of practical theology: "Practical theology is the branch of theology that considers those actions designed to ensure that God's word reaches people and is embodied in their lives. Its object is religious actions" (Heyns and Pieterse, 1990, 1). All three definitions provide only a partial understanding of relational processes; this understanding is essential for the carrying out of "religious actions".

While not negating the importance of the empirical approach, some practical theologians, such as Browning, are concerned that the ethical dimension in pastoral care not be neglected (Browning, 1976). Browning writes about the pastoral counsellor, "If he [sic] is to fulfill his traditional role as a mediator of religiocultural values, he must be as much a moral philosopher (or moral theologian) as he is an expert in the diagnosis of emotional and interpersonal dynamics" (Browning, 1976, 37).

Browning in his classical book, *A Fundamental Practical Theology* (1991) locates practical theology in a broad context. He writes, "Historical, systematic, and practical theology (in the more specific sense of the term) should be seen as subspecialties of the larger and encompassing discipline called *fundamental practical theology*" (Browning, 1991, 7). The relationship between these subspecialties is dynamic and dialogical. He believes that the highest level of practical thinking stresses the need for metaphors and vision as guides to moral and practical decision making. Also, according to Browning, "Systematic theology, when seen from the perspective of Gadamer's hermeneutics, is the fusion of horizons between the vision implicit in contemporary practices and the vision implied in the practices of the normative Christian texts" (Browning, 1991, 51). By placing all the subspecialties or "submovements" (Browning, 1991, 42) under the

discipline of fundamental practical theology, he offers an approach that respects the contribution of each of the subspecialties while allowing for their integration. The exploration of topics such as creation, nature and spirit, finitude, anxiety and sin and Jesus and God the Redeemer orients his vision. Browning's approach provides support for the proposed systematic practical theology of relationships which is somewhat allied to his visional perspective. This dissertation, however, stresses more the relational aspect of God, nature, humanity than does Browning.

2.1.2.2 Some Shortcomings of the Traditional Definitions

If practical theology is to address the issues of the present moment and assist people in their "religious actions" (Heyns and Pieterse, 1990, 6) then it needs to become truly multidisciplinary in its approach, drawing upon the best of all the sciences and not just the social sciences (Heitink, 1993, [English Translation 1999], 45). The attachment of practical theology to the social sciences has subjected it to shifts in the social sciences (Holifield, 1983). Each of these shifts has resulted in the goals of practical theology changing, a trend that has particularly plagued practical theology in North America. A recent trend in both North America and Europe, particularly in Europe, has been the development of an empirical practical theology by both Roman Catholic (Van der Ven, 1993) and Protestant (Heitink, 1993, [English Translation 1999]) practical theologians.

In both North America and in Europe there has been concern about the relationship of practical theology with the social sciences. For practical theology to maintain its integrity as a distinct discipline, some have referred to the relationship with the social sciences as a "correlation" (Holifield, 1983, 355). Van der Ven has characterized the relationship as "intradisciplinarity" (Van der Ven, 1993).

The intradisciplinary model requires that theology itself become empirical, that is, that it expand its traditional range of instruments, consisting of literary-historical and systematic methods and techniques, in the direction of an empirical methodology. This expansion can be described by the term intradisciplinarity which in the general epistemological sense refers to the borrowing of concepts, methods and techniques of one science by another and the integration of these elements into the other science (Ruegg, 1975) (Van der Ven, 1993, 101).

Unfortunately, empirical theology, like other practical theologies, remains limited by the theories, methodologies, techniques and values of Western individualistically oriented social sciences.

Practical theology lacks clarity about the nature of human nature, and this has limited its understanding of the family and family process. Neither Heitink (Heitink, 1993, [English Translation 1999]) nor Van der Ven (Van der Ven, 1993) clearly states their assumptions about human nature, leaving the impression that they have adopted the assumptions of the social sciences. This view considers humankind to be special and unique and ignores the contribution evolutionary biology can make to the understanding of culture and cultural practices and relationship processes humankind shares with other species.

Scripture, however, places a great deal of emphasis on nature (Hefner, 1993). Jesus often refers to nature in the Sermon on the Mount (Hefner, 1993, 85ff). The Gospel of John (John 3:16) points out that God loves the cosmos, and not just humankind. In the creation myths, humankind is formed out of the "dust of the ground", (Gen.2:7) and lives within a garden. Death returns not only humankind, but all living things, to the earth. Scripture ends with the promise of the Kingdom of God being established as an eschatological garden (Rev. 21f). For the people of Israel and for the later Christian community, land, food, water and hills help shape the people's self-understanding.

2.1.3   Practical Theology: a Definition

If practical theology is to address the concerns of African families, it needs a broader

focus than that offered by individual theory. Not only must it effectively deal with the

limitations that have restricted the scope and understanding of practical theology, but it

must also provide a dynamic relational understanding of family and community that

correlates with the African view. While honouring the individuality of the individual, a

practical theology of relationships starts with the understanding of family and community.

The family becomes then the unit of study.

For this dissertation the following definition of practical theology is offered: *Practical*

theology, informed by Scripture, the tradition of the Church and by science, is the

systematic study of relationships.

2.2   A Systemic Practical Theology of Relationships

2.2.1   Importance of Community

To address the broader relational aspects of life, which include humankind's relationship

with God, others, and self, as well as nature, practical theology needs the wide angle lens

of a systems theory such as Bowen theory.

The concepts of belonging and communion are central to a practical theology of

relationships. These two concepts are essential for the understanding of humankind's

relationship with God, others, self and nature. They characterize the new community God

creates in the world. Abraham and Sarah are called to become the progenitors of a new

covenant community. With only God's promise to guide them on their journey of faith,

they leave their old community (Genesis 12) to become a great nation (Genesis 12:2; 17:2). This new nation, with God at its centre, is to be an inclusive community. People of other nations are to be accepted into this community. As a sign of incorporation and belonging to this new covenant community, all male members were to be circumcised. A similar pattern exists in the other covenants God establishes with the people. Belonging does not imply the loss of individuality and freedom; it is not a matter of ownership. This is clearly reflected in the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20).

The context of the Ten Commandments is liberation of the Israelites from bondage in Egypt. They are not rules to be obeyed, but the expression of God's liberating love and concern for the new community, a community that is to become the expression of shalom in the world. This is apparent from the introduction to the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:2) and is consistent with Jesus' understanding of the commandments as loving God and loving the neighbour (Matthew 22:37-40). The commandments, as an expression of the covenant God made with the Hebrews, are descriptive of life in a community where God is at the centre. As such, they are descriptive rather than prescriptive.

Luther understood this relational understanding of the Ten Commandments. For him the commandments were descriptive of relationships with God and between members of the covenant community. In his Small Catechism he interprets the first commandment in the relational terms of fear, love and trust. He then uses the explanation of the first commandment to provide the context for understanding the remaining nine (Luther, 1968). The relational aspect of the commandments is stressed by the positive explanation he provides for the remaining commandments. When the commandments are experienced in the community of faith more as expressions of grace and love and less as

laws to be obeyed, then the individuality of members is honoured, and belonging and communion are enhanced. In such a community distancing and cutting off are unnecessary.

A practical theology of relationships also addresses humankind's bond with nature. Being a member of the covenant community means not only a call to love God, others and self (Matthew 22:37-39) but also nature. Evolutionary biology, as well as genetics, has demonstrated that nature is an interconnected system and that all life is related. Humankind does not stand over or beside nature but is fully a part of nature. As creatures what humans do to nature, they do to themselves. The writer of the second creation account in Genesis describes humankind's relationship with nature "You are dust and to dust you shall return" (Genesis 3:19b NRSV).

2.2.2   Incarnational Theology

A practical theology of relationships is an incarnational theology. God, the Creator enters into relationship with humankind in Jesus the Christ (John 1). The relational processes by which God relates to humankind are the same as those that shape all relationships. As the Gospel of John proclaims, ". . .the Word became flesh and lived among us" (John 1:14 NRSV). St. Paul states that "in Christ God was reconciling the world to himself" (2 Corinthians 5:19 NRSV). The action of God, according to John and Paul, is directed not only to humankind but to the cosmos.

2.2.3   God as Creator

God cannot be the object of study and research for practical theology. However, it is possible for an incarnational theology to study the relationship processes associated with

the Incarnation. Here the Trinitarian formulations are helpful since they offer practical theology a functional view of God's activity in the world. God's functional relationship to the cosmos as Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier and Sustainer can be studied.

2.2.3.1 God's Ongoing Function as Creator

The witness of Scripture and Christian theology is to God as Creator of the cosmos. However, this witness is not simply about a single act of creation in the distant past but to God's ongoing creative relationship with all of creation. This is consistent with Luther's understanding of God as Creator.

> He is, however, not like a carpenter or architect who, after completing a house, a ship, or the like, turns over the house to its owner for his residence or the ship to the boatmen or mariners for sailing, and then goes his way. Craftsmen are wont to do this; after doing a job or finishing a task, they leave without any concern for their work and enterprise and without any regard for its maintenance. God proceeds differently (Luther, 1957, 26).

Procreation according to Luther is nature's continuing witness to God's creative presence (Luther, 1958, 27). It was this belief in the intimacy of the ongoing relationship God has with nature that led Luther to claim God was even in ordinary bread (Luther, 1535, 1963, 94), and later influenced his understanding of the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper (Luther, 1961, 68).

The Incarnation reveals the relationship of God with nature; even though God maintains individuality, an intimate connection with creation is maintained. The relationship with nature does not result in enmeshment or a mystical fusion. The holy God remains wholly other in relationship with nature. This otherness of God, while in relationship, is the subject of the first commandment. It is in God's relationship with nature in Jesus the Christ that humankind observes the full meaning of individuality while in communion.

Since God's presence is always a veiled or hidden presence, it is through the eyes of faith that humankind learns to differentiate between God and nature, or using Luther's analogy, between the shell and the kernel (Luther, 1961, 68). This is another reason why practical theology cannot make God the object of scientific research. Furthermore, the relationship of faith does not need an object (Luther, 1535 1963, 292). It is the relationship of an "I" with a "you" and not with an "it".

2.2.3.2 Human Nature: A Systemic Theological Perspective

All practical theologies are based upon assumptions about human nature. A practical theology that draws upon the life sciences notes that humankind is not unique or special, but rather intimately tied to all of nature through evolution. Practical theology, however, draws also upon its own resources, namely, Scripture and the tradition of the Church. Faced with a wide variety of views about human nature, it is the task of the practical theologian to integrate these various sources while respecting each for its unique contribution. The underlying connection between Bowen theory and Scripture is that both address the area of relationships. A practical theology of relationships draws not only upon Bowen theory with its dynamic understanding of relationship patterns and processes that are common to all of humankind and which are rooted in humankind's evolutionary heritage, but it also draws upon Scripture for its broadened understanding of relationship concepts such as being "under the law", freedom, sin, evil, and redemption.

2.2.3.3 A Systems Perspective of Human Nature "Under the Law"

St. Paul wrote "Now before faith came, we were imprisoned and guarded under the law until faith would be revealed" (Galatians 3:23 NRSV). According to Paul, human relationships are limited and restricted by what he refers to as the law, a universal

condition. This is more than being subject to regulations and restrictions, but is a deeply rooted process that limits the scope and possibilities of human behaviour. This means that humankind has limited freedom.

Being "under the law" also implies that humankind is by nature a moral being. This does not necessarily imply that there is any consensus about the content of morality. Here morality[3] is understood from a functional or relational perspective and not in terms of its content as shaped by family, community, religion and culture. Functionally all groups, even groups such as gangs, need and develop rules and principles that inform and govern cooperative behaviour and relationships. Being "under the law" then implies that, irrespective of the content, there are forces or processes that function to instruct, direct or manage the behaviour of individuals and groups. This limiting or restrictive functioning of the law St. Paul refers to as "our disciplinarian" or pedagogue (Galatians 3:24 NRSV).

2.2.3.4 Freedom and the Law

The concept of differentiation of self in Bowen theory supports the notion that humankind has limited freedom to choose its own thoughts, feelings and behaviour. This does not excuse humankind from functioning as moral beings even during times of increasing stress. Unfortunately, under stress life becomes increasingly chaotic and the "I" of the solid self loses its ability to act as a compass.

An integral aspect of relationships in nature, reciprocity, facilitates cooperative behaviour while limiting human freedom. Morality, according to E. O. Wilson (April 1988) and Frans De Waal (De Waal, 1996), has its origins in this reciprocity. While reciprocity may

---

[3] Morality is used here as "… the degree of conformity of an idea, practice etc., to moral principles".
morality The Canadian Oxford Dictionary ed. Katherine Barber Oxford University Press, Ontario. 1998.

facilitate co-operative behaviour it is "costly in the short run but may produce long-term benefits if recipients return the favor" (De Waal, 1996, 12).

One expression of reciprocity in nature is the Golden Rule, a universal phenomenon and a facet of humankind's phylogenetic heritage.[4] Scripture expresses this in the principle "In everything do to others as you would have them do to you; for this is the law and the prophets" (Matthew 7:12).

For humankind the Golden Rule can be both a thoughtful as well as a calculating response. In a parable (Luke 16) Jesus commends the disciples to observe the prudence (v.8) of the unjust steward who replaces his selfish behaviour with a higher morality characterised by the reciprocity of the Golden Rule. However, Jesus calls upon his disciples to a morality that goes beyond reciprocity. Being "under the law" then is living by the Golden Rule which is to be limited by the "as" of reciprocity.

---

[4] Bahai Faith "And if thine eyes be turned towards justice, choose thou for thy neighbour that which thou choosest for thyself". (Epistle to the Son of the Wolf, 30)
Hindu Faith "This is the sum of duty: do naught to others which if done to thee would cause thee pain". (The Mahabharata)
Jewish Faith "What is hateful to you, do not to your fellow men. That is the entire Law; all the rest is commentary. (The Talmud)
Zoroastrian Faith "Whatever is disagreeable to yourself do not do unto others". (Shayast-na-Shayast 13:29)
Buddhist Faith "Hurt not others with that which pains yourself". (Udana-Varga)
Christian Faith "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this the law and the prophets. (Matthew 7:12, Luke 6:31)
Muslim Faith "No one of you is a believer until he desires for his brother that which he desires for himself". (Hadith)
Isocrates 436-338BC "Do not do unto others what angers you if done to you by others".
Analects, 15:24 "Tzu-kung asked, 'Is there a single word which can be a guide to conduct throughout one's life?' The Master said, 'It is perhaps the word shu. Do not impose on others what you yourself do not desire.'"
Yorba proverb (Nigeria) African Traditional Religions "One going to take a pointed stick to pinch a baby bird should first try it on himself to feel how it hurts".
Lao-tzua said that "Kindness in words creates confidence, kindness in thinking creates profoundness, kindness in giving creates love". And a Chinese proverb states "If I keep a green bough in my heart, the singing birds will come". (Pantheism and the Golden Rule 2)
The above quotes taken from the following web page www.fragrant.demon.co.uk/golden.html
singing bird will come". (Pantheism and the Golden Rule 2)

2.2.3.5 Anxiety and Faith

Anxiety can have a profound effect on relationships by leading to the alteration and even abandonment of values, goals and principles. Abraham's integrity is compromised when he becomes anxious and lies when questioned by Pharaoh (Genesis 12:10-19). This affects his relationship with Pharaoh, Sarah and God. Like the rest of humanity, Abraham can be reasonably responsible for self when the anxiety is low and manageable. However, when the level of anxiety increases, it becomes increasingly more difficult to take responsibility for self in relationships. This leads to seeking the cause for the anxiety outside of self, the loss of responsibility for self and the blaming of others. The story of Adam and Eve demonstrates this clearly (Genesis 3:7). They sought to avoid responsibility for their actions by blaming each other, and then the serpent and ultimately God.

As anxiety increases and relationships appear to become increasingly chaotic, there is a fear that the family may be fragmented. To manage the sense of chaos and maintain family togetherness, they develop rules or laws. Some families may adopt statements from Scripture, or rules made by religious leaders, to help them manage their anxiety. The more anxious the family, the more rules there are to obey, and the more rigid the family system becomes. Togetherness becomes the core value which leads to the stifling of individuality and the loss of a clear sense of self.

It is not surprising to find that Zulu families reflect these same processes when dealing with an increase in anxiety. Traditional Zulu thought patterns about family are mostly systemic or holistic. However, when Zulu families become anxious, they become linear in their thinking. During times of crisis such as sickness, misfortune or a death in the

family, the family seeks a cause for their anxiety and distress by turning to diviners. According to Lawson, "Divination, the ritual acts performed to diagnose the reason for a misfortune or the means to the solution of some human problem, is widespread throughout Africa" (Lawson, 1985, 20). These acts may lead to some being identified as witches; as a result they may then be blamed as the cause of the distress.

> Marwick ('African Witchcraft and Anxiety Load', 123-129), who, convincingly, argues that the function of African witchcraft is a resolution of anxiety, conflict being the cause of anxiety and witchcraft as an institution catering for reactions to it. He relates 'the African's increasing preoccupation with witchcraft beliefs' to the 'increasing conflicts arising from the modern culture-contact situation', and, drawing on material from East and Southern Africa, speaks of anxiety in terms of (i) belief in the efficacy of witchcraft, (ii) an expression of hostility, (iii) the aggressiveness of witchcraft, and (iv) the general disorganisation of intelligent behaviour that witchcraft brings about (Berglund, 1976, 298).

Scripture attests to the power of anxiety as a threat not just to humankind's relationship with one another, but also with God. Anxiety not only distorts perception and values but undermines the relationship with God who is then blamed as the cause of the distress. This process leads to the loss of trust in God and away from the promised future. When the Hebrews became anxious as they traveled through the wilderness, they started "murmuring" (Exodus 15.24). Similarly, when Adam and Eve became anxious, they resorted to blaming God for their discomfort (Genesis 2). The writer of Proverbs aptly describes the effect of anxiety, "Anxiety weighs down the human heart" (Proverbs 12:25 NRSV). Jesus addresses this problem of anxiety leading to a loss of trust in God when he said, "Therefore I tell you, do not worry about your life, what you will eat or what you will drink" (Matthew 6:25 NRSV). The writer of Philippians is aware of the change in attitude to God associated with an increase in anxiety when he exhorts Christians "Do not worry about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God" (Philippians 4:6 NRSV).

Increasing anxiety threatens the cohesiveness of the family or community and undermines the sense of belonging and communion with God, others and nature. The effect of increasing anxiety is to intensify the sense of being "under the law".

2.2.3.6 Sin

From a scriptural perspective sin is both a condition and a relational process. It is not simply a matter of misconduct, but a description of the human condition (Farley, 1990, 129). It is the condition of being out of relationship with God. As a condition, sin cannot be dealt with by differentiating oneself in the family, or by improved self-management. Even though humankind has evolved the capacity to be more thoughtful about self, and to take greater responsibility for self, this does not change the underlying problem of sin as a condition. As a process, sin is the failure to take full responsibility for self in relationships.

Sin exploits relationships with God and others for the benefit of self. It demands togetherness as compliance and obedience rather than promoting individuality in others. This exploitation and abuse of relationships leaves little freedom for others. As condition and process, sin distorts community life making connection a matter of legalistic expectation rather than grace. As a condition it is the failure to be fully the person God intended.

In the explanation of the Ten Commandments, Luther pointed out that sin is at its heart the usurping of God's position in the relationship system. It is the desire to function in relationships as Creator rather than as creature which for him is the failure to "…fear, love and trust God above everything else" (Luther, 1968, 3). St. Paul refers to this as the

human condition and he observed, "…all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" (Romans 3:23 RSV). More thoughtfulness about self in relationships will only lead to despair.

2.2.3.7 Evil

Evil, like sin, exploits others for the good of self without the acknowledgement of any limits. Evil requires that the other subjugate and sacrifice self even if it means that the other becomes totally incapacitated and dies. It is like the presence of a pathogenic virus which left unchecked will exploit the body even if it means that the host must die. It knows no conditionality; therefore, it cannot be dealt with by a call to higher morality, not even by a call to live according to the reciprocity of the Golden Rule. The only possibility with evil is death. The body's immune system provides an interesting analogy. The response of the immune system to the presence of a virus is sacrifice. White blood cells sacrifice themselves so that the body may live.

2.2.3.8 Idolatry

According to Farley the origin of idolatry is located in sin and evil, which he refers to as a "passion" (Farley, 1990, 126). This indicates the intensity of the relationship humankind has with that which is being idolized. As a passion, idolatry distorts relationships by making the penultimate, that which is created, function for the anxious self as the ultimate. Idolatry describes the process by which the creature is transformed into the Creator or as St. Paul states, "… they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling a mortal human being or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles" (Romans 1:2 NRSV). It is a relationship in which the penultimate, according to Luther's explanation of the first commandment, is related to with fear, love and trust as if it is God.

The usual way of understanding idolatry is to focus on the object that is worshipped. However, when idolatry is understood as a matter of relationships, then relational processes become the primary concern. Such a relational view of idolatry discerns worship or veneration to be relationship processes, an understanding which kindles new thoughts and different questions. If idolatry is the relating to the penultimate as the ultimate, when and under what circumstances does this transformation take place? As a passion, how does idolatry distort perception of, and the value attributed to, the object? The problem for humankind is that it has an unlimited ability to transform everything, including self, into an idol. Under what circumstances is a person or object invested with ultimate meaning and required to function as an idol? When a person or object is expected to perform in an ultimate way—by providing ultimate security, ultimate safety, ultimate meaning and affirmation—then it has become an idol. This is more than an anxiety-binding process that seeks relief, since it may not mean that the object is invested with ultimate value. Anxiety-binding processes are more utilitarian and functional and do not necessarily become a matter of idolatrous attachment. To seek relief from anxiety in relationship does not require or demand absolute loyalty since it does not require a person's total "fear love and trust above everything else" (Luther, 1968, 3). The underlying transformation process relates to the intensity of emotional attachment. Frost describes the process:

> The anxiety elicited by real and perceived threats to our well-being fuels an effort to find something which can absolutely secure us, unquestionably confirm our worth, and fully ground the ultimate meaning and significance of our lives. The human tendency to take what is finite, partial, and limited, and act is if it could take away the anxiety which goes with being human, is what the Judeo-Christian tradition calls idolatry. And when a job, a relationship, a child, a parent, an education, a theory, a nation, function as idols, we invest them with marvelous attributes and soaring expectations which are impossible to realize. The dynamics of idolatry end up heightening anxiety in an emotional system as we strive to manage reality in order to protect the idol and make it do what we expect it to do.

> Reality gets distorted in the process. The effort to turn people and things into sources of salvation tightens our attachment to them (Frost, 1998, 2).

This view of idolatry has important implications for understanding the relationships that Zulu families have with their ancestors. Do Zulu families seek ultimate safety, security and meaning from their ancestors? Or do they turn to their ancestors as a means of binding their anxiety?

2.2.3.9 Idolatry and the Ancestors

When Christian missionaries arrived in Africa, they brought their Western cultural and theological understanding and assumptions with them. One particular assumption equated Western culture and Christianity. When Zulu customs and practices were encountered, particularly as they related to the ancestors, they were interpreted from a Western cultural religious perspective. With an understanding of idolatry as the worship of an object, the Zulu relationship with their ancestors was declared to be idolatrous. Zulu, as well as other African converts to Christianity, were instructed to reject any association with their ancestors and not to participate in the rites and practices associated with the ancestors. Some African writers have referred to this attitude of the missionaries as being one of "disdain" (Mukhwana-Nafuma, 1991, 115; Maluleke, 1998) for the African culture, and they have accused the missionaries of seeking to "… demolish everything indigenous as far as they were able" (Mukhwana-Nafuma, 1991, 115). The problem according to Ma Mpolo was "… that the missionary church did not give adequate attention to African cultural values (Ma Mpolo, 1990)." What the missionaries failed to grasp was the ongoing functional significance and importance of the ancestors for African family life; the ancestors were integral to the Zulu's understanding of kinship. Zulu kinship included all family members, both extended and multigenerational, which

included the ancestors. The missionaries failed to appreciate the functional importance of the ancestors for Zulu families, an importance that death did not end.

2.3   Redemption

Redemption, according to Scripture, is not simply a concern for the individual but involves the whole cosmos. According to the Judeo-Christian tradition, redemption is brought about by the Word, God's creative Word, which is experienced as a word of promise.

2.3.1   Redemption as Promise

When the past and future of humankind is dust, then promise becomes a powerful relational force that can reshape thinking, priorities, and goals as well as values. Unfortunately, the power of promise is often only observed through its negation, such as when a promise is broken and powerful feelings and reactions are aroused. Promise can enable humankind to transcend the confines of the relationship system by providing courage to make a differentiated stand. Promise can enable thoughtfulness in the face of emotional processes that threaten to overwhelm the self. Relying on the promises of God provides the courage needed to face the anxieties of life. Promise as a present reality can transform an individual's functioning. Promise orientates a person to the future and gives birth to hope, which in turn allows for the possibility of greater freedom. According to Peters, "Future freedom consists in transcending at least to some degree the determinism of the past, making ourselves into a determinant for what will happen in the future" (Peters, 1997, 19). This appropriation of "future freedom" can give courage to individuals to take a clear "I" position within the relationship systems even when others

are demanding a "we" response. Grasped by promise, the future becomes a proleptic reality allowing life to take on a new meaning.

Redemption finds it locus and power in God's word of promise. Scripture attests that God's Word of promise can radically reshape people's orientation and functioning. With only God's word of promise, Abraham and Sarah courageously step out of the comfort and security of their home into an unknown future. When they are threatened, God's promise provides them direction and courage. As the people of God learned from Abraham's example, when anxieties and fears threaten to overwhelm, God's promise recalls them to a life of integrity. Scripture witnesses to the dramatic changes in people's lives. Challenged by a vision of the promised future, the apostle Peter drops his prejudices and rejects his old value system that categorized people as "clean" and "unclean". This new and inclusive value system profoundly reshapes his relationships to the Gentiles (Acts 10). No longer are belonging and communion arbitrarily shaped by prejudices. Promise does not take humankind out of difficult situations and relationships but rather offers people the courage to face the anxiety associated with living. Promise as a relational concept is an important resource for people wanting to courageously move towards greater differentiation of a self.

As a relationship process, redemption is being grasped and transformed by the promise of God in Jesus the Christ. For Luther it was the liberating promise of God that provided the context for his understanding of the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20:1-6). Redemption as the promise of an entirely new future is not limited by nature or natural processes. God promises a new relationship which not even death can destroy (Romans 8:38). For Christians this promise of a new future is grounded in the resurrection of Jesus the Christ,

an act of creation. Christians hold on to the promises of God since these promises have the power to bring us meaning and purpose in the midst of meaninglessness, hope where there is only despair, light into darkness, serenity in the midst of fear and anxiety, direction in the midst of chaos, and hope at the graveside.

A life of faith is one that is lived in a trusting relationship with the God of promise. The children of God are a people of faith who live within the world as people of promise, as a people of the future. Abraham and Sarah are called to claim the future God has promised them. Moses and the people of Israel were called to leave the relative security of slavery in Egypt and travel through the wilderness with only God's promise of a new future in a land filled with "milk and honey" (Exodus 3:8). During the Babylonian exile, when the people of God despaired about their future, the prophet Ezekiel proclaimed a new, promised future using the vision of the Valley of Dry Bones (Ezekiel 37). The vision of a new and promised future filled the preaching of prophets such as Hosea, Jeremiah and Isaiah (Jeremiah 31:31; Isaiah 65:17).

As the people of the future, the children of God live their lives informed by the ethic of the promised coming Kingdom. This new ethic of the coming kingdom determines their identity, lives, values, goals and priorities. They pray constantly that "Thy kingdom come on earth" (Matthew 6:10) at this time and place, and that this kingdom be " as it is in heaven" (Matthew 6:10). It is God's word of promise that informs the content and context for Christians as they address the issues, concerns and the brokenness in and around them (Revelation 21). The task of making the promised future a part of the present reality is key to understanding Jesus' instruction to his disciples when he sent them out to heal the sick, cast out demons and raise the dead (Matthew 10:8). The

overriding concern of the disciples is to make the coming eschatological Kingdom a present, if not as yet a complete, reality in the world.

2.3.2 Redemption and the Cosmos

It is not only humankind but the whole cosmos that is the object of redemption. John states that God loved the cosmos (John 3:16). He further writes that the true light that shines in the darkness is for the cosmos (John 1:9-10). According to St. Paul, the whole creation is waiting for the day of redemption (Rom. 8:19). This broad understanding of God's concern is expressed by Setiloane who writes that redemption is expressed "… by an understanding of harmony within and between the elements that make up the community, and that would mean people, animals, vegetation and nature generally (Setiloane, 1992, 77)." Haught believes that the post-Darwinian era needs a new metaphysics, a metaphysics of the future (Haught, 2000, 84) that can address the cosmic issues raised by evolution. This same author notes that, God has a future for the cosmos that evolutionary biology cannot identify since it deals only with the past. He writes that "The 'power of the future' is the ultimate metaphysical explanation of evolution" (Haught, 2000, 90).

2.3.3 Redemption and the Covenant

In the Old Testament both sin and redemption are portrayed as relational concepts that impact the family and community and not just the individual. Family, according to the Old Testament, has an important role for understanding not just sin, but more importantly, redemption. In Genesis, sin comes into the world through a family but so does redemption (Genesis 3). Redemption is promised to humankind through the family of Abraham and Sarah (Genesis 12), their descendents and later through David. Redemption

is mediated through covenants that God enters into with Abraham and his family, Noah and the people of Israel. These covenants promise Abraham and Sarah, and later the people of Israel, a new future in which they would be a blessing to all nations. When Israel became a monarchy, the king, as the representative of the nation family, received the promise of a new future. The promised Messiah was to bring all nations into a worshipful relationship with God. This Messiah was to be from the family of David (Luke 2:4). Throughout the Old Testament, family plays an extremely important role. It is with families that God made covenants and promised redemption for the world. The concept of family was broadly understood to include the whole nation of Israel. Even though a covenant may have a legal contractual basis, it was essentially a relationship concept that bound God and God's people into a community of promise. The covenants affirmed belonging and communion, not just with God, but with one another as well.

2.3.4   Redemption and the Family

The relationship between redemption and family is continued in the New Testament when the followers of Jesus are referred to as the children of Abraham (John 8). There is, however, a distinct shift in the New Testament to a new and different concept of family; the shift is away from family in terms of blood lines. Redemption, which is now associated with the Kingdom of God, enables a new family of promise. This new relationship system transcends the limited traditional concept of family. Through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus the Christ this all-inclusive new family, the Kingdom of God, is brought into being. The shift in understanding becomes clear from Jesus' response "Who is my mother, and who are my brothers?" And pointing to his disciples, he said, "Here are my mother and my brothers! For whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother and sister and mother" (Matthew 12:48-49 NRSV). Jesus

speaking from the cross to his mother Mary and "the disciple whom he loved" (John 19:26), "Woman here is your son". Then he said to the disciple, "Here is your mother" (John 19:26-27 NRSV). Jesus taught the disciples to pray using the words, "Our Father" (Matthew 6:9), implying not only a shift in the understanding of the relationship to God but also who the new members of the family are. When Jesus refers to the Kingdom of God as family he does not mean simply the nuclear family. The Kingdom of God is a multigenerational family inclusive of all people and all generations, including the ancestors of faith. For the writer of Hebrews, the ancestors of faith are part of the Christian community (Hebrews 12:1). When confessing the Apostles Creed and declaring that they believe "in the communion of saints" Christians affirm their intimate communion with Christians of all generations and groups.

Conclusion

Like a scientific theory, practical theology provides a conceptual framework for the exploration and understanding of relationships with God, self, others and nature. The conceptual framework offered by a practical theology of relationship is broad enough to address all relationships, with God, others, self and nature. It also provides a framework for an understanding of relational process that can assist those in crisis. At the centre of a systemic and relational practical theology is the promise of increased freedom for the individual, even while in meaningful relationships. By providing insight and direction that can serve the process of differentiation, it offers the possibility for the individual to function in ways that are not limited by reciprocity and other processes of nature. A practical theology of relationships shows how there can be self-sacrifice that is a chosen rather than a matter of obedience to authority. A practical theology, as presented, has the potential to address the concerns of families, particularly those of Zulu families, since it is

relational and systemic. Just as the Zulu understand the individual in the context of the

family, so too does a practical theology of relationships. It too is multigenerational and

systemic and therefore is able not only to comprehend but also to show an appreciation

for the deep concern of the Zulu for belonging and communion with all the generations.

CHAPTER 3–A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The understanding of the relationship of Zulu families with their ancestors is important not only for the understanding of the Zulu world view, but also for the church as it defines its mission and ministry (Nxumalo, 1981, 65). This is "… the most important element of African traditional religion is the ancestors; they represent one of the basic values in traditional African life (Nxumalo, 1981, 65).

The relationship between African families and their ancestors is, however, extremely complex, and while various disciplines—particularly anthropology, sociology and theology—have contributed to the understanding of this relationship, much is still to be learned. Most disciplines have focused on a religious interpretation of the relationship, and such an analysis persists in spite of other interpretations being offered. The religious understanding has been influenced by Western theological and cultural assumptions. The persistence of the religious understanding is reflected in the language of studies, where even a shift in understanding is couched in religious terms—downgrading, for example, an assessment of influence from "worship" to "veneration". Disagreement exists regarding whether the relationship with the ancestors is religious or cultic or "social" as Driberg (1936) believed. Studies of the Zulu's relationship with the ancestors have become even more complex since some traditional practices have been modified and others even obliterated under the influence of Western culture (Ritchie, 1990). A further complicating factor has been the comparison of the African understanding of the relationship with their ancestors with that of other cultures (Calhoun, 1980).

3.1   Who Are the Ancestors?

According to Becken (1993) answers to the question "Who are the ancestors?" is all too often laden with Western assumptions. Westerners, Becken notes, assume that the answer relates to the individual. However, for the African the question is understood in terms of community rather than in the context of individualism (Becken, 1993). In relation to the use of terms, such as "ancestors", Hammond-Tooke states that "An important point to note is that these terms are all plural forms and that it is seldom, if ever, that the singular form is used. This reflects the fact that the ancestors tend to be thought of as a collectivity" (Hammond-Tooke, 1981, 24). For the researchers, however, the problem is compounded since some Africans do have a more individualistic understanding of the ancestors. Calhoun states that among the Tale the ancestors are identified with specific individuals (Calhoun, 1980). And Olupona remarks that ethnographic data present diverse opinions among Africans (Olupona, 2000, 51).

Other difficulties are associated with gaining an understanding of the ancestors. Moila states that only people of old age can be an ancestor (Moila, 1989, 141). His understanding would exclude children from becoming ancestors. According to Olupona, in most African communities only males can become ancestors, and in some African societies this may be restricted to particular males, such as royalty (Olupona, 2000, 51). Furthermore, he writes "… ancestor status is bestowed only on male members of the lineage" (Olupona, 2000, 52). Lawuyi supports the position that only males are involved in the ancestral worship and cult and adds two further provisos, namely that the male must have lived to at least 60 years of age and had a son (Lawuyi, 1988, 372). A concern with Olupona's understanding is that he generalizes to all African cultures from a particular situation. Generally, the ancestors are family or clan ancestors and are usually

males (Anderson, 1993, 27). But Anderson also notes that evidence suggests that in some African societies females can become ancestors (Olupona, 2000, 51).

According to Berglund (Berglund, 1976, 90-91), the Zulu have two main words for the ancestors: the most common is *idloz,* and living elders may be referred to as *idlozi*. *Abaphansi*, he writes, is a term that is also frequently used for ancestors and refers to those who are under the earth (Berglund 1976, 90). Nxumalo believes that the two terms are not synonymous and need to be distinguished (Nxumalo, 1981, 67):

> On the other hand, the word *abaphansi* is a generic term; it includes all the dead of the family, children, women and all the members of the family who did not father any offspring. They are subsumed under idlozi, as the old man stressed, *idlozi* is the father, the grandfather and ancestors: *okhokho*. *Idlozi* or *amadlozi* are the ones who are addressed directly at the ceremonies, the rites of family celebrations (Nxumalo, 1981, 67).

The Zulu, notes Berglund, believe that everyone has the potential to become an ancestor, but male ancestors are of greater significance. Furthermore, not all ancestors are of equal importance, nor will all have the same power. Children have no power (Berglund, 1976, 119), and female ancestors have little influence (Berglund, 1976, 121).

3.2   Ancestors and Kinship

Two concepts are important for the understanding of the ancestors: (1) the kinship system of the Africans, and (2) the close association of the ancestors to the land, particularly the family homestead.

The African understanding of death relates to their understanding of kinship. For them death is not a complete separation from, and negation of all ties to, the family. Death does not extinguish kinship ties. Kukertz addresses the scope of this kinship,

> Whether one considers religion, economy, politics, judiciary: one always finds the same organizational method, namely kinship. Hence we can understand why the ancestors are so important in the indigenous societies of Southern Africa: firstly, ancestor religion and kinship are closely interconnected; secondly, kinship is the organizational form for a wide variety of social activities. Therefore, like the living, the ancestors-as-kinsmen are understood to continue to participate in social relationships and co-determine them (Kukertz, 1981, 5).

Kinship has a profound influence on African relationships and needs to be taken into account when studying African society, particularly relationships with the ancestors.

In the patriarchal Zulu culture, many of the rites and rituals are organized around the male ancestors, as one might expect. Even though traditional societies in South Africa worship the male ancestors (Hammond-Tooke, 1981), this fact has not deterred Zulu society from acknowledging that female ancestors are also an integral part of their kinship patterns, especially those of the mother. McKnight refers to a mother's ancestors as "…extradescent group ancestors" (Hammond-Tooke, 1981, 28). Hammond-Tooke also notes that "… the maternal ancestors are not sacrificed to, but they may cause sickness and misfortune" (Hammond-Tooke 1981, 28).

The second important concept for understanding the relationship of Africans with their ancestors is associated with the land. For Zulu families the land associated with the family homestead has special importance. The deep emotional attachment to the family homestead derives from the fact that the homestead is the burial place of the ancestors. Hence, it is at the family homestead that rites and rituals honouring the ancestors are performed. As the burial place of the ancestors, the family homestead is closely associated with kinship.

> The land provides them with the roots of existence, as well as binding them mystically to their departed. People walk on the graves of their

forefathers, and it is feared that anything separating them from these ties
will bring disaster to family and community life (Mbiti, 1969, 26).

The forced removal of Africans from the family homestead by the apartheid government of South Africa was extremely offensive and unjust because it cut the families off from the homestead. It was not simply the loss of the land that was grieved, but the loss of connection with the ancestors.

3.3   How and When does a Person Become an Ancestor?

The literature indicates that there is little agreement as to when a person becomes an ancestor. According to Olupona the deceased only becomes an ancestor after the completion of the burial rites and the person must have died "a good death" (Olupona, 2000, 52). A "good death" is one that is not a result of an accident, "… or a shameful disease, such as smallpox or leprosy" (Olupona, 2000, 52). Along with a good death there must be a proper burial. "To become an ancestor, the deceased must be properly buried by the kinsmen and women" (Olupona 2000, 52). Lawuyi supports the understanding that there needs to be a proper burial if the deceased is to become an ancestor (Lawuyi, 1988, 372). The problem with these positions is that the researchers have generalized from a particular group's understanding to other groups of Africans. Berglund comments that among the Zulu death is not a precondition to becoming an ancestor; the living aged can also be regarded as ancestors (Berglund, 1976, 122). Uchendu expands the requirements for becoming an ancestor: the living dead are not ancestors unless they meet three requirements, "… parenthood, death, and transparent morality" (Uchendu, 1976, 293). According to Moila, children do not become part of the "living dead" since "… old age is the main qualification for becoming an ancestor" (Moila, 1989 141). The understandings about how a person becomes an ancestor vary

from one African community to another. The variety of opinions about this issue

indicates that one cannot generalize from one African community to all African societies

(Gaba, 1978, 389).

3.4   Ancestors: Continuity and Community

Death, in the Western view is an ending, the complete removal of the deceased from the

family and society. The deceased is said to have "departed" from the living and "gone to

heaven". The implication is that the deceased has gone away forever and that he or she is

now totally cut off from the family. Such an understanding of death allows the deceased

to have very little relevance for daily living. This absolute separation of the dead from

the living is emphasized in the West by language which refers to the dead in the past

tense. Africans, according to Bediako (Bediako, 1983, 119), do not refer to the dead in

the past tense because the ancestors remain an integral part of the African social structure

(Partain, 1986, 1067). Community and continuity are key elements for understanding the

ongoing importance of the ancestors for African families; even though dead, the ancestors

remain an integral part of family relationships. "They are of such a kind that the family

continues even beyond the grave. Death does not bring an end to family relationships"

(Nxumalo, 1981, 67). Since the dead remain in communion with the family, family ties

are not severed by their death. Becken writes, "From this starting point, one may learn

that they celebrate the communion of their family to which also the late members belong"

(Becken, 1993, 335). Together the living and dead "… form one big family" (Bediako,

1983, 119). The continuity of family crosses generations (Calhoun, 1980, 317), is not

limited to past generations, and includes future generations also. Family oneness "…

carries the Zulu forward in time, into the future" (Berglund, 1973, 11). For the Zulu this

makes having offspring extremely important.

> In his children he sees the continuation of the life which he carries in himself. Hence the great calamity of not being able to bear children. It is the same as death, mortalization of the being, the end of life (Berglund, 1973, 11).

Recognizing the importance of family togetherness is central for understanding African families. "Togetherness is as essential for the point of view of the shades and their wellbeing as it is for their survivors, the yet living" (Berglund, 1976, 335). The ongoing need to maintain the togetherness of the living with the ancestors brings family members together for important occasions, and the ". . . more important the occasion, the greater the urgency that people attend" (Berglund, 1973, 41). The people gather for the rites and ceremonies at the family homestead, the burial ground of the ancestors. These family rituals are important, as Berglund remarks: "…the ritual celebrations are occasions when the lineage, including the living and the departed, get together to experience togetherness, communion" (Berglund, 1973, 41).

3.5   The Ancestors and Anxiety

The presence of the ancestors is acknowledged by the Zulu in a number of ways: at the *umsamo*, in a particular snake, and in dreams. As previously mentioned, their presence is sought and valued particularly in times of crisis such as when a family member is seriously ill—as well as in those anxious times associated with family transitions: birth, marriage, puberty and death. Their presence is acknowledged by particular rites and celebrations. "At ritual celebrations the shades are addressed. They are invoked by a senior member of the lineage in a dignified and well prepared speech in which 'the cause of the trouble is mentioned'" (Berglund, 1973, 40). The invitation to the ancestors to participate in the feast "… is part of their concept that the dead ones still belong to the community" (Becken, 1993, 336).

Partain notes that there is an inconsistency in the lives of African Christians who were required to publicly disassociate themselves from the rites and practices associated with the ancestors but who "… privately retain their loyalty to the tradition especially in times of serious misfortune or death" (Partain, 1986, 1067). Nxumalo also notes the trend among Christians, "They easily lapse back into their traditional beliefs in time of crisis" (Nxumalo, 1981, 21). Traditional African families understood the ancestors to be a resource for dealing with crises; now many Christians are also turning to their ancestors for assistance during a crisis (Nxumalo, 1981, 65). All families seek assistance to bring stability in times of crises, African families have traditionally turned to their ancestors for such help (Hammond-Tooke, 1994).

3.6   The Function of the Ancestors

According to the Lutheran World Federation study document, ancestors have a number of functions in African family life: they unify families and people through caring, empowering, blessing, rewarding and inspiring; they protect their families from various forms of evil, among them war, disease, and enemies; they serve as mediators between people and the Divine; they lend weight to disciplinary action in cases where social values are violated; and they help facilitate holistic healing (Lutheran World Study Document, 2004, 3).

Other authors make similar observations. For Hammond-Tooke the ancestors provide solidarity, social stability in times of social, natural crises, and kinship amity (Hammond-Tooke, 1994). According to Calhoun the ancestors ensure "… moral relationships among members of a society who are organized around kinship" (Calhoun, 1980, 318).

Ancestors function to eliminate family discord through reconciliation, thereby maintaining family and community harmony (Hammond-Tooke, 1994; Ma Mpolo, 1990). They act as "…guardians of its morality are continually watchful of any injustice and thoughtless behaviour which is apt to disturb its harmony and peace (Setiloane, 1992, 75)." They maintain family continuity (Onumwa, 1994, 252) by "…perpetuating the lineage" (Olupona, 2000, 52). The solidarity or unity of the family includes both past and future generations (Berglund, 1965, 10, 11).

> The unity and ties of bondship is to the Zulu something of vital importance to his total outlook on life and to his approach to it. The unity stretches from the closeness of the immediate family bonds to the list of paternal and maternal relatives who are all fathers and mothers, to the cousins who are all brothers and sisters, backwards along the line of ancestors to the legendary founder of the nation, that man Zulu who stepped down from the iZulu to found the people of heaven, and forwards in time to the children whom he has already given birth to and to those unborn, ultimately swallowed in the sea of the unborn children of the unborn. In this host of people he is one. The host does not consist of the number of individuals—it is the host that consists of them; the people! (Berglund 1965, 11)

As the guardians of the social order, ancestors function as "… regulators of human activities and conduct" (Olupona, 2000, 57). They function as guardians of the social order by defining the social group (Calhoun, 1980, 309) as well as by maintaining "… kinship morality" (Calhoun, 1980, 307-308). Even though they are essentially supportive of their kin, they can be capricious and withdraw their support if the living family members do not fulfil their kinship obligations and responsibilities, especially those associated with family transitions (Olupona, 2000, 58; Hammond-Tooke, 1994).

This focus on family solidarity or togetherness comes at the expense of individuality, since no individual acts in isolation of the family (Calhoun, 1980, 315). As Olupona notes, the ancestors are "… on the side of collective ideals and social obligations and

against purely personal interests" (Olupona, 2000, 58). In corollary remarks Calhoun states that "The fact that ancestors are dead makes it much easier to idealise them, to have them represent lineage values as opposed to personal interest or idiosyncrasies of judgement" (Calhoun, 1980, 313). Viewed in a slightly different light, Onunwa suggests the importance of community using analogy:

> Africans firmly believe that a tree cannot make a forest, although, for a forest to develop, individual trees must lend their roots and branches. The community survives in so far as individual members make contributions toward such survival. No individual is the center point for cohesion and group solidarity. The egalitarian and republican nature of Igbo society is sustained only by joint programs collective solidarity and group-consciousness (Onunwa, 1994, 252).

3.7   Ancestor Religion

According to Becken, Westerners have a profound bias when identifying the relationship of Africans with their ancestors as "religious" and which is expressed in worship or veneration. Even to pose the question about whether it is religious already assumes, notes Becken, a Western framework of understanding (Becken, 1993, 335).

The early missionary viewed the relationship Africans have with their ancestors as worship and, therefore, idolatry. As a result, missionaries condemned all practices associated with the ancestors (Bujo, 1992). African Christians were expected to disassociate themselves from any association with the ancestors. This meant that African Christians "… could only articulate the faith insofar as they kept to the boundaries and models defined by the Christian traditions of Europe" (Bediako, 1983, 87-88).

Bediako offers three reasons for this labelling of the relationship of Africans to their ancestors as worship and, thus, idolatrous (Bediako, 1983, 83): (1) the slave trade in which Africans were traded as merchandise; (2) social Darwinism which pretended to

offer a scientific viewpoint of Africans as being low on the evolutionary scale and viewed

as primitive; and (3) the equating of *Christianity* and *civilization* as almost synonymous

(Bediako, 1983, 84). Even applying the term *animism* to African religion is a Western

designation that views African religion as primitive (Bediako, 1983, 85). The

missionaries' Western bias was reflected in their close working relationship with the

imperial governments. Mosala points out that in the 1870s the missionaries sought the

assistance from the imperial government in their missionary work among the Tswana

(Mosala, 1983, 19-20).

Whether the relationship of Africans with their ancestors is "religious" is complicated by

several factors. The first problem is generalizing for all Africans. The second major

difficulty is with how religion is defined and how it is believed to function in human

society. The view that the relationship with the ancestors is religious is supported by a

number of African theologians and social scientists (Mosala, 1987; Bediako, 1983;

Uchendu, 1976; Onumwa, 1994; Mbiti, 1969; Olupona, 2000; Partain, 1986; Hammond-

Tooke, 1981).

Hammond-Tooke provides a very general definition of religion and makes an assertion:

> The sense of dependence on extra-human beings is surely the core element
> in all action classifiable as 'religious', and I repeat my contention, made in
> another context, that the term 'worship' (rather than 'veneration') is
> appropriate to describe what happens in the ancestor religion (Hammond-
> Tooke, 1994).

Historically, the Zulu had belief in a higher power, the creator, the Lord-of-the-Sky,

uMvelingqangi (Berglund, 1976, 32). However, the Lord-of-the-Sky was not an ancestor

(Berglund, 1976, 32). Berglund adds that the Zulu seldom pray to the Lord-of-the-Sky,

but they are mindful of him (Berglund, 1976, 42). They do however, address the

ancestors, but this is the same as praying to them. An important distinction that is made

between the Lord-of-the-Sky and the ancestors is that the ancestors are near, whereas the

Lord-of-the-Sky is distant (Berglund, 1976, 42).

Even though some have referred to the relationship with the ancestors as worship, this

notion has been rejected by a number of theologians including Mbiti (Mbiti, 1969, 8-9).

Becken points out that the Africans do not worship their ancestors because in,

> . . .traditional African society, no memorials were set up for an individual.
> The deceased members of the family were buried close to the homestead,
> and the stone heaps to protect the graves often indicated the site that had
> previously been inhabited by a clan or congregation. However, these were
> not places of worship; the ancestors were supposed to live closer to the
> family in some way or other, and for practical considerations, acts of
> ancestor cult were performed in the byre (Becken, 1993, 337).

Salvation is not a function of the ancestors, however, as Olupona points out: if there is

salvation, it is not so much a religious phenomenon but social, rooted in the community

or family (Olupona, 2000, 55-56). The Lutheran World Federation (LWF) study

document clearly states "It is a deliberate and intentional distortion of a people's culture

to say Africans worship ancestors, deities, or individuals" (LWF, 5).

Some have referred to the relationship of the Africans to their ancestors as a cult. But use

of this term also maintains the religious interpretation (Anderson, 1993, 27). Hammond-

Tooke refers to the relationship as a cult, but states that it is not to be confused with cult

of the dead (Hammond-Tooke, 1981, 23). Becken traces the cultic designation to a

misunderstanding of the actions of Africans who had adopted Western customs such as

placing flowers in remembrance of a deceased ancestor, or commemorative tablets for

dead soldiers (Becken, 1993, 335).

The understanding of the relationship with the ancestors as veneration also has its difficulties. The usual analogy is to view it in the same way some Christians venerate the saints. However, the LWF study document rejects this analogy when it states that "Africans do not wish to equate ancestors with Christian saints; the comparison is dangerous and misleading. It smacks of mimicry" (LWF, 5). To describe the relationship as veneration is, according to Becken, another way a Western mindset that is imposed on African practices. He writes, "The expression 'ancestor veneration' (or cult) is also a Western term and refers to the quasi-religious act of solemn commemoration of late relatives. This custom is common among the Whites in South Africa" (Becken, 1993, 335).

In 1936 Driberg questioned the assertion that the relationship to the ancestors is religious: "It is true that the African is extremely and practically religious, but it is truer still that he is supremely and practically social. And what we have often mistaken for a religious attitude is nothing more than a projection of his social behaviour" (Driberg, 1936, 3). For Driberg, the attitude of the Africans to their ancestors is secular and not religious (Driberg 1936, 6). He states, "'Worship', 'sacrifice', 'offerings', 'prayer', 'shrine', and even, though to a slightly different degree, 'soul' are all words with a specialized significance in English and their application to the ancestral system of the Africans is both a linguistic and a cultural offence" (Driberg, 1936, 6). Pöllitzer concurs that "It makes more sense to interpret ancestor veneration in social rather than religious categories" (Pöllitzer, 1983, 127). This opinion is supported by Berglund who found that that Zulu prefer to refer to the relationship as one of honouring their ancestors (Berglund 1973, 41). Driberg notes that the honouring of the ancestors relates to the fact that the "… dead man has acquired a new status" in the community (Driberg, 1936, 7). It is a

way of socially showing respect for the deceased. This new status is also the recognition

of the continuity of the generations; it indicates that the family, which includes the dead,

is a whole. According to Steadman and Palmer, who cite Abraham (1962, 64), the rites

associated with the ancestors are more properly understood as "…methods of

communication" (Steadman and Palmer, 1996, 70).

3.8   Inculturation

When dealing with cultural issues, the Roman Catholic Church uses a unique approach,

namely, inculturation. Inculturation systematically seeks some form of accommodation

of indigenous practices (Müller, 1997, 199), and has been applied particularly to liturgics

(Chupungco, 1989, 9). Pope Paul VI stated that the Church needs to adapt within limits,

its liturgies to the practices and beliefs of peoples of other cultures. He wrote: "Anything

in these peoples' way of life which is not indissolubly bound up with superstition and

error she studies with sympathy and, if possible, preserves intact. Sometimes in fact she

admits such things into the Liturgy itself, so long as they harmonize with its true and

authentic spirit" (Sacrosanctum Concilium, 1963, Article 37).

Chupungco traces the development of the concept through terms such as *adaptation*,

acculturation, to *inculturation* (Chupungco, 1989, 27-28). Müller writes about the origin

of this modern approach of inculturation:

> Pius XII emphasized with great clarity the axiom often expressed by the
> Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith: 'The Church from the
> beginning down to our time has always followed this wise practice: let not
> the Gospel on being introduced into any new land destroy or extinguish
> whatever its people possess that is naturally good, just or beautiful'
> (*Evangelii Praicones*) (Müller, 1997, 199).

The term *inculturation*, according to Müller, is a neologism based on "… the anthropological concept 'enculturation' and which was introduced into missiological writings" (Müller, 1997, 200). The underlying assumption of inculturation is incarnational theology which is based on the practice of Christianity to be in dialogue with the cultures in which it has become established, whether Hellenism, Roman or the later Anglo-Saxon cultures (Müller, 1997, 198). He further states:

> A.R. Crollius paraphrases inculturation as 'the integration of the Christian experience of a local church into the culture of its people in such a way that this experience not only expresses itself in elements of this culture, but becomes a force that animates, orients, and causes innovation within this culture so as to create a new unity and communion, not only within the culture in question but also as an enrichment of the Church universal' (Müller, 1997, 200).

Inculturation is not unilateral since a dynamic interchange needs to occur between the culture and theology that is rooted in "…mutual respect" (Chupungco, 1989, 31). However, the process is not always without difficulties and entails risks (Chupungco, 1989, 33).

Inculturation offers a positive process for the reintegration of ancestors into the family lives of Zulu Christians. According to Bate, inculturation "… can help in the reappropriation of the history and tradition of the community of faith in South Africa" (Bate, 1995, 18).

However, before such a process can be undertaken, there needs to be a broader understanding of the relationship that the Zulu have with their ancestors. The traditional theological and social science assumptions about the relationship with the ancestors need to be re-examined. A functional interpretation of the relationship offers a more neutral perspective that can open a new dialogue between theology and Zulu culture. If a more

neutral understanding is not advanced, the danger exists that continuing to impose a Western cultural bias on Zulu culture will have results that are neither "… positive or edifying" (Chupungco, 1989, 33).

Conclusion

The literature reviewed spanned a period from 1904 to 2003 and included theological, as well as anthropological and sociological, articles. The positions presented in these articles can be placed into two groups. One group, which is by far the largest, understands the relationship with the ancestors to be religious. A much smaller group believes the relationship is social.

The interpretation of the first group has its origins in the response of the missionaries to the phenomenon of the relationship with the ancestors; they understood the relationship to be religious and labelled it idolatrous. Africans were then said to worship their ancestors and African Christians were expected to reject any association with their ancestors. The religious interpretation has persisted, but the identification of the relationship as idolatrous has largely been dropped. Although it continues to be interpreted as religious, the understanding of the relationship to the ancestors has shifted to veneration.

The group that interpreted the relationship as social noted that the missionaries brought with them a particular Western cultural and religious mindset. These missionaries identified Western culture with Christianity which then influenced their interpretation of African life and culture. They also brought with them a commitment to Western individualism. They failed to understand the importance of kinship, community and togetherness for the African.

These two approaches offer two very different interpretations of the ancestors and their function for African families. A third response, inculturation, is the focus of the Roman Catholic Church. This response seeks to enter into a respectful dialogue with each culture. Inculturation not only takes the culture seriously, but also the Church's need to proclaim the Gospel within the culture.

The literature shows that there is a problem of generalizing from specific African groups to all African society. This becomes evident in the responses to "Who is an ancestor?" Generally ancestors are males, but in some communities females are also ancestors and may have significant influence over their descendants. In some communities the ancestors are only those who are dead. However, Berglund notes that in Zulu society the elderly may also be referred to ancestors.

The literature emphasises the importance of kinship and the land for the understanding of the African's relationship with their ancestors. Kinship provides a broad understanding of family that includes not only the present generation, but also past and future generations. From the African perspective, death is neither a severing from the family nor an end to the kinship relationship. Kinship also expresses the unity as well as continuity of the family, and this fact is reinforced by their burial of the dead in the family homestead. It is at the homestead that all the important family gatherings take place. By gathering at the family homestead the presence and importance of all the ancestors is acknowledged. The literature shows that the ancestors have more than a religious function for African families. This is reflected in The Lutheran World Federation document in which a number of important social and ethical functions are identified.

It becomes apparent from the literature that the two positions have become entrenched with little dialogue between them. However, each perspective is limited by its assumptions, and indicates that a new approach is needed if there is to be a fuller understanding of the relationship of Africans with their ancestors. This new approach will need to be informed by a new paradigm for understanding family relationships that can accommodate the African cultural understanding. A new and dynamic theological approach is also needed that acknowledges the social and possible religious aspects of the relationship.

CHAPTER 4–BOWEN THEORY AND THE FAMILY

AS AN EMOTIONAL UNIT

Introduction

Theory informs not only the research question, but also the interpretation of the research data. The relationship of the Zulu with their ancestors has been studied from the perspective of individual theory, and while this has provided insights into the relationship, it has not been able to address the functional importance of the ancestors for Zulu families. A new theory is required that can lead to new questions and new understandings. This research project is informed by Bowen theory, a new paradigm for understanding relationships. Bowen theory offers a unique insight into family relationship since it understands that the family to be an emotional unit which includes the nuclear, extended and multi-generational family. It also addresses other issues that are important for the study of the family.

The first issue is the difficulty humankind has in remaining relatively objective and emotionally neutral when studying itself. To reduce the influence of subjectivity, Bowen theory shifts the focus from the subjective interpretations of the client's experience onto the functional facts of relationship processes. Functional facts are those that can be verified, such as birthdays, dates of moves, birth order, where family members live, sicknesses etc.[5] Using functional facts can assist in the research studies about the relationship that Zulu families have with their ancestors. The traditional Zulu believe the ancestors are present. This phenomenon can be studied from the perspective of how this influences functioning of family members.

---

[5] Functional facts can be helpful in the study of dreams. It is a fact that a person dreams, but what the person dreams is not factual. However, dreams can be studied from the perspective of the influence the dream had on behaviour and relationships etc.

The next area that Bowen theory addresses concerns the role of culture on family relationships. An emphasis on culture obscures the deeper evolutionary origin of relationship processes. Humankind, through its phylogenetic heritage, shares relationship processes with other species. From this perspective culture is not perceived as being peculiarly human, but something humankind has in common with other species. Certain aspects of culture have been observed in chimpanzee troops and baboons (Fisher, 1992, 234, 235; Papero, Winter 1990, 2). "Bowen did not ignore the influence of culture or the unique aspects of human psychology on behaviour, but he did not lay the foundation stones for his theory on culture and psychology. He thought those sands shifted too quickly—and in often unpredictable ways—to trust anchoring a theory about man's behavior there" (Kerr, 1986 Fall, 3). Culture alone cannot account for the universality of certain relationship processes. It does, however, offer an "… angle of entry into human problems" (Friedman, 1999, 246). Culture functions to shape emotional processes. "Cultural or environmental factors can no more be the sufficient conditions for the creation of pathology than paint and canvas can produce artistic accomplishments. Culture does not 'cause' family process; it stains it, that is, makes it visible" (Friedman, 1999, 148). To manage and shape these emotional processes, cultures have developed rites and practices.

A third area that Bowen theory addresses is the problem of cause and effect thinking. This linear approach fails to take into account that there is usually no single cause for any action or event in families. In a multigenerational family system there may be many causes for actions and they may stretch back into past generations of the family. Rejecting this type of linear thinking removes the need for blaming.

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│        COMMONALITIES UNDERLYING ALL CULTURES          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

Cultures shape these emotional processes,
creating distinctive rites and practices.

```
  ⬭ Culture ⬭      ⬭ Culture ⬭      ⬭ Culture ⬭      ⬭ Culture ⬭
```

```
┌───────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ All humankind is linked by:               │
│         - Biology                          │
│         - Evolutionary processes           │
│         - Genetics                         │
│         - Relational processes             │
│ Philosophy and theology have referred to   │
│ these commonalities as "human nature".     │
│ Bowen theory refers to these               │
│ commonalities as the "Emotional            │
└───────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
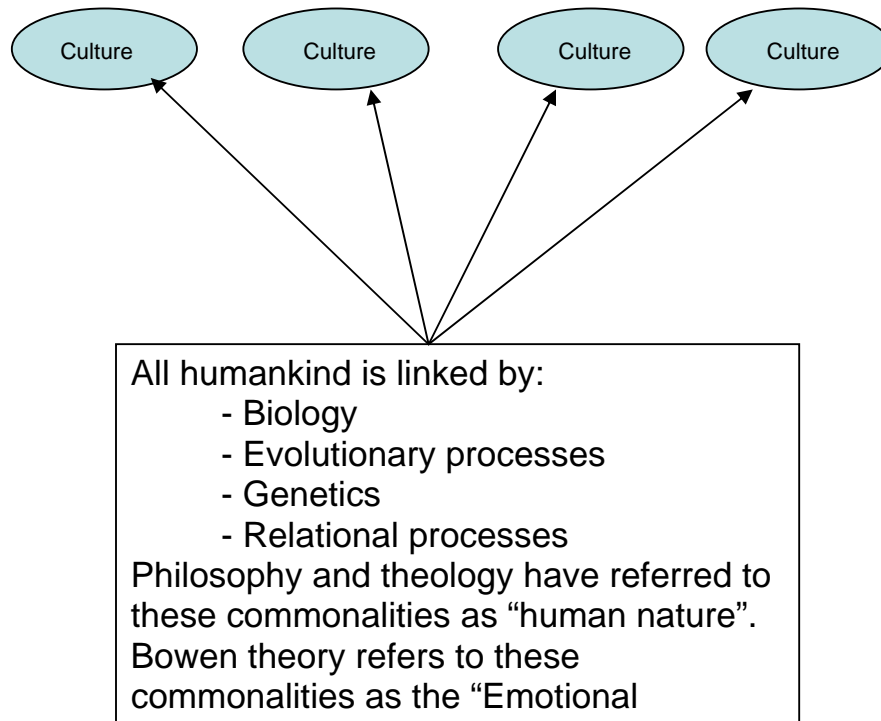
Bowen theory consists of eight concepts that provide unique insights into family

relationships and inform clinical practice as well as this research. They will be outlined

in this chapter. These concepts will also be used to demonstrate how Bowen theory can

provide new insights into the underlying emotional processes in Zulu families, especially

those associated with rites of passage: birth, puberty, marriage and death.

4.1   The Family as the Unit of Study

The writings of Charles Darwin led Bowen to understand the family as the unit of study.

Darwin believed that the individual member of a species is best understood when studied

in the context of the colony (Holt, 1989 Fall). This major shift of focus from the study of the individual to the colony became the basis of Bowen's research and understanding of the family. It is when the family is viewed as an emotional unit that the powerful influence of relational processes on individual family members can be observed and appreciated, and the characteristics of the system can be studied.

Bowen observed that the human family shared many of the same characteristics that had been observed in other species. One characteristic shared by human families is functional interdependence (Kerr, Spring 1995, 1; Papero, 1997, 166). This describes how the functioning of individual members affects the colony as a whole while the colony affects individual functioning. According to Papero (Papero, 1997, 164) functional interdependence was probably established early in the evolution of life.

Another characteristic that humans share with other species is kinship (Goldsmith, 1991, 39). "Finally, in a small group of related individuals, one might expect to observe natural selection for acts that benefit the entire group. This phenomenon is known as *kin selection*, and it follows directly from the concept of inclusive fitness" (Goldsmith, 1991, 41). Inclusive fitness refers to reproductive success of the members of the colony (Goldsmith, 1991, 39). Fisher, an anthropologist, writes that ". . .the roots of human kinship lie deep in our mammalian past" (Fisher, 1992, 235).

Another characteristic that humans share with other species is altruism, which is closely related to kinship (Wilson, 1978, 1980, 56; Fisher, 1992, 317; Holt, 1989). Altruism has been observed in non-human species such as colonies of bacteria (Oliwenstein, 1995, 99-103) and social insects (Wilson, 1978, 1989, 56) and is defined by de Waal as "… actions

that are at once costly to the performer and beneficial to the recipient" (De Waal, 1996, 134). According to Hamilton, the advantage of self-sacrificing behaviour is that it benefits the survival of the offspring, especially of one's kin group, thus facilitating the propagation of one's own genes into future generations (Wilson, 1978, 1989, 56). Both kin selection and altruism refer to actions that benefit close relatives and enhance the individual's chances of reproduction and the survival of the group (De Waal, 1996, 135). However, De Waal believes that what is being observed is not pure altruism, but rather reciprocal altruism which he describes as "… a complex mechanism based on the remembrance of favours given and received" (De Waal, 1996, 135). The importance of reciprocal altruism is that it "… allows cooperative networks to expand beyond kinship ties" (De Waal, 1996, 135). Altruism, reciprocal altruism and kinship are all relational concepts that provide further insights into functional interdependence of the members of a colony or family. Reciprocal altruism may be the evolutionary source of the Golden Rule whose universality may have developed not only to facilitate cooperation but also the propagation of the species.

Cooperative behaviour, which Bonner refers to as sociality, has deep evolutionary roots. Bonner has described the significant benefits provided by cooperative behaviour (Holt, Spring 1989). Cooperative behaviour among kin improves the care of the young and enhances their chances of survival, which includes the survival of the group. Cooperation assists in food acquisition, enhances the security for the group and facilitates the "modification of the environment" (Holt, Spring 1989). Humans, because of the evolution of the brain, have the greatest capacity for cooperative behaviour.

Cooperative behaviour, functional interdependence, reciprocal altruism, and the importance of kinship can be observed in all families since we share a common evolutionary heritage. This has major implications for the understanding of human nature since humankind can no longer claim to be different or special in creation. Relationship systems are also characterized by reciprocity which may take the form of dominance/submissiveness, over/under functioning, high/low energy, weak/strong, and over/under responsible. This means "A change in functioning of any one member of the unit results automatically in compensatory changes in functioning of other group members" (Kerr, 1997, 3). It was the predictability of the reciprocity in family relationships that led Bowen to describe the family as a system (Kerr, 1986 Fall, 3).

4.2   Background of Bowen Theory

It was never Bowen's intention to develop a new theory. The new theory arose when individual theory was incapable of explaining his observations. He turned to biology and evolutionary biology for explanation and understanding. He wrote,

> The scientific facts of evolution have been chosen to replace many of the ideas of Freudian theory. Evolution is a rich body of facts that can be proven and validated. The incorporation of these facts into a new theory required some kind of systems theory to handle the many variables (Kerr, 1988, 362).

Kerr wrote that, "Bowen's profound insight is that *the human family is also a complex biological system*. The family exhibits patterns of emotional functioning that appear identical to patterns observed in other species" (Kerr, 1997, 3).

From studies of other species, Bowen came to understand the family as a living system. Papero comments,

The human family displays the characteristics of a living system. The unit is flexible and fluid. For the family, the question is not whether individuals respond to one another but how they respond. A shift in the functional state of the family is reflected in the state or condition of each individual organism. The shifts can be reflected behaviorally, or they may be contained within the body walls of the affected individuals. The implications of such a view are far-reaching. Not only can behavior be seen as a product of relationship, but the health of each family member may be directly related to the functional state of the family unit (Papero, 1997, 169-70).

This is a very different understanding of the family and offers a new conceptual model for research which is in sharp contrast to "… the conventional view of thinking of individuals who relate to other individuals" (Holt, Spring 1989, 7).

As with other species, the human family is an emotional system that functions in such a predictable fashion that it appears as if the family is governed by laws. Kerr writes, "There is predictability in the processes of human functioning and behavior equivalent to the predictability with which sunflowers follow the rays of the sun and salmon migrate up river to spawn" (Kerr, 1997, 11). These internal and the external relationship regulatory processes (Papero, 1997, 169) guide the functioning of individual family members and are believed to be sufficiently powerful as to "… help regulate the functioning of genes" (Kerr, 1997, 9).

4.3. The Three Systems in Bowen Theory

Bowen developed his theory of family relationships around three systems (i.e., the emotional, feeling and intellectual systems), and the eight concepts mentioned earlier: (1) Differentiation of self, (2) triangles, (3) nuclear family emotional process, (4) family projection process, (5) emotional cut-off, (6) sibling position, (7) multigenerational

transmission process and (8) societal emotional process. Finally, Bowen posited anxiety

as the major variable.

4.3.1   The Emotional System

According to Kerr, Darwin established a *physical* link between man and the lower forms,

whereas Bowen's concept of the emotional system offers a basis for establishing the

behavioral link (Kerr, 1988, 27).

> Defined broadly, the concept postulates the existence of a naturally
> occurring system in all forms of life that enables an organism to receive
> information (from within itself and from the environment), to integrate that
> information, and to respond on the basis of it. The emotional system
> includes mechanisms such as those involved in finding and obtaining food,
> reproducing, fleeing enemies, rearing young, and other aspects of social
> relationships. It includes responses that range from the most automatic
> instinctual ones to those that contain a mix of automatic and learned
> elements. Guided by the emotional system, organisms appear to respond
> sometimes based on self-interest and sometimes based on the interests of
> the group (Kerr, 1988, 27-28).

The emotional system accounts for human behaviour that is "… governed by processes

that predate the development of his complex cerebral cortex" (Kerr, 1988, 28). It is the

repository of basic life forces, or emotions that drive behaviour which includes universal

life forces such as courting behaviours, sexual reproduction, attachment of young to their

mothers and later to other caretakers as well, certain facial expressions, manifestations of

illness, acquiring food, and genetic factors (Papero, 1997, 171). The emotional system

contains internal forces and patterns related to the family relationship system (Kerr, 1988,

29; Kerr, 1997, 9). Unlike other species, the evolution of the cerebral cortex provides

humans with the potential to manage these emotional forces.

4.3.2   The Feeling System

Feelings are not to be confused with emotions, even though they are part of the emotional system. Feelings are "…an intellectual or cognitive awareness of the more superficial aspects of the emotional system" (Kerr, 1988, 31). The importance of feelings is not in their expression but in the access feelings provide into the emotional system.

4.3.3   The Intellectual System

The third system that informs human behaviour, the intellectual system, is a function of the most recently evolved part of the brain; the neocortex. The thinking brain

> … includes the human's capacity to know and to understand. It is that part
> of man that makes him a unique form of life. Man is unique in that his
> capacity to know, to understand, and to communicate complex ideas far
> exceeds that of any other animal. There is no evidence that the thinking
> ability of the human, who can observe and abstract the processes of the
> natural world, is even approached by another species (Kerr, 1988, 31).

The intellectual system makes it possible for humans to increase their level of objectivity by studying the functional facts of relationship systems.

4.4   Anxiety

A major variable affecting human functioning is anxiety which, as Kerr states, may be defined as "… the response of an organism to a threat, real or imagined" (Kerr, 1988, 112), and Kerr notes also that "Anxiety is assumed to be present in all living things" (Kerr, 1988, 112).

Anxiety may be either acute or chronic. Acute anxiety "… generally occurs in response to real threats and is experienced as time-limited" (Kerr, 1988, 113). It is the organism's

response to a specific threat and the fear that the threat generates. Individuals usually

manage acute anxiety effectively, but if it is not dealt with, it becomes chronic anxiety.

Chronic anxiety "… generally occurs in response to imagined threats and is not

experienced as time-limited" (Kerr, 1988, 113). Chronic anxiety is more difficult to cope

with since it is the response to imagined threats, to what might be (Kerr, 1988, 113). "It

is most accurately conceptualized as a system or process of actions and reactions that,

once triggered, quickly provides it own momentum and becomes largely independent of

the initial triggering stimuli" (Kerr, 1988, 113).

Chronic anxiety is more than existential angst since it affects the whole person: the body

"… as an interactive responsive network of neuropeptides" (Maloney-Schara, 1995, 5),

the brain, both functionally and structurally (Huether, 1996, 589), as well as at the cellular

level (Kerr, 1997, 56ff). It is both a societal and a family phenomenon (Kerr, 1988, 113).

Anxiety is contagious (Papero, 1997, 221), transferable (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 6, 10)

between members of a family, or a group, and is triggered by an imbalance in the

relationship system (Kerr, 1988, 113). When acute anxiety is not dealt with adequately, it

can significantly increase and intensify the level of chronic anxiety (Kerr, 1988, 114).

Families seek means to bind their anxiety. While these anxiety-binding processes may

differ from family to family, the underlying emotional process remains the same. "The

binding of anxiety in one part of the system reduces it in the system as a whole.

Relationships are by far the most effective anxiety-binders" (Kerr, 1988 September, 48).

Not all anxiety-binding mechanisms are beneficial. Some, such as the misuse of drugs,

personality traits, and extramarital relationships, have the potential for long-term negative

effects (Kerr, 1988 September, 48). Anxiety-binding mechanisms assist the family to

move toward a homeostatic balance.

4.5   The Eight Concepts of Bowen Theory

Bowen theory consists of the eight concepts previously introduced (i.e., differentiation of

self, triangles, nuclear family emotional process, family projection process, emotional

cut-off, sibling position, multigenerational transmission process, and societal emotional

process). All eight concepts are fully integrated in the theory, yet its core is the concept

of differentiation of self.

4.5.1   Differentiation of Self

Differentiation of self is a life force that enables an individual to respond thoughtfully to

situations rather than reacting automatically. It is the capacity of the individual to follow

his or her own compass (Kerr, 1989, 2) especially when the group or family anxiously

pushes for togetherness (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 65). Differentiation is the thoughtful

process of defining a separate self especially in relation to those who are emotionally

significant, usually the family.

Differentiation is the expression of individuality in relationships.[6] "Individuality is a

biologically rooted life force (more basic than being just a function of the brain) that

propels an organism to follow its own directives, to be an independent and distinct entity"

(Kerr, 1989, 2).[7] Holt writes, "This concept refers to the amount of self available to an

---

[6] Individuality is not to be confused with individualism which is a Western philosophy.
[7] Rabbi Friedman offers the following description of differentiation of self, "Differentiation refers to a
direction in life rather than a state of being: To the capacity to take a stand in an intense emotional system
To saying "I" when others are demanding "we" To containing one's reactivity to the reactivity of others
(which includes the ability to avoid being polarized) To maintaining a non-anxious presence in the face of
anxious others To knowing where one ends and another begins To being able to cease automatically being

individual. It includes an individual's level of functioning, and the degree of fusion

between that individual's thinking and feeling system" (Holt, 1990 Winter, 7).

Individuality and togetherness are counterbalancing life forces. "Togetherness is a

biologically rooted life force (more basic than being just a function of the brain) that

propels an organism to follow the directives of others, to be a dependent, connected, an

indistinct entity" (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 65). Togetherness and individuality co-exist in

a dynamic emotional equilibrium (Kerr, 1988). Since it is biologically rooted (Kerr and

Bowen, 1988, 63) "It, therefore, was not invented, but discovered" (Holt, 1990, 7). These

two life forces have been observed in other species. Lewis Thomas writes,

> … bees and termites and social wasps, seem to live two kinds of lives:
> they are individuals, going about the day's business without much
> evidence of thought for tomorrow, and they are at the same time
> component parts, cellular elements, in the huge, writhing, ruminating
> organism of the Hill, the nest, the hive (Thomas, 1974, 12).

Since not all families within a culture are at the same level of differentiation, Bowen

theory provides a description of the characteristics of people at various levels of

functioning which is referred to as the scale of differentiation. The scale of

differentiation provides a continuum of functioning from fused[8] to differentiated and "…

a way of evaluating all people on a single continuum, from the lowest to the highest

possible level of human functioning" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 200). Bowen never intended

the scale to be used as a diagnostic tool (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 97), and insisted that it

---

one of the system's emotional dominoes To being clear about one's own personal values and goals To taking maximum responsibility for one's own emotional being and destiny rather than blaming others or the context".

[8] Berglund provides an interesting description of fusion when he reports that Pythons symbolize togetherness, undivided oneness. "The diviner at eThelezini used the word *inzongolozelwane* when referring to this characteristic. "We admire a man who can sit down in the evening and when the cocks crow in the morning he has eaten a whole goat. We admire him because he has shown that he is a man, simply sitting down and eating piece after piece until the complete goat is finished. But this thin (a python) is worse. It swallows everything at once, merely opening its mouth steadily and swallowing the complete goat in one mouth full". (Berglund, 1976, 61)

has "… nothing to do with emotional illness or psychopathology" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 200). Its primary purpose is to provide insights into the degree of attachment between family members (Holt, 1994, 5), the family's ability to use the internal guidance systems by individuals (Papero, 1991, 4), the intensity of the basic responses between family members (Comella, 1994, 3), the level of self-awareness (Gilbert, 1992, 3-4), and the ability to live according to principle (Gilbert, 1989, 2).

Differentiation is the process of defining a separate self within the family system. Bowen theory assumes that self is made up of a solid or basic self as well as a pseudo- or functional self.

> The pseudo-self refers to knowledge and beliefs acquired from others that are incorporated by the intellect and negotiable in relationships with others. Pseudo-self is created by emotional pressure and can be modified by emotional pressure. The principles and beliefs of pseudo-self are quickly changed to enhance one's image with others or to oppose others. While these opinions and beliefs are incorporated by the intellect, they are strongly fused with the feeling process (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 103).

The pseudo-self has also been referred to as the pretend self (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 104), and "…an unsure, immature self" (Holt, 1990, 7) that functions to foster togetherness and "… increase the group's cohesion …" (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 104). The relationship between these two selves is a function of the level of differentiation. The lower on the scale of differentiation, the more the person is defined by the pseudo self.[9] The pseudo self is unreliable since it is constantly adapting to the relationship system. Its prime pursuit is conformity and group cohesion (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 103). Decisions of the solid self are made more out of principles and thoughtfulness than emotion. It is the ". . . capacity to separate oneself from surrounding emotional processes.

---

[9] This is similar to Zulu's description of the chameleon which is the archetype of the functional self. "Chameleons, shunned and despised by everybody, are symbols of unreliability which, ultimately, is traced to its creator "who made it that way, to be unreliable". (Berglund, 1976, 252)

It is the capacity to obtain clarity about one's own principles and vision and the willingness to be exposed and be vulnerable" (Friedman, 1999, 113).

4.5.2   Triangles

This process of seeking relief from anxiety by drawing in a third party is called emotional triangulation. Triangles, according to Bowen, are the "…molecule or building block of any relationship system" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 307). According to Frans de Waal (De Waal, 1997) similar triadic processes are found among primates, dolphins (Conner et al., 1992), hyenas (Zabel et al., 1992) coatis (Gompper et al., 1997), zebras (Schilder, 1990) and other animals (De Waal, 1997, 6).

As a part of the emotional system, emotional triangulation is the way people of all cultures manage their anxiety. Fisher reports how the Mehinaku use extramarital triangling associated with the uncertainty of paternity of the children, to build "… village cohesion" and develop close kinship ties" (Fisher, 1992, 270).

Interlocking triangles are formed when the original three-person triangle is not able to manage the increase in anxiety. These interlocking triangles may be formed with a friend, family member, agency, police and clergy, (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 140) and in the case of Zulu families, with their ancestors.

From birth, every child is triangled into the parental relationship. The child's functional importance in this parental triangle determines the degree of emotional attachment the child has with the parents. This attachment is often at the expense of the child's self and his or her responsibility for self (Papero, 1997, 181). The intensity of this attachment

affects the degree to which the child can separate emotionally from the parents. The more intense the family emotional process, the more intense the triangulation and the greater the difficulty the child will have in separating emotionally from the family, a process that may lead to an "… incomplete differentiation of self" (Papero, 1997, 181). Emotional triangles may be an effective means of binding anxiety in a relational system but they undermine individuality. Instead of managing self, each member of the triangle is managed by the relationship process, thus shaping each individual's thoughts, feelings and behaviour. The Zulu are aware of the potential loss of self in relationship triangles with the ancestors. They seek and welcome the brooding of the ancestors during times of intense anxiety but desire their presence to end when the anxiety has dissipated.

4.5.3   Nuclear Family Emotional Process

The nuclear family emotional process refers to "…the pattern of emotional functioning in a family in a single generation" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 376). The term "nuclear family" stems from "…the observation that families appear to have an emotional center or nucleus to which family members and some other nonrelated individuals are responsively attached. From this viewpoint, the family can be defined as the total number of individuals attached to an emotional nucleus" (Papero, 1997, 169).

One aspect of the nuclear family emotional process is the selection of a spouse. Since the selection is an emotional process it does not matter whether it is done by the individual or spouse. The central issue is that the selection is influenced by the family's level of differentiation. Bowen noted that "People pick spouses who have equivalent levels of differentiation of self" (Bowen, 1978, 1985: 203, 377). Spouses bring into the marriage relationship a comparable degree of intensity that is associated with the unresolved

emotional attachments each spouse has with his or her parents. Partners are chosen who

will assist with these unresolved attachment issues. The more reactive the separation

process is from the parents, the greater the focus on the spouse (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 203).

The pursuit for "… emotional oneness …" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 203) in marriage results

in the fusion of the pseudo-selves that is reflected in the expectations each spouse brings

into the marriage.

4.5.4   Family Projection Process

"This is the basic process by which parental problems are projected to children" (Bowen

1978, 1985, 204). Parents project their anxiety onto a child, often the first born, thereby

alleviating their own anxiety "… at the expense of the next generation" (Bowen, 1978,

1985, 205). Those children who are the focus of their parent's emotional immaturity may

show physical, emotional and/or social symptoms (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 204, 477).

4.5.5   Emotional Cut-off

As the intensity in the family increases, one or more members of the family may

emotionally cut off from the family physically, geographically or emotionally. Cut off is

associated with high levels of anxiety in the family (Holt, 1989 Fall). Cut off from the

family neither resolves the issues associated with emotional attachment, nor the need for

emotional closeness. Bowen characterized the need to cut off as being an "allergic"

(Bowen, 1978, 1985, 535) reaction to the family togetherness. However, simply

distancing from the nuclear family does not promote individuality since it does not

resolve the emotional attachment issues (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 535). These unresolved

emotional attachments to the parents are simply transferred onto other relationships.

"The more intense the cut-off with his parents the more he (sic) is vulnerable to repeating

the same pattern in future relationships" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 535). Working to bridge

the cut-offs effects a loss ". . .of symptoms, improvement in all areas of functioning

(emotional, intellectual, and physical) and a sense of groundedness" (Gilbert, 1992, 2).

4.5.6   Sibling Position

Bowen included the work of Walter Toman on sibling position as one of the concepts in

his theory (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 385). The only criticism he had of Toman's work was

that Toman did not take into account the "… predictable ways that profiles are skewed by

the family projection process" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 308).

4.5.7   Multigenerational Transmission Process

4.5.7.1   Multigenerational Family as an Emotional Unit

According to Bowen theory, the concept of family as an emotional unit is not limited to

the members of the nuclear family. In Bowen theory, "'Family' is defined as the

prolonged association of two or more generations of descendant kin, usually parents and

offspring" (Gilbert, 1993, 5). Family encompasses all generations emotionally linked

through the generations.

> Each nuclear family, therefore, is the endpoint of countless nuclear
> families before it. It is also a way-station of human reproduction en route
> to other future generations of nuclear families. Each nuclear family is a
> unit, as is the broader, multigenerational constellation of nuclear families
> to which it belongs (Papero, 1997, 182).

When the multigenerational family is understood to be a relational rather than a spatial

concept, it is possible to comprehend how previous generations remain an integral part of

the family. One implication of this is that unresolved attachment issues from the past

generations influence the functioning of later nuclear families. Even though they may be

dead, "… we react to them all the same" (Murphy, 1988, 5).

4.5.7.2 Information Transmission Across Generations

Friedman borrows Sheldrake's concept when he refers to the multigenerational

transmission process as "… the presence of the past …" (Friedman, 1999, 238). This

multigenerational connection appears to be a recent evolutionary development and is

more than the transmission of genetic information from one generation to the next. "For

most forms, once the genetic material was passed on to the next generation no further

contact was necessary" (Holt, 1990, 6). However, with the evolution of the larger brain it

became possible for information to be passed down by other means as well (McKnight,

1989, 7), such as relationship processes that tie generations together (Kerr, 1994, 3).

4.5.7.3 The Multigenerational Transmission Process and Differentiation of Self

Patterns of behaviour that cross the generations display "…a remarkable orderliness and

predictability" (Kerr, 1997, 64). These multigenerational patterns have a profound

influence on the level of differentiation of the nuclear family. "The basic level of

differentiation of the offspring will be largely shaped by the basic level of differentiation

of the parents.… One implication of the multigenerational emotional process is that

between any two generations, little variation in basic levels of differentiation is to be

expected without unusual and unpredictable life circumstances" (Comella, 1994, 3).

The level of attachment within the nuclear family is also a product of the attachment level

between the generations. The more fused the selves of previous generations, the higher

the chronic anxiety level, the more permeable the boundaries and the more relationship

systems influence behaviour and functioning (Holt, 1989, 84).

4.5.7.4 The Multigenerational Process and Emotional Triangles

The functional position of parents in the family of procreation triangles affects their functioning in the nuclear family. One process that fuels the multigenerational process is reactivity to parents, which then creates intergenerational triangles. This process is often associated with parenting as one generation seeks to parent in ways that are different to the way they were parented (Friedman, 1999, 273). Unfortunately, this process does not lead to any significant changes since the reactivity is linked to the "… incomplete differentiation of caretakers" (Papero, 1997, 181). Interlocking triangles bind the generations together into an emotional unit.

4.5.7.5 The Multigenerational Transmission Process and Cut-off

As in the nuclear family, relationships between the generations are characterized by attachment and interdependence. This means that there is no effective means of disassociating emotionally from the family. Cutting off from the family does not negate one's functional position in the family process, even though the one who cuts off from the family is often referred to as the "black sheep". The "black sheep", however, remains a functional part in the family emotional process, particularly the triangles, and functions to assist the family in maintaining some form of homeostatic balance. By cutting off from the intensity of the family, they project the intensity into succeeding generations.

4.5.8 Societal Emotional Process

Bowen extended the concept of the emotional unit to society. Society, as in the nuclear family, is also influenced by emotional process and anxiety.

Society, just like families, pushes for togetherness when anxiety rises, which results in there being less tolerance for differences and increased polarization (Papero, 1989, 4). When this occurs there is a decrease in the general functioning of the community and the development of social symptoms, such as the breakdown of family life (Beal 1990, 6); homelessness, hunger, and poverty increase (Papero, 1989, 4). Bowen referred to this process as "societal regression" (Bowen, 1997, 214). Societal regression characterized South African society under the apartheid regime and this has a serious impact on family life.

4.6   Bowen Theory and the Rites of Passage

With its biological, evolutionary and social understanding of relationship systems, Bowen theory offers new insights into the underlying processes associated with rites of passage.

4.6.1   Birth and Systems Theory

When the family is understood to be an emotional unit, then the unit of reproduction is not simply the married couple, but the family as a whole (Kerr, 1993, 3). Having children is the means by which individuals and families propagate themselves and their species. Each child not only carries the genes of each parent but also the genes of the ancestors. The genetic pool of the family is increased by exogamy (Fisher, 1992, 348).

The extended and multigenerational family has a vested interest in the offspring of the nuclear family and provides important assistance in the raising of the children. The extended family often functions as parents in some kinship systems. "Since our ancestors did not adopt the reproductive strategy of extending their partnership to rear their adolescents, nature took a creative tack: human kinship evolved" (Fisher, 1992, 234).

The extended and multigenerational family can provide safety and security for children even when the parents are functioning poorly. During times of increasing anxiety, such as associated with family transitions, they have an important emotional and physical function for nuclear families.

4.6.2 Puberty and Systems Theory

Puberty has biological, family and cultural dimensions. Physiologically it means that the child has become an adult. With puberty comes a new status for the child, namely that of an adult. Along with this new status comes new responsibilities.

For the family, puberty entails a new level of emotional separation which starts at birth. But unlike other species, human infants, even when weaned, remain extremely vulnerable for a long time (Fisher, 1992, 232). When chimpanzee mothers, for example, wean their young they stop feeding and building nests for them (Fisher, 1992, 232). In humans, according to Fisher, a longer process of emotional and physical separation evolved to provide time for the child to learn to deal with "… a complex world" (Fisher, 1992, 233).

The difficulty faced by the adolescent is that this move to define a separate self often triggers a negative reactive response from the parents. The intensity of the parent's reaction to the child's move to separate emotionally depends on their level of differentiation, the level of chronic anxiety in the family, the youth's functional position in the family triangles, as well as the unresolved attachments issues the parents have with their parents. The negative reactive response of the parents is to push for more togetherness as sameness of thinking, feeling and behaviour. The parental reaction may trigger in the youth either a reaction of conformity or a desire to rebel and cut off from the

family (Bowen 1985, 379) which may lead to "… internal or physical distance" (Bowen 1985, 535).

Traditional cultures developed rites of passage to assist families to negotiate this transition. These rites usually involve the nuclear, the extended, and the multigenerational family, which includes the ancestors. The presence of the ancestors provides stability for the family and the adolescent so that they can adjust to the changes and move towards a new togetherness/individuality balance. These rites are also the way the family and community assign a new status of "adult" to the youth. They then assist in reintegrating the "new" adult into the family and community. "Most cultures mark puberty with ceremonies for both boys and girls, so it is likely that in our ancestry both genders underwent puberty rituals prior to wedding" (Fisher, 1992, p.350).

4.6.3   Marriage

4.6.3.1   Marriage and Nature

"Marriage is a cultural universal; it predominates in every society in the world" (Fisher, 1992, 65). According to Friesen the roots of marriage must be sought not in culture, but in biology. "A behaviour is biology if it appears in all cultures" (Friesen, 1993, 6). The emotional basis of marriage is shown in its universality. Cultural practices reflect the means by which humankind manages these underlying emotional processes (Fisher, 1992, 66).

Marriage functions from a biological perspective to assure that the human species has a future. The sex drive, which is not limited to humankind, is the way nature seeks to assure the propagation of the species. While in other species there are biological

processes which have evolved to manage and regulate the sex drive, in the evolution of humankind these processes have either been lost or weakened. Humankind has had to develop social processes, such as marriage, to manage the biological drives.

The survival of a species depends on the survival of the offspring. Since human infants are extremely vulnerable, their survival is enhanced when there are two committed parents. Biologists have noted that "where paternity certainty is low, males tend to invest little" (Forsyth, 1986, 1993, 102). In those species where fertilization is external there is little commitment to nurturing the offspring and the question of paternity is of little importance as these males focus more on the competition that facilitates the continuation of their genetic line (Forsyth, 1986, 1993, 16). "From the female's viewpoint, internal fertilization gives her more control of who does the fertilizing and when" (Forsyth, 1986, 1993, 16). For males, internal fertilization means having to deal with sperm competition (Forsyth, 1986, 1993, 17). Internal fertilization means that only the female knows with certainty that the child she bears is hers. When the male is certain of his paternity, his investment in his offspring tends to be higher. Marriage then functions to assure males of their paternity and promote the benefits of parental investment. Monogamy, which also functions to assure paternity, also increases male parental investment in their offspring.[10] By having both parents invest time and energy in defense of breeding grounds, and the care of the young, the survival chances of the offspring increase, (Goldsmith, 1991, 44) and, if successful, is referred to as "reproductive success" (Goldsmith, 1991, 44).

---

[10] Marriage by no means assures paternity. Forsyth (1986, 1993, 105) writes: "Some paternity uncertainty exists even in human societies where the male makes a large parental investment in the children he believes are his. Studies of peoples as different as the Yanomamo of the Venezuelan rainforest and residents of rural midwestern United States reveal that on the order of 10 percent of children were not fathered by the male who believes and acts as if he were the father".

4.6.3.2   Marriage and Pair Bonding

According to Goldsmith, "The concept of differential parental investment holds the key to understanding various mating systems: monogamous, polygamous, and more rarely, polyandrous" (Goldsmith, 1991, 55). Monogamy, which refers to having one spouse at a time, is according to Fisher, "natural" (Fisher, 1992, 72).

4.6.3.3   Marriage and the Emotional Unit

Marriage is about the union of two emotional units and the creation of a third unit which remains attached to the two originating units. This systems understanding of marriage closely parallels the African understanding. Marriage for both is not simply the uniting of two individuals but the union of two families. This concept of marriage as a union of two groups or nations has been, in the past, the basis for political unions.

Marriage is also the union of two unresolved attachments since each partner brings their functional position in the family of origin, as well as all the unresolved attachments issues, which include those between the previous generations, into the new relationship. This complicates the marriage relationship.

4.6.3.4 Marriage and Differentiation of Self

The choice of a spouse according to Bowen theory is more an emotional than a thoughtful process. People choose a spouse who is at the same level of differentiation as themselves (Kerr, 1988, 225). This underlying emotional process is common to all cultures including those cultures in which the parents choose the spouse for their children. The choice of a spouse, whether by the individual or family, is influenced by the level of differentiation of the family and that of the child who is marrying.

4.6.3.5 Marriage and Cut-off–Divorce

Fisher cites studies that indicate that divorce is an integral part of human relationships:

"Almost everywhere in the world people permit divorce" (Fisher, 1992, 101). The

pervasiveness of divorce leads her to state that there is a "…cross-cultural pattern of

decay" (Fisher, 1992, 112) in marriage. She also notes that studies indicate that the

divorce rate peaks around the fourth year of marriage (Fisher, 1992, 109, 112, 152),

which she believes is connected to the time it takes to wean a child (Fisher, 1992, 152;

327). She further notes that "…divorce is common in societies where women and men

both own land, animals, currency, information, and/or other valued goods or resources

and where both have the right to distribute or exchange their personal riches beyond the

immediate family circle" (Fisher, 1992, 103). This is particularly evident in matrilineal

and hunter-gatherer societies such as the !Kung (Fisher, 1992, 103). In an agrarian

society the land becomes an important and integral part of the family life. The farmer's

wife no longer had her own resources, and she and children were expected to support the

family farm. Fisher notes that agrarian societies tended to be more conservative than

hunter-gatherer societies and that divorce is less acceptable if not prohibited since the

wife and children are needed to maintain the farm (Fisher, 1992, 72).

Divorce is often the means by which couples bind their anxiety and manage the reactivity

and emotional attachment in the relationship. It is a form of emotional cut-off. "Divorce.

. . can be conceptualized as the tendency to cut off from significant others during times of

discomfort, decreasing such discomfort for the short-term for at least one person at the

expense of increasing the breakdown of family relationships" (Maloney, 1990, 4).

4.6.4 Death and System Theory

"Death is a biological event that terminates life" (Bowen, 1985, 321). The human's response to death is an experience that is shared with other pair-bonds species (Masson, 1995, 94). "Man is an instinctual animal with the same instinctual awareness of death as the lower forms of life. He follows the same predictable instinctual life pattern of all living things" (Bowen, 1985, 321). The intensity of grief and loss is a function of the degree of fusion in the family. This intensity can lead both humans and other species to display symptoms such as listlessness. Intense grief in a fused family can lead to another death when an emotionally significant person dies. Jane Goodall recounts how Flint, a chimpanzee, went into a deep depression following the death of his mother Flo (Goodall, 1990, 196). He returned some months later to die at the same place where his mother had died.

The death of a family member creates a disturbance in the family togetherness equilibrium (Bowen, 1985, 324), an imbalance in the reciprocal relationships and an increase in anxiety. Bowen wrote, "The intensity of the emotional reaction is governed by the functioning level of emotional integration in the family at the time, or by the functional importance of the one who is added to the family or lost to the family" (Bowen, 1985, 325). The family responds to the loss of equilibrium with grief. Dealing with the grief and loss of equilibrium can be a lengthy process. "The length of time required for the family to establish a new emotional equilibrium depends on the emotional integration in the family and the intensity of the disturbance" (Bowen, 1985, 325).

A ripple effect is triggered in the extended family as well as in the larger emotional unit by the death of a family member. Bowen referred to this ripple effect as an "… emotional shock wave" (Bowen, 1985, 325) which, according to him, is "… a network of underground 'after-shocks' of serious life events that can occur anywhere in the extended family system in the months or years following a serious emotional event in a family" (Bowen 1985, 325). The intensity of the shock wave depends on the differentiation level of the family, the degree of unresolved emotional attachment between family members, and the functional importance of the deceased. At the lower level of differentiation, the shock wave is intense and there is a greater likelihood of aftershocks (Bowen, 1985, 325). These aftershocks can trigger physical, social and emotional symptoms in family members (Bowen, 1985, 325).

The funeral has an important function since it assists the family to move towards reestablishing emotional equilibrium. Funerals also provide the family with an opportunity to formally end their relationship with the deceased and to start moving forward (Bowen 1985, 331). Bowen wrote, "I think the best function of a funeral is served when it brings relatives and friends into the best possible functional contact with the harsh fact of death and with each other at this time of high emotionality" (Bowen 1985, 331). The purpose of the funeral is "… to bring the entire family system into the closest possible contact with death in the presence of the total friendship system and to lend a helping hand to the anxious people who would rather run than face a funeral" (Bowen 1985, 331).

Conclusion

Bowen theory provides a wide-angle lens through which the family can be studied. It is sufficiently different from individual theory in that it offers the potential for new insights. Its focus on the functional facts of relationship processes, rather than the content of what people say, offers a new avenue for studying the family.

Central to this approach is the understanding that the family is an emotional unit. In this emotional unit, relational processes, which are part of the human phylogenetic heritage, shape not only the behaviour, but also the thoughts and feelings of individual members. These relational processes are biologically rooted and are common to relationships in all cultures.

Bowen theory understanding of family process takes into account not only the processes in the nuclear family, but also those processes that are multigenerational since the family is an emotional unit. Death does not remove the previous generations from the family process. They may be dead and buried, and their names may have been forgotten, but their presence and influence lives on into the present and future generations. From an emotional perspective, the ancestors are truly the "… living dead" (Mbiti 1975, 77). For Bowen theory to be used in the study of Zulu families, it is necessary to examine whether there is a high degree of correlation between the theory and the Zulu conception of family relationships. If there is such a correlation, then Bowen theory can be used as a means to study Zulu family life. The following chapter will explore this correlation.

CHAPTER 5–BOWEN THEORY AND ZULU UNDERSTANDING OF FAMILY

Introduction

This chapter explores how Bowen theory, a systems view of relationships, correlates[11] with the Zulu understanding of family relationships. The family as an emotional unit provides an initial point of connection. Each member of the family has an important function, including past generations.

5.1 The Family as an Emotional Unit and Kinship

Zulu kinship, like Bowen theory, assumes that the family includes the nuclear, extended and multigenerational family. Zulu kinship patterns, according to Krige, are more inclusive than the Western understanding of kinship (Krige, 1962, [original published 1936]). She writes "Among the Zulus, as in most primitive societies, the bonds of kinship are very extensive and serve to bring together and knit into a group, people that in European society would not be regarded as related at all" (Krige, 1936, 23). The African kinship pattern, however, does not minimize the importance of the nuclear family and the individual. Zulu kinship is not only inclusive of the generations, but also complex. Krige states, "But though the classificatory nomenclature provides every Zulu with a number of fathers and mothers and a very large circle of brothers and sisters, the individual family, consisting of a man and his wife and children, is no whit less important than among Europeans and must be considered the most important unit in Zulu society" (Krige, 1936, 1962, 23). As Krige has pointed out, this understanding of the family, especially as it relates to brother, sister, mother and father, is both foreign and confusing for those raised in the West where family is usually assumed to be the nuclear family. The Zulu

---

[11] The Canadian Oxford Dictionary (1998, 316) defines correlate as "bring into a mutual relation; establish the likely relation between".

understanding of birth order creates confusion for Westerners who associate birth position

almost exclusively with the nuclear family. For the Zulu birth order relates to the

person's place in the extended family in which cousins are looked upon as brothers and

sisters.

Lawson notes that the importance of kinship is reflected in the traditional design of the

homestead which consists of circular huts surrounding a circular cattle byre. "This circle

of huts surrounds a circular cattle enclosure at the very center of the village. This inner

circle is also called a kraal. So, in effect, you have a kraal within a kraal, a cattle

enclosure within a human enclosure" (Lawson, 1985, 19). He continues his description of

the importance of this design by stating that,

> The location of the huts in the circular arrangement is significant, for it
> indicates both social and ritual relationships of the occupants. The chief
> hut, on the west side of the circular arrangement, is the hut of the
> headman, who is also the priest of the kraal. This chief hut is balanced on
> each side by the huts of the headman's wives, one of whom will be known
> as the 'great wife.' Lower down are the huts for the children of the family,
> for appropriate relatives, and for guests or visitors. Such relatives, guests,
> or visitors will always have a particular association with this kraal, usually
> a relationship of kinship (Lawson, 1985, 19).

The cattle byre at the centre is another witness to the importance of the family as a unit.

The cattle are not the possession of any one individual but belong to the household which

includes the ancestors (Berglund, 1976, 110). The unity of the family is also affirmed by

the burying of the lineage heads in the cattle byre (Lamla, 1981, 18) where the ancestral

spirits dwell (Lamla, 1981, 18).

For both the Zulu and Bowen theory the nuclear family is important but is to be

understood within the larger context of the extended and multigenerational family. A

systems understanding of the family as an emotional unit and the Zulu understanding of

kinship affirms that the dead have an important ongoing function. Kinship relationships are not ended by death.

5.2   Family Harmony

Living systems, whether an ant colony or a human family, seek homeostasis. The need for living systems to maintain a homeostatic balance means that each individual member has functional importance for restoring and maintaining the balance of the whole system.[12] For Zulu families the ancestors have this important function. As anxiety increases, each family functions more and more for the system ceding individuality for the sake of family harmony and togetherness. This is particularly evident during times of family transitions. Anything that creates discomfort, disharmony and undermines togetherness of the family has to be dealt with. Grudges or resentments that family members hold against one another must be dealt with through reconciliation since they disturb the family harmony. Only when there is reconciliation may those holding a grudge participate in the traditional feasts (Berglund, 1976, 246). Reconciliation functions to restore harmony and balance and brings a renewed openness and flexibility to the family system (Berglund, 1976, 246).

> The sharing of food is an important matter as is the atmosphere in which
> the sharing takes place. For if there is anger in the minds of any of the
> participants, including especially the shades, or there is suspicion, 'then
> the spirit of eating is bad. That is not the atmosphere of *umsebenzi* (ritual
> celebration). Everybody must be cool and pleasant. That is when
> everybody is happy and can eat nicely without some thoughts. '. . . Anger,
> suspicion and hatred are all geared towards *ubuthakathi* (witchcraft and
> sorcery), and occasion when many people get together as at ritual
> celebrations are the occasions par excellence for commiting (sic)
> *ubuthakathi*'…. He must first be seen clearly by everybody so that they

---

[12] One analogy that has been used to illustrate the functional importance of each member of a family in maintaining the homeostatic balance of the family is the child's mobile. Each piece on the mobile has a functional importance for maintaining the balance of the mobile. If any piece on the mobile is disturbed, all other pieces are affected and the whole mobile goes out of balance. Living systems are more complicated, but the underlying process is the same. Family transitions affect the mobile, and disturb the balance.

> may eat in peace.… But when he has spoken and is free, then we are
> merry…(Berglund, 1976, 247).

The maintenance and restoration of harmony is stressed in every aspect of Zulu culture, in the architecture and layout of the homestead, in the feasts, in dancing and in the drinking of beer. The ancestors have the important function of maintaining and restoring harmony. One way the Zulu acknowledge the importance of the presence of the ancestors is by communing with them by drinking beer (Berglund, 1976, 246). Their ritual dance "… aims at exciting the shades to action" (Berglund, 1976, 236).

Any disturbance of the family togetherness increases anxiety and the level of emotional reactivity. As the discomfort level increases, Zulu families turn to the extended and multigenerational family, and particularly the ancestors, for assistance. They welcome the "brooding" of the ancestors (Berglund 1976, 129) since their brooding increases the family togetherness, comfortableness and calmness. However, once the crisis has passed, Zulu families are quite clear that they would prefer that the ancestors no longer brood with them.

> It is important to note the distinction between *ukuba kona*, to be present, and *ukufukamela*, brooding. While the former, the presence of the shades, is a necessity for a normal and prosperous life, the latter is required only at very special times of crisis when the presence of the shades is changed to brooding. But when the brooding of the shades is no longer required, or when the crisis is over, the shades are shaken off and the appropriate distance between them and the living which is understood in *ukuba kona*, returns (Berglund, 1976, 127).

The functional importance of the extended and multigenerational family, and particularly the ancestors, is to function as anxiety binders for Zulu families (Lamla, 1981, 17). By binding the nuclear family's anxiety during times of increased anxiety, the ancestors provide stability, balance, harmony and unity. This function of the ancestors was clearly stated by Mr. 15, a traditionalist, "I think about my ancestors whenever I see that things

are not going well at home". He then went to describe an event when a grandchild

became ill and he turned to the ancestors for assistance. The presence of the ancestors is

to assist families during times of disturbances in the homeostatic balance.

Family gatherings, particularly those associated with transitions, are an important part of

the rebalancing process. Because transitions such as marriage, the birth of a child,

puberty and death are times of heightened anxiety for families, the gathering of family

members during these transitions starts the rebalancing process. For the Zulu, the

ancestors are an important part of these gatherings because their functional presence as

anxiety binders facilitates the redirection and investment of the family's energy. By

contrast, Western families often fail to see the family as a resource during times of stress

and usually turn to non-family members, such as psychiatrists and counselors for

assistance.

5.3   Family Rites and Rituals

Rituals are an important part of Zulu family gatherings since they offer the family the

resources of the extended family and the multigenerational family. By gathering the

family together for these rituals, the larger community becomes the focus of anxiety. The

extended, multigenerational family, including the ancestors, is triangled into the family

process.

Rituals and ceremonies are an important aspect of Zulu "rites of passage" (Plog and

Bates, 1980, 371) and form part of the process for dealing with the imbalance associated

with disturbance of family togetherness. Traditional funeral rites, which include the

ukubuyisa, the bringing home of the dead, assists the family to process their grief, while

puberty rites assist the child and the family to renegotiate family relationships. According to Berglund, rituals have a greater importance than ceremonies, "… while ceremony is a conventional and sometimes an elaborate form of voicing one's feelings, ritual aims at a communion with the shades which is efficacious" (Berglund, 1976, 28).

The inclusion of the ancestors as an integral part of these rituals affirms their importance for the family. The repetition of these rituals from generation to generation underscores the importance of community, and the sense of belonging and communion among the generations (Lamla, 1981, 16). Berglund clearly states,

> Ritual refers to celebrations which aim at a communion with the shades.
> The various rites of the complete ritual are religious in content and
> conservatively sanctioned by both age and the shades with whom
> communion is sought: while ceremony is a conventional and sometimes an
> elaborate form of voicing one's feelings, ritual aims at a communion with
> the shades which is efficacious (Berglund, 1976, 27-28).

Pauw points out that this function of ritual is also essential for the understanding of Tswana practices and beliefs.

> Several of the rites which still persist are connected with the belief that the
> living and the dead may mutually communicate with and influence each
> other. Undoubtedly this is the case with mogôga, and it probably also
> applies to the rite of eating the animal of the cradle-skins, the custom of
> burial in the kraal, and the entrance of the corpse at the back of the kraal
> (Pauw, 1960, 29).

The family homestead is the centre of community and belonging in Zulu culture. Its design reflects the importance of community and togetherness that includes the living and the ancestors.

The family homestead is "… the primary locus for ritual…" (Lawson, 1985, 17) and the place where the ritual slaughtering is done. Every aspect, from the design of the

homestead to the ritual practices, emphasizes the concept of community and the

importance of belonging (Berglund, 1976, 219). Rituals provide and reinforce the family

togetherness or unity and satisfy the Zulu's need for belonging. Failure to attend and

participate in these family rituals is understood as cutting off from the family and

considered a sign of disrespect to the family as a whole, which includes the ancestors.

> Disrespect involves also the shades and a man's neglect in attending to
> their needs arouses anger. Disrespect towards the shades is reflected
> particularly in not attending to ritual celebrations (Berglund, 1976, 271).

The concept of connectedness with previous generations is reflected in the *umsamo*. It is

there that the family has communion with their ancestors. "Its particular purpose is to

provide a ritual ground for communing with the very present family ancestors" (Lawson,

1985, 19).

> Ethnographic records have underlined the importance of umsamo of a hut
> and the special role played by umsamo of indlunkulu, a homestead's main
> hut. 'The umsamo of every hut is sacred, but that of the chief hut of the
> kraal is especially important, for here all the offerings to the spirits are
> made, and here the important guardian spirits of the kraal abide'
> (Berglund, 1976, 102).

Like the *umsamo,* the ritual spear and cattle all emphasize the connectedness of the

members of all generations of the homestead. Berglund notes of these items that, "They

do not belong to a man. They belong to *umuzi* (homestead, of which the shades are family

members)" (Berglund, 1976, 103).

Traditional celebrations involve feasting, dancing, the slaughtering of cattle or goats and

the drinking of beer all of which reinforce the sense that the living and dead form a

community. Hammond-Tooke refers to the communion of the living and the ancestors in

the ritual feasting and beer drinking as the participants being of a "single heart"

(Hammond-Tooke, 1981, 26). Berglund writes that "Informed Zulu are emphatic that the ritual dance performed by the officiant aims at exciting the shades to action" (Berglund, 1976, 236). Cattle and goats that are part of the ritual celebrations are slaughtered at the homestead "because that is where the shades are" (Berglund, 1976). Beer drinking is a community activity and is an expression of the communion of the living with their ancestors.

> Participation in ritual beer-drinking and in ritual slaughtering is, as the previous chapter has illustrated, an involvement in a communion between the shades and lineage survivors. The communion has been called for: the cause for the celebration being either with the shades or with the survivors. Ritual killing at the times of crisis in life aims partly at reconciling the shades 'with a new person who has come. They may become confused finding somebody they do not know among their people.' Partly it is requesting them for their future blessings (*izibusiso*). Killings in connection with sickness (or other calamities) aim at satisfaction of the hunger expressed by the shades, or, when the sickness is not 'the sickness of the shades' (i.e., caused by the shades), a plea for the restoration of health through the intervention of the shades (Berglund, 1976, 246).

By emphasizing the unity of the family, ritual brings the Zulu family into positive contact with its roots and family resources. The strengths of the previous generations become a resource to the nuclear family. By means of ritual, members of the extended families, including the ancestors, are triangled into the nuclear family process as anxiety binders.

5.4   Belonging, Communion and Emotional Cut-off

One of the powerful forces that shape Zulu family life is the need for belonging and communion. This correlates with the togetherness force in Bowen theory. Togetherness force is a life force that is part of the emotional system. There can be no family or community without the influence of the togetherness force. The counter force to togetherness is individuality which is often confused with emotional cut-off. In Bowen

theory emotional cut-off is rooted in reactivity to the intensity of togetherness in the family. Members of the family react by distancing emotionally or geographically. For the Zulu belonging and communion is a multigenerational concern and not limited to the living.

> There is, on the other hand, a fairly complex ritual of communion with them in which the shades and the survivors commune with each other in the widest and most intimate sense of the word.…The communion is a sharing of the slaughtered beast and a renewal of kinship bonds with each other which implies mutual concern for each other. The ritual of communion is at times one of appeasement, at other times one of gratitude, at others, again, of commitment (Berglund, 1976, 198).

Being part of the family satisfies the Zulu's deep-rooted need for belonging, or communion. Belonging means belonging to a nuclear family but also to a multigenerational family that includes both the living and the dead. This theme of belonging, or communion, permeated most of the interviews with traditionalists and Christians and is probably one of the main driving forces for the reintroduction of traditional customs concerning the ancestors in Christian family life. Belonging is more than membership in the family. It is a relational concept that allows for ongoing communion between family members which includes the dead, since the Zulu do not view death as "terminal", an end to the relationship.

Mr. B., a Christian who is reincorporating the ancestors into his belief system, described the relationship between the living and the ancestors as one of "spiritual communion".

Interviewer: What word would you use for your relationship to the ancestors, if not worship?

Mr. B.:   Spiritual communion relationships. Communion relationship.

Interviewer: The word that comes to me listening to you, a word that is very important, is the word belonging. The concept that I belong to the ancestors and the ancestors belong to me. I belong to the community.

Mr. B.: Absolutely. The community belongs to me.

Interviewer: A profound sense of belonging. And if you don't follow the customs?

Mr. B.: You lose the concept of belonging.

Interviewer: Going back to the washing of the hands on Saturday, is it really about belonging?

Mr. B.: Absolutely. Even here today there was a burial of a pastor. When there is a funeral here in the urban areas in Christian settlements, when there is a funeral people going to the funeral, you find two basins of water. People wash their hands before they go into have the feast. They don't eat from the graveyard without having washed their hands. Even if they didn't touch the soil you go there and stand while people are digging and burying and singing. But before you go to eat you pass the big basin of water and everyone washes in that basin of water. You don't open your own tap and wash. That would have no sense of togetherness, of communion. I am stressing my understanding of ancestor's spiritual communion relationship. Not something see, study, as spiritual as the very Christian belief. Because the Christian belief is spiritual. Those who worship, God is Spirit, those worship God in Spirit, a spiritual communion.

Interviewer: Which would be another way of defining belonging?

Mr. B.: Which is another way of defining togetherness, belonging.

Mr. B. then describes how an Anglican missionary to the Xhosa had redefined belonging as belonging to the community at the mission station, the community of Christians only. He stated,

> I would totally resent that. As someone who is educated, I still belong to my people. As a Christian, I still belong to my people. I don't lead an isolated Christian life, I don't lead an educational and philosophical isolated life. I belong down there with my people. That is what makes the idea of ancestors not be wiped out of my mind.

This concept of belonging was expressed differently by Mr. A. When directing his children as a parent, he would remind his children that they belonged to a larger family unit, just as his father had reminded him of this same fact. Mr. A. would introduce what he was to say with "In my father's house…" This phrase would refer to the home in which he grew up, but it had a wider meaning. Mr. A. explained that the saying expressed connectivity between the generations since every father would remind his children of what was said and done in his father's house. So the child was reminded of his or her belonging to the generations of this family, the father's house.

Mr. B. responded to the question from the interviewer as to what satisfaction he gains by reintroducing certain cultural practices as follows:

Mr. B.: I think that I am not removed from them, not alienated from them, I am still a part of the community. Hmmm. Because when something happens to you, you need this people you live with. So I think that you do things other things, which you understand that to you have no meaning but because you live with this people you do that.

Interviewer: So relationships become very important?

Mr. B.: Yes.

Interviewer: The cultural practices are really about keeping good relationships in the

community?

Mr. B.:   Ja, that is what I think.

Mr. A. as well as nearly all the other Christians who were interviewed, and who were re-

examining and reincorporating the traditional understanding of the relationship with the

ancestors into their Christian faith, expressed this need for belonging. The drive behind

this process is the need for belonging to the multigenerational family unit.

According to Bowen theory this need for belonging is an expression of the deep-rooted

life force of togetherness. This neutral force for togetherness is part of the humankind's

phylogenetic heritage and is observed in other species in the herding or flocking instinct.

According to Kerr,

> Togetherness is a biologically rooted life force (more basic than being just
> a function of the brain) that propels an organism to follow the directives of
> others, to be a dependent, connected, and indistinct entity. A human being
> has various biological and psychological systems that incline him to
> function as part of a group and to follow the group's compass. These
> internal systems not only orient the person to the directives of the group,
> but also send out signals that orient others to self. This force to be
> connected is reflected in the striving to act, feel, and think like others, as
> well as in the striving to have others act, feel, and think like oneself.
> While the togetherness force is rooted in biological processes, its intensity
> in a given person is heavily influenced by learning. This learning ranges
> from the conditioning of emotional and feeling responses to the acquisition
> of values and beliefs (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 65).

Humans too have this instinctual need for togetherness, for belonging to family and

community.

Individuality is the counterbalancing force to togetherness. Individuality "propels an

organism to follow its own directives, to be an independent and distinct entity" (Kerr,

1981, 1989). Kerr notes that an individuality force motivates a person "…to feel, think, and act for oneself and a lack of concern about whether others feel, think, and act the same" (Kerr, 1989).

The Zulu's need for community and belonging is an expression of the togetherness emotional force. Returning to the family homestead is an affirmation of community, communion and belonging. To be absent then from the family gathering is to cut oneself off from the family and to ignore one's emotional significance, connectedness and place within the family. To absent oneself is to show disrespect to the family. Other family members will be expected to accommodate and fill that vacant functional position in the system .to bring about a *"dynamic equilibrium"* (Kerr, 1988, 65) in the family. When one member cuts off from the family, then other members must commit more energy to the rebalancing process.

Expecting new Christians to reject any association with their ancestors is akin to asking them to cut off emotionally from their families and community. It meant that they no longer had access to the family resources and that they had to find new ways to fulfill their need for togetherness, communion and belonging. Theological beliefs could not overcome the social and psychological implications of this requirement. According to Mr. A, to separate from the world meant that Zulu Christians had to separate from their families if these families maintained their traditional practices especially as these practices related to the ancestors. This led to social and cultural alienation. Zulu Christians were expected to abandon their past and therefore their identity. This was counter to traditional Zulu society which did everything possible to prevent such cut-off. The requirement to leave their past left Zulu Christians caught between two loyalties; to family and to the church. To separate from the family and its traditions meant isolation,

the loss of communion with the generations as well as showing disrespect for their forebears. On the other hand they were informed that to participate in family rites that included the ancestors was to compromise, and even deny their faith in Christ. Either decision meant loss and anxiety for Zulu Christians. In response to the question what it meant to him not to be able to participate in the traditional family rites and customs Mr. B. said, "You lose the concept of belonging".

Yet it is questionable whether the Church was a satisfactory replacement for the family or that it could satisfy the deep need for togetherness, belonging and communion. For some Christians the church was not an adequate substitute and replacement for the loss of belonging to the family. Mrs. D., a Christian who sees no place for the ancestors in her life, turns to her weekly community prayer group rather than the church to meet her need for togetherness. The Christian Church, which insisted that Zulu Christians cut off from their families, now has difficulty assisting and guiding Christians who are starting to reincorporate traditional practices into their family life. The church lacks a theoretical framework for the explanation and understanding of the importance of ancestors in Zulu family functioning.

Some Christians, including some of the interviewees, try to rationalize their participation in those traditional family rites and ceremonies as being strictly a cultural matter. This rationalization unfortunately divorces culture from Christianity and compartmentalizes the Christians life. Mrs. D. continues to struggle with the problem of her participation in traditional feasts. Her response has been to attend but to refuse to eat the meat. She is aware that by not eating the meat she is questioning whether she belongs to the family and community. She supports her decision by quoting those biblical passages, which

forbids such eating, but this only exacerbates her dilemma. How is Mrs. D. to meet her

need for community and belonging when she believes that she cannot participate fully in

the family rites and practices and the Church fails to adequately address these needs?

Mrs. D.:   Yes it is true because you see that our beliefs are not the same.

Sometimes, like the family members abroad, some will come with this

belief and some will come with this belief and now I cannot resist them all.

If they say, say if it's a wedding, if the in-laws, if all the power to offer my

daughter-in-law, they come and say they want to slaughter a cattle, a cow,

just to celebrate. I cannot disagree with them. I've got to cool down and

allow them to do it. Knowing that it would not affect me just to allow

them to do it. So we do it and under the pressure like myself, I totally

don't believe in it. Yes.

Interviewer: So what would the pressure be for you?

Mrs. D.:   The pressure, if for instance like, let me just make an example. If my

daughter, my son, would like to do something like that, so if he feels, I just

have to stand aside and allow him to do it knowing that I am not engaged

in it because I don't believe it.

Interviewer: And would you eat the meat?

Mrs. D.:   Yes if I know it is for that. Of course the Bible does not allow us to eat it.

Yes but if I come to family, to a family and find that there is food there, is

meat there, having not known that it is food to the ancestors, the Bible says

you can eat it. But if you know you don't have to eat it.

Interviewer: Would you refuse to eat it then?

Mrs. D.:   Yes I have to if I know exactly it is for that purpose, yes.

For Mr. C. the question of belonging to his family and community is also very important. By participating in family and community events he finds "satisfaction". He has resolved the issue of eating the meat associated with the ancestors by accepting that he and the family members interpret the meaning of the meat differently. In response to a question about his father's relationship with his non-Christian siblings, he stated,

Mr. C.:   He understands that this is what they believe and not change them. It was
              difficult to change people who believe that I too believe in ancestors.
              There was an argument in church service whether Christians should go to a
              function where people slaughter a cow to honour the ancestors. What to
              do? There is nothing wrong with meat. That is what I believe. I don't
              think with those people. But there are other denominations where if you
              are, you don't have to go there. It is a sin to go and take part knowing very
              well that these people are doing this to the ancestors. I believe there is
              nothing wrong going there.

Hammond-Tooke has addressed the problem the Christian Church faces as it seeks to provide the necessary resources that Christians need for their daily life, especially the need for belonging and for community.

> It is not my task, as an anthropologist, to decide whether belief in the
> power of the shades is compatible with the biblical message. That is a
> matter for the theologians. It may be that there is a significant gap that
> Christianity does not fill. It has much to say on one's duty to one's
> immediate family, to the state, and to the stranger within one's gates, but
> nothing specific about the 'organic' community around one, especially
> one's extended kin-group, still so vital in traditional life. Is it possible that
> one of the reasons for the retention of ancestor religion, in full or modified
> form, is an attempt to make up for this deeply-felt lack (Hammond-Tooke,
> 1981, 31)?

The Church has failed to identify the functional importance of the ancestors for Zulu families especially in the management of anxiety and for assisting in maintaining family togetherness, belonging and community. The Western bias towards individualism and particularly its understanding of death as a termination of kinship relationships has blinded the Church to the importance of the ancestors.

5.5   *Umuntu* **and the Development of the Self**

There are significant similarities between the Zulu concept of *umuntu* and the Bowen concept of differentiation of self. Kerr describes differentiation as "The ability to be in emotional contact with others yet still autonomous in one's emotional functioning is the essence of the concept of differentiation" (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 145). In a public lecture, Kerr defined differentiation as "Being self-focused without being selfish. Being other-focused without the loss of self". For both, the self is never shaped in isolation, but always within emotionally significant relationships such as the family

The Zulu concept of *umuntu umuntu ngabantu* can be translated as, "a person is a person in relation to other persons" or as "I am because you are". This saying indicates that the self is always defined in the connectedness to others, especially to the family. For the Zulu, as in Bowen theory, family is not limited to the nuclear family but includes the extended and multigenerational family which includes the ancestors.

Depending on the level of differentiation of the family, *umuntu* can be used as a process that leads to greater differentiation or greater fusion. During times of increased anxiety families may use the concept of *umuntu* to promote more togetherness at the cost of individuality. *Umuntu* therefore has a functional importance for Zulu families. Berglund

illustrates this variation in differentiation between Zulu families, "Like fertility, anger is innate in the lineage and clan, and peculiar to each individual member of the lineage" (Berglund, 1976, 255).

5.6   Ancestors and Emotional Triangulation

Bowen theory assumes that when anxiety increases, families maintain the homeostatic relationship balance by triangling into the family process other people, or form triadic relationships with substances like alcohol, prescription and non-prescription drugs, gambling, fantasies, and beliefs. The most effective anxiety binders, however, are relationships (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 119) which become more important as anxiety increases in intensity (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 142).

> A live third person is not required for a triangle. A fantasied relationship, objects, activities, and pets can all function as a corner of a triangle. For all the facets of a triangle to be played out, however, three live people are usually required (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 136).

Interlocking triangles are formed when the nuclear family triangles can no longer accommodate the increased anxiety (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 124).

This is also the process in Zulu families especially during times of heightened anxiety, especially those occasions associated with family transitions. The nuclear family cannot contain the increased anxiety and so form interlocking triangles with extended family members, especially the ancestors. In this way the ancestors stabilize the family system, dampen the anxiety providing the nuclear family with greater flexibility and time to rebalance itself. Those occasions when the ancestors are triangled into the family process, traditional Zulu refer to as the "brooding" of the ancestors. However, when the anxious period is past and the family is back to a functional balance again, and the

brooding of the ancestors is no longer desired. By binding the family's anxiety in the

triangle, the ancestors facilitate family togetherness without the loss of individuality. By

functioning for the family the ancestors promote belonging and the unity of the

generations by preventing emotional cut-off. Kerr describes this multigenerational

triangling process:

> Triangles are forever, at least in families. Once the emotional circuitry of
> a triangle is in place, it usually outlives the people who participate in it. If
> one member of a triangle dies, another person usually replaces him. The
> actors come and go, but the play lives on through the generations.
> Children may act out a conflict that was never resolved between their
> great-grandparents. So a particular triangle was not created necessarily by
> its present participants; nor does it form anew or completely dissolve with
> the ebb and flow of anxiety (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 135).

This triangling of the ancestors into the family emotional process was referred to by a

number of interviewees as "reporting" to the ancestors. Mr. A. makes it clear that he

believes that there is a difference between praying to the ancestors and reporting to them.

A systems perspective shows that reporting to the ancestors is a triangling process rather

than a religious act.

Interviewer: Tell me the difference between prayer, and the word you use with the

                ancestors, reporting? You use the two words in different contexts.

Mr. A.:   Ja, I would say so because now we don't say "amen" which is a sign of a

                prayer. And when we pray we say "In the name of the Father, the Son and

                the Holy Spirit". With the ancestors we don't mention those three in one.

                We simply call our forefathers by their names or by their nicknames or

                whatever. You just talk.

Reporting to the ancestors becomes important during times of increased anxiety and stress. By reporting to the ancestor the family is soliciting their ancestor's assistance as well as reaffirming a sense of belonging. The main function of the ancestors is to bring emotional assistance to the family when the family's resources are inadequate to deal with a stressful situation. Reporting is a triangling move when anxiety is high. Since triangles deal with anxiety, Zulu families no longer desire the presence of the ancestors when the levels of acute anxiety are low. They prefer that the ancestors not brood.

Conclusion

Bowen theory and Zulu understanding of relationship processes and the development of the self have much in common. These commonalities have been demonstrated in the understanding of the family as a unit that includes the nuclear, extended and multigenerational families. Bowen theory provides a non-religious understanding of the relationship with the ancestors and how reporting, instead of being a religious act, is an emotional triangling process. The ancestors have a functional importance for Zulu nuclear families as they deal with the increased anxiety associated with transitions. Given the similarities that have been identified to the Zulu understanding of family, Bowen theory will now be used to interpret the research data.

CHAPTER 6–RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.1   The Planning Process

6.1.1   Identifying the Problem

As identified in previous chapters, Western individualist theories have offered a limited

understanding of the traditional African family and kinship relationships. One reason has

been the failure of these theories to take into account the African understanding of family

as including the nuclear, extended, and multigenerational families. The focus of

individual theories has not been able to account for the ongoing function of the ancestors

in Zulu family life. Practical theology, which has been influenced by the social sciences,

has also been unable to provide an adequate explanation of the phenomenon. The

existing paradigms that inform practical theology, therefore, need to be replaced by a

paradigm that offers a broader understanding of family relationships—one that includes

the ancestors.

6.1.2   Significance of the Question

Any new paradigm that is intended to inform practical theology needs to explain existing

and new research data. Bowen theory fulfills this requirement. It offers a new

framework that allows understanding and explanation of family relationships and a

framework that supports focusing on the ancestors' function in Zulu families. As

discussed, the functional importance of the ancestors has been identified by social science

research as well as by theological studies (Berglund, 1976, 129, 222); however, neither

has been able to explain this phenomenon. Bowen theory brings to practical theological

research the ability to discuss the concept of the family as an emotional unit. This

understanding relates closely to the Zulu understanding of family and kinship and provides new insight into the enduring functional importance of the ancestors.

The research problem that informs this study is not limited, however, only to African families. For Asian families the ancestors also have an ongoing functional importance. This study, therefore, has the potential to contribute to a practical theology that addresses not only Zulu but also structures in Western family life.

6.1.3 Theoretical Framework

This research raises many important and significant issues. A central issue with far-reaching implications for practical theology and for the understanding of the family is the understanding of human nature. The prevailing Western understanding has ignored the evolutionary connection with other species and assumed that humankind is special and unique. This assumption has limited the understanding of multidisciplinary studies to the contribution of the social sciences while ignoring the biological sciences (Pieterse, Lesson 7.4, PTA100-T/1, 12; Heitink, 1993, 227-8). This study, informed by Bowen theory, offers a broader understanding of humankind; it includes the contribution of the social sciences as well as the biological and evolutionary sciences. Bowen theory accepts that humankind has evolved within nature and through evolution has relational processes in common with other species. Thus, this study provides a theoretical link between humankind and nature and between practical theology and the life sciences. According to Bowen theory, the link that ties humankind to other species is the emotional system, which contains humankind's phylogenetic heritage.

6.1.4 Theological Framework

This dissertation researcher is a Lutheran Christian theologian, and so the theological response is limited to the researcher's understanding of the Christian faith. Being a Lutheran expresses the particularity of the Christian faith that shapes the theological response. Furthermore, this study will provide a relational theological interpretation of the research data that will inform the practical theological response.

6.1.5 The Goals of the Research

The primary goal of this study is to provide an explanation and understanding of the ancestors' function in Zulu family transitions that are associated with intensified anxiety. The literature indicates that it is during these family transitions that the ancestors have an increased functional importance as anxiety binders for Zulu families. A secondary goal of this study is to provide a framework for a systemic practical theology that can inform pastoral care and counselling for Zulu families. Such a systemic practical theology needs to be broad enough to include the nuclear, extended and multigenerational family relationships.

This study of Zulu family transitions was selected because the emotional process in the families can be more easily observed and studied during times of intense anxiety. A further factor that led to the study of family transitions was that each transition has a biological basis which requires that the study be fully interdisciplinary. A study such as this can be the beginning of the development of a practical theology that is fully interdisciplinary as well as systemic. A systemic practical theology can provide a framework for reevaluating the Church's rites and practices, especially as they pertain to the reincorporation of the ancestors into Zulu family life.

6.1.6　The Hypothesis and Sub-hypotheses

Using the insights from anthropology and Bowen theory, the research will address the following problem:

> *That the ancestors assist Zulu families by binding the anxiety as the family seeks to move towards a homeostatic balance during times of increased anxiety associated with the following family transitions: the birth of a child, marriage, puberty, and death.*

The research problem was subdivided to make the problem "… more readily understandable and soluble" (Heitink, 1993, 373). The subdivisions identified specific occasions when families have had to deal with increased anxiety as a consequence of major changes in the homeostatic balance. These biologically rooted (Carter and McGoldrick, 1988, 143) nodal points or transitions in family life are associated with specific rites of passage; namely, birth, marriage, puberty and death. These subdivisions provide the basis for theological reflection that can inform a systemic practical theology, as well as the Church's response to the Zulu families who have reincorporated the ancestors into their family practices. The sub-hypotheses are as follows:

1. *That the ancestors function to assist the family in managing the anxiety associated with the destabilized family system when a new family member is added, i.e., the birth of a child.*

2. *That the ancestors function to assist the families with the anxiety associated with family restructuring as a consequence of a marriage.*

3. *That the ancestors function as a resource for families as they deal with the anxiety associated with the child, at puberty, separating emotionally from the parents and moving into the new status of*

adulthood. The ancestors facilitate the process by assisting the

families as they deal with emotional attachment issues.

4. *That the ancestors function to assist families with the anxiety*

    associated with the death of a family member.

5. *That those Christian families who have reincorporated ancestors into*

    the family emotional process have done so at times of high anxiety,

    when the Christian rites failed to provide adequate resources for

    families dealing with the stress associated with transitions.

6.2   The Research Methodology

Research methodologies range on a continuum from quantitative to qualitative. Pieterse

states "We have already stated (lesson 7.3) that we take the two approaches to lie on a

continuum and that they should therefore be seen as complementary rather than

irreconcilable" (Pieterse, Lesson 7.4 PTA100-T/1, 229-230). The choice of a research

methodology depends on the theoretical framework that shapes the study. The theoretical

framework is important since the theory defines the research question and problem to be

studied. Theory determines the research hypotheses and the statement of the research

problem. Pieterse has noted, that it is "… a comprehensive, well-established theory from

which hypotheses are deduced" (Pieterse, Lesson 7.4 PTA100-T/1, 228). The theoretical

framework for this study, Bowen theory, will inform the research hypothesis. Usually the

process of deducing a hypothesis from a theory is associated with quantitative research;

however, it can also be used in qualitative studies. In this qualitative study, Bowen theory

has been used to develop the research hypotheses as well as for the gathering and

interpretation of the research data (Pieterse, Lesson 7.4 PTA100-T/1, 227).

A qualitative methodology allows for a more general statement of the research problem and for greater "…flexibility and openness" (Pieterse, Lesson 6 PTB200-4/1, 373) regarding the function of the ancestors in Zulu families. Qualitative research is also often more descriptive and the data more "…verbal or pictorial than numeric and may include transcriptions of interviews, field notes, photographs, video recordings, personal documents, memos and official documents. These data are not (usually) converted to numeric symbols" (Pieterse, Lesson 7.4 PTA100-T/1, 227). Qualitative methodologies are less restrictive when dealing with the dynamics of relationship processes and are more consistent with Bowen theory since the theory is concerned with "…*process* rather than noting outcomes or results" (Pieterse, Lesson 7.4 PTA100-T/1, 227). For these reasons this study uses qualitative methodologies since its focus is on describing family emotional processes during times of family crises.

The Case Study methodology is the main method used to gather information since it can be combined with other qualitative methodologies (Tellis, 1997 July, 7). This study augments the Case Study methodology with Descriptive and Exploratory methodologies.

6.2.1   The Case Study Methodology

6.2.1.1   Definition of the Case Study Methodology

According to Yin, the case study method is "… an empirical inquiry that:

   (a) investigates a *contemporary* phenomenon within its real-life *context*; when

   (b) the *boundaries* between the phenomenon and context are not clearly

       evident; and in which

   (c) *multiple* sources of evidence are used" (Crosthwaite, MacLeod, and

       Malcolm, 1997, 3).

6.2.1.2 The Choice of the Case Study Methodology

The choice of methodology depends on the nature of the problem to be researched, (Crosthwaite, MacLeod, and Malcolm, 1997, 3) as well as to the number of cases to be studied. Since this study is limited to a small number of families, the Case Study is an appropriate methodology for the research of the function of ancestors in Zulu families (Crosthwaite, MacLeod, and Malcolm, 1997, 1). Another advantage of the Case Study is that it "…draws on a wide range of disciplinary knowledge to analyse complex systems in depth" (Crosthwaite, MacLeod, and Malcolm, 1997, 1). Resources to analyse the research data will not only draw upon prior anthropological, sociological and psychological studies and explanations, but more importantly upon Bowen theory.

The Case Study methodology is particularly appropriate for researching the relational processes that underlie Zulu family transitions. Unlike individual theory, in which the individual is the primary focus of research, Bowen theory studies the family as a unit. A further factor in choosing the Case Study methodology is that it is not restrictive and can deal more adequately with a great number of variables. Unlike a linear approach, which focuses on cause and effect, a systems understanding of the family requires a more extensive and inclusive methodology. A broad approach is essential when studying the multigenerational family. The Case Study is also appropriate for systemic research since the focus is on the "…interplay of all variables in order to provide as complete an understanding of an event or situation as possible" (Writing Center at Colorado State University, 1). This is supported by Tellis who writes that the "Case Study is an ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed" (Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg, 1991; Tellis, 1997 September, 1).

The Case Study methodology is also well suited due to the limited focus of this study;

namely, research of family processes associated with family transitions.

> The unit of analysis is a critical factor in the case study. It is typically a system of action rather than an individual or group of individuals. Case studies tend to be selective, focusing on one or two issues that are fundamental to understanding the system being examined" (Tellis, 1997 September, 1).

The choice of the particular type of Case Study depends upon the nature of the research

problem. There are a variety of Case Study methodologies.

> Yin (1993) has identified some specific types of case studies: *Exploratory*, *Explanatory*, and *Descriptive*. Stake (1995) included three others: *Intrinsic*—when the researcher has an interest in the case; *Instrumental* - when the case is used to understand more than what is obvious to the observer; *Collective*—when a group of cases is studied. Exploratory cases are sometimes considered as a prelude to social research. Explanatory case studies may be used for doing causal investigations. Descriptive cases require a descriptive theory to be developed before starting the project (Tellis, 1997 September, 1).

Combining the Case Study with the Exploratory and Descriptive methodologies satisfies

"…the three tenets of the qualitative method: describing, understanding, and explaining"

(Tellis, 1997 July, 3).

6.2.2   The Research as an Exploratory Study

The Exploratory Research methodology is usually used to research new areas. This

makes it particularly applicable to this research project since "It addresses the 'what'

question: 'What is this social activity really about?'" (Neuman, 1994, 18). Heitink states

that "Explorative research is a mixture between research that seeks to describe and that

which seeks to test hypotheses" (Heitink, 1993, 230). The main emphasis of explorative

research is on "… explanation and interpretation" (Heitink, 1993, 230).

According to Neuman, the goals of Exploratory Research are to:

- Become familiar with the basic facts, people, and concerns involved.
- Develop a well-grounded mental picture of what is occurring.
- Generate many ideas and develop tentative theories and conjectures.
- Determine the feasibility of doing additional research.
- Formulate questions and refine issues for more systematic inquiry.
- Develop techniques and a sense of direction for future research (Neuman, 1994, 19).

Researching the function of the ancestors from a Bowen theory perspective is a departure from the prevailing research approaches used by the social sciences and practical theology. When new ground is being broken (Mouton, 1996, 72), exploratory research methodology is appropriate (Mouton, 1996, 72). By using the exploratory research methodology, this study conforms to the goals of gathering new facts (Mouton, 1996, 103) and providing a description and explanation of the phenomenon (Heitink, 1993, 230).

6.2.3   The Research as Descriptive Study

To accomplish the goals of this research study, it is necessary to employ the descriptive methodology as well, since it is able to present ". . . specific details of a situation, social setting, or relationship" (Neuman, 1994, 19). As Neuman adds, the descriptive methodology " . . .focuses on 'how' and 'who' questions ('How did it happen?' 'Who is involved?')" (Neuman, 1994, 19). According to Neuman, the goals of Descriptive Research are to:

- Provide an accurate profile of a group.
- Describe a process, mechanism, or relationship.
- Give a verbal or numerical picture (e.g., percentages).
- Find information to stimulate new explanations.
- Present basic background information or a context.
- Create a set of categories or classify types.
- Clarify a sequence, set of stages, or steps.
- Document information that contradicts prior beliefs about a subject (Neuman, 1994, 19).

Using the Case Study methodology, together with the exploratory and descriptive methodologies, allows this research project to achieve its potential of offering new explanations and understanding of social phenomena associated with the ancestors. This new knowledge can inform practical theology and the pastoral care of Zulu families. The uniqueness of such a practical theology allows for a broad perspective of relational phenomena that includes insights from the natural sciences. Using Bowen theory as a new paradigm for practical theological research opens the possibility for new research questions.

6.3   The Design of the Study

6.3.1   The Setting

All scientific research has a specific focus; this study is limited to the study of the ancestors' function in Zulu families, even though the ancestors are important throughout Africa. This focus arose from the researcher's initial interest in the subject (while teaching at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg) as well as by the availability of resources. Another determinant for the setting of this study in Pietermaritzburg was the access to people who were available to be trained and were capable of doing the interviews in the Zulu language. By undertaking the research in Pietermaritzburg and its surroundings, it was easier to identify possible members of Zulu families to be interviewed.

6.3.2   The Research Population.

The interviewers were asked to select Zulu family members, who could be assigned to one of three specific groups, to be part of the research population. The first group consisted of Zulu families who had retained their traditional beliefs and for whom the

ancestors continued to have an important ongoing function. These Zulu families continue to use and celebrate their traditional practices and rites associated with the ancestors.

The second group consisted of Christian Zulu families who have rejected and refused to participate in their traditional ancestral beliefs, rites and practices. They believe the rites associated with the ancestors to be sinful and idolatrous.

The third group consisted of Christian Zulu families in transition. These Christians may have initially rejected the rites and practices associated with the ancestors but were in the process of reincorporating at least some of these rites and practices into their family life. It is not the intent of this study to go into great detail about the occasions that gave rise to the reincorporation of the ancestors into the family process. The focus of the study is essentially on the process of rethinking their relationship with their ancestors.

6.3.3   Pilot Study

With the assistance of a Lutheran pastor in Pietermaritzburg, four people were identified for interviews. Each is referred to in this study with a letter of the alphabet. These interviews were done by the researcher in English. These four interviewees were all Christians, only one of whom still continued to reject the ancestral practices. The other three interviewees were at various stages of reincorporating into their family life some of the rites and practices associated with the ancestors. Finding Christians who totally rejected any association with the ancestors became a significant problem for the Zulu interviewers. Even though the pastor who selected the people to be interviewed by the researcher believed that most had rejected the ancestors, in the interviews the opposite was found to be true.

The pilot study was undertaken to test the relevance and viability of the study as well as to provide initial research data. It also provided the background for the training of the interviewers. The relevance of the study was quickly affirmed by three of the four interviewees. Their strong affirmation of interest in their ancestors and the rites associated with them clearly indicated the relevance and viability of the study.

Also explored and addressed in the pilot study was the concern that the Zulu interviewees might not be willing to discuss their relationship with the ancestors with a white, former South African Lutheran pastor. However, all four of the interviewees were more than willing to discuss their relationship with the ancestors and spoke very openly and frankly with the interviewer. They were apparently more open with the researcher than with their own Zulu pastor. Some expressed a keen interest in 'educating' the researcher about Zulu culture and practices, and all believed that the study was important and encouraged the interviewer to continue with it. The pilot study also provided an opportunity to refine the data sheets that the trained Zulu speaking interviewers would be using.

The pilot study interviews took place in the homes of the interviewees at a time that was mutually convenient for all concerned. The interviewees were asked to sign a release that allowed the information gathered in the interviews to be used in this study. Part of the release they were asked to sign was to give permission for the interviews to be videotaped. The video tapes were then transcribed by the researcher. These tapes provided a rich resource for the study.

The Pilot Study Population

Christians – reject ancestors	Christians – incorporated Ancestors
Mr. C (rethinking position)	Mr. A
Mrs. D	Mr. B

6.3.4 The Main Research Study

6.3.4.1 Training of Interviewers

Because the interviews would be conducted in Zulu, four Zulu-speaking interviewers were recruited with the assistance of a local school principal. Even though all four were given training, only two of the four were willing to do the interviews.

Two training sessions, each two hours long, were held. In the first training session the interviewers were informed of the research study and invited to participate. The remainder of the first session was used to provide them with a detailed description of the study, and the expectations of them as interviewers.

The second session was devoted to training the interviewers in doing interviews. They were trained as to the appropriate questions to ask in order to solicit the information required to complete the survey questionnaire. The researcher interviewed one of the interviewers as a model for the interviewers. Role-playing techniques were also used to give the interviewers an opportunity to practice with one another. These role-playing sessions gave the researcher the opportunity to provide assistance and a critique of the interviewer's performance. The interviewers were briefed on the process required for obtaining consent and on the need for maintaining confidentiality. The interviewers were also informed that they were expected to identify people from each of the research categories and to arrange a time and place for the interview. These interviews were to be

audio taped. To assist the interviewers, each one was supplied with a tape recorder, tapes and extra batteries. Following each interview they were required to complete the survey questionnaire in English. Once the interviews were completed, arrangements were made for the survey questionnaire and the tapes to be forwarded to the researcher who had the tapes translated and transcribed to check on the accuracy of the information on the data sheets. The information was then collated according to the three research categories. To maintain confidentiality and to differentiate participants from the interviews done by the researcher, each of the interviewees was given a number.

6.3.4.2 Data Collection

The two trained interviewers selected eighteen people to be interviewed. Even though they were instructed to find people who fell into one of the three categories, they found this very difficult. It was especially difficult to find Christians who continued to reject their ancestors and the rites and practices associated with them. Their difficulty in finding people who fell into this category may indicate the extent to which Zulu Christians have already, or are in the process of, incorporating the ancestors into their family process.

The Main Study Population.

Christians – reject ancestors	Christians – incorporate ancestors	Traditionalists
Mrs. 2	Mr. 3	Mrs. 5
	Mr. 9	Mr. 14
	Mrs. 4	Mrs. 15
	Mr. 8	Mr. 16
	Mrs. 18	Mr. 17
		Mr. 12
	Mr. 6	Mrs. 11
	Mr. 13	Mrs. 10

One interviewee, Mr. 1, claimed to be neither a traditionalist nor a Christian. His data can be found in the Appendix.

Data were gathered through a single semi-structured personal interview with all twenty-two interviewees: the four interviewed by the researcher in the pilot study and the eighteen interviewed by the Zulu interviewers. An attempt was made to select these twenty-two interviewees according to the three research groups: traditional, Christian and Christians who were reincorporating the ancestors into their family life. As the diagrams indicate, it was not possible to get equal numbers from each category. Each person was interviewed in his or her home and an audio or video tape recording was made of the interview. Interviewees were asked to sign a permission form that provided permission for the interview, for the use of the data and for the recording of the interview. Interviewees were assured of confidentiality. (Appendix A) The interviews were structured according to the data requirements needed to complete the survey questionnaire.

The survey questionnaire (Appendix B) was designed to gather general factual personal data such as date of birth, religious tradition, and educational level. More specific data was sought from each interviewee concerning the family transitions, births, sicknesses, puberty, marriages and death. There were questions that sought to solicit data concerning the grandparents, parents, spouses and children of the interviewees. Other than the pilot study interviews, all interviews were conducted in Zulu. The interviewers, however, recorded the information on the survey questionnaire in English. These complete questionnaires together with the audio tapes were forwarded to the researcher with the tapes. These audio tapes were then translated and transcribed by a Zulu pastor in order to

provide a means of assuring the accuracy of the information on the completed

questionnaires. To maintain confidentiality, the translator/transcriber was not provided

with the names of the interviewees, only with an identification number. The data were

then collated according to the religious category and according to the other areas of

interest. (Appendix C)

6.4 Analysis and Evaluation

6.4.1 Data Organization

The data were organized according to four areas of transition for Zulu families: marriage,

birth, puberty and death. A fifth area concerning ancestors and health was initially

included in the research. Even though some data concerning health were gathered from

the interviews, it was not used in this study. The relationship between ancestors and

health is important and can be the focus of a future study. The data were then analyzed

and evaluated according to the concepts of Bowen theory.

A limited attempt was made to score the data, and these charts are included in the study.

The main thrust of the study was to evaluate the research data in terms of the nuclear

family emotional process, a concept in Bowen theory that describes the reciprocal

patterns in family relationships and the development of dysfunctions in family members.

The two key variables in Bowen theory are the differentiation of self and anxiety. As

anxiety increases the family has greater difficulty coping due to the togetherness balance

being disturbed and the emotional balance disrupted. The family may then seek anxiety-

binding mechanisms to assist in restoring the homeostatic balance. The family may then

turn to the extended and the multigenerational family for assistance. During these

anxious times the family may triangle the ancestors into the family emotional process to help restore the family's emotional balance.

6.4.2 Data Analysis

The systemic analysis of the research data was then interpreted through the relational theology that forms the basis for a practical theology that can address the concerns of Zulu families as they deal with major transitions: birth, puberty, marriage and death.

CHAPTER 7–A BOWEN THEORY INTERPRETATION OF ZULU FAMILY TRANSITIONS: BIRTH AND PUBERTY

The four family transitions, birth, puberty, marriage and death all have biological roots. They are also characterized by an increase in anxiety that creates a disturbance in the family's homeostatic balance. The anxiety associated with family transitions triggers an imbalance in the family togetherness and intensifies relationship processes. During these transitions, traditional Zulu families have sought the assistance of their ancestors who bind the family's anxiety and assist in restoring the balance of togetherness.

This chapter addresses the family transitions associated with the birth of a child, and puberty. Bowen theory will be used to interpret the research data with the intent of demonstrating the functional importance of the ancestors for Zulu families.

7.1   Birth and the Ancestors

Even though the birth of a child may be celebrated with great joy, the joy cannot mask the fact that the addition of a child to a family is a "nodal event" (Gilbert, 1998, 151), a transition that generates anxiety for the family.

7.1.1   Biological Roots of Birth

If a species is to survive, it must reproduce. To avoid extinction, nature has provided some species with a sex drive as a way to reproduce; this drive is an integral part of the emotional system that humankind shares with other species. According to Gilbert another function of sexual reproduction "… is to create genetic diversity" (Gilbert, 1989, 4). Species have developed reproductive strategies to manage the sex drive. For humans marriage is a central reproductive strategy (Fisher, 1992, 324). Fisher writes:

> Marriage is a relationship within which a group socially approves and
> encourages sexual intercourse and the birth of children (Frayser, 1985,
> 248)". Anthropologist Ward Goodenough's similar one defines the three
> essential components of marriage as the jural or legal dimension, the
> priority of sexual access, and the eligibility to reproduce (Fisher, 1992,
> 318).

Marriage as a reproductive strategy also assures the father of his paternity and thereby

increases the likelihood of the male committing himself to the raising of his offspring.

Underlying the question of paternity is the fact that only the female knows for certain that

the child she is carrying is hers.

There are costs associated with reproduction, especially for human females (Fisher, 1992,

179).

> Females conceive the embryo, tote the fetus for days or months, and often
> raise the children largely by themselves. And females are limited in the
> number of offspring they can produce; it takes time to bear and raise each
> infant, brood, or litter. So it is to a female's advantage to pick her partners
> carefully, she hasn't many opportunities to reproduce (Fisher, 1992, 179).

The biologist Goldsmith adds to Fisher's lists of cost by including the "… time, energy,

and the increased chance of an early death" (Goldsmith1991, 43). To improve the

conditions for the survival of the mother, and especially the child, requires what

biologist's refer to as "parental investment" (Goldsmith, 1991, 43). Goldsmith quotes

Triver's definition of parental investment as "… any investment by the parent in an

individual offspring that increases the offspring's surviving (and hence reproductive

success) at the cost of the parent's ability to invest in other offspring" (Goldsmith, 1991,

44). Females make a greater investment in parenting offspring than males (Goldsmith,

1991, 44). Reproductive success for humankind is obtained and maintained when males

make the necessary commitment to the survival of their offspring. To facilitate this

process human society has evolved codes of conduct that manage sexual relationships and

among these is marriage (Fisher, 1992, 253). Zulu society too has developed social practices and codes that reflect the importance of assuring reproductive success by assuring that the necessary resources are available for the survival of the offspring.

7.1.2 Bowen Theory and the Birth of Children

The importance of reproductive success means that great emotional significance is attached to having children. For the Zulu reproductive success is not only the concern of the nuclear family, but also for the multigenerational family. This reflects the systemic understanding that the unit of reproduction is the multigenerational family unit (Kerr, 1993). For the Zulu the unit of reproduction includes the ancestors. The ancestors have a vested interest in the reproductive success of their offspring. Successful reproduction by their offspring assures their future.

The birth of a child, although celebrated with joy, generates anxiety for the family because it disturbs the emotional balance of the togetherness force. The intensity of the disruption can range from a relatively untroubled assimilation of the child to a major family upheaval (Gilbert, 1998, 153). Other factors that add to the intensity of the disruption are the circumstances surrounding the birth of the child, the level of differentiation and chronic anxiety of the parents and that of the parental families. It is at the birth of a child that the Zulu welcome the "brooding" of the ancestors (Berglund, 1976, 239). The assistance of the ancestors is initiated by reporting to them. This reporting to the ancestors triangles them into the family process.

Not only does the birth of a child significantly change the family structure, but also the family process. As the family tries to deal with the increasing anxiety associated with the

disruption of the togetherness/individuality balance, so the reciprocal functioning of the parental dyad is also intensified.

As the mother becomes more focused on her child, she is less focused on her husband. This upsets the togetherness balance in the spousal relationship. The mother and the child now share an intense closeness that the mother may have shared with the husband. By taking care both physically and emotionally of her infant, the mother puts emotional distance between herself and her husband. The husband no longer has the togetherness he may have enjoyed with his wife. This distance between the spouses is further sustained and managed by cultural taboos concerning sexual relations during pregnancy and immediately following the birth of the child (Pauw, 1960, 14). Fisher states that ninety-four percent of all cultures have taboos concerning postpartum sex. "Generally couples are supposed to abstain from sex for about six months after the birth of a child" (Fisher, 1992, 252). However, some males may experience this emotional distance, and lack of togetherness, as a threat. Those males at the lower the level of differentiation may feel threatened by the birth of the child and reactively distance from his wife. This process has been observed in cross-cultural studies of divorce where it has been noted that most divorces take place around the fourth year of marriage which is also the traditional period associated with birth spacing, as well as the length of time it takes to wean a child. Traditional Zulu culture has developed practices that regulate birth spacing. "It is expected that children be spaced, and their welfare plays an important role in parental care" (Berglund, 1976, 255).

> Although births spacing varies among populations of hunter gatherers, and maternal age and number of children previously born to a woman affect birth intervals, these data have led anthropologist Jane Lancaster[39] and others to conclude that a four-year pattern of birth spacing—caused by frequent exercise and the habit of continual nursing through the day and

night—was the regular pattern of birth spacing during our long evolutionary past.[40]
Thus the modern worldwide divorce peak—about four years—conforms to the traditional period between human successive births—four years (Fisher, 1992, 153-154).

The addition of a child into a family unit also brings about a shift in the functional structure of the family. "A new person in the group means new triangles are formed in the nuclear family, requiring major adjustments on the part of all—the structure and functioning of that unit becomes different" (Gilbert, 1998, 152).

This disruption of the family emotional balance extends beyond the nuclear family into the extended and the multigenerational families. The birth shifts the balance of the togetherness/individuality in the whole family unit which affects the interlocking triangles that cross generational lines. The family may experience this shift in the emotional balance as anxiety. Cultural birth rituals have an important role during this transition since they assist the family in managing the disruptions triggered by an increase in anxiety. These rituals provide the family with an orderly process by which it may move towards a new homeostatic balance.

There are many influences that affect the attachment between mother and child in the womb. "The initial environment with which the embryo must contend is the uterus of its mother. This is primarily a chemical environment where subtle shifts in the balance of the mother's biochemistry are reflected in the foetus" (Papero, 1997, 178). One manifestation of this is Foetal Alcoholism Syndrome, a biochemical relationship between mother and foetus. Other factors that affect the intensity of the attachment between mother and child include temperament, emotional state and level of differentiation and relationship to her spouse. For nine months the mother and child form an emotional

attachment that continues after birth. During pregnancy both mother and child are sensitised to each other. In his research with chimpanzees, Suomi noticed that there was a relationship between the child and the mother's functional position in the troop. He observed the differences in functioning of infants depending on whether the mother's who raised them were what he referred to as, "laid back" or "uptight" (Papero, 1997, 178). The mother's relationship with the father is also an important factor in the shaping of the infant's experience of the father. "This implies that the infant has both a direct experience of another caretaker and a direct experience of the mother's reactivity to another caretaker" (Papero, 1997, 179). From birth, and probably even before birth, the child has a functional position in the family system and is triangled emotionally into the family process.

The mother's relationship with her child is also shaped by her relationship with her own parents who determine her basic level of differentiation and thus the level of attachment to her child (Comella, 1994, 3). The degree to which she has separated emotionally from her parents will influence the degree to which she will be comfortable with her child separating emotionally and physically from her. There is, however, also a multigenerational aspect to the intensity of attachment associated with birth as separation. The degree to which the mother dealt with the attachment issues with her parents determines the degree to which she is comfortable with her child separating emotionally from her. This emotional separation process accounts for the variation both within and between families. The more the mother was able to form a separate self in her family, the clearer she will be of her own boundaries and the less reactive she will be to her children as they separate emotionally from her.

Even though the father's direct relationship with the child develops after the birth, his functioning during the pregnancy will affect the relationship process of the family unit and thus the fetus. His basic level of differentiation will influence his ability to manage himself as he deals with the shift in togetherness with his wife, and his ability to manage his anxiety will have been determined by the quality of the relationships he had with his family of origin.

7.1.3 Belonging and Zulu Family Life

For the Zulu it is important to belong to a family, especially to a multigenerational family. However, the only way that one can become a part of a multigenerational family is through marriage and birth, occasions when the ancestors have an important functional role for the family. The ancestors help the family to integrate the newcomer into the family system. Their presence and association with birth goes back to the marriage rituals and the slaughtering of the three beasts. The third of the three beasts provided by the bride's father for the wedding, the "…*eyokukhulekela ukuzala* is slaughtered ritually by the bride's people, once she has settled down in her new home.[23] The killing is done in the new homestead and the shades are requested 'to work nicely with her in giving birth so that there be no disturbances'" (Berglund, 1976, 207). According to Mrs. 5, "The ancestors would be responsible for looking after them and give those that are married children". Mrs. 4, a Christian stated "Ancestors play a part in almost every aspect even during childbirth. They are responsible. At most, one is assured of a smooth birth". Should there be birth complications, their assistance is sought. Mrs. 5 responded to a question concerning the involvement of the ancestors in the birth process itself, "Yes because there are sometimes complications. The elders would go to a sanctuary and make prayer, speaking to ancestors. Soon after that, one would feel it easy to deliver".

It is not only at the birth that the ancestors have an important function. The ancestors are responsible for the pregnancy (Mrs. 4). This is confirmed by Mrs. 5, a traditionalist, who said, "It helps because it is them that made you to fall pregnant in the first place. As you know if one does not have children, she becomes a laughing stock". The ancestors have more than a passing concern for the reproductive success of the couple. Their future, and the future of their clan, depends on the couple having children (Ma Mpolo, 1987, 103). Reproductive success is therefore important for the whole family unit, including the ancestors. When a couple becomes anxious about their ability to have children they turn to the ancestors for assistance. By triangling their ancestors into the family process, Zulu couples seek assistance in dealing with the anxiety associated with pregnancy and childbirth.

Not all ancestors, however, are of equal importance for pregnancy and for assuring a complication-free childbirth. According to Berglund, the Zulu make a distinction between the function of the bride's and groom's ancestors. Both sets of ancestors play an important part in procreation. However, the female's ancestors are responsible for "… supplying blood" (Berglund, 1976, 121), regulating her menstrual cycle. According to Berglund, the ancestors are not responsible for conception (Berglund, 1976, 121). They continue "… to feed the foetus with blood while growing in the womb" (Berglund, 1976, 253), thus strengthening the child and improving the chances of the child surviving. The male's ancestors are associated with "… the male fluid" (Berglund, 1976, 253). These ancestors mould the child inside the dark womb. "When the shades mould a child in the womb, they are moulding one of their people. That is the child of their *amathunzi*" (Berglund, 1976, 86). Involving both ancestors assures the child that he or she belongs.

The ancestors are believed to assist with the birth of the child since "The shades drive it out of the womb. It glides out leaving behind its skin (placenta)" (Berglund, 1976, 94). It was also assumed that the ancestors would be responsible for assuring that the mother would be able to breast feed her infant. By means of successful breast feeding the ancestors provide the mother with a form of birth control since lactating prevents her from menstruating (Berglund, 1976, 253). Breastfeeding also assured that there was an appropriate period between pregnancies.

Responses to the question concerning the participation of the ancestors in the birth of a child indicate that there is little difference between the Christians and the traditionalists in their reliance on the ancestors (see Table 1).

Mrs. 2, a Christian, responded to this question in the negative and stated that "We don't do anything, we are just happy". Later in the interview she stated that at birth, "No. Nothing was done for them, except when they have to inhale *inyamanzane*". An interviewee who was neither a traditionalist nor a Christian stated that "I do slaughter a goat because everybody at home does it, next because I have a reason to do". In response to the question: *Were traditional rites used at and after childbirth?* He stated, "Imbeleko. Yes. A goat is slaughtered". He was referring more to the practices of the family in which he grew up rather than to what he would do when he had children. The most he would do was to slaughter a goat. This area of childbirth and the ancestors was followed up with another question, *Were traditional rites used at and after childbirth?* Table 2 indicates once again that for most of the Christians interviewed, the traditional rituals

associated with childbirth, and which included some reference to the ancestors, remained

important to them.

Table 1. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: Is the presence and
participation of the ancestors important at times of childbirth?

Christian and Traditional	
Mr. 3	Yes. Children get sick if they have not been reported to the ancestors.
Mr. 9	Yes. No child can be born without the will of ancestors.
Mrs. 4	They help successful childbirth. I nearly died when giving birth to my last daughter. I could not walk. I went to the diviner and she told me that ancestors will help me and they did.
Mr. 8	The fire is made to make the house warm. Then a goat is slaughtered (imbeleko) so as to help the child grow..
Mrs. 18	It is very important. A child is a gift in the family. The ancestors must see to it that the child is growing. We must report the child to the ancestors.
Mr. 6	Impepho is burn at emsamo to report to the ancestors that here is the newborn child they must welcome him/her.
Mr. 13	Yes the ancestors are present and important since the baby is the mother's womb when conceived till the child is born.
Traditional	
Mrs. 5	Ancestors give the children. If you don't do umsebenzi for them, they don't give you children. When childbirth is difficult, an incense is burnt and they are begged and it becomes successful to give birth.
Mr. 14	Yes. They welcome the child and look after the child.
Mrs. 15	Yes. The baby is taken to eisibayeni on the 10th day and is smeared with dung, and incense is burnt and ancestors are informed that a new person has been born.
Mr. 16	We tell them if there is the child born in the family. Sometimes a child is called by an ancestor's name.
Mr. 17	It is important because impepho is burnt to report the child.
Mr. 12	Ancestors are where we report that here is a child that is born in the family. Then the ancestors provide good health because now they know about the child born.
Mr. 11	Not necessarily when the child is born but after sometime the goat is slaughtered for Imbeleko ritual.
Mrs. 10	Yes because an incense (impepho) is burnt to report the arrival of the child.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	No
Neither Christian nor traditional	
Mr. 1	(He offered no response)

In traditional families, it was only after the purification of the mother, that the father was

allowed to see his child. "The father's first ritual act was to sacrifice an ox to the

ancestors. This was an act of both thanksgiving and precaution (Lawson, 1985, 34). The

Table 2. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: Were traditional rites used at and after childbirth?

Traditionalists	
Mrs. 5	I gave birth in hospital for my first born. After three months I went to my husband's home with people accompanying me carrying food. I carrying my new child to show them that I have a child from them.
Mr. 14	I don't have children. But I know we welcome children by slaughtering an animal.
Mrs. 15	Yes. The umbilical cord is cut and the skin of inyamazane is burnt and the baby inhales it so that s/he is ready for the real world. The mother is cleaned and given food and placed in comfort.
Mr. 16	Not yet, I am still going to do imbeleko for my children.
Mr. 17	Yes
Mr. 12	At childbirth there is a traditional rite called imbeleko if it's a girl it is followed up by umhlonyane.
Mrs. 10	Yes. The burning of impepho to appreciate the safety arrival of the new born and the mother.
Christian and Traditional	
Mr. 3a	No
Mr. 9	My wife was given izihlambezo during her pregnancy. As soon as the child is born s/he given ash and smeared ash on the fontanelle. Incense is burnt and ancestors are informed.
Mrs. 4	No. Nothing was done, except that after about 3 years a child is cut on the face.
Mr. 8	Yes.
Mrs. 18	Yes they all have a goat slaughtered for them that is called "IMBELEKO".
Mrs. 7	Yes. The grandfather of the child reported the child to the ancestors. The goat slaughtered and the child given face marks.
Mr. 6	Yes. Imbeleko
Mr. 13	Yes. We reported by burning the impepho to say here the child has arrived.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	No. Nothing was done for them, except when they have to inhale inyamazane.
Neither Christian nor Traditional	
Mr. 1	Imbeleko. Yes. A goat is slaughtered for the child.

baby was also named at this ceremony. According to Mrs. 15, a traditionalist, it is on the

tenth day that the child is taken to the homestead. It is then that "… his/her hairs are cut

and smeared with ash and thereafter we burn incense to inform the ancestors. Thereafter we name that child". Mr. 16 stated that the child is named "… with the name of our grandfather/mother who had passed away". He also expressed the "… need to make my children *imbeleko* so that nothing would trouble them as they grow". Mrs. 4, a Christian, stated that "My children shall be given the sign of belongingness". This ritual, called *imbeleko*, is the symbolic cutting on the body or face of the child. The scar is a reminder to the child that he or she belongs.

Conclusion

At every stage, starting with the wedding through conception, birth and parenting, the ancestors had an important function in Zulu family process. They were relied upon for the reproductive success of their descendants. Reproductive success assured them that their lineage continued. From fertilization, through the pregnancy and the birth of the child, the ancestors functioned to bind the anxiety of the couple and the family. Their active participation in the whole process assured the child that he or she belongs. This process of triangling the ancestors into the family process continued after the birth with rituals such as *imbeleko*, the naming and the reporting. These rituals foster and maintain a sense of community and belonging that includes the multigenerational family. By binding the anxiety associated with pregnancy and birth they stabilize the family and thus assist in the rebalancing process and also assuring reproductive success of their descendants.

The interpretation of the research data associated with pregnancy and birth using Bowen theory clearly indicates the importance of a theory that can provide a broader understanding of Zulu family life. The research data support the sub-hypothesis,

(1) That those Christian families who have reincorporated ancestors into the family emotional process have done so at times of high anxiety associated with the birth of a child.

7.2   Puberty

Puberty not only brings biological and physiological changes to both males and females but also a significant shift in the family process. For males, puberty starts with the first nocturnal emission, while for females it comes with onset of menarche. In Zulu society cultural rituals assist the families to move as smoothly as possible through the transition.

Puberty is not only a human phenomenon. Chimpanzees reach puberty at about ten years of age (Fisher, 1992, 232). For humankind the age of menarche has been changing. In hunter-gatherer societies such as the !Kung of Southern Africa "… girls reach menarche between ages 16 and 17, suggesting that menarche occurred during late teenage years in ancestral populations and that late menarche is typical of the human condition (Lancaster and Lancaster 1983)" (Fisher, 1992, 351). A later menarche created a longer teenage period. In 1840 in several European communities "the average age of menarche was 16.5-17.5 (Fisher, 1992, 350). According to Fisher, the age of menarche has declined significantly especially in European and American cultures (Fisher, 1992, 350) which has created problems for teenagers and their families.

Puberty affects not only the family but also relationship with the community. The biological and physiological changes associated with puberty means that males can father a child, while females can become pregnant. Sexual play that may have been acceptable before puberty now becomes unacceptable. In traditional cultures, puberty is the time when youth are prepared for leaving the family home. The practices of the culture determine which gender leaves home. For the Zulu family, puberty signaled to the

daughter and the family that she was of marriageable age and would, in the near future, be leaving her natal home for her husband's home (Fisher, 1992, 156).

Associated with puberty is the changing status of the youth in both the family and community. The transition from childhood to adulthood means that the family must accommodate a change in the youth's functional position and status. This change disrupts the family togetherness/individuality balance and triggers an increase of anxiety for the whole family. Cultures have developed rites and rituals that assist the youth and the family through the change. In some cultures only males participate in puberty rites, while in other both males and females participate. There appear to be differences of opinion among interviewees concerning whether puberty rites applied to both males and females. Krige, however, states that there were rites for both males and females (Krige, 1936, [1962], 87, 100).

The change in functioning and status associated with puberty is a part of the emotional process of separation that started at birth and continues throughout life. At puberty this process becomes more intense as the youth strives for greater individuality. The success of the pursuit for greater individuality in the family, depends upon the number of unresolved attachments issues between the parents and their child. However, the process of separating emotionally from the parents is complicated by the degree to which the parents have dealt with the unresolved attachment issues with their parents. The degree to which the parents are able to allow for individuality in their children is also dependent on the degree to which they have worked out their attachment issues with their parents. Parents can only accommodate the child's attempt to differentiate to the degree that they have worked on their own individuality. The greater the unresolved attachments the parents have with their own parents, the more they will emotionally focus on their

children and the more reactive they will be as their children define a separate self within the family (Gilbert, 1992, 20). The more intense this process, the less the parents are able to let the child separate emotionally. The greater the number of unresolved attachment issues between parents and the child the greater the fusion and the lower the level of differentiation.

This fusion of self in the family system results in heightened sensitivity to relationships. The more fused the family the more sensitive they are to one another and the more family members live out of the pseudo or functional self. The more undifferentiated the family the more permeable the boundaries (Gilbert, 1992, 20). In more fused families the emphasis is more on relationships as a guide to functioning rather than on values, beliefs, goals and priorities. Closely associated with fusion is the level of chronic anxiety. The greater the level of fusion in the family, the higher the level of chronic anxiety, and the lower the level of differentiation. The more undifferentiated the family, the more behaviour is shaped by feelings and emotions rather than thoughtfulness.

Families vary in degree to which they are fused. The more fused they are the more emotionally immature and reactive they are to one another. This undifferentiation makes the family less able to tolerate differences. So when a family member moves towards greater individuality as at puberty, the more intense the push for togetherness. This anxious push for togetherness becomes a demand for sameness in thinking, feeling and behaviour. From birth, children seek to define separate self within the family. The more undifferentiated the family the more intense the move by the youth for individuality is experienced as a threat. Parents anxiously focus on the youth as the cause of their anxiety rather than recognizing that the youth is the focus of their anxiety. Families attempt to

manage their anxiety by developing rules. The purpose of these rules is to assist in the push for togetherness, but at the cost to individuality. The lower the level of differentiation of the family, the more rules there are to manage the anxiety. Before the children reach puberty these rules may be effective as a means of assuring their safety, but at puberty families have limited options for managing their children. An anxious push for togetherness to counteract the child's pursuit of greater individuality may result in rebellion and lead to the youth cutting off from the family. Families may find the intensity of the reactivity during this transition almost unbearable and unmanageable. To assist families, traditional Zulu society provided two significant supports: the ancestors and the cultural rites and practices that involved them.

For traditionalists the initiation rites remain important. A significant number of Christians who were interviewed considered these rites important. Their ongoing commitment to a puberty rite is indicated in their responses recorded in Table 3. For most Christians who were interviewed participation in these initiation rites remained important even though they are aware that the ancestors were involved (see Table 4).

The response of Mrs. 2 to the question, *Would you encourage your children and grandchildren to participate in the initiation rite?* indicates that she is not opposed to participation. She replied, "Yes. It is good thing. The child is also aware that he is now an adult if she/he participates in this rite". She maintained her positive attitude to participation in the initiation rite even though she knew the ancestors were involved. She responded to the question, *Are the ancestors involved in the initiation process? In which way?* by stating, "Yes they are informed that so and so is now a young woman or man. They must look after him".

Table 3. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: What is the importance of participation in the initiation rite?

Christian and traditional	
Mr. 3	I feel it is important to show that you have entered a certain stage in your life.
Mr. 9	It gives respect and pride to oneself.
Mrs. 4	It is important. Children are taught how to behave in the initiation process.
Mrs. 18	It is important that they're introduced to this stage as it is like an adult stage.
Mrs. 7	It's important because the ancestors were first told that there is a child in this family. They must also be told that there is an adult in this family. Because they won't just understand themselves family. Why sometimes they're referred to as idiots.
Mr. 6	You become proud of your culture and the family name as well.
Mr. 13	There are certain things you must be ready. Like you must be ready to meet the person of an opposite sex before you reach that stage.
Traditional	
Mrs. 5	Ancestors know that you are grown up and they guide you accordingly and provide you with things that you need as a grown up.
Mr. 14	It builds respect. A boy has to know what responsibilities he has in the community. It creates communication between parents and children. It creates order in the community everyone knows how to behave when he is at a particular stage. It develops maturity.
Mrs. 15	To be initiated it means you are recognised as an adult. Even the ancestors know that you are a grown up and they treat you so. If you don't do it, you are always a baby to them. Also people do not recognise you as somebody who can do better things.
Mr. 16	Getting into a certain stage shows you are grown up and you are capable of doing greater things and you can be responsible for bigger things.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	It is important because the ancestors are told that the girl is now a young woman.
Neither Christian nor traditional	
Mr. 1	I do not really know.

In his response to the question, *Would you encourage your children and grandchildren to participate in the initiation rite?* Mr. 1 stated, "If there would be financial gain I would encourage the *ukuphehlwa* so that girls don't wish to do sex while they are young. I also like checking for virginity so that girls are afraid to have sex". However, when he was

Table 4. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: Is the presence and participation of the ancestors important at times of initiation?

Christian and Traditional	
Mr. 3	Yes. If the initiation has not been done a woman can sometimes not bear children in her marriage.
Mr. 9	Initiation is like a uniform. A child should be announced when he reaches a certain stage.
Mrs. 4	They guide the person.
Mr. 8	In our culture this is not applied.
Mrs. 18	In girls a goat is slaughtered (umhlayane). Then a cow is slaughtered (umamulo). Its like when the child entering/reaching a menstruation stage.
Mr. 6	Yes it's important because it's where you realise your manhood as well as your nationality.
Mr13	The ancestors prepare the child so that the child's life is not destroyed by bad things.
Traditionalists	
Mrs. 5	They are informed that a child is now grown up and they must look after him/her
Mr. 14	Yes. Ancestors have to be informed that the person has grown and they must lead them accordingly.
Mrs. 15	Yes. If you have not done the initiation rite, there is always a gap and bad things happen to remind you that you have to do it. Sometimes you don't get married.
Mr. 16	They are told to look after the child.
	They are told that the child is now a grown up.
	He can look after himself.
Mr. 17	Not in our culture.
Mr. 12	By this process you're notifying the ancestors that this is no more a child but an adult then the child needs to be guided by them towards proper adulthood.
Mr. 11	No applicable to my family.
Mrs. 10	This not part of my culture.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	No
Neither Christian nor traditional	
Mr. 1	(He offered no response)

asked, *What is the importance of participation in the initiation rite?* he replied "I do not really know". He gave the same response to the question *Are the ancestors involved in the initiation process? In which way?*

The ancestors are involved in the Zulu initiation rites in both a direct and indirect way. They are indirectly involved in the initiation rites since what is taught to the boys on the mountain, maintains continuity with the teaching and beliefs of the ancestors. These initiation rites and teachings associated with the ancestors are the means by which a strong sense of community and belonging are maintained within the family, in spite of the increase in anxiety. Failure to participate in the puberty rites is perceived as upsetting the ancestors. According to Mrs. 15, a traditionalist, failure to perform the rites leaves "…always some kind of dissatisfaction on their part".

A more direct way of involving the ancestors was by reporting to them. Mrs. 15 in response to a question concerning the importance of initiation stated, "It is important in that it informs the ancestors that now you are old enough. If, for whatever reason, there is something you want to achieve in life which falls within the ambit of the elderly children, the ancestors would be confused why you want those things because to them you are still a child if the initiation rites were not performed". Or as Mr. 14 remarked, "This child (undergoing initiation) is the child of the ancestors. They have to be informed". According to Mrs. 5, a traditionalist, "By the time that young girls undergo initiation process ritual, the elders shall inform the ancestors that as from now this girl is grown up, the ancestors must keep watch on her". She provided an example from her own life of the importance of the informing of the ancestors. Mrs. 5 had not participated in the initiation rite as a child and consequently her ancestors were not informed. When she married there

was intense conflict in her marriage and she developed a severe headache. Her family thought she was dying. She continued, "My aunt went home to report. They came and performed the rituals, and suddenly I became well. If they did not do that I wouldn't be healed. This was because my ancestors were not told well in advance that I am now old to be married. All along they were under the impression that I am still a babe. But what kind of a child that does not grow". For Mrs. 5 the ancestors are at the centre of the initiation rites. "They are the people who are very important. They are a focal point. When one does this rite one call upon all the ancestors by name".

The importance of the ancestors in the initiation rite and practice is indicated in the responses to the question (see Table 5), *Are the ancestors involved in the initiation process? In which way?*

From these examples and from the other comments it becomes clear that the ancestors have a very important function in assisting the family during this transition. They are triangled into the family process through the reporting as well as through the teachings. The consistency of the teachings that are passed down from generation to generation helps the family to maintain a strong sense of community and togetherness that is inclusive of all generations. As an outside authority, the ancestor's functional presence calms the family during the transition and assists them to become more thoughtful in their responses to their child. Triangling the ancestors into the family emotional process helps families to weather the anxiety associated with the child becoming an adult. They also help the family to maintain a sense of togetherness and belonging without the child having to give up self by becoming submissive or rebellious. The ancestors and the larger community are triangled into the family process thereby dissipating their anxiety.

Table 5. Respondents answers to Interviewers' question: Are the ancestors involved in the initiation process? In which way?

Christian and traditional	
Mr. 3	Yes I believe so. But mostly in girls. In our case as boys there is no formal ceremony. In girls like umemulo the ancestors are involved, they are informed that the girl has grown and they should look after her.
Mr. 9	Yes I think. Even though I did not do the initiation that is structured but I think ancestors are involved, they have to look after you.
Mrs. 4	Yes. I think they are involved because they should be informed that the child is growing up and s/he needs guidance.
Mrs. 18	Everything that involves slaughtering go through the ancestors. There is nothing that can be done without involving the ancestors.
Mrs. 7	Same as I explained in the last question.
Mr. 6	The ancestors are told that the boys are now leaving for this purpose and when you come back as well they're reported.
Mr. 13	Yes because the ancestors also participated in the initiation rite once they're alive. Before you go for the process you have to report to ancestors because it's a critical process where one will loose one vein an anything could happen from there.
Traditional	
Mrs. 5	Yes. They are referred to. Everything is done according to ancestral worship in the initiation process. All ancestors for that family are called upon. Even those we do not know.
Mr. 14	Yes they are there. The child is theirs. They are called upon when the child is involved in the initiation process. This happens to girls. Boys are not involved in such ceremonies.
Mrs. 15	Yes. They are informed about the whole process. The process is done to inform them and to make other people aware that you are now an adult.
Mr. 16	Yes. They are informed that you are now a man. They must regard you as a man.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	Yes they are informed that so and so is now a young woman or man. They must look after him.
Neither Christian nor traditional	
Mr. 1	I do not know.

This process allows the child to move towards defining a separate self while remaining in communion with the family and without parental reactivity interfering in the process. It was this process which allowed Mr. 9, a Christian, to express his thankfulness for the initiation rites when he stated that, "Our child has grown up to this level and the ancestors

were responsible for protecting him or her all along. We therefore need to express our thankfulness about that".

The triangulation of the ancestors into the family process provides flexibility to the system so that the family can move towards a new adult relationship with their child and the child can assume more responsibility for self. This process is helpful to all Zulu families, but in particular to those families who are at a lower level of differentiation.

Puberty involves the family as well as the larger community and is not simply an individual matter. The community also has a vested interest in assisting the family and youth through the transition. The larger family unit and community become part of the transition process by providing appropriate education for the youth, as well as by formally acknowledging the change in the youth's status. Their involvement provides a calming presence that assists the parents to be less emotionally reactive to their child's transition to adulthood.

Interviewees were clear that they were not willing to discuss what took place on the mountain during the initiation process. However, all reported that following the initiation there was a change in their status, not just in the family, but also in the community. This change in status takes the youth to "another stage" according to Mr. 14. He stated, "Initiation rites are one way of ability for the child to respect him or herself within the community. It is indicative that one is now getting into yet another stage. This then would enable you to know one's limits. For instance the girl would be entitled to have a boy friend. This is in order with the culture of our African people. The boy would not

just have sex with this girl. He should at all times be conscious of the fact that there

could be pregnancy. Pregnancy is viewed in a serious light. He must take responsibility".

The change of status to adulthood means that the youth can no longer behave like a child.

As a new adult he or she is expected to take responsibility for self. The instruction that is

provided during the initiation rite focuses on the meaning of being a responsible adult

member of the community. Following the initiation the youth was given new

responsibilities in the family and by the community and is held fully responsible for his or

her behaviour. Mr. 16 stated, "You remain a boy who would look after the cows but if

you have gone through this stage (initiation) you will then be entitled even to slaughter

the cattle, you are now matured". The initiation process may require a brief time away

from the family, but one of its goals is to assist the child and family as they deal with the

issue of emotional separation. The move towards greater individuality and status occurs

while the child remains connected to the family. Once the youth has fulfilled the

requirements of initiation, the parents are expected to recognize the change in their child's

status. Parents are expected to relate to their child as an adult. The ancestor's

involvement during puberty supports the Zulu desire for belonging and community and

manages the anxiety so that the youth do not cut off from the family.

From the interviews it would appear that this change of status following initiation was

significant for both Christian and traditional families (see Table 6).

Table 6. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: Did participation in the initiation rite change your relationships, and in what ways, to: (a) your parents, (b) your older siblings, (c) your younger siblings?

Name	Parents	Older siblings	Younger siblings	Extended family
Christian and Traditional				
Mr. 9	No. They never knew about it.		Those that knew about it knew I was growing into a man, I was also a man like others.	
Mrs. 18	The relationship did not change at all.	I join the older siblings.	I needed to guide them so that they to will get into this stage.	The relationship was not affected we always communicated very well.
Mrs. 7	You must be accepted as an adult they must now take your view as an adult.		You give them advice as an adult no more playing with them.	Same as with parents.
Mr. 6	There was no change.	No change because they encouraged me to do.	They must see from and also want this initiation to happen to them. They will be eager to reach the stage.	It did not change.
Mr. 13	It changed because I couldn't sleep with others and young ones and then I have to get my own room now.			
Traditional				
Mrs. 5	I have no parents.	I am the only child.		Yes. They gave me money. They began to like me. I was not liked before but now people seem to like me and accept me.
Mr. 14	No	No. Only boys of peer group know that I have done such a thing	No. They never knew I had done.	In my peer group only. I get a degree of respect. They recognise that I am brave.
Mrs. 15	They gave me a higher status. They expected greater things from me.	They gave me a higher status. They treated me respectfully now but not better than then.	They called me sisi.	They called me sisi not my name.
Mr. 16	No	No	No	Everybody knew.
Christian				
Mrs. 2	Yes. They do expect you to act more responsibly. They are happy for me.	I get respect and they expect me to do harder things.	They respect me and call me Sisi.	
Neither Christian nor traditional				
Mr. 1	No response	No response	No response	

Most of the Christians, who were interviewed, had participated in an initiation ritual. Mrs. 4 referred to the educational component of initiation, "It is important to the conscience our child to behave well". For Mr. 9, the initiation is a process that inculcates in the youth respect for others, as well as the needed preparation for courtship, but he did not identify this change as a change in status. He stated, "No, it did not change anything to whoever, the elderly and the youth. That would mean you could be in the position to bring home your girl friend. If this ritual has not been done to you would not be in the position to bring your girl friend here at home". Mrs. 18 was emphatic about the importance of initiation. "It is absolutely necessary to grow a child so he or she knows that he or she is grown up. In actual fact he or she has now entered an adult stage". Both Mrs. 7 and Mr. 13 confirmed that this shift from childhood to adulthood is an important aspect of initiation. Mrs. 7 also stated that the change in status needed to be reported to the ancestors. Mr. 13 added, "From that time I started to sleep alone without girls and I slept with elderly boys. My parents realised that now I am grown up and cleverer". Mr. B., a Christian, gave the following description of the implication of initiation for the family relationships.

Mr. B.:   Indeed, at initiation there is a change of status from being a girl to being a young woman, from being a boy to being a young man.

Interviewer: When you came back from initiation, how did your parent's relate to you differently?

Mr. B.:   If I am already from initiation there are certain secrets which my father divulges to me which he did not before I went. In fact he believes that before I go for initiation, I don't have the capacity to understand some of the intricacies of my culture. When I am from the initiation, I am a man

now, my father can tell me anything and he understands that I will understand it. My brother can tell me any secret thing, if it is a secret I will keep it because I have reached the stage of development that I have the capacity to know what to hold and what to let out.

Interviewer: How did your relationship to your mother change?

Mr. B.: Well, my relationship with my mother, I don't want to speak for other people, my relationship with my mother has always been a little distant, not very distant. There are certain things, which I can discuss with my father, which I cannot with my mother. Even at this age I have a feeling that this is not good for me to discuss with my mother. I want to believe that my sisters have certain things that they can discuss with my mother and not my father.

Interviewer: Did your mother also see you as a responsible adult following initiation?

Mr. B.: Absolutely

Interviewer: What would they do differently?

Mr. B.: I wouldn't talk to my mother or my father before initiation, because I am not a young man then, I am a boy. But after that I can go out to the river and wait for young girls, young women to come and fetch water. It is no secret now to anybody after the initiation.

The discussion concerning initiation continued,

Interviewer: When you came back from initiation did the community also relate to you differently?

Mr. B.: Indeed. In fact there is a feast and dancing and proclamation that I am now a man.

Interviewer: So you are then expected to behave like a man?

Mr. B.:   You are expected to behave like a man to give guidance to your younger

                brothers, you do this, you do this. In fact, after initiation the responsibility

                of your father telling you do this, don't do that, is yours now to tell your

                younger brothers. It is not done by your father because a man has been

                born in the family.

Interviewer: So initiation is like a birth?

Mr. B.:   Yes, the birth of a man. It is a promotion from being a boy in to being a

                man. A promotion from being a girl to being a young woman.

Conclusion

Bowen theory provides insight into the processes associated with puberty. The increased

anxiety experienced by the both the youth and the parents is managed by means of the

triangled ancestors and community. Their participation facilitates the youth to separate

emotionally from the family without intense reactivity being triggered which can lead to

cut-off. Their participation assists the family to be more thoughtful in response to their

child's change in status. A further benefit for the youth is that the emotionally triangled

ancestors assist the parents and youth to deal with emotional attachment issues. This

makes it possible for the new adult to enter into a marriage relationship with less

unresolved emotional attachment issues. The new adult is expected to put aside childlike

and childish behaviour and to live as a responsible adult within the family and

community. The community welcomes the youth into its midst as a contributing and

responsible adult. The transition through puberty is aptly described by Mr. B. as a birth

process, for both the family and the youth. At the core of the initiation is an educational

process that passes down the wisdom from generation to generation. These teachings are

to be incorporated into the adult's solid self and direct his or her behaviour. These values and beliefs are to function as a guidance system especially during times of anxiety and heightened emotionality. By managing the anxiety of the family, the ancestors facilitate the process by which the new adult can define a separate self while connected to his or her family and community.

Bowen theory analysis of the data associated with puberty demonstrates the functional importance of the ancestors for Zulu families as they deal with the increased anxiety associated with puberty and thus supports the sub-hypothesis,

> *(2) That at puberty the ancestors function as a resource for families as they deal with the anxiety associated with emotional attachment issues as the child emotionally separates from the parents and moves into the new status of adulthood.*

CHAPTER 8–A BOWEN THEORY INTERPRETATION OF ZULU TRANSITIONS OF MARRIAGE AND DEATH

In this chapter, two family transitions, marriage and death, will be examined and interpreted from a Bowen theory perspective. Both of these transitions have biological dimensions.

8.1   Marriage

A strictly cultural approach to the study of marriage fails to account for the underlying biological processes that have made marriage a universal phenomenon.

> Marriage customs vary. But from the steppes of Asia to the coral atolls of the western Pacific, the vast majority of men and women take a spouse. In fact, in all traditional societies marriage marks a critical step into adulthood; spinsters and bachelors are rare (Fisher, 1992, 65).

A cultural understanding addresses only questions of proximate causation while ignoring the underlying issues of ultimate causation which relate to the biological roots of marriage. From the perspective of ultimate causation, cultural rites and practices manage deeply rooted biological processes which are part of humankind's phylogenetic heritage.

8.1.1   Marriage, the Family Unit and Anxiety

For the Zulu, the rituals and practices associated with marriage affirm and reinforce the family as a unit. This is unlike the Western understanding that marriage is the union of two individuals. For the Zulu marriage is the union of two multigenerational families which includes the ancestors, an understanding that was affirmed by Mr. 8. He stated, "The ancestors are important in that whenever there is a wedding it is the unification of a particular family and another family. The bride would then be given a new surname and we slaughter the cattle and goats with the sole object that is to inform the ancestors".

This difference between the Western and Zulu understanding of marriage has important implications for understanding of family relationships as well as for the study of marriage. When studying marriage an important implication concerns the difference in the understanding of the unit of study. Unlike the Western approach in which the unit of study is the individual, for the Zulu the unit of study is the family. This Zulu perspective of marriage makes it possible for new questions and new insights to be raised.

Marriage, like other family transitions, disturbs the family homeostasis. The togetherness of the Zulu bride's family is disturbed by her leaving and her anxious family seeks a new homeostatic balance. The groom's family must also find ways to rebalance and deal with the disruption of the family togetherness due to the addition of the new family member. This disturbance of the homeostatic balance of the families is associated with the importance the Zulu place on reaffirming belonging and communion during a crisis. It is during these crises associated with family transitions that the Zulu turn to their ancestors for assistance in dealing with imbalances in the family system. According to Ngubane the ancestors are an important and integral part of the marriage relationship since they "… enable them to maintain the balance in their lives. (Ngubane, 1977, 58)."

The greater the functional importance of the bride and the groom in their respective families' systems, the more they were relied upon to maintain the family homeostasis. The more they functioned for the family, the less individuality they developed, and the more unresolved attachment issues they brought into the marriage. Associated with the unresolved attachment issues are also questions of loyalty. As integral parts of their family emotional process they were also an essential part of the family triangles. The

various factors that affect the attachment level determine the bride's and groom's self-differentiation levels. Holt describes the attachment process as follows,

> . . .attachment is a requirement and characteristic of all life forms. In humans the need for attachment is variable, and is consistent with the variations on the scale of differentiation. The variation along the scale of differentiation represents a range of behavior, from those able to function out of reality needs to those operating consistently from emotional need. Where an individual fits along the continuum of need is a function of togetherness forces and how they are managed. In many respects these are influenced by family process (Holt, 1994, 5).

Since Zulu families are patrilineal, the bride leaves her birth family to become a member of her husband's family. She not only leaves her family home, but also the family relationships, her place of belonging and security. She loses the family togetherness in which she had communion and which assured her that she belonged. The bride is expected to transfer her loyalties from her birth family to that of her husband. As a member of her husband's family she must assume a new functional role. Mr. A. described this significant shift for the bride. "It's like, I would say, it is like my girl going to join a new family. She is going to forget totally what [had] been done here. She has to conform to what her new husband is doing". This is a difficult and anxious transition for the bride. She enters a system in which there is a pre-existing relationship balance and in which the groom has been an integral part of the family process. A joyous wedding celebration does not nullify the fact that for both families the homeostatic balance is disturbed.

The bride, by becoming a part of her husband's family must deal with the unresolved attachment issues between him and his family. The degree to which the groom has unresolved attachment issues with his parents will determine the ease with which she makes the transition. This is not simply a factor associated with the groom but is a

function of his and his family's level of differentiation. The level of differentiation and the unresolved emotional attachments that the groom brings into the marriage is associated with the intensity of the primary triangle with his parents. As the outsider, when the groom's family becomes anxious she may become the focus of their anxiety and in the uncomfortable outside position of the family triangles.

Conversely, the bride and her family must deal with the loss of togetherness. In a patrilineal society, when the bride leaves her family's togetherness and seeks inclusion in the groom's family, the degree to which she is able to make this transition and adapt in the new family depends on her and her family's level of differentiation.

The anxiety of the bride's family is increased since they must deal with the loss of their daughter. She will no longer available to function in her role as part of the family. Her presence helps maintain the family's emotional balance and family triangles. When she marries the family must seek ways to deal with the increase of anxiety and establish and find a new homeostatic balance.

Since marriage is the union of two families and not simply two individuals, the reactivity associated with all these changes can spread through and be amplified in both families. Now a disturbance in one family can spread to the other family and new triangles that involve members of both families can be formed.

8.1.2 The Function of the Ancestors in Marriage

Rituals provide Zulu families with socially acceptable and orderly processes with which they can deal with the anxiety associated with family transitions. Central to these rituals

is the gathering of the whole family unit; this has a functional importance for the nuclear families. The extended family absorbs the anxiety associated with the transition and thereby helps maintain the family's togetherness. For the Zulu, the ancestors are functionally present. Through marriage rituals, the ancestors are triangled into the family emotional process as a calming presence. At every stage of the traditional Zulu wedding the functional presence of the ancestors is invoked. This is the understanding of the traditionalist belief as expressed by Mr. 17, "Everything in the wedding would be maintained by the presence of the ancestors". Mr. 16 expressed that by becoming an essential part of the rituals associated with marriage, the ancestors diffuse the intensity so that the family does not suffer and exhibit emotional symptoms. He stated, "The ancestors would be informed that this person is now leaving this family (surname) to join the other family (surname). It is therefore absolutely important that this information is made known to the ancestors. At times someone would be mentally disturbed or be mischievous. If all these rites are performed then it is going to be all right".

All interviewees were asked whether the ancestors were referred to during their weddings (see Table 7). As was expected, all the traditionalists confirmed that the ancestors were indeed an integral part of their weddings. What is interesting is that all but one of the Christian and Traditional group stated that the ancestors were referred to in their wedding.

These responses indicate the ongoing importance of the ancestors for the majority of the interviewees, both traditionalists and Christian. The strongest rejection of any association of the ancestors with the wedding came from Mrs. 2, a Christian. She was however, in the minority. Mr. 3, a Christian who has reintegrated the ancestors into his life, did not have any reference to the ancestors at his wedding, not out of principle, but "because

things happened hastily". Mr. 1, who is neither Christian nor traditionalist, appeared to

be indifferent to the presence of the ancestors.

Table 7. Respondent answers to the interviewers' question: Were the family ancestors referred to at your wedding?

Traditionalists	
Mrs. 5	Yes. Ancestors were referred to. They were told that now I am leaving the (surname) household I am now joining the Zondi household.
Mr. 14	Yes. They were told each and every step of the way what was going to happen.
Mrs. 15	Yes
Mr. 16	Yes. The ancestors were told that there is a bride in the home. She is a new member of the family. They must welcome her and look after her.
Mr. 17	Yes
Mr. 12	You report to the ancestors by burning
Mr. 10	Yes
Christian and traditional	
Mr. 3	No. I have no reason. It is because things happened hastily. It was only church wedding because of the violent circumstances in the area at the time.
Mr. 9	Yes. Yes even though it was a church ceremony my ancestors were informed that a new member was joining the family.
Mrs. 4	Yes. From my household, ancestors were informed that I am now leaving them to join the surname of (surname). They must also go with me.
Mr. 8	Yes during the traditional wedding cows were slaughtered. The elder man in the family talked to the ancestors.
Mrs. 18	Yes there was a referral to the ancestors.
Mrs. 7	Yes
Mr. 6	Yes, early in the morning the impepho was burnt. And when we come back with the bride, a goat was slaughtered as a symbol of welcoming, telling, reporting to the ancestors about this new bride.
Mr. 13	Yes the bride was welcomed and introduced to the (surname) family.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	No. Nothing was said about the ancestors.
Neither Christian nor traditional	
Mr. 1	I cannot really say because I got married during the weekend and then went to live in Clermont on Sunday.

8.1.3 Courtship Rituals and the Ancestors

Zulu courtship rituals culminate in representatives of the two families coming together to arrange for lobola. "Lobola is the practice of transferring cattle from his kraal to that of his future wife" (Lawson, 1985, 38). The importance of lobola is indicated by its enduring presence in Zulu marriage practices. Every interviewee, both traditionalist and Christian participated in the transfer of lobola.

The persistence of the practice of lobola indicates that it has functional importance and significance for Zulu families. The process by which lobola is negotiated offers clues as to its importance (see Table 8). Lobola is usually negotiated by family members; however, the groom is not part of the negotiations.

The only exception to the practice among the interviewees was Mr. 1, who can best be described as a secular traditionalist who appears to have been influenced by Western individualism. Instead of allowing family members to negotiate lobola, Mr.1, together with his brother-in-law, undertook the negotiations himself.

8.1.4 The Function of Lobola

The Zulu custom is for representatives of both families to negotiate lobola towards the end of the courtship. If the negotiations prove unsuccessful, the wedding preparations and celebrations cannot commence. A close examination of the practice indicates that at least two processes are involved in these negotiations. At first glance it would appear that the focus of the negotiations is on the content of the lobola. There is, however, another more emotional process also taking place.

8.1.4.1 Lobola and Differentiation

Kerr wrote concerning the selection of a marriage partner, "… people marry partners with a level of differentiation similar to their own" (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, 225; Papero, 1990, 60). This means that the selection of a spouse is largely an emotional process which the Western focus on romance and attraction fails to acknowledge or identify. The underlying emotional process associated with the selections of a spouse, whether Western or Zulu is the same. The significance of this is that it does not matter whether the

Table 8. Respondent answers to interviewers' questions: Was the "bride-wealth" (lobola) paid when you were married? Who did the negotiations and their relationship to you and your spouse?

Traditional	
Mrs. 5	Yes, it was paid. My uncles and brother and neighbours.
Mrs. 10	Yes, (name) made the negotiations
Mr. 14	Yes, My friend's spouse—her father, her brother and neighbours.
Mrs. 15	Yes. My father, his brothers and neighbours.
Mr. 16	Yes. Myself and my brothers. My spouse—her father and her uncle.
Mr. 17	Yes. My uncle and my brother.
Mr. 12	Yes, I paid lobola. I send (abakhongi) the man to go and talk to the bride to be family members.
Christian and Traditional	
Mr. 3	Yes. My uncle and my brother.
Mrs. 4	Yes. My husband's brothers and my uncles and neighbours.
Mr. 6	Yes, I paid lobola. Honest people from family members negotiate the process of lobola.
Mrs. 7	Yes. Abakhongi met with my dad.
Mr. 8	Yes. I paid lobola. My relatives helped me in the negotiation process.
Mr. 9	Yes. My cousins and my brother's spouse and uncles.
Mr. 13	Yes I paid lobola. My brothers were negotiating the relationship.
Mrs. 18	Yes, the lobola was paid. Abakhongi were sent to my home. The talks were between them and my father and my brother.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	Yes, my father and my husband's brothers did the negotiations.
Neither Christian nor traditional	
Mr. 1	Yes. I went there myself and my brother in law. Uncles of my wife.

individuals or the family select the spouse, since for both the process focuses on the level of differentiation of the families and the individuals involved. The selection of a spouse

171

according to the level of differentiation means that he or she can be incorporated more easily into the family. When family members meet to negotiate lobola, they are also addressing this underlying emotional process and not simply the content of lobola.

In the negotiations, family members gauge the level of differentiation, emotional maturity and reactivity of the bride's family. A successful negotiation of lobola affirms that the bride will fit into the groom's family emotional process. The importance of the family members negotiating lobola is based on the Zulu understanding that the family functions as a unit. Successful negotiation of lobola ascertains not only that the couple is emotionally suited to one another, but also that the families are emotionally compatible. This is an emotional and not a thoughtful process.

An essential part of the negotiations are the ancestors. As an integral part of the Zulu family they, to a large degree, determined the family's the level of differentiation. As part of the family unit they are emotionally present in the lobola negotiations. Lobola negotiations may fail for a number of reasons. What is less obvious in the failure of these negotiations is the role the ancestors have in the process. The ancestors determined to a significant degree the family's level of differentiation and thus the compatibility of the families involved in the wedding. This may be what Mrs. 5 refers to when she says that the success or failure of the lobola negotiations depends on the ancestors approving of the marriage. She stated,

> Most often in one's life the in-laws would come and negotiate about prospects for a wedding only to find out that there is no progress afterwards. This is due to the fact that the ancestors were either not well informed or it is because they are not too happy about this relationship.

8.1.4.2 Lobola and Resources

The anxiety the bride's family experiences over the loss of their daughter is alleviated to some extent by the assurance associated with the successful negotiation of lobola. Successful negotiations provide the bride's family with the assurance that the groom's family has the resources to care for their daughter and her future children. Marrying into a family with resources enhances the survival chances of the bride's children and their descendants. Even though she becomes attached to the groom's family, her birth family retains a vested interest in the survival of her offspring. In a family presentation a student from Lesotho aptly described the relationship between a concern for their daughter and her offspring and the payment of lobola. Her father did not have the resources to pay the lobola when he married her mother but he had made a commitment to her family to pay the lobola at a later date. However, due to being unemployed and for other reasons, he was unable to fulfill the promise. When the welfare of the daughter and her children was threatened, the mother's family moved them back to the wife's family home. This concern for the survival of the offspring is a deeply rooted emotional process which biologists refer to as 'reproductive success' (Forsyth, 1986, 1993, 83).

The female requires far more resources for successful reproduction than the male. This means that the female's "… reproductive strategy runs counter to that of the males" (Forsyth, 1986, 1993, 82). For the male, polygyny is the most successful strategy since by breeding with a number of wives (Forsyth, 1986, 1993, 83) the male enhances the chances that some, if not all, his offspring will survive. However, for the female polygyny reduces her chances of successful reproduction. A study in Sierra Leone found that polygynous males were more successful at reproduction than monogamous males. Their success increased with the addition of wives (Forsyth, 1986, 1993, 82). However,

for the wives it was the reverse since their reproductive success decreased as the number

of wives increased. Similar observations have been made in other species (Forsyth, 1986,

1993, 82). Given that reproductive success decreases for females, studies have found that

some women still choose a polygynous over a monogamous marriage when such a

marriage would enhance their reproductive success. The choice by some women of

polygynous marriages appears to be influenced by the resources polygynous husbands

have to offer, resources that contribute to the wife's and her offspring's survival (Forsyth,

1986, 1993, 83). Only a wealthy man—that is, one with resources—can afford to pay

lobola for more than one wife. By negotiating lobola, it would appear that the bride's

family is ascertaining, before they entrust their daughter to the groom and his family, that

the groom's family has sufficient resources to care for her and her children. The failure

to ascertain whether the groom's family has adequate resources has the potential to affect,

and perhaps even end, their genetic lineage. Lobola has many functions for the Zulu, not

least among these is the management of the underlying phylogenetic concerns.

8.1.5   Marriage and the Incest Taboo

Lobola appears to address another concern that is rooted in nature, namely the incest

taboo. As a result of the incest taboo cultures have restricted marriages between certain

relatives. Even though there are cultural aspects to the incest taboo, culture alone cannot

account for its universal presence. Darwin proposed that it was a product of natural

selection. He believed that the incest taboo functioned to prevent inbreeding and that this

may have been a stimulus for marriage (Degler, 1991, 247). Biologists have presented

evidence for its biological roots.

> One reason Lindzey could not see the illogic of his position was that he,
> like most other students of the incest taboo at that time, worked under the
> assumption that animals usually mated with close relatives, that incest
> avoidance was a peculiarly human activity. In fact, it was just that contrast

in behavior that had caused Freud, Malinowski, Levi-Strauss, and others to see the taboo as the great point of transition between animals and human beings, between nature and culture. That contrast became difficult to retain during the early 1960s as students of animal behavior, that is, psychologists and biologists, began to report on the absence of matings between close relatives in various species in the wild. Given evolutionary theory, that behavioral pattern was to be expected, especially in view of the recent recognitions of the deleterious consequences of inbreeding. One early observer of free-ranging monkeys, for example, reported in 1968 that he witnessed not a single copulation between a mother and son, even though the two were in close contact, grooming, and resting together. The more common observation was that young males usually left their natal group and thus had no occasion for intra-familial mating. Jane Goodall, who later became world-renowned for her studies of chimpanzees in the wild, reported as early as 1971 on the apparent refusal or reluctance of mothers to mate with their male offspring. The evidence in support of 'incest avoidance' among animals became so strong that one ethologist in 1975 remarked, with only a little exaggeration, that it is 'an empirical fact that in the whole animal world with very few exception no species is known in which under natural conditions inbreeding occurs to any considerable degree' (Degler, 1991, 257).

This concern for inbreeding is also a concern for the Zulu. Krige writes,

There is no cross-cousin marriage among the Zulus, though their system of relationship is very similar to that of the Basotho and other tribes who practise this form of marriage; no marriage with blood relations of any kind is allowed. A person may not marry anyone having the same *isibongo* as his own (i.e. belonging to the same sib), nor anyone bearing the same *isibongo* as his mother. No marriage is allowed with the father's sister's daughter nor with the mother's sister's child. Marriage with the immediate family-circle of the father's own mother is prohibited, but outside of that there is no prohibition to marriage with that *isibongo* (Krige, 1936, [1962], 156).

Berglund refers to a conversation in which the interviewee stated that the ancestors were just as concerned with incest as was the rest of the family. According to the interviewee, incest caused strife among the ancestors, which he explained as follows, "It is like this. When he puts *umlotha* into the blood, he is planting the shades at home, in their own blood. The shades fight, seeing each other of the same lineage" (Berglund, 1976, 221). The anthropologist Fisher supports this view. She wrote,

Incestuous matings would have caused endless social conflict too. Humans are jealous, possessive creatures; we are not built to share a beloved sex partner. So incestuous sex would have caused serious domestic rivalry, undermining the fragile relationship between wife and husband, weakening friendships between kin, and disturbing social order (Fisher, 1992, 249-250).

Unlike other species, humans have the ability to ignore and override nature's limitations. The ancestors have a vested interest in preventing incestuous relationships. Zulu culture developed rules as well as practices and processes like lobola to prevent incest. The Zulu use cattle, which is part of the traditional bride-wealth, as a means of managing issues such as incest. The underlying concept is that the cattle used for lobola, belongs to the family which includes the ancestors. Cattle were, and still are for some, the traditional currency of lobola. This principle left Mr. B. with a serious dilemma when he wanted to marry, he had no cattle with which to pay the lobola since the cattle he had bought did not belong to him, but to the family unit, which included the ancestors.

8.1.6   Marriage and Exogamy

Negotiating lobola appears also to be related to the practice of exogamy, the "… choice of marriage partner strictly outside the lineage and the clan" (Berglund, 1976, 254). Exogamy offers significant benefits since it provides a larger gene pool. However, the choice of marriage partners outside the lineage or close familial relationships may also relate to not wanting to marry someone who has grown up in close proximity. This was demonstrated in studies done in 1964 with children growing up together on Kibbutzim in Israel. Even though the parents encourage their children to marry within the kibbutz, all of the one hundred and twenty five couples studied had married someone from outside their peer group or children's house (Degler, 1991, 259). Marrying a spouse who is outside the lineage prevents the Zulu ancestors from being confused.

8.1.7   Marriage and Belonging

At the core of traditional Zulu courtship rituals and the lobola negotiations is the concept

of belonging to a family or community. Even though marriage is the union of two

families, Zulu culture has rites to facilitate the integration of the bride into her husband's

family.

The bride loses her place of belonging and communion when she marries. Zulu marriage

rituals and rites address this need to belong by facilitating her incorporation into the

groom's family. Both Zulu Christians and traditionalists expressed the importance of

lobola as facilitating the process by which the bride is incorporated into the groom's

family. Some of the Christians who were interviewed maintained that the practice of

lobola is very important but, unfortunately, all too often misunderstood. Both Christian

and traditionalists described the function of lobola as a process for connecting the two

families and functioning to manage the anxiety generated by the changes in both families.

The majority of the Christians who were interviewed expressed their concern with what

they perceived as a Western individualistic understanding of marriage that fails to provide

a process that facilitates and satisfies this deep-rooted need among the Zulu for belonging.

This process was clearly outlined by Mr. B.

Interviewer: How do you understand the incorporation of traditions associated with

marriage and Christian marriage?

Mr. B.: Ja, My observation is that some aspects of Western thinking have crept into the

traditional Zulu marriage. But some parts of it are static and not dynamic. I refer

to the lobola for instance, paying of this to the father of the bride. So many things

have been said in the media, all over, trying to condemn the paying of lobola, but it goes on because it is part of belonging to the Zulu culture. It is not something that people can write about and say 'Stop it' at the stroke of a pen. It is there. Again I want to go back to this lobola. In our old traditional set up, I would not pay lobola for myself because where would I get the cattle? If there are three hundred head of cattle in the cattle kraal, as long as my father is alive they are his cattle. I may have bought some of them, but they are not mine, they are my father's. When I want to get married I report to my father, to his brothers and half-brothers. Everybody makes a contribution towards the lobola of my wife. That makes my wife not to belong to me solely. She belongs to me and belongs to the whole family. She pays respect to me and to my brothers and my sisters to the relatives, and to my relatives and to the relatives of my brothers and so on. The reason why everyone should contribute to lobola, the woman who is coming is not coming to one person, is coming to the whole family. But the conception or the misuse of lobola now is that you pay lobola, you may be assisted by your brothers, your father, but this woman is yours, yours alone and she claims to have nothing to do with other people in the family. Once you get married you buy a house of your own, pull out from the family. That is what is happening now in urban areas. And as you know there are as many divorces now in the black communities as there are in white communities. So I am saying marriage is a way of belonging. This bride not belongs here, not only to me alone, but to my family as well, to the whole community, to the whole area. She belongs there.

Mr. B. went on to describe further implications of incorporating the bride into the husband's family. This incorporation provides her with a community to whom she now

belongs and who are responsible for her protection. An important implication of the wife

belonging to the family as a whole concerns the way the family deals with spousal abuse.

Since the wife does not belong to the husband but to the whole family, any physical abuse

of her by her husband becomes a family problem. An abused wife can bring the matter to

the attention of the whole family since she 'belongs' to all of them.

Mr. B.: There are still men who hit their wives. It would never enter up there for if I hit

      my wife and my wife reports to my mother, my mother reports to my father. All

      the members of the family, my uncles, my aunts will come together to reprimand

      me for having hit my wife. I may even be asked to slaughter a beast, not a goat,

      have a feast to say "I'm sorry". But I don't want to say no one ever hit his wife.

Interviewer: So belonging is a way to protect the wife?

Mr. B.: For the bride to belong it is meant for her protection and not ill-treat her in any

      way. The mother-in-law would just stand up and say 'You can't do that.'

8.1.8   Wedding Rituals and Community

The bride does not lose all connection with her family. In one part of the traditional

wedding ritual the bride brings her ancestors with her into her new home. This practice

maintains a connection for the bride and her offspring with her own past, especially with

her ancestors. Through this ritual the ancestors are triangled into the family process in

order to assist her with her anxiety about becoming part of the groom's family. As an

outsider in the groom's family her ancestors assist her through the transition by binding

her anxiety and providing her with a sense of togetherness. The triangling of the

ancestors involves the *isigodi*, the bride's cow, which is the representative presence of her

ancestors. This cow which belongs to her family and ancestors functions as a resource,

both physically and emotionally, for her and her children.

> Experience underlines the positive aspects attached to *isigodo*. This 'is a
> good cow, doing only good things'. Besides supplying the bride with milk
> in her new home the beast stands for moral support and company, retained
> communication with her paternal shades as well as her paternal home and
> the shades personal intervention in difficult matters. The animal stands
> further, for generosity and thoughtfulness on the part of the bride's father
> (Berglund, 1976, 208).

By affirming the presence of the ancestors at every stage of the traditional Zulu marriage

celebrations, a sense of community and belonging is ensured in spite of the stress. The

ancestors function to stabilize the two anxious families and to facilitate a smooth

transition for the families and the bride. The communion with the ancestors is

accomplished by the slaughtering of cattle (Mr. 16), and reinforced by means of the

"… *ukwendisa* (imbeka) cattle…" (Berglund, 1976, 206). The one animal attests to the

continued togetherness, or communion, with her own ancestors, and affirms that she is

not alone and unsupported. The other two animals that are slaughtered attest to the "…

mutual acceptance of bride and bridegroom by ancestors of both" (Berglund, 1976, 117).

The two families are thus functionally united.

> The large majority of informants claim that traditionally *ukwendisa* beasts
> were three in number. But if the bride's father did not have many animals
> in his herd, two would be sufficient. Animals outside the family stock
> could hardly be considered. The first of the three could, preferably and if
> possible, be a calf of the homestead *inkomo yamadlozi*. If this was not
> possible or the homestead did not have *inkomo yamadlozi*, then the animal
> should be of old clan stock. The first of the beasts is known as *isigodo* (lit.
> tree stump), the second as *isikhumba* (lit. skin) and the third
> *eyokukhulekela ukuzala* (i.e. to request giving birth). While the second
> animal, *isikhumba*, is slaughtered simultaneously with *inkomo yokucola* at
> the wedding and symbolizes the meeting of the shades of the uniting clans,
> the third beast, *eyokukhulekela ukuzala* is slaughtered ritually by the
> bride's people, once she has settled down in her new home.[23]   The killing
> is done in the new homestead and the shades requested "to work nicely
> with her in giving birth so that there be no disturbances". The underling
> thought-patterns are that the woman's lineage shades furnish the blood

with which the shades of the male, in the male fluid, mould the child in the womb[24] (Berglund, 1976, 206-207).

For Mr. C, a Christian, the wedding celebration is about community. He commented,

> That is the essence of the whole thing, whether the community includes the ancestors is beside the point because that is just another extension of the community. Your community can include ancestors or just the community of the family and friends who gather for your wedding. It is the same idea except one has pushed it further back to include the ancestors.

8.1.9   Reporting to the Ancestors

During the wedding celebrations it is the responsibility of the father of the bride to report to the ancestors. When the family is understood as an emotional unit then "… merely addressing the assembled lineage members had the effect of informing the ancestors" (Hammond-Tooke, 1981, 26). In his reporting the father declares that the bride is changing her status and that she will no longer be available to carry out her responsibilities to the family unit (Lawson, 1985, 38). For Mrs. 8 it was a family elder who reported her change in status to the ancestors. According to Mrs. 7 and Mrs. 13, both of whom are Christians, the reporting on their wedding day took place at the *umsamo*, the household sanctuary which according to Mrs. 7, "It is where we burn incense, and it is where we speak with the ancestors. It is a holy place, respectable place. We do not just go to the house in which there is sanctuary. The presence of a sanctuary is indicative of the presence of our ancestors". For Mrs. 5 the process on her wedding day, was "… an information, calling my name to them that they know they are now taking me away from home to join the (surname) family". The father reports to the ancestors that she has now moved to another clan. Mr. 16, a traditionalist, stated, "The ancestors would be informed that this person is now leaving this family (surname) to join another family (surname). It is therefore absolutely important that this information is made known to the

ancestors". A Christian who has been incorporating traditional rites and customs, Mrs. 4, describes the reporting to the ancestors is about the transition taking place between the two families. "They were told that now that I leaving this home, even when I got there my in-laws informed their ancestors that now that I have come in the new environment". Only two of the eight Christians who were interviewed stated that there was no reporting to the ancestors at their wedding.

The groom's family reports to their ancestors by slaughtering a goat that a new family member is joining their family. The *eyekucola* goat is slaughtered to provide a link between the families of the bride and groom and "To welcome the bride and report her arrival to the ancestors (Ngubane 1977, 65)." By this ritual they affirm the functional importance and presence of the ancestors for the family as they deal with the transition and the increased anxiety. Mr. 6, a Christian, described this wedding ritual, "Yes, in the morning before we went to fetch the bride at her home, my father burnt the incense. When we came back, a goat was slaughtered to unite the bride with our ancestors". As Mr. 6 has stated, the slaughtering of a goat unites the bride to the groom's family; in addition, a family member reports her arrival to their ancestors. In a traditional wedding the bride is presented to the groom's ancestors at his family byre (Berglund, 1976, 118). Gall from a slaughtered animal is poured onto her feet. "The pouring of the gall of the two animals on the feet of the bride is a symbol that the shades of the two parties concerned agree 'to do their work with the woman'" (Berglund, 1976, 118).

Zulu Christians have as deep a need for belonging and communion as traditionalists, but the Church marriage practices have not fully addressed this need. Some Zulu Christians have resorted to having two separate wedding ceremonies, a church wedding and a more

traditional family celebration at the family homestead in order to deal with the increased anxiety and to affirm belonging and communion. Most of the Christians who were interviewed acknowledged that they have reincorporated some practices that recognise the ancestors as an essential part of the marriage celebration. Only two of the Christians interviewed continue to reject any form of reincorporation of the ancestors into their marriage beliefs and practices. As far as marriage was concerned, Mrs. 4, a Christian, believes that the ancestors have a central place and stated, "We do not say God is not existing but we however highlight the role the ancestors play in the lives of our people". Mr. 8, also a Christian said, "The ancestors are important in that whenever there is a wedding it is the unification of a particular family and yet another family".

Only Mrs. 7 provided a different approach to marriage. She described how she was married according to Indian tradition and the question of the ancestors was not addressed. Mr. 1, who can be described as a secular traditionalist, stated that the ancestors had no functional importance for him. "I do not know because so far [I] have not seen anything particularly attached to the ancestors". But he does occasionally slaughter a goat as a means of expressing thankfulness. His thinking about marriage is essentially Western and includes the rejection of the presence of the ancestors. This individualistic approach has also led Mr. 1 to deny any need for maintaining a sense of belonging and community. "The matter of the fact is my wedding was a bit different. On a Saturday we spent the whole day at my bride's place. On Sunday we came to my residence. The function went until very late. I did not notice any problem because the most important thing to me was that I am married. I did not care about other things".

Both the traditionalists and Christians who have reincorporated ancestors into their family process believe that the ancestors have an important function in weddings. They are so

important that according to Mr. 9, a Christian, there can be no marriage without the ancestor's presence and involvement. Mr. 5, a traditionalist, stated that the ancestors are responsible for "looking after them and give those who are married children". He further elaborated that the presence of the ancestors at the wedding is to assure their protection in the future so that the couple does not experience illness or other misfortunes. Mr. 16 noted that the ancestors are important both at the wedding and later on in married life since they keep the peace in the home, while Mr. 9 expects the ancestors to protect and keep a watchful eye upon his wife preventing her from committing adultery. Adultery would be a serious offence not just to Mr. 9, but also to his ancestors, since she belongs to them as well. In his comments on marriage, Mr. B. developed the sense of belonging to the family unit, which includes the nuclear and extended families as well as the ancestors, by stating that he believed that for the bride to belong meant that she had protection from abuse since she belonged to the whole family and not just to the husband. It would appear from these comments that the ancestors have an important moderating effect upon the family emotional process.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that for both Zulu Christians and Zulu traditionalist the preparations and changes associated with a marriage is a time of increasing anxiety for the families. The loss and disturbance in the family's togetherness triggers homeostatic imbalance that threatens their sense of community. This disturbance has been described by Richardson (Richardson, 1984, 10) in terms of a mobile in which each family member has a functional position in maintaining and restoring the balance.

Under the guise of being Christian, Western, and particularly North American marriage practices that focus on the individuals have been introduced into Africa. This has resulted in a change in understanding and functioning of the extended and multigenerational family and the ancestors. The individualistic assumptions concerning marriage have created a theological and cultural dilemma for Zulu Christians as they seek to be faithful Christians while remaining an integral part of the family unit. What has been lost is the Zulu understanding of marriage as the union of two families and not just two individuals. This concept is described by Richardson as the joining of two mobiles to form a complex system of inter-relationships (Richardson, 1984, 10).

For the traditional Zulu, and increasingly among Christians, the ancestors are functionally involved in every aspect of the wedding celebration which includes the singing, dancing and the drinking of beer. It is during this transition that Zulu families desire the ancestors to brood with them. This brooding refers to the ancestor's functional importance for the anxious family. The brooding ancestors are welcomed and triangled into the family process as a calming resource facilitating the family's adjustment as it moves towards a new homeostatic balance. Their presence assists the family to be less rigid and more flexible. This triangling of the ancestors is accomplished through rites and rituals.

An analysis of the research data from a Bowen theory perspective supports the sub-hypothesis, *that the ancestors assist in balancing the couple's and families' togetherness that has been disrupted by the marriage of a child.*

8.2   Death

8.2.1   Biology, Bowen Theory and Death

Bowen's definition of death is succinct and removes all philosophical and religious

elaborations, "Death is a biological event that terminates life" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 321).

Living organisms are aware of death since it is an integral part of life. "Man (sic) is an

instinctual animal with the same instinctual awareness of death as the lower forms of life.

He (sic) follows the same predictable instinctual life pattern of all living things" (Bowen,

1978, 1985, 321).

Death as termination affects all the members of the family since the individual is "… a

part of the total family" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 321) which makes death a community

experience. This communal aspect of dying and death is not only a human phenomenon

but has been observed in chimpanzee troops who do not desert their dying (Fisher, 1992,

136) and in elephant herds. Only elephants 'bury' their companions, placing branches

over the head and shoulders of their deceased (Fisher, 1992, 137; Masson, 1995, 95).

The intensity of the reaction to a death varies both within and between families. This

variation depends on factors such as the level of differentiation of the family and the

functional importance of the individual to the system. The variation in differentiation is

reflected in the way a family deals with death and also upon the family relationship

systems whether it is open or closed. "An 'open' relationship system is one in which an

individual is free to communicate a high percentage of inner thoughts, feelings and

fantasies to another who can reciprocate" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 322). Closed relationship

systems are shaped more by automatic emotional processes "… to protect self from the

anxiety in the other person, though most people say they avoid the taboo subjects to keep

from upsetting the other person" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 322). The lower the level of differentiation the more closed the system, and the more that emotionally charged topics, such as death, are avoided.

The more closed the family system, the greater the fusion and the more intense the "interpersonal interlock" (Papero, 1987 Fall, 7). The "interpersonal interlock" describes the intensity of the dependence on, and need family members have for one another. As the level of differentiation decreases the interpersonal interlock increases. Lower level of differentiation families grieve with greater intensity and have greater difficulty managing their reactivity to a death. In lower differentiated families the death of a family member is so disruptive that they may have difficulty moving towards a new homeostatic balance.

The intensity of the grief coupled with the anxiety associated with the unbalancing of the family relationship system may lead to the development of physical, social or emotional symptoms in the survivors. A death in a family in which there is a high level of emotional attachment can even compromise the immune system (Maloney-Schara, 1989, 4). Jane Goodall provides a graphic description of the impact of a death on a family of chimpanzees. The death of Flo had a devastating impact on her son Flint. Flint had a high level of emotional attachment to his mother. Some weeks following her death Flint returned to the place where his mother had died and became "… lethargic, refused most food and, with his immune system thus weakened, fell sick" (Goodall, 1990, 196). He remained at the place of her death until he too died there. Unlike the relationship of Flint with Flo his sister Fifi, and his older brother Figan, were less emotionally attached to their mother and did not experience her death with the same intensity (Goodall, 1990, 196).

The more fused the family, the more important each family member's function is for the system. The death of a functionally important family member will have a significant impact on the family's emotional balance.

> The equilibrium of the unit is disturbed by either the addition of a new
> member or the loss of a member. The intensity of the emotional reaction
> is governed by the functioning level of emotional integration in the family
> at the time, or by the functional importance of the one who is added to the
> family or lost to the family (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 324-325).

There are varying degrees of intensity of grief for family members depending on their importance for the family system. Some deaths have a greater impact on a family than others (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 327). The more important the family member's functional position in the family system, the greater the intensity of the grief associated with their death. Their death creates a greater disequilibrium in the balance of togetherness and individuality in the family relationship system and is experienced as a threat.

A similar process appears to underlie relationships in the family of origin of Mr. A. In his family there appears to be a significant degree of attachment between the children and the father. When the father died, the family reacted intensely to his death and experienced a marked increase in anxiety. The father had been a very important functional figure in the home. He was particularly important for maintaining the togetherness of the family as indicated by Mr. A's comment that his father was his conscience. "So the conscience tells you, 'You should not do this.' Your father would not like it. So whatever I do, I always think of my father. Not that I regard him as my God, no, no. But I must respect him. I must be shy of doing things he didn't like. Although we do it but the conscience tells me 'Your father didn't like that". The father's death had disrupted the reciprocal processes of the family which affected the family togetherness. The father, a Christian, had rejected and actively opposed any belief in the ancestors. Before his death the father had given clear instructions that there should be no ceremonies that included any

reference to the ancestors at his burial. The family had faithfully fulfilled his wishes. Not

long after the father's death, the youngest son became anxious and focused his anxiety on

the family's failure in not having carried out some of the traditional burial practices

associated with the ancestors. He informed his brothers that he had dreamt that their

father was unhappy and wanted some of the traditional rites performed. In spite of the

father's explicit instructions, the family acceded to the younger brother's anxious request.

Once the family had performed the rituals the younger brother informed the family that he

no longer dreamt about their father. It would appear that the younger son was very

sensitive to the disequilibrium and loss of togetherness created in the family by the

father's death. By acceding to his request the family togetherness was restored which

calmed his anxiety and also opened the system to move towards a new equilibrium.

8.2.2   Death as an Emotional Shockwave

Grief and mourning are only a part of a family's response to a death. The imbalance in

the family system generates what Bowen referred to as an "… emotional shock wave"

(Bowen, 1978, 1985, 325). The intensity of this emotional shock wave depends on the

level of differentiation, the unresolved emotional attachments and on the degree to which

it is a closed system (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 325).

> The 'Emotional Shock Wave' is a network of underground 'after-shocks'
> of serious life events that can occur anywhere in the extended family
> system in the months or years following serious emotional events in a
> family. It occurs most often after the death or the threatened death of a
> significant family member, but it can occur following losses of other types.
> It is not related to the usual grief or mourning reactions of people close to
> the one who died. It operates on an underground network of emotional
> dependence of family members on each other (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 325).

These after-shocks are often associated with the death of a significant parent or

grandparent and may surface as symptoms in the children or grandchildren (Bowen, 1978,

1985, 325). As the family deals with the emotional shock wave it may move towards a

new homeostatic balance by focusing on a symptomatic child, or by introducing a new

member into the family through marriage. Other factors that affect the intensity of the

family's reaction to a death relate to the suddenness of the death, the age of the deceased,

and whether it was a parent with small children. Instead of intensifying the anxiety, some

deaths may even come as a relief to the family.

8.2.3   Rites and Practices

The importance of rituals associated with burials, according to Bowen, is to bring

> … survivors into intimate contact with the dead and with important
> friends, and it helps survivors and friends to terminate their relationship
> with the dead and to move forward with life. I think the best function of a
> funeral is served when it brings relatives and friends into the best possible
> functional contact with the harsh fact of death and with each other at this
> time of high emotionality (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 331).

The funeral functions as an opportunity for the family to come into contact with the dead

and to assist the family as it starts the process of grieving the loss. This loss the family

experiences is not just the loss of the person but also the loss of that person's functional

position in the family system. The family is assisted in dealing with their loss through

rituals associated with a funeral. These rituals include the preparation of the body, the

religious rites and the burial. They stress the finality of death and assist in bringing to a

conclusion the relationship with the deceased. Funeral rites assist the family to

acknowledge their personal loss, as well as the loss experienced by the whole family

system, or family unit. Funerals are important since they are the first step in a process by

which the family starts dealing with all their losses including the functional loss

associated with the death of the family member. The gathering of the whole family for

the funeral provides an opportunity for the family systems to start rebalancing. At the

funeral the relatives and friends function as an important resource for the grieving family

providing them with togetherness and affirming their need for belonging and communion. Bowen wrote about the funeral, "The goal is to bring the entire family system into the closest possible contact with death in the presence of the total friendship system and to lend a helping hand to the anxious people who would rather run than face a funeral" (Bowen, 1978, 1985, 332).

This functional view of the funeral is reflected in the comments of Mr. B. for whom the burial ritual is a resource for the family in their time of crisis. According to Mr. B. the burial ritual reaffirms a profound sense of belonging in the midst of their loss and anxiety. As the family gathers they experience togetherness. "We do regard death as a crisis because, I refuse to say that is only within the Zulu culture that a crisis brings people together. I am saying that even in Christian circles, I am saying when someone has passed away it becomes a way of calling people from all corners, that is physical. But is also a spiritual area. People become more connected with one another and probably with God during that crisis".

Mr. C, a Christian, stressed that to belong is not only important for the family but also for the community. He described how the power of the togetherness force led his father to set aside his personal beliefs to satisfy the anxiety of the community. Community pressure, he believes, led his father to perform traditional funeral rites associated with the ancestors, even though his father did not subscribe to these traditional beliefs. Grief is not only the family experience but affects the community who must deal with the disharmony and imbalance brought about by a death. "When a man dies people expect, after a year, he must do something. So whether he believes in ancestors or not if you will be in harmony with society or community you have to do it". Mr. C further stated that he

believes that this particular problem is one that Zulu Christians are facing and with which they are trying to deal. "So these people who do not believe in the ancestors but they are doing things which if you outside belief in the ancestors think that they are doing things because they think that they have become a custom".

8.2.4   Zulu Funeral Rites and Practices

Except for the one Christian and the one interviewee who had no commitment to either Christianity or the traditional religious beliefs, the rest of the Christian interviewees and the traditionalists held very similar views concerning the presence and participation of the ancestors at times of death (see Table 9).

Table 9. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: Is the presence and participation of the ancestors important at times of death?

Traditionalists	
Mrs. 5	When a person dies he joins the ancestors. They call you when they want you. They call you by way of death.
Mr. 14	Yes. They have to be informed if somebody has passed away. They have to welcome that person as one of them. They are called upon in the funeral and they are asked to lead the way.
Mrs. 15	They are informed about the dead person. Even if they see that a person is dead. The family needs to inform them.
Mr. 16	Ancestors should be informed so that they welcome him. He will be one of them.
Mr. 17	We slaughter the cow.
Mr. 12	This is the work of God (Omni-important). The ancestors are also told there is death in the family. Ancestors become involved since someone is dead till the cleansing ceremony is celebrated.
Mr. 11	I am not really sure with this question.
Mrs. 10	The ancestor should welcome the one who is dead because s/he has to join others who're late.
Christian and Traditional	
Mr. 3	The dead person is believed to be joining the other dead members of the family. He will also give them our best wishes.
Mr. 9	They know that the dead one is joining them. They will continue looking after the living.
Mrs. 4	Sometimes ancestors do things that result in death. Usually they are well meaning they do not mean to hurt you. They choose the person that they want to join them. That person dies and it is painful for the person.

Mr. 8	After the burial ceremony there must be a cleansing process where a goat is slaughtered and its dung is used to clean (wash) the people's hands.
Mrs. 18	An animal (goat) is slaughtered to report that someone is dead and is coming to join. The mourners ask the dead to be a good ancestor.
Mr. 6	The dead body cannot go to the graveyard without first telling the ancestors that they must welcome this person who has come to join them.
Mr. 13	The ancestors help the bereaved to be strong so that the correct procedures are followed to bury the dead person.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	No

The one interviewee who was neither Christian nor a Traditionalist gave no response to the question.

Christians are turning increasingly to their ancestors as a means of dealing with the crisis precipitated by the death of a family member. Some are carrying out the traditional rituals under pressure from the other family members and the community. But acceding to pressure is not a sufficient explanation for this major shift among Christians. An adequate explanation of this phenomenon must incorporate a broader understanding and perspective.

For the Zulu death is a rite of passage which affects their understanding of community and belonging. This broad understanding of the impact of a death is best understood in terms of the concept of the family as an emotional unit. All deaths affect the living, which includes members of the whole community. What is overlooked is that the ancestors who are part of the family unit are also affected. Zulu mortuary rites affirm that even though the person has died, he or she still belongs to the community, and that the family remains connected and in a togetherness with them. This belief among the Zulu is neither a denial nor a means of avoiding the harsh reality of death. The reality of death is clearly understood and affirmed by their rites and rituals. These rites and rituals provide a

process by which the family can start dealing with the death and loss and the associated anxiety.

The Zulu are aware that as well as being a physical process, death is also an emotional process in which the finely tuned reciprocity of family relationships is threatened and the family equilibrium is disrupted. They are also aware that they need to deal with the unresolved attachment issues associated with the deceased. "What I am trying to say is this: when it comes to death, all those things come to the surface, the felt insecurities and the expected efficient means to cope with them" (Mogoba, 1981, 60). Factors such as the family's level of differentiation, the functional importance and age of the deceased, as well as the length and difficulty associated with the death, influence the intensity of the anxiety. "When old people die they are not mourned. 'To the old death does not come unexpectedly. We do not mourn them because we knew that it was coming. They were not taken unaware'" (Berglund, 1976, 79). Death is one of those times of high anxiety in which the Zulu welcome the brooding of the ancestors (Berglund, 1976, 129). In their grief, the Zulu triangle their ancestors into the family process to bind their anxiety so that the process of re-establishing a new homeostatic balance can begin. By functioning in this way the ancestors reinforce and maintain a sense of community and belonging for the family.

Central to Mr. B's understanding of Zulu funeral rituals is its affirmation of a profound sense of togetherness and belonging not just with the living but also with the past generations, the ancestors. For him, even though he is a Christian, failure to follow the traditional burial customs is to lose this important sense of belonging. This understanding is reflected in his response to a question about the significance of the washing of the

hands at a funeral. He replied, "Absolutely. Even here today there was a burial of a

pastor. When there is a funeral here in urban areas in Christian settlement, where there is

a funeral, people going to the funeral, you find at the gate two basins of water. People

wash their hands before they go in to have the feast. They don't eat from the graveyard

without having washed their hands. Even if they didn't touch the soil, you go there and

stand while people are digging and burying and singing. But before you go to eat you

pass the big basin of water and everyone washes in that basin of water. You don't open

your own tap and wash, that would show no sense of togetherness, of communion. I am

stressing my understanding of ancestors spiritual communion relationships".

8.2.5   The Importance of the Homestead

The sense of belonging and community is strengthened and reinforced by having the

burial at the family homestead. To be buried in the family homestead is so important to

urban Zulu that it is reported that many are now starting to plan for their burial there. "In

the context of death, another point should be noted as well. Those of you who are

administering in urban area—actually, the same applies to rural areas—must have noticed

the increasing number of burial societies, particularly in the last ten years. Their purpose

is to ensure that when somebody has died, he can be given a funeral in his rural, ancestral

home" (Mogoba, 1981, 60). It is particularly important for the homestead head to be

buried in or near the cattle byre since the ancestors are closely associated with the byre.

"This glorification of the cattle byre under which, it is believed by many, live the

ancestral spirits, is one of a number of beliefs regarding the dwelling place of the

ancestral (sic) spirits" (Lamla, 1981, 18). It is at the byre that cattle are slaughtered as

part of the funeral rites, thereby acknowledging the presence of the ancestors. Mr. 17

affirmed this connection between the cattle, the ancestors and the deceased by a practice

in his family of covering the corpse with the hide of the slaughtered cattle. Mrs. 13, a Christian, understands this practice to indicate respect to the deceased.

Another important funeral ritual that maintains the concept of community is the reporting of the death to the ancestors. Mrs. 15, a traditionalist, responded to a question concerning a death in her home, "Ancestors are important in that the elder would go to the kraal to inform them. All the time the ancestors would like to be informed every time. They would like to be told irrespective of the fact that they do see him. They would keep on asking where is so and so".

8.2.6   Death as Transition

Death is a transition for both the family and the deceased. The funeral rites and practices are important resources for the family as they pass through this rite of passage. If the family is fortunate, they can prepare for the death. This was the situation for Mr. A., who was able to prepare for the death of his father. He and his family prepared a special day for their dying father. "So we said let's make that day for him and we slaughtered a cow for him. It was a big party, brought him some presents, make him a big cake plus … we did that on a weekend and he passed away on the Thursday, the following Thursday. We believe that once an old somebody, I mean if you do something for him and he eats the liver, that is a way of saying 'Goodbye' and then ends in death". For the family the transition is centered on the loss of a member and repercussions associated with that loss. However, for the deceased the transition is his or her going from the community of the living to the community of the dead. Mr. B. refers to these two communities as two congregations, one of the living and the other of the dead.

These two communities of the living and the dead are intimately linked since the family is understood as an emotional unit. Not even death can destroy this familial link. Death understood as a rite of passage may deeply affect the structure and processes of family, but it does not remove the deceased from the family unit. Even the understanding of there being two communities implies that they remain a single emotional unit. This means that for the Zulu death is never the ultimate form of cut off from the family. "Death does not sever the relationship of the departed with the living, but merely changes it to a different level. Far from being characterized by fear, the attitude of the living toward departed members of the family or clan is one of continuous remembrance and affection" (Gijana, 1981, 40).

Some Christians have reincorporated the traditional custom of *umlahlankosi,* to bring the deceased's spirit home, as a way of affirming the continuity of the family unit. This custom involves taking a branch of a particular tree that does not die quickly in order to show signs of life in midst of grief.

Among the Zulu, the burial usually took place as soon as possible at the family homestead. Traditionally there were exceptions to this practice. Soldiers who were killed in battle were not brought to the homestead to be buried, nor were those people who were killed by lightning, (Berglund, 1976, 40) since neither could become an ancestor (Berglund, 1976, 40; Lawson, 1985, 27). Those killed by lightning were "… to be buried as close as possible to where they were taken, and they are not ever talked about. They are 'with the God of the Sky.' Because of this, no mourning for them is encouraged or permitted" (Lawson, 1985, 27). The death of a youth constituted a different problem since the seed had died with the youth and had not created any progeny (Berglund, 1976, 81).

Traditional burial practices also varied according to the status of the deceased. The oldest son of a headman was responsible for digging the grave near the main hut at the homestead (Lawson, 1985, 30). According to Lawson, traditionally the burial was performed at night, but under the influence of Christianity it changed to the daytime (Lawson 1985, 30). The anxiety associated with a death was reflected in the belief that the time following the death was a time of 'great danger' for the family who would take medicine to ward off the danger (Lawson, 1985, 30). The family would use medicine to calm their anxiety.

According to Zulu tradition, the family and friends gathered at the family homestead for the burial, and on the day of the burial, the family reported the death to the ancestors. Some Christians have re-incorporated this traditional ritual into their funeral practice. Mr. 6, a Christian stated that this was his family's custom. He stated, "On the burial day we do inform the ancestors. We ask the ancestors to meet him/her as he or she is coming to them". Mrs. 4, a Christian, confirms this, "They are responsible for meeting the dead person in order to welcome him or her in their fold. At most they become extremely excited when somebody comes to them. We on the other side are crying which is not the position with the ancestors. It is they that called upon this particular person to join them". A beast, usually associated with the ancestors, is slaughtered for a feast (Mr. 17). While Christians have continued with the feast, some have tried to disassociate the slaughtering from the ancestors. "Many church members do not associate this killing directly with the ancestors but see it rather as a symbol of mourning, *ukuzila*, or merely as a funeral meal" (Manona, 1981, 35).

In traditional Zulu families, after the friends have departed, the kin group remains to offer support to the family. They may offer assistance by watching the grave. The length of time spent watching the grave depended on the social status of the deceased (Berglund, 1976, 82). Mourning which started with the burial, lasted about a month for the relatives. Traditionally the widow was required to mourn for a year. The period of mourning ended when the family performed the *ukubuyisa*, the bringing home of the dead. This usually involved a feast of meat and beer, which signaled that the deceased is "… finally incorporated into the group of ancestors for the first time" (Lamla, 1981, 17).

In every facet of the funeral rituals, the mourning practices, and especially the *ukubuyisa* ceremony, the underlying emphasis is upon affirming belonging and maintaining community. "The deceased headman must therefore be brought back to his rightful place among the living, there to continue to exert his influence collectively with the amakhosi, the group of ancestors. His presence in the umsamo, in the doorways, in the cattle kraal, and in the hearts and minds of the people needs to be ensured" (Lawson, 1985, 32). In the rite of *ukubuyisa*, the deceased, as an ancestor, is brought back as a continuing presence in the family emotional process, and particularly as a part of the family triangles in which they are a calming presence during times of heightened anxiety. As part of the family triangle, the ancestors facilitate the restoration of the family togetherness, and a sense of community and belonging. As an integral part of the family process they have responsibility for protecting the children in times of crisis (Nxumalo, 1981, 68).

While some Christians have found prayer and faith to be an adequate resource in times of anxiety (Mrs. 2), others have turned to their ancestors and God. Mrs. 8 has integrated the two beliefs systems and commented "I get my strength from my ancestors and my God. I

put them all together". On the other hand Mr. 6 stated that when in a crisis, "I start to speak to the ancestors so that they may help me from this problem". To procure the assistance of the ancestors in times of anxiety such as associated with death, these Christians have reincorporated the *ukubuyisa* rite into their funeral rituals. Mrs. 7 stated "After a year we bring him or her back so that we may stay forever with his or her soul". According to Mr. 9, bringing the deceased home brings the assurance of their protection.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that Bowen theory can provide an explanation and an understanding of the function of the ancestors when Zulu families are dealing with loss and grief. The functional presence of the ancestors assists Zulu families in dealing with the anxiety associated with death. Death is a threat to the family togetherness, or as interviewees referred to it as "communion and belonging".

Bowen theory offers a theoretical basis for understanding the relationship that the Zulu have with their ancestors, especially as it relates to the concept of the family as an emotional unit that includes the nuclear, extended, and multigenerational family. This broad understanding of family allows family members to grieve death while still maintaining a relationship with the deceased. The management of anxiety associated with loss and death by means of the triangle with the ancestors affirms the Zulus' ongoing relationship with the deceased. The triangle with the ancestors does not lead to the denial of death, but offers a realistic understanding of the ongoing functional importance for the family of those who have died.

The analysis of the research data from a Bowen theory perspective supports the hypotheses, that the ancestors function to restore the emotional balance of Zulu families

disturbed by an increase of anxiety associated with times of family transition. And also, *that the ancestors assist Zulu families to manage the anxiety associated particularly with family transitions such as marriage, the birth of a child, puberty and death by being a resource that helps the family to regain a new homeostatic balance.*

This study supports the need for a new paradigm to interpret the Zulu understanding of family transitions. This paradigm needs not only to interpret earlier research data, but also any new information acquired through new research. Bowen theory meets both of these requirements. It brings to the study a broad interdisciplinary understanding by including the social, the biological and evolutionary sciences. The life sciences offer a new basis for understanding the rites of passage associated with Zulu family transitions.

The study showed a number of areas of apparent congruence between Bowen theory and the Zulu understanding of family life. Both systems of thinking are relationship based. Of particular importance is the concept in Bowen theory of the family as an emotional unit, which is consistent with the Zulu understanding of the family, as including the nuclear, extended and multigenerational family. The multigenerational transmission process provides a means of explaining the ongoing functional importance of the ancestors. The ancestors may be dead but they continue to have functional importance for the family especially through the cross-generational family triangles. The concept of emotional triangles is a unique contribution for the understanding of Zulu family process. Another area of congruence is the concept in Bowen theory of togetherness and individuality. This relates closely with the Zulu understanding of the importance of belonging and communion. As in Bowen theory, so too for the Zulu the individual is of great importance but this is understood in the context of the relationship system. The family relationship system is for both the cradle of the self.

This study focused on the four major biologically rooted family transitions: birth, marriage, puberty and death. All of these transitions are characterized by; (1) major shifts in the family emotional process, (2) a disturbance of the family togetherness, and (3) a significant increase in anxiety. The literature, as well as many of the interviewees, noted that it is during these anxious times that Zulu families turn to their ancestors for assistance. During these times of transition, the Zulu desire the ancestors to "brood" over the family. However, once the family relationship system becomes relatively less anxious and has found a new, dynamic homeostatic balance, these same families prefer that their ancestors no longer brood over them.

The reincorporation of the ancestors into the family life of Zulu Christians indicates the apparent failure of the Church to provide a significant number of Zulu Christians with the means to maintain a sense of belonging and community in the face of increased anxiety. This trend is indicated by the difficulty in finding Zulu Christians to interview who have not started to incorporate their ancestors into their family process. The influence of Western theology and psychology on the Church failed to identify the traditional rites of passage as "… the first human efforts to deal with modern psychotherapy's major areas of concern: change and separation. They were the first modes of therapy, and originally, as well as today, they are really family therapy" (Friedman, 1985, 162). Like traditional families, a number of Zulu Christians identified the multigenerational family as an important, powerful and effective resource for family life especially during times of crises. Lacking adequate resources from the Church, Zulu Christian are turning back to those rites and practices developed by the culture to assist families through the crises of transitions.

If practical theology is to provide the Church with the necessary resources to assist families during times of transition, it needs to explore Zulu family life from a systems perspective. This means that practical theology needs to be more broadly informed than it has been in the past. Such a practical theology also needs to be relational. The next chapter will provide a practical theological response to family transitions.

CHAPTER 9–A SYSTEMIC PRACTICAL THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION ON FAMILY TRANSITIONS

Introduction

The Westernization of the Christian Church in Africa polarized the relationship between Church and culture. This sharp distinction was based upon a Western *cultural* interpretation of Christianity which was imposed on traditional Zulu practices. A consequence for the Church in Africa of this Western theological understanding was the expectation that its members separate their faith from their culture. This requirement was tantamount to requiring Zulu Christians to cut themselves off from their families. This separation from family and culture resulted in the loss of traditional resources for dealing with anxiety and loss, a role which had always been managed by traditional cultural practices.

A credible practical theology that can address Zulu family concerns starts by acknowledging the functional importance of the ancestors as binders of Zulu family's anxiety which is especially desired during times of family transitions. The ancestors function to maintain family unity and satisfy a deeply rooted sense of belonging and communion which prevents cut-off. Since Zulu Christians are already in the process of reincorporating their ancestors into their family life, the task of practical theology is to assist the church as it ministers to these families.

The task of practical theology is to thoughtfully reflect on and examine those traditional rites and practices associated with family transitions in order to ascertain those aspects that are consistent with Scripture and the tradition of the Church. It is also the task of

practical theology to find areas of congruence between these traditional rites and practices and the rites and practices of the Church. This may lead to a variety of approaches depending on the theology of the denomination. The goal of this process is to make the Church's rites culturally sensitive so that the Gospel may be encountered by the people in an authentic way that honours the Gospel and the people and their culture.

The Westernization of the Church has led to the loss of the traditional cultural processes for managing anxiety during family transitions. Instead of the traditional resources that have assisted families, Zulu families need to rely increasingly on professionals. Whereas the extended and multigenerational family traditionally assisted the family through crises, now the Church and society must invest in and train professionals to perform these tasks. Zulu Christians still deal with anxiety; unfortunately, it is without the availability of some of the traditional resources. The Church has not adequately filled the vacuum. This process of denying the extended and multigenerational family its traditional role of binding the nuclear family's anxiety continues because the belief persists that the relationship with the ancestors is primarily religious. The Church needs a new mindset that facilitates a return to, and reincorporation of some traditional practices into, the Church rites. An affirmation of aspects of the traditional rites and practices will once again provide Zulu Christians with the needed anxiety-reducing resources that are not dependent on professionals and are freely and readily available.

In previous chapters Bowen theory was used to provide an understanding and explanation of the importance of the ancestors for Zulu families in transition. This process of exploration is ongoing, and what has been learned is used to inform the understanding and practices of the Church. In this chapter a systemic practical theology of relationships

is used to develop a preliminary integration of Zulu culture and the Church's rites and practices. Since the researcher is a Lutheran, the results of the study will be used to address how the Lutheran Church can adapt the traditional rites associated with transitions into the rites and sacraments of the Lutheran Church.

9.1   A Systemic Practical Theology and Birth

9.1.1   Birth as an Anxious Event

The birth of a child satisfies the emotional drive for the propagation not just of the family but also of the species. Zulu marriage customs and traditions reflect this biological need of individuals and families to propagate themselves. Krige writes,

> The birth of a child is important, not only as the advent of the individual into society, but as marking a further stage in the lives of its parents. The first child is especially important, for no marriage is considered complete before a child has been born. To a woman, therefore, childlessness is the greatest of all misfortunes, for not only will she be taunted and gibed at by her more fortunate sisters, but she may even be divorced on that account, though it is more usual for her people to send a sister to raise seed to her (Krige, 1936, 1962, 61).

Joy and celebration often mask the anxiety generated in a family by the addition of a new family member. The birth of a child disturbs family togetherness and homeostasis (Friedman 1999, 77), and that can trigger an increase of anxiety. As the family incorporates the new child, it must strive to manage any increased anxiety and attain a new balance in family togetherness.

Traditional Zulu families dealt with this anxiety by carrying out certain rites and practices that invoked the functional presence of the ancestors. These rites and practices dealt with the anxiety associated with the pregnancy and the birth process. They were performed to protect the infant from sorcery and witchcraft. Diviners were consulted as well and some

families called upon a Christian minister to bless their child. All of these practices had one common purpose: assisting the family to deal with their anxiety (Mogoda, 1981, 59).

The birth of a child upsets the emotional equilibrium of the nuclear family, and because the Zulu understand the family to be a unit, the extended and multigenerational families also have to deal with the disturbance in family togetherness. As members of the family, the ancestors have a personal interest in the wellbeing and safety of the child since the child is their future. From conception to the birth the nuclear and extended family acknowledges the importance of the ancestors by soliciting their presence.

> It is like this. The shades of the father mould the child when he is working (i.e. sexual intercourse). When he is very hot, they drive out the water. The water is the shades. They unite with the blood of the mother and the child is moulded. That is how the shades of the father mould (*ukubumba*) the child. They work in the dark inside (the womb). The child grows for nine months (lit. moons). It is born in the tenth. The shades drive it out from the womb. It glides out, leaving behind its skin (placenta). All this is like the snake that leaves it skin. It (the snake) is like the child when it comes out of the womb. The snake discards the skin as the child discards the placenta. That is the first thing. The second is that it does this thing in water, in the time of the dew. When the grass is wet and the water is on it, then the snake does this thing, discarding the skin. The dew is like the water of the womb. That is why some grass has much dew while all the other grass has no dew. The snake discards its skin, at a place where there is much dew. The dew and the water of the womb are one and the same thing. The third thing is that the snake discards (its skin) in the night. That is in the darkness. The child is moulded in the darkness. The darkness is the womb. So the snake is born again in the dark like the child is moulded in the darkness. Nobody except some (reference to some diviners) have seen shade-snakes do this thing. It is not seen because it is done in the dark. It is like the moulding and the birth of a child. Just think for yourself―is not the time of birth the night? So it is with the snake. It is born in the night (Berglund, 1976, 94-95).

Belonging and communion are key relational concepts that shape Zulu family life, so from inception it is important to acknowledge that every Zulu child belongs to, and is in communion with, the multigenerational family. In this way the child is linked to the family's past, present, and future. The birth of a child affirms and assures the whole

family, including the ancestors that it has a future. As a result the whole family has a

vested interest in the child's well-being and development, and all the generations function

as a support system for the parents and the child.

9.1.2   Birth and Baptism

Baptism as the sacrament of new birth (John 3:5), has the potential to become an

important resource for Christian Zulu families. It is a sacrament that has at its heart the

relationship concepts of belonging and communion. Through baptism the infant is

brought into communion with God and also with a new community: the Church which

includes both the living and the dead. According to Luther all generations are part of this

baptized community, "Moreover, through the same sacraments you are included and

made one with all the saints" (Luther, 1969, 108). This communion of the saints is a

"spiritual unity" that includes all the children of God (Luther, 1970, 65). Every time the

baptized confess together the Apostle's Creed they affirm this unity.

The sacrament of baptism brings about a fundamental shift in relationships, values,

principles, goals and priorities. To be baptized into this community of God's children

means that the baptized are to live in the world as God's gracious people. Their lives are

to reflect the free self-giving love of Jesus who died for others on the cross at Calvary. It

is in the communion of saints, living and dead, that the baptized hear the call to "Bear one

another's burdens, and in this way you will fulfill the law of Christ" (Gal 6:3 NRSV).

God's baptized children express their faith by sharing their resources with all people

(Luther, 1960, 238).

One example of how a practical theology of relationships can shape the ministry of the

Church is to study its response to those who suffer because of AIDS. This is an area of

ministry that requires the Church to share its gifts and resources with Zulu families who have been devastated by AIDS, particularly to those children who have lost their parents and many members of their extended family. The traditional resources associated with Zulu kinship have, for many Zulu families, been destroyed leaving many, particularly children, without support and any sense of community and belonging.

The Church, as the community of God's gracious people, needs to respond to the crisis. At the core of its response to the needs of these children is its understanding of the importance of a sense of belonging, communion and connectedness. Baptism has an important role in the Church's response since it is the sacrament of belonging, communion and connectedness. The baptized people of God can offer those who are suffering not just from the loss of health, but also of community, a new community to which they may belong and in which they can find communion. The congregations can become the extended and multigenerational family for those who have been abandoned. Communities of God's people can especially offer the children, a community in which they find safety, security, guidance and direction. The Church can be a place where people find togetherness and in which their individuality is honoured.

The importance of baptism is reflected in the responses of the interviewees, even those by traditionalists (see Table 10). Yet in spite of their positive comments, it is apparent that there exists a great deal of confusion about baptism among the interviewees. However, these responses still provide the Church with a basis upon which it can construct its response.

Table 10. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: Did you have your child/children baptized? Does baptism change the child's relationship to the family and past generations?

Traditional	
Mrs. 5	Yes. Presbyterian. Yes they say if the child is not baptized s/he does not have the sign, and she dies, and have nowhere to go. I am not sure how the ancestors see the baptism because mine do not know about baptism.
Mr. 14	I believe that is Western civilization but it is not part of my belief system. I don't believe baptism has got anything to do with ancestors. Baptism is getting the child into the church which the ancestors have nothing to do with.
Mrs. 15	No
Mr. 16	Baptism does not concern me as such I am more concerned about imbeleko.
Mr. 17	Yes. Yes it changes the relationship.
Mr. 12	Yes they're baptized. There is really no change in the relationship.
Mrs. 10	That I will not know. There are no sign that shows that someone is baptised.
Christian and Traditional	
Mr. 3	Not yet. They are still young. I do not know whether there is anything that changes when the children are baptized.
Mr. 9	No. It does not change the relationship between generations. That cannot change.
Mrs. 4	Yes. Old people say yes something happens. The past generation are happy when children are baptized.
Mr. 8	Yes they were baptised. Baptism did not change the child's relationship to the family and the past generations.
Mrs. 18	Yes children are baptised. This does/did not change the relationship.
Mrs. 7	Yes. (children baptised) No (no change in relationships). By baptism the first sin of the child is removed so that the child meets the family.
Mr. 6	Yes
Mr. 13	No. It does not change.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	Yes. When baptised you have light. The dead can see that you have this light and follow you. They know they'll enter the Kingdom of God because of you.
Neither Christian nor traditional	
Mr. 1	Yes. Full Gospel. But I don't believe past generations have anything to do with live people.

The responses of Christians who were interviewed indicate that the church faces a

problem concerning baptism if it is to be an important resource for Zulu Christians.

There appears to be a lack of understanding of the significance and meaning of baptism.

If it is possible to extrapolate the responses to the wider Church then it appears that the Church has failed to make baptism a significant resource for the understanding of community and belonging.

9.2 Puberty

9.2.1 Puberty as a Process of Separation

If practical theology is to provide resources that address changes in family process associated with puberty, it needs to take into account the biological roots of puberty. The physiological changes associated with puberty have profound implications not only for the individual but also for the family. Boys can father a child, and the girls can become pregnant. Nature has provided other species with systems of control for managing the sex drive. The evolutionary process has left humankind with many of these natural processes lost or too weak to control the sex drive. In order to manage the sex drive that is unleashed at puberty, humankind has had to develop cultural educational processes that focus on self-management. Without these cultural controls an unexpected teenage pregnancy can have disastrous implications for families living at a subsistence level. Since there will be no obvious benefit to the family, it will tax their resources and could even threaten their survival.

Puberty has also a relational and social dimension that practical theology needs to take into account. It is the time when a child strives to achieve greater individuality within the family. Depending on the family's level of differentiation, the move by the child to differentiate self disturbs the togetherness balance and may trigger a strong reaction from the parents. Unresolved issues of emotional attachment are brought to the fore during this time as both the parents and the child react to each other. The danger is that if the

parental push for togetherness and conformity becomes too intense the child may rebel

and cut off from the family. Unfortunately, cutting off from the family is not the same as

individuality.

The desire of Zulu children is to differentiate while remaining connected to their families.

Cultural initiation rites assist families through this transition by lowering reactivity so that

belonging and communion within the family are preserved. Zulu kinship relationships

are important at this time since the involvement of the extended and multigenerational

families becomes an important resource for the nuclear family. The extended and

multigenerational family have a functional importance in assisting the family by

managing their reactivity. Once again the ancestors have an important functional role in

the family. By means of initiation rites they bind the child's and parent's anxiety so that

the family can remain more thoughtful and calm as they deal with the transition.

Khumalo provides an example of how the extended family triangle assists in the family

emotional process.

> When there is conflict between a parent and their adolescent child the child
> may run away and stay with the relatives or visit the grandparents. These
> members of the extended family enable the members of the nuclear family
> to be responsible for their problems. The stay with the relatives is for a
> short while. When the parents go to the relatives to fetch their child the
> relatives have to be sure that the parents are ready to deal with the issue.
> When the parents do not fetch their child they are encouraged to do so.
> One saying which is used in Zulu is, "*Akundlovu yasindwa wumboko
> wayo*". This means no elephant has ever complained about its tusk being
> heavy. This, however, does not imply that things run smoothly as
> challenges are being dealt with. There may be initial exchange of words
> between the parents of an adolescent child and the relatives (Khumalo,
> 2000, 45).

Initiation rites facilitate the transition of the child to responsible adulthood. This means

that the youth needs to be taught the values associated with living as an adult. In the

traditional initiation rite the youth are instructed in the values of the family and

community. This means not only the need to manage the sex drive, but the youth must incorporate the values associated with belonging to, and communion with, the extended and multigenerational family. These are the values passed down from the ancestors. The rite also facilitates the transition of the youth to a new status in the family and community. Parents are assisted by the extended and multigenerational family as well as the larger community to accept the youth back into the home as an adult (Berglund, 1976).

9.2.2 Puberty and Confirmation

All the relational aspects of the initiation rite associated with puberty need to be addressed by practical theology. One rite in the Lutheran church that lends itself to becoming more of an initiation rite and assisting Zulu families through the transition is confirmation. If the confusion about the meaning of confirmation among those who interviewed can be extrapolated to the larger community, then now is the ideal time for practical theology to present the Church a reformulated and meaningful rite of confirmation that is relevant to the initiation rite of passage. Some of the interviewees already hold such a view. Since for Lutherans confirmation is a rite and not a sacrament, such a reformation becomes not only possible but necessary.

The confusion about the meaning of confirmation is apparent from the responses of the interviewees (see Table 11). One Christian was not confirmed, while four of the eight, who claimed to be Christians and were confirmed, have incorporated traditional practices into their family life. Three of the seven traditionalists have also been confirmed. A wide disparity existed among the interviewees regarding the age of confirmation.

Table 11: Respondent answers to interviewers' questions: Were you confirmed? How old were you at the time?

Traditional	
5	No
14	No
15	No
16	Yes in 1979 I was 13 years
17	Yes. 8 Years.
12	No
10	Yes.10 years
Christian and traditional	
3	No
9	No
4	No
8	Yes, 10 years old
18	Yes I was 16 years old.
7	No
6	Yes. 17 years old
13	Yes I was 19 years
Christian	
2	No
Neither Christian nor traditional	
1	No. I do not know what it is.

The interviewees were then asked whether their children were confirmed (see Table 12).

As a rite associated with puberty, confirmation has the potential to become a significant

resource for all families in transition as they deal with issues of emotional attachment and

separation. In confirmation instruction focused on the practical relational aspects of

theology and the catechism, youth could be taught the values of living within the family

and community as responsible adult Christians.

Some of the responses concerning the importance of confirmation (see Table 13)

indicated that some interviewees already understand confirmation as a rite of passage.

Table 12. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: Are your children confirmed?

Traditional	
5	No
14	No
15	No
16	No
17	Yes
12	No
10	Yes
Christian and traditional	
3	No
4	Not yet.
8	No, they died very young.
18	Not yet.
7	No
6	Not yet confirmed they're only baptized.
13	Yes
Christian	
2	No
Neither Christian nor traditional	
1	No

The response of Mrs. 4 indicates that confirmation maintains family unity. She is concerned that the values of communion and belonging are maintained. While Mr. 6 holds to the traditional view that confirmation allows the youth to participate in communion, his comments indicate that for him it also functions as a rite of passage. He mentions that confirmation brings about a change of status from childhood to responsible adulthood, a view that is also shared by Mr. 13. Some of the responses indicate this change of status for the confirmed youth.

Initiation rites transform all relationships including those to the previous generations. Not all Christians were agreed on whether this included the relationship with the ancestors. The ambivalence associated with this is reflected in the response of Mrs. 18. Even though she states that the relationships with past generations are affected, she separates

Table 13. Respondent answers to interviewers' questions: What is the importance of confirmation to: the child? the parents? the family?

NAME	CHILD	PARENT	FAMILY
Traditional			
Mr. 14	I don't think there is any importance	No – I don't think it makes any difference.	No
Mr. 16	I don't know. I just know that children are taught about that religion. They are given lessons.	I don't know.	I don't know.
Mr. 17	It is important because when you get the confirmation's church certificate it becomes easier to get your children registered with home affairs.		
Mr. 12	This is not applicable to my family.		
Mrs. 10	That I will not now because there is no clarity that one gets from church as to why.		
Christian and traditional			
Mr. 3	I think it inculcates the conscience. Always behave in the right manner you know all the rules.	The same as above.	The same as above.
Mr. 9	I don't know.		
Mrs. 4	It is important because the child knows all the teachings of the church.	The parents have to know the teachings in order to guide the children.	If all the family knows the teachings of the church, they do one thing and there is unity in the home.
Mr. 8	It is important as for one's church beliefs and your family.		
Mrs. 18	It is important because through confirmation the child comes to know him/herself and know how to behave. Respect as such is taught and emphasized through confirmation.		
Mr. 6	I was able to take part in the holy communion.	The parents take it that once you're confirmed you're now a responsible adult.	That I'm not sure.
Mr. 13		It shows that the child is fully grown up.	
Christian			
Mrs. 2	No response		
Neither Christian nor traditional			
Mr. 1	No response		

the ancestors from her Christianity by commenting that confirmation is a "church thing".

Apparently she has not made a connection between confirmation and family life—and she

is probably not alone in this.

As a rite of passage associated with puberty, confirmation can provide families with a means of dealing with the increased anxiety associated with the transition (see Table 14). The Christian community (Table 15) can provide the resources for the family as they deal with the unresolved emotional attachment issues between parents and their children and the community can help the youth as they transition from childhood to responsible adulthood.

This reformulation of confirmation as a rite of passage shifts the educational component to the community and away from being the responsibility of the pastor. The congregation's elders have a particular responsibility for instructing the youth in Christian values and the responsibilities associated with being a Christian adult. The elders need to shape these values in their cultural context. Scripture and the catechism, as well as other confirmation resources, would be taught stressing the values of belonging, and communion in the community that consists of all generations, including the ancestors.

9.2.3 Confirmation as a Change of Status

Confirmation can be important to facilitating the change of status for youth in the family and community. Mr. B. describes how such a rite facilitates "… a change in status from being a girl to being a young woman, from being a boy to being a young man". He comments:

> In fact he believes (the father) that before I go for initiation I don't have
> the capacity to understand some of the intimacy of my culture. When I am
> from the initiation, I am a man now and my father can tell me anything and
> he understands that I will understand it and my brother can tell me any
> such thing, if it is a secret I will keep it because I have reached the stage of
> development that I have the capacity to know what to hold to and what to
> let out.

Table 14. Respondent answers to interviewers' questions: In what way did confirmation affect your relationships to: (a) parents (b) siblings, (c) family (d) society/community?

NAME	PARENTS	SIBLINGS	FAMILY	SOCIETY/ COMMUNITY
Traditional				
Mr. 14	I don't really believe in Christianity. I believe in traditionalism. I don't believe I can live without tradition but I can live without Christianity.			
Mr. 17	I had a good relationship with all these people.			
Mrs. 10	There was no change nothing happen.			
Christian and traditional				
Mr. 3	(I was not confirmed)			
Mr. 8	It had not change that I noticed.			
Mrs. 18	Through confirmation I learnt to know how to believe in church. How to respect the elders. How do I go as an adult.	Respect is enforced	Respect is enforced.	Respect is enforced.
Mr. 6				I'm not sure as to how it affects the relationship but what I know is that once you're confirmed you have to be in company with the Christians.
Mrs. 4	Once you're confirmed it's like you've reached the certain stage where you'll be left to be independent.			
Mr. 13				
Christian				
Mrs. 2	No response			
Neither Christian nor traditional				
Mr. 1	No response			

He further elaborates on this change, "Yes, it is the birth of a man and a woman; a

Christian man or Christian woman".

Confirmation also becomes an opportunity to instruct the parents. The focus of the

parental educational component is to assist the family as they deal with the change in

Table 15. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: Does confirmation affect one's relationship to the past generations?

Traditional	
Mr. 14	It does not make a difference.
Mr. 16	Our priest said there is nothing wrong with doing ancestor rites and rituals. He said its important for us to do our rituals.
Mr. 17	Yes it does make a change.
Mrs. 10	That I cannot say. I really don't know.
Christian and traditional	
Mr. 3	I have no idea
Mr. 9	Yes. I think those who were not Christians we are helping them by being confirmed. They'll benefit because of us. I am not sure but that is what I think.
Mrs. 4	I do not know. But I think those past generations who were confirmed are happy when their living generations are confirmed. But I don't know the reason, but maybe because they'll be close to God.
Mrs. 18	It does affect one's relationship with the past generation but confirmation is a church thing it does less to the past generations.
Mr. 6	I don't think that confirmation has anything to do with this.
Mr. 13	No it does not change.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	No response
Neither Christian nor traditional	
Mr. 1	No response

their child's status to adulthood. The Church can assist the parents by helping them adjust to the change in the child's functional position in the family system and the resultant changes that creates in the family's togetherness.

While for some Christians such a confirmation rite would replace the traditional puberty rites, for others it would be an important Christian alternative or supplement to the traditional rites. By redefining confirmation as a rite of passage associated with puberty, the Church defines an important role for itself that connects meaningfully to the lives of its members.

9.3   A Systemic Practical Theology of Relationships and Marriage

9.3.1   Marriage as an Universal Practice

A credible theology of marriage needs to take the biological factors that shape the function of marriage into account. The fact that marriage is a universal phenomenon that finds some form of ritual expression in all cultures (Fisher, 1992, 65) attests to its biological roots (Holt, 1996 Spring/Summer, 53). While cultural marriage practices may differ, they all seek to address and regulate the underlying biological relationship processes that are a part of humankind's emotional system.

9.3.2   The Function of Marriage

One purpose of marriage is to assist in creating and managing relationships for the propagation of the species. "Our surest way to posterity, however, is through mating. In fact, all of our human rituals concerning courtship and mating, marriage and divorce, can be regarded as scripts by which men and women seduce each other in order to replicate themselves—what biologists call reproductive strategies" (Fisher, 1992, 63). Marriage also deals with sexual selection. In nature, sexual selection assists with choosing a suitable mate. In other species it may involve singing of particular songs, dances, and variations in plumage, as well as the colour and size of the male. It is also operative in human mate selection and influences courtship and marriage practices. Marriage manages the sex drive since the constraints found in other species have either been lost or become non-functional in humans. However, the evolution of the brain allows humans to develop other restraints, such as cultural practices, to manage these powerful emotional relational forces. Marriage is one of these cultural practices.

A further function of marriage practices is to ascertain paternity, a concern for males when fertilization is internal since only the female of a species knows for sure that the offspring is hers. Nature has developed complicated mating patterns by which males try to assure paternity. In some other species, and in human society, when the male is assured of his paternity there is a greater likelihood he will invest energy into the care of his young and remain monogamous. Studies done among the Yanomamo of Venezuelan rainforest and in rural Midwestern United States "… reveal that on the order of 10 percent of children were not fathered by the male who believes and acts as if he were the father" (Forsyth, 1986 1993. 105).[13] Male care is an important family function.

> Males of many species exhibit parental behaviour, although most are not
> monogamous. Male parental investment occurs in two forms: (a) direct
> care, such as feeding young, carrying infants, baby-sitting, sleeping in
> contact with young, grooming young, retrieving, and/or playing with
> young; (b) indirect care, such as defending resources, stockpiling food for
> infants, building shelters for young, helping pregnant or nursing females,
> marking and/or maintaining a territory, defending and patrolling borders of
> a range, expelling intruders, and/or calling to drive competitors away
> (Kleiman and Malcolm 1981; also see Hewlett 1992) (Fisher, 1992, 334).

Marriage, particularly monogamous marriage, is a way in which cultures assure males of their paternity. But as Helen Fisher pointed out, monogamy is not to be confused with fidelity (Fisher, 1992, 63) and monogamy does not mean one wife for a lifetime, but rather one wife at a time. Polygyny, which is permitted in some societies, is another cultural strategy to deal with issues of paternity and the care of the offspring. Polygyny, which provides a reproductive advantage to males (Fisher, 1992, 69), does not provide the same advantage to females. Yet even where it is permitted, polygyny is only practised by five to ten percent of the men (Fisher, 1992, 69).

---

[13] Forsyth p.105. 'One investigator did blood tests of 67 males who had been sued in court over paternity and who conceded that they were indeed the father without going through blood testing. The follow-up study showed that 18 percent of the males had conceded paternity and accepted legal obligations for offspring which someone else had fathered". P.105

> Although polygyny is widely discussed, it is much less practiced. In fact, after surveying 250 cultures, anthropologist George Peter Murdock summarized the controversy: 'An impartial observer employing the criterion of numerical preponderance, consequently, would be compelled to characterize nearly every known human society as monogamous, despite the preference for and frequency of polygyny in the overwhelming majority.'[26] Around the world men tend to marry one woman at a time (Fisher, 1992, 69).

Marriage practices function to provide a secure and stable environment for the raising of offspring.

Unlike the Western belief that marriage is about two people uniting, the Zulu understanding of marriage is that it involves the uniting of two families or clans (Ma Mpolo, 1987, 99). From this perspective the extended and multigenerational family, which includes the ancestors, becomes a significant support system for the couple. This understanding of marriage has been used for the establishment of political alliances between nations. In 1 Kings 3:1 Solomon forms an alliance with the Egyptians by marrying Pharaoh's daughter. The same process is described in other passages as well; 1 Kings 4:11, 11:3, 11:19 and in 2 Kings 8:27.

9.3.3 A Lutheran Perspective on Marriage

Luther was aware that one of the primary functions of marriage was to manage biological processes. He identified two central functions for marriage. The first function is to propagate the species which he refers to as "… a most excellent one inasmuch as it preserves the species" (Luther, 1958, 168). However, he develops this concept further by describing marriage as a nursery where children are equipped for citizenship "… to govern church and the state" (Luther, 1968, 190). The other function of marriage, according to Luther, is to manage the innate problem of lust.

> Marriage is necessary as a remedy for lust, and through marriage God permits sexual intercourse. Not only does He cover the sin from which we are unable to abstain, but He also blesses the union of the male and the female (Luther, 1961, 48).

Even though marriage may not always be successful in overcoming lust, it could at least confine and control it (Luther, 1958, 168). Leupold has written concerning Luther's view of marriage,

> Marriage, according to Luther, is an institution both secular and sacred.[1] It is secular because it is an order of this earthly life. In fact, it is the basic order for the preservation and propagation of the human race. It is not essential for the kingdom of God. It has not been instituted by Christ and is no sacrament, for it has no special command or promise from him. But as Jesus pointed out, its institution goes back to the beginning of the race and to the first human couple, when God himself joined Adam and Eve in wedlock (Leupold, 1965, 110).

For Luther, marriage was neither specifically Christian nor religious and he stressed this point by insisting that the marriage of his own forebears was valid even though they were not married in the church. Marriage, Luther insisted, was part of the created order, and was therefore not subject to canon law. The regulation of marriage was the responsibility of the temporal order. He believed that the church should not legislate concerning marriage, especially as it pertains to non-Christians.

> No one can deny that marriage is an external, worldly matter, like clothing and food, house and property, subject to temporal authority, as the many imperial laws enacted on the subject prove. Neither do I find any example in the New Testament where Christ or the apostles concerned themselves with such matters, except where they touched upon consciences, as did St. Paul in I Corinthians 7 [:1–24], and especially where unbelievers or non-Christians are concerned, for it is easy to deal with these and all matters among Christians or believers. But with non-Christians, with which the world is filled, you cannot move forward or backward without the sharp edge of the temporal sword. And what use would it be if we Christians set up a lot of laws and decisions, as long as the world is not subject to us and we have no authority over it (Luther, 1965, 265)?

This does not mean that even though marriage was not a sacrament and belonged within the created order, that it could be denigrated. "Marriage should be treated with honor; from it we all originate, because it is a nursery not only for the state but also for the church and the kingdom of Christ until the end of the world" (Luther, 1958, 240). Even though it is the responsibility of the secular state to regulate marriages, Luther asserted that it was instituted and ordained by God and thus a holy estate and a calling. For Christians it is a higher calling than most other callings. Luther wrote, "For marriage was divinely instituted, and the life of married people, if they are in the faith, deserves to be rated higher than those who are famous through miracles" (Luther, 1961, 210). He also wrote, "For after the doctrine of the Gospel and faith, which is the proper doctrine of the church, marriage should be honored and respected above all" (Luther, 1968, 190). Luther's understanding of marriage is based on his understanding that God comes to humankind in nature and marriage.

> To Luther, it is this institution by God that makes marriage sacred, a divine and holy order. It does not—like the sacraments—nourish and strengthen faith or prepare men for the life to come; but it is a secular order in which men can prove theft (sic) faith and love, even though they are apt to fail without the help of the Word and the sacrament (Leupold, 1965, 110).

Marriage practices vary greatly between cultures and religions. By adopting and amending the prevailing cultural marriage rituals and practices, religions have made their contribution to the understanding of marriage. According to Luther the Christian contribution is the acknowledgement and affirmation of God as Creator in marriage (Luther, 1964, 243). He further believed that Christian marriage is the seeking of God's blessing and non-sacramental presence in the marriage union. "Therefore a marriage should be brought about in such a way that we have God present" (Luther1964, 298). Both acknowledgement of God as Creator and God's non-sacramental presence at

weddings is affirmed by Jesus' presence at the wedding at Cana when he changed water into wine (John 2).

9.3.4 Marriage and Covenant

A significant contribution of the Judeo-Christian tradition to the understanding of marriage is the covenantal relationship between God, the couple and the community. This covenantal aspect of marriage means that a Christian marriage is never simply about two people getting married. Christian marriage involves God, the family and the community. This covenant aspect of marriage includes the promise of God's blessing, the promise by the couple to be faithful to one another and the promise of support from the family and community. In Christian marriage the covenant affirms a profound sense of belonging, not just to the families, but also to the community of God's people.

This covenantal promise and blessing assures the new family of God's presence as the One who can provide them with courage to face the vicissitudes of life. Since the marriage relationship is not anxiety free, the couple is assured of God presence as a resource who can ground them in the midst of chaos and turmoil. Luther's advice to couples who are facing crises is, "Why do they not call upon the Creator of both sexes, who is both the Author of marriage and the best Counselor in marriage" (Luther, 1964, 243)? Luther was aware that what has been referred to as the 'honeymoon period', the period of intense togetherness and closeness, comes to an end. "During the first year, of course, everything is delightful and charming; that time is spent in laughter and caressing" (Luther, 1964, 221). The value of the covenantal relationship with God is that in the midst of crises Christian marriages are ones in which "… grace reigns and sin is made weak" (Luther, 1964, 243). Lest Christians become too serious about marriage,

Luther said that even though it must be entered into with all earnestness, this does not preclude it from being a place for laughter and intimacy.

Practical theology starts with the premise that marriage has its roots in humankind's evolutionary heritage and is therefore neither Christian nor non-Christian. The focus of practical theology is therefore on the relationship aspect of marriage, relationships with God, each other, family, community and nature. The essence of the relationships for Christian marriage is, then, God's covenantal gracious love. According to St. Paul in 1 Corinthians 13, agape love is a thoughtful love. Agape love informs a Christian marriage and shapes the togetherness of the relationship. When a marriage reflects God's agape love then there is respect for the individuality of the other. This love is the antithesis of a love that expects sameness in relationships and which experiences the other's difference and individuality as a threat. Instead of resorting to blaming the other, agape love leads to greater responsibility for self in the marriage relationship. Agape love supports each individual's move to greater differentiation of self. In such a marriage each spouse is free to choose to submit to the other—not out of a sense of duty or obligation but out of love. An anxious push for togetherness in marriage embodies the threat of placing the other under the law and transforms trust into obedience. The Gospel brings freedom to relationships. Paradoxically, when the individuality of each member of the family is respected, then a full and free sense of belonging and community is created whether in the family, church or in community.

Marriage is never a private matter that involves only the bride and the groom. The marriage relationship includes their relationship with God, the extended and multigenerational family as well as the community. Luther condemned "… clandestine

226

betrothals and marriages" (Luther, 1968, 193). The wedding is often confused with marriage. The wedding is an event. Marriage is a powerful force that creates a union, not just of two individuals, but of two families, clans and even nations. When marriage is placed within this broad context, then the presence of the ancestors cannot be ignored. The ancestors have a vested interest in the future of their families, since their offspring is their future. Even though they are dead they cannot be relegated to the past, to history. They are present not only genetically, but also emotionally in their families. They are concerned for the stability and security of their families and for their families' future. This concern extends to their offspring's choice of spouses since this choice affects all family relationships. Each spouse brought into the family affects the family process. They are concerned with maintaining the family togetherness and preventing cut-off. Luther expressed a similar concern since he believed that a marriage partner needs to be someone who shares the values and beliefs, not just of the bride and groom, but also of the family. To illustrate his concern, Luther points to the disastrous consequence for the Israelites when Jeroboam married Jezebel, a Syrian, who did not share the values and beliefs of the Israelites (1 Kings 16). This connects with the concept in Bowen theory that spouses choose mates who are at approximately same level of differentiation as themselves. The level of differentiation of self is shaped by the level of past generations of the family, the ancestors. There is the potential for less anxiety and reactivity generated in a marriage, and families, when spouses are at approximately the same level of differentiation.

These underlying emotional processes that shape all families and communities are reflected also in the traditional Zulu marriage rituals. The traditional Zulu marriage rite takes place within the broad context that includes the ancestors—who have an ongoing

and important function in developing and maintaining a profound sense of belonging.

This is reflected in the comments of Mr. B. in defense of the practice of lobola.

According to Mr. B., lobola reinforces and facilitates the bride's incorporation into the

new family and affirms her belonging, not just to the family, but also to the community—

as well as to the ancestors of the family into which she marries.

Practical theology has largely ignored the emotional processes that shape marriage. This

has led to marriage practices in the Church that are disconnected from the traditional

culture and its understanding of marriage. Some Lutheran Church practices have taken

on aspects of canon law which goes counter to Luther's understanding of marriage. For

the Lutheran Church, marriage is not a sacrament and the church should beware of

developing canon laws relating to marriage.

> Let the authorities and officials deal with them, except where their pastoral
> advice is needed in matters of conscience, as for example when some
> marriage matters should come up in which the officials and jurists had
> entangled and confused the consciences, or else perhaps a marriage had
> been consummated contrary to law, so that the clergy should exercise their
> office in such a case and comfort consciences and not leave them stuck
> fast in doubt and error (Luther, 1967, 317).

Unfortunately, the Lutheran Church in KwaZulu/Natal has ignored Luther's concern and

has been tempted to regulate marriage with its own canon laws which has led to

confusion and resentment among some Zulu Lutheran Christians. Mr. B. expressed his

confusion and frustration with the Lutheran Church in KwaZulu/Natal which requires that

weddings only be held in the church building. This policy has ignored the importance of

belonging and communion that is important for the Zulu. It also ignores the importance

of the family and community for the traditional Zulu and which is still part of a

Christian's self understanding. The outcome of this policy has been that Zulu Christians

often have two weddings if they want to maintain a sense of belonging to their culture and

community. They will marry in the church and follow it with a traditional wedding at the family homestead. The Church's practice, he stated, has undermined the deep sense of belonging and communion that is important for the Zulu. This position of the Lutheran Church is, unfortunately. based upon an almost sacramental understanding of marriage, while ignoring that Luther understood that marriage practices are adiaphora. Luther writes,

> Many lands, many customs, says the proverb. Since marriage and the married estate are worldly matters, it behooves us pastors or ministers of the church not to attempt to order or govern anything connected with it, but to permit every city and land to continue its own use and custom in this connection. Some lead the bride to the church twice, both evening and morning, some only once. Some announce it formally and publish the banns from the pulpit two or three weeks in advance. All such things and the like I leave to the lords and the council[1] to order and arrange as they see fit. It does not concern me.
> But when we are requested to bless them before the church or in the church, to pray over them, or also to marry them, we are in duty bound to do this. For this reason I have desired to offer this advice and form to those who do not know anything better, in case they should desire to follow our custom in this matter. The others who know all about it, that is, who do not know anything, but think that they know all about it—well, they do not need this service of mine, except to correct and improve it. But let them take good care lest they do anything the same as others, or they may be thought to have to learn from others. And wouldn't that be a pity (Luther, 1967, 11)?

A pastoral response incorporating inculturation acknowledges that, for the Zulu, marriage has a broad context that includes the biological, emotional and cultural dimensions of life. Such a broad understanding of marriage is needed in the church. It is precisely such a broad understanding of relationships that Bowen theory has to offer practical theology.

The Zulu are keenly aware of the biological aspects of marriage. For them marriage not only facilitates procreation, but offers certainty about paternity. Courtship and marriage customs manage emotional processes associated with the selection and incorporation of a

bride into the new family where she now "belongs". A wedding rite for Zulu Christian weddings needs to acknowledge the importance not just of the nuclear family, but also of the extended family and the ancestors—and that belonging and communion includes the ancestors. A focus on the ancestors before and during the wedding celebration is not worship. Rather, it is a means by which the ancestors assist the families in dealing with the anxiety associated with the disturbance in each family's togetherness: that associated with the loss of, and incorporation of, the bride. The Church can provide Zulu Christians with practices that honour this aspect of marriage.

The Lutheran Church needs to acknowledge that marriage is not a sacrament but a rite and that wedding practices are adiaphora. This would allow marriages to be celebrated outside the church at the family homestead. Lutheran clergy need to have the freedom to officiate at the homestead. These changes would lead to there being only one wedding celebration, a theologically sound and culturally sensitive choice.

One benefit of such a change in pastoral practice is that the church would no longer separate faith from culture. Family ties would be strengthened by the Church affirming in its practices that belonging and communion are integral to Zulu family and community life. By acknowledging the functional presence and importance of the ancestors during this time of heightened anxiety, the church itself becomes a resource for Zulu families during major family transitions and crises.

The Church needs to examine how using an inculturation process might shape the homestead wedding rite. While affirming the functional presence of the ancestors at the wedding, the wedding rite needs to affirm the covenantal presence of God. God too is

part of the belonging and communion and integral to Christian marriage relationships. It

is the task of practical theology to assist the Church in bearing witness to the presence of

God in marriage whether the ceremony takes place in the church building or at the family

homestead. In this way the Gospel is proclaimed and the Church becomes the gracious

presence of God for families in transition.

9.4   Death

9.4.1   The Systemic Aspects of Death

Since death is a biological reality that affects all living organisms, a systemic practical

theology must first study death and grieving from a natural systems perspective before it

develops a theological response that can address the concerns of Zulu Christians.

Caring for the dying and grieving is not only a human phenomenon. Nature has also

endowed other species with this ability.

> Chimps do not desert their dying either. After a female chimp at Gombe
> was attacked by a group of males, her daughter sat beside her crushed
> body for hours, brushing off the flies until her mother passed away. But
> the juvenile did not leave a leaf, a branch, or stone to commemorate the
> death. Only elephants 'bury' their companions, placing branches over the
> head and shoulders of their deceased (Fisher, 1992, 136).

All losses, not only the loss associated with death, affect a family's equilibrium. The

disturbance of the togetherness brought about by the death of a family member can have a

profound physical, psychological and emotional effect on the surviving members.

Studies have shown that the immune system of the surviving family member can be

impaired by the death of a partner (Maloney-Schara, 1989 Winter, 4).

Not all deaths are experienced with the same intensity or have the same impact on the family. The more important the family member is to the functioning of the family, the more intense the experience of loss, and grief. Bowen referred to this emotional impact on the family as an "… emotional shock wave …" (Bowen, 1978, 325) which he defined as,

> …a network of underground 'aftershocks' of serious life events that can occur anywhere in the extended family system in the months or years following serious emotional events in a family. It occurs most often after the death or the threatened death of a significant family member, but it can occur following losses of other types (Bowen, 1978, 325).

The intensity of the emotional shock wave correlates with the levels of differentiation, and chronic anxiety in the family. The more intense the shockwave, the greater the potential for the development of symptoms (Bowen, 1978, 326). Symptoms may appear in another generation than that of the deceased, for example in the children and grandchildren (Bowen 1978, 326). The death of Mr. A's father appears to have triggered such an intense emotional reaction in one of his brothers.

Death, especially of a significant family member, not only brings disequilibrium in the family togetherness—which interviewees described as a loss of belonging and communion—but it can intensify the level of chronic anxiety in a family. As McKnight indicates,

> Dr. Kerr described death as a part of life, something occurring around us all the time in nature. People who have feared death most of their lives typically discover that when it is imminent, they can face it calmly. People around the dying person actually have more anxiety that the dying person himself, and their anxiety can emotionally isolate the dying person. The emotional isolation, which is a consequence of a relationship process, is responsible for much of the withdrawal and depression a dying person experiences, although such reactions are often blamed on the fact that the person is dying. Similarly, the relationship system generally has more impact on a survivor's adjustment to a death than do the survivor's reactions to the death itself. Dr. Kerr also commented on how Murray

Bowen helped so many people recognize the importance of the funeral for enhancing the functioning of the survivors (McKnight, 1992 Spring and Summer, 7).

Cultures have developed funeral rites to provide the grieving families with a process to rebalance. At the centre of these rites is the funeral (Bowen, 1978, 336) which brings the family and community together. The funeral gathering provides the grieving family with the support and comfort of family and friends.

9.4.2   Death as a Change of Status

The reality of death is not denied by the Zulu. However, they do not perceive death as an end, but rather as a process that leads to a change in status for the deceased. Unlike the Western attitude that understands death as a cutting off from family and friends, the Zulu continue to acknowledge the deceased as part of the family emotional unit. Affirming that the deceased is still a part of the family is an essential aspect of the traditional funeral rites since for the Zulu, the family consists of both the living and the dead.

The Zulu funeral, as a rite of passage, recognizes that the deceased is transiting from the communion of the living to a communion with the ancestors, thereby maintaining the bond between the living and the dead. Malek writes "If the link with the ancestors is understood as the maintenance of the family bonds even beyond death, there is nothing in this that militates against Christian faith" (Malek 1997, 18). Another important component of the Zulu funeral rite is the informing of the ancestors that one of their family members has changed status. This reporting to the ancestors is done so that they may welcome the deceased into their communion.

9.4.3   The Function of Funeral Rites for Zulu Families

For the grieving, the ancestors are functionally present in their crisis. This view was expressed (see Table 16) by the traditionalists as well as a number of the Christians who were interviewed.

For the Zulu, death threatens their sense of belonging and communion as the family, and the family togetherness is profoundly disturbed. The Zulu funeral, like other funerals, brings together the nuclear, extended and multigenerational family, which includes the ancestors. This family gathering , according to Okoye, facilitates healing, the recovery of "… lost harmony and [helps] to calm fear and anguish" (Okoye 1997, 13). In his response to a question about transitions as times of crisis and loss of togetherness, Mr. B. said,

> But we do regard death as a crisis because, I refuse to say that is only
> within the Zulu culture that a crisis brings people together. I am saying that
> even in Christian circles, I am saying, when someone has passed away it
> becomes a way of calling people from all corners, that is physical. But it
> also becomes a spiritual area. People become more connected with one
> another and probably with God during that crisis.

The need for gathering the family for the funeral is evident from the responses by the interviewees (see Table 17). The togetherness and sense of belonging and communion between the generations is reaffirmed at these funeral gatherings by the eating of meals and the drinking of beer together.

9.4.4   Burial at the Family Homestead

The homestead plays an important role in assisting the family with their grief since it is the place where the traditional funeral rites took place and where family members were buried. The homestead symbolizes belonging and communion for the Zulu. By requiring funerals for Zulu Christians to be held in the church building instead of at the homestead,

Table 16. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: Is the presence and participation of the ancestors important at times of death?

Traditional	
Mrs. 5	When a person dies he joins the ancestors. They call you when they want you. They call you by way of death.
Mr. 14	Yes. They have to be informed if somebody has passed away. They have to welcome that person as one of them. They are called upon in the funeral and they are asked to lead the way.
Mrs. 15	They are informed about the dead person. Even if they see that a person is dead. The family needs to inform them.
Mr. 16	Ancestors should be informed so that they welcome him. He will be one of them.
Mr. 17	We slaughter the cow.
Mr. 12	This is the work of God (Omni-important). The ancestors are also told there is death in the family. Ancestors become involved since someone is dead till the cleansing ceremony is celebrated.
Mrs. 11	I am not really sure with this question.
Mrs. 10	The ancestor should welcome the one who is dead because s/he has to join others who're late.
Christian & Traditional	
Mr. 3	The dead person is believed to be joining the other dead members of the family. He will also give them our best wishes.
Mr. 9	They know that the dead one is joining them. They will continue looking after the living.
Mrs. 4	Sometimes ancestors do things that result in death. Usually they are well meaning they do not mean to hurt you. They choose the person that they want to join them. That person dies and it is painful for the person.
Mr. 8	After the burial ceremony there must be a cleansing process where a goat is slaughtered and its dung is used to clean (wash) the people's hands.
Mrs. 18	An animal (goat) is slaughtered to report that someone is dead and is coming to join. The mourners ask the dead to be a good ancestor.
Mr. 6	The dead body cannot go to the graveyard without first telling the ancestors that they must welcome this person who has come to join them.
Mr. 13	The ancestors help the bereaved to be strong so that the correct procedures are followed to bury the dead person.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	No
Neither Christian nor Traditional	
Mr. 1	No comment

the Church has ignored and undermined this profound sense of belonging and communion while denying Zulu Christians family support. The importance of the homestead as a place of belonging and communion for Mr. A., a Christian, led him to ignore the church's policy and he buried his brother at the homestead. The family felt strongly that his brother belonged at the homestead. Holding the funeral at the family homestead

reaffirmed for them the union of the family. To deny Christians burial at the family homestead is to deny them their ancestors who reside there.

9.4.5 Ukubuyisa

The rite of *ukubuyisa*, the bringing home of the deceased, affirms that the deceased, though dead, still belongs to, and is in communion with the family. Interviewees, both Christians, like Mr. B., and traditionalists consistently indicated that the deceased continues to belong to the family unit. The rite of *ukubuyisa,* while affirming the importance of belonging, also provides a process for dealing with the disruption of the family togetherness. In response to a question concerning the washing of the hands at the funeral, Mr. B. commented,

> Even here today there was a burial of a pastor. When there is a funeral here in urban areas in a Christian settlement, when there is a funeral, people go to the funeral, you find at the gate two basins of water. People wash their hands before they go in to have the feast. They don't eat from the graveyard without having washed their hands. Even if they didn't touch the soil you go there and stand while people are digging and burying and singing. But before you go to eat, you pass the big basin of water and everyone washes in that basin of water. You don't open your own tap and wash. That would have no sense of togetherness, of communion. I am stressing my understanding of ancestor's spiritual communion relationships.

Most of the traditional rites that Christians are reincorporating, or have already incorporated into their own family practices, are centered on the need to reaffirm the sense of belonging as well as the integrity of the multigenerational family unit. These practices do not deny the profound pain and loss associated with a death, but they affirm that death does not end or negate family relationships. The deceased may not be physically present to the family, but they maintain an important functional position in the family relationship system. The new ancestor, as an integral member of the multigenerational family, becomes an important resource for their families in times of

Table 17. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: What funeral rites and rituals do you follow in your family?

Traditional	
Mrs. 5	Traditional. We slaughter a goat.
Mr. 14	Traditional and Christian
Mrs. 15	We buy a coffin and put him/her there. If the person has not been a Christian we simply use a traditional funeral rite. We slaughter a goat and tell the ancestors that so and so is joining them.
Mr. 16	A tree branch is pulled for him, and the dead person's branch is taken home and is told that he is now taken from home and is now taken to the cemetery to be put to rest there. Whatever is being done he is told verbally even if he is dead.
Mr. 17	We call the relatives together. The children do not go to view the corpse. The goat is slaughtered first. Then the ox so that the skin will cover the dead body.
Mr. 12	Before we used to wear (ibhashe) traditional African clothing. The slaughtering of a cow only if a man is dead. The children were not told some one is dead. No memorial service. The dead person used not to go to the mortuary. Mostly people used to die during at dawn. Children do not attend the funeral they only go to throw a stone and not the soil.
Mrs. 11	It depends on your pocket you can slaughter either a goat or a cow to accompany the person that is late.
Mrs. 10	If it's a man or a woman a cow is slaughtered to accompany the one who is dead.
Christian and Traditional	
Mr. 3	We make beer (Zulu beer)
	We slaughter a goat and/or an ox
	We do inhlambuluko after a certain period where we wash our hands with the chewed grass inside the goat.
Mr. 9	Traditional and Christian.
	We tell him that we are taking him to his last room – the grave. He must give regards to the ancestors.
Mrs. 4	We use both Christian and traditional funeral rites.
Mr. 8	We meet together as family and have discussions. Then we follow the programme that we planned together. We burn impepho and do the slaughtering when necessary.
Mrs. 18	No death has occurred in our family so I don't have any specific answer to this question.
Mrs. 7	You've to go and fetch the Spirit of that person with a certain kind of a tree leaf called (Mlahlankosi). If the person died because he was stabbed you have to close those wounds (by cleaning) his body. So that it does not happen again to any member of this family. After the year we do (Ukubuyisa) by that we believe that now his spirit has come to live with us as his family members. Then after that we can make a tombstone.
Mr. 6	We mourn. There are things we don't do because there is death. In the family slaughtering something depends on how much you have. We don't attend parties while we're still mourning.
Mr. 13	We call the elders. There must be someone in the family who will tell the people coming to the funeral the history of the dead. If is a man who is dead a cow must be slaughtered so that the corpse is covered with a skin.
Christian	
Mrs. 2	Christian rites and rituals.
Neither Christian nor traditional	
Mr. 1	I have not have any funeral in my family.

crisis. It is this ongoing supportive presence of the ancestors that practical theology needs to address if it is to be of assistance to the Church.

9.4.6   Practical Theology as Eschatological Theology

A systemic practical theology of relationships, as an eschatological theology, has its own contribution to make to Zulu funeral rites and practices. The Christian proclamation is about hope and promise. This hope is not rooted in nature, but in God who raised Jesus from the dead. The past, present and future of humankind is united in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus. Through baptism, humans participate in the death and resurrection of Jesus the Christ (Romans 6). Having died with Christ in baptism, the Christian is the recipient of God's promised future which is confirmed by God who raised Jesus from the dead. God's word of promise reassures those who are grieving that death does not have the final word and does not have the ultimate power to negate the promise of belonging and communion. The promise of God is the creation of a new community that not even death can destroy (1 Corinthians 15: 26). For Zulu Christians this promise of community is a point where Christianity and traditional culture can connect. It is the promise of God of a new future that is integral to a Christian funeral and the place of the funeral is adiaphora.

All Saints Day, or as it is also known All Souls Day, is a further point of connection. However, very few of those interviewed had any conception of the significance and meaning of All Saints Day (see Table 18). Most expressed ignorance or confusion about its meaning.

All Saints Day should convey an understanding of a community that includes Christians of all generations. All Saints Day is not only about death, but is the Church's witness to a new community, created by God; it is a community that spans time and space. It is a community to which all Christians belong and in which they have communion with God, one another and nature. This does not mean that the ancestors and the saints are to be

automatically equated. As Balzer points out, there are significant differences (Balzer 1997, 22). The saints, according to Luther are not the superstars of faith, an elite group of Christians but ordinary people of faith saved by God's grace, and whose ranks include all generations, including the ancestors of faith. Luther writes,

> It means rather those whom God has sanctified, without any of their works
> or co-operation whatsoever, by reason of the fact that they are baptized in
> Christ's name, sprinkled and washed clean with his blood, and endowed
> and adorned with his dear Word and gifts of the Holy Spirit. All of which
> we have not engendered and cannot engender, but must receive from him
> by pure grace (Luther, 1959, 247).

All Saints Day reminds Christians of this larger communion to which they belong and in which they have communion with the multigenerational family of God. Celebrating this feast affirms the continuity and connection between the generations of Christians which is not ended by death.

In the Christian Church the recognition of the past generations of God's faithful people is more than a simple acknowledgment that they existed. According to scripture these saints have a functional importance for the present church, somewhat like the concern the Zulu ancestors have for their families. The saints provide direction, witness and encouragement to the present Church. The writer of Hebrews reminds the people of God "Therefore, since we are surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses …" (Heb.12:1).

Both the saints and the Zulu ancestors are concerned with the future of their people. Christians and the traditional Zulu share a profound sense of the unitary nature of community. These two concepts can shape a systemic practical theology so that it can effectively address the concerns of Zulu Christians. This means that as part of the funeral rite there needs to be an affirmation that family includes all generations, the living and the

Table 18. Respondent answers to interviewers' question: How do you understand the Church's celebration of "All Saints Day?"

Traditional	
Mr. 14	I don't know.
Mrs. 15	I know nothing about that.
Mr. 16	I am not sure.
Mr. 17	I think they talk about people who are dead.
Mr. 12	I have no clear understanding of this particular church.
Mrs. 10	I believe that is Western culture.
Christian and Traditional	
Mr. 3	The church criticises.
Mr. 9	I am not sure.
Mrs. 4	I do not know anything about it.
Mr. 8	I believe it's a day we remember the dead but who were blessed while they were alive.
Mrs. 18	It depends as to which church religion do you belong. In our church where we belong every Sunday we do remember the Saints. There is no special one day for it.
Mrs. 7	We remember all those who are dead.
Mr. 6	I've never noticed this. I've never experienced this.
Mr. 13	It's the day they're worshipping God like any other Sabbath day.
Neither Christian nor Traditional	
Mr. 1	Nothing

dead. It also needs to allow for the acknowledgment of the homestead as a place not only for conducting funerals but also for burial. Death should not be understood in the Western sense—as a final cut-off from the family—but as a change in status and functioning; these are relational concepts.   This does not mean that the finality of death is denied, but rather that the deceased still belongs and continues to be in communion with the family. With this understanding of relationships, practical theology can inform the pastoral care and counselling of grieving Zulu Christians.

Conclusion

A systemic practical theology of relationships affirms and incorporates into its practice all relationships: with God, nature, self and with the generations that have gone before. Only when practical theology adopts such a broad understanding of relationships will it effectively address the concerns of Zulu Christians. At the same time practical theology

needs also to account for variation between and within families. This variation is a function of the difference in levels of differentiation. To provide a credible response to people as they deal with life crises, practical theology needs to include a focus on relationship that includes both the living and the dead. When practical theology adopts a broader relationship approach, it will find that it has an important role assisting Zulu Christian's through crises.

Practical theology that is truly multidisciplinary and systemic can be an important resource to Zulu Christians. Such a theology needs to be relational rather than propositional so that it can help the Church to identify and incorporate, where appropriate, traditional Zulu family resources and rites. When dealing with family transitions such as birth, puberty, marriage and death it offers a functional understanding of the ancestor's presence rather than a religious one. It is also aware of the potential danger that some families may turn to their ancestors for ultimate support, affirmation and safety, thereby transforming the relationship into one of idolatrous attachment. The functional importance of the ancestors during transitions, when Zulu families experience increased anxiety, needs to be accepted and honoured by the Church. The importance of the homestead as a place of belonging and communion with members of all generations needs to be incorporated into the rites of the Church; that is, the Church needs to recognize that it is appropriate for marriage and funeral rites to be celebrated at the family homestead and not just in the church building.

CHAPTER 10–CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

10.1 The Hypothesis

This study was undertaken to demonstrate the validity of the following hypothesis:

That ancestors assist Zulu families to move towards a homeostatic balance during times of increased anxiety. This process of managing anxiety is particularly evident at times of marriage, the birth of a child, puberty, illness and death.

The research data, as interpreted using Bowen theory, confirms that the ancestors have a functional importance for Zulu families during times of transition. The study questioned the prevailing understanding that the relationship of Zulu families with their ancestors is essentially religious. The religious interpretation of the relationship has limited practical theology's understanding and response to the issues associated with Zulu family transitions and the role of the ancestors. This research provides practical theology new and broader insights into the emotional processes affecting Zulu families during important life transitions.

10.2 Addressing the Needs of Zulu Families

This study further demonstrated that a focus on the individual and the nuclear family cannot adequately address the need for belonging and communion which are central to the Zulu understanding of community. The prevailing Western individual theories are limited in their ability to address the concerns of Zulu families in transition. Their focus on the individual, while providing some insight, offers only a partial explanation and understanding of Zulu family relationship processes. Unlike individual theories, Bowen theory does identify and address relationship processes; in particular, the importance and significance of belonging and communion for the Zulu.

Bowen theory provides a theoretical framework for understanding *umuntu,* an important concept that informs Zulu self understanding. U*muntu* implies that the individual self can only be defined within the context of relationships, particularly family relationships. For the family to function in this way it must operate as a unit. This is similar to the understanding of the family as an emotional unit in Bowen theory. This also means that when the needs and concerns of Zulu families are attended to, those of the individual are also dealt with.

Belonging and communion are broad concepts that embrace the whole family: extended and multigenerational, including the ancestors. For the Zulu, death is not a cut-off from the family that extinguishes belonging and communion, but rather a change in status. The dead still belong to, and remain in communion with, the family. That this belonging and communion is not limited to those who are living, but includes the dead, was expressed by a number of interviewees, especially Mr. B.

Interviewer: What word would you use for your relationship to the ancestors, if not worship?

Mr. B.:   Spiritual communion relationships. Communion relationship.

Interviewer: The word that comes to me listening to you, a word that is very important, is the word belonging. The concept that I belong to the ancestors and the ancestors belong to me. I belong to the community.[14]

Mr. B.:   Absolutely. The community belongs to me.

Interviewer: A profound sense of belonging. And if you don't follow the customs?

Mr. B.:   You lose the concept of belonging.

---

[14] Mr. B. had introduced the word "belonging" earlier in the interview.

Interviewer: Going back to the washing of the hands on Saturday, is it really about

belonging?

Mr. B.:   Absolutely. Even here today there was a burial of a pastor. When there is

a funeral here in the urban areas in Christian settlements, when there is a

funeral, people going to the funeral, you find two basins of water. People

wash their hands before they go in to have the feast. They don't eat from

the graveyard without having washed their hands. Even if they didn't

touch the soil you go there and stand while people are digging and burying

and singing. But before you go to eat you pass the big basin of water and

everyone washes in that basin of water. You don't open your own tap and

wash. That would have no sense of togetherness, of communion. I am

stressing my understanding of ancestor's spiritual communion relationship.

Not something see, study, as spiritual as the very Christian belief. Because

the Christian belief is spiritual. Those who worship, God is Spirit, those

worship God in Spirit, a spiritual communion.

Interviewer: Which would be another way of defining belonging?

Mr. B.:   Which is another way of defining togetherness, belonging.

Mr. B. then describes how an Anglican missionary to the Xhosa had redefined belonging

as belonging to the community at the mission station, the community of Christians only.

He stated,

> I would totally resent that. As someone who is educated, I still belong to
> my people. As a Christian, I still belong to my people. I don't lead an
> isolated Christian life, I don't lead an educational and philosophical
> isolated life. I belong down there with my people. That is what makes the
> idea of ancestors not be wiped out of my mind.

This concept of belonging was expressed differently by Mr. A. When directing his

children as a parent, he would remind his children that they belonged to a larger family

unit, just as his father had reminded him of this same fact. Mr. A. would introduce what he was to say with "In my father's house …". This phrase would refer to the home in which he grew up, but it had a wider meaning. Mr. A. explained that the saying expressed a connectivity between the generations since every father would remind his children of what was said and done in his father's house. So the child was reminded of his or her belonging to the generations of this family, the father's house.

Mr. B. responded to the question from the interviewer as to what satisfaction he gains by reintroducing certain cultural practices as follows:

Mr. B.: I think that I am not removed from them, not alienated from them, I am still a part of the community. Hmmm. Because when something happens to you, you need this people you live with. So I think that you do things other things, which you understand that to you have no meaning but because you live with this people you do that.

Interviewer: So relationships become very important?

Mr. B.: Yes.

Interviewer: The cultural practices are really about keeping good relationships in the community?

Mr. B.: Ja, that is what I think.

Mr. A., and nearly all the other Christians who were interviewed, expressed the need for belonging. As a result they were in the process of re-examining and reincorporating the traditional understanding of the relationship with the ancestors into their Christian faith.

The analysis of the research data through the lens of Bowen theory demonstrated that, as expected in the sub-hypotheses, the ancestors have an importance for Zulu families during times of transition that is functional and not religious. The functional importance of the ancestors' presence during family transitions is to bind their anxiety. Their presence calms the family and allows them to move toward new harmony or balance in family togetherness. However, some families under intense stress may turn to their ancestors for ultimate security and safety. This process can be described as idolatrous attachment.

This interpretation is important as the Church addresses issues arising from Christians reincorporating their ancestors into the family process. It is also important if the Church is to minister to non-Christians. The traditional requirement that Zulu Christians disassociate themselves from their ancestors was akin to asking them to cut off emotionally and physically from their families and community. One consequence of this isolation from their families was that Zulu Christians were removed from the traditional emotional support of the extended and multigenerational families. Another aspect of this cut-off from the family meant that for some Zulu Christians there was the loss of togetherness, communion and belonging.

From the comments of some Christians who were interviewed, it became apparent that theological teachings and church membership could not overcome the isolation from, and the need for, family. According to Mr. A., to separate from the world meant that Zulu Christians had to separate from their families if these families maintained their traditional practices, especially if they related to the ancestors. This cut-off from family led to cultural alienation. The abandonment of their past was also a partial loss of identity. This

process ran counter to traditional Zulu society which did everything possible to prevent cut-off. Zulu Christians were caught between two competing loyalties: to family and to the Church. To separate from the family and its traditions meant isolation, the loss of communion with the generations as well as showing disrespect for their forebears. On the other hand they were informed by the Church that to participate in family rites that included the ancestors was to compromise, and even deny their faith in Christ. Either decision meant loss and anxiety for Zulu Christians. In response to the question what it meant to him not to be able to participate in the traditional family rites and customs Mr. B. said, "You lose the concept of belonging".

Interviewees confirmed that the resources provided by the Church were not an adequate substitute for the traditional practices when dealing with intensified anxiety. The Church was not an adequate replacement for the extended and multigenerational family relationships. Furthermore, the fellowship in the congregations could not satisfy their need for belonging and communion. Zulu Christians struggled with the inadequacy of the Church to meet this deeply felt need. Mrs. D., a Christian, sees no place for the ancestors in her life, yet she turns to her weekly community prayer group rather than the Church to meet her need for togetherness. Other Christians are turning back to the family, including the ancestors, for support. The Church's response to these Zulu Christians has been confusing, especially to those who are already reincorporating the ancestors into their family life. Even though several factors are responsible for this confusion in the Church, the biggest obstacle has been the lack of a theoretical framework broad enough to inform the Church's response. Responding to those Christians who have or are in the process of reincorporating their ancestors into the family process by changing the understanding of the relationship from worship to veneration may alleviate some of the stress, but it still

remains an inadequate response. Change in nomenclature is not sufficient since the underlying understanding of the relationship remains religious. Referring to the relationship as veneration does provide a somewhat broader perspective; however, it still ignores the functional importance of the ancestors. Both worship and veneration continue to impose a Western understanding on the relationship.

Some Zulu Christians deny that there are any religious aspects to their participation in traditional family rites and ceremonies. Their rationalization is that these rites and ceremonies are strictly a cultural matter. Unfortunately, this leads to the divorce of Christianity and culture; the Christians life becomes compartmentalized. This is the dilemma faced by Mrs. D as she continues to struggle with her participation in traditional feasts. She attends but refuses to eat the meat. She is aware that by not eating the meat she is questioning whether she belongs to the family and community. She supports her decision by quoting those biblical passages that forbid such eating. Unfortunately, this only exacerbates her dilemma. How is Mrs. D. to meet her need for community, communion and belonging when she believes that she cannot participate fully in the family rites and practices while at the same time the Church cannot adequately address these needs?

Mrs. D.:   Yes it is true because you see that our beliefs are not the same. Sometimes, like the family members abroad, some will come with this belief and some will come with this belief and now I cannot resist them all. If they say, say if it's a wedding, if the in-laws, if all the power to offer my daughter-in-law, they come and say they want to slaughter a cattle, a cow, just to celebrate. I cannot disagree with them. I've got to cool down and

allow them to do it. Knowing that it would not affect me just to allow

them to do it. So we do it and under the pressure like myself, I totally

don't believe in it. Yes.

Interviewer: So what would the pressure be for you?

Mrs. D.:   The pressure, if for instance like, let me just make an example. If my

daughter, my son, would like to do something like that, so if he feels, I just

have to stand aside and allow him to do it knowing that I am not engaged

in it because I don't believe it.

Interviewer: And would you eat the meat?

Mrs. D.:   Yes, if I know it is for that. Of course the Bible does not allow us to eat it.

Yes, but if I come to family, to a family and find that there is food there, is

meat there, having not known that it is food to the ancestors, the Bible says

you can eat it. But if you know you don't have to eat it.

Interviewer: Would you refuse to eat it then?

Mrs. D.:   Yes, I have to if I know exactly it is for that purpose, yes.

For Mr. C. the question of belonging to his family and community is also very important.

By participating in family and community events he finds "satisfaction". He has resolved

the issue of eating the meat associated with the ancestors by accepting that he and the

family members interpret the meaning of the meat differently. In response to a question

about his father's relationship with his non-Christian siblings, he stated,

Mr. C.:   He understands that this is what they believe and not change them. It was

difficult to change people who believe that I too believe in ancestors.

There was an argument in church service whether Christians should go to a

function where people slaughter a cow to honour the ancestors. What to

do? There is nothing wrong with meat. That is what I believe. I don't

think with those people. But there are other denominations where if you

are, you don't have to go there. It is a sin to go and take part knowing very

well that these people are doing this to the ancestors. I believe there is

nothing wrong going there.

Berglund says that Zulu Christians who want to adhere to the church's injunction against

participating in rituals associated with the ancestors are showing disrespect.

> Disrespect involves also the shades and a man's neglect in attending to
> their needs arouses anger. Disrespect towards the shades is reflected
> particularly in not attending to ritual celebrations. ... Failure in upholding
> traditional ethical standards and values which have been sanctioned of old
> by the shades is also a serious reflection of disrespect (Berglund, 1976,
> 271).

Hammond-Tooke has addressed the problem the Christian Church faces as it seeks to

provide the necessary resources that Christians need for their daily life, especially the

need for belonging and for community.

> It is not my task, as an anthropologist, to decide whether belief in the
> power of the shades is compatible with the biblical message. That is a
> matter for the theologians. It may be that there is a significant gap that
> Christianity does not fill. It has much to say on one's duty to one's
> immediate family, to the state, and to the stranger within one's gates, but
> nothing specific about the 'organic' community around one, especially
> one's extended kin-group, still so vital in traditional life. Is it possible that
> one of the reasons for the retention of ancestor religion, in full or modified
> form, is an attempt to make up for this deeply-felt lack (Hammond-Tooke,
> 1981, 31)?

The Church has placed its Zulu members in an extremely difficult, if not impossible,

position. Zulu Christians were expected to choose between the Church and their families.

The expectation was that they would opt for the Church and its resources. But the

resources of the Church have not been able to replace those of the family, especially when

dealing with the intense anxiety associated with transitions. It has ignored the functional

importance of the ancestors during times of high anxiety, occasions when the Zulu

welcome the brooding of the ancestors. The Zulu make a clear distinction between the

brooding of the ancestors during crises, which was welcomed, and their ongoing

presence.

> It is important to note the distinction between *ukuba kona*, to be present,
> and *ukufukamela*, brooding. While the former, the presence of the shades,
> is a necessity for a normal and prosperous life, the latter is required only at
> very special times of crisis when the presence of the shades is changed to
> brooding. But when the brooding of the shades is no longer required, or
> when the crisis is over, the shades are shaken off and the appropriate
> distance between them and the living which is understood in *ukuba kona*,
> returns (Berglund, 1976, 127).

Once the crisis is past and the family togetherness is in a new balance or harmony, the

continued intense togetherness with the ancestors can lead to the development of

symptoms.

> Excess brooding of the shades is very much feared. 'It brings about
> *ukuhlanya* (to rave, go mad, be insane; become wild, ungovernable; act in
> a wild manner).'[5] Besides being a humiliating epithet, the very thought of
> becoming *uhlanya* is a matter of great concern and avoided at all costs
> (Berglund, 1976, 128).

An understanding of the functional importance of the ancestors for Zulu families

experiencing intense anxiety has significant implications for pastoral theology.

10.3 Practical Theology of Relationships

From the perspective of Bowen theory, the ancestors were identified as having a

functional importance as anxiety binders for Zulu families during rites of passage. The

importance of belonging and communion for the Zulu was recognized. Bowen theory

also offered an interpretation of the process by which some families may transform the

relationship with the ancestors into one of idolatrous attachment. These insights were addressed by a systemic practical theology of relationships.

10.4 Practical Theology and Family Transitions

This study has demonstrated that a systemic practical theology of relationships can inform the church's response to Christian Zulu families. By undertaking a careful examination of the traditional rites that invoke and acknowledge the presence of the ancestors, practical theology can identify those aspects of the traditional rites associated with birth, puberty, marriage and death that are consistent with Scripture and the tradition of the Church. A systemic practical theology of relationships can then assist the Church with identifying ways to integrate these aspects into the rites and practices of the Church.

10.5 Future Research

Having demonstrated in this dissertation that Bowen theory, as a new paradigm, has the potential to offer new insights and far-reaching possibilities, it now becomes possible to provide general directions for possible areas for future research. The following are possible problems for future research using Bowen theory as the theoretical framework.

10.5.1 The Effects of Apartheid on Later Generations of Zulu Families

In a study that discussed the impact of Stalin's 1930s purges on multiple generations (Baker and Gippenreiter, 1996, 5), it was found that "… cutoff from grandparents was significantly inversely associated with aspects of functioning in the grandchild generation. Additionally, a personal research effort into family history and the ability to actively protest political coercion were positively related to social functioning" (Baker and Gippenreiter, 1996, 5). This study indicated that the grandchildren of those families

252

who openly discussed the assassination of a parent or grandparent by Stalin, in spite of ongoing political oppression and threat of death, functioned better than those families that were intimidated into silence.

Similarly, during the apartheid era, families were deeply affected by threats, intimidation, torture and death. One possible effort could study the functioning of the children and grandchildren of those families who were actively involved in opposing apartheid and who discussed their opposition openly with their children. This group could be compared to those families who were more acquiescent. The study could further break down the groups into those families who had a family member flee from South Africa, those who had a family member imprisoned in South Africa, and those families who had a family member killed for opposing apartheid in South Africa.

10.5.2 A Study of the Effect on Children Separated from Their Mothers.
Another study could focus on the functioning of those children who as infants were forced, due to apartheid laws, to be separated from their mothers in the city and raised by their grandparents in the country. This study would examine the importance of the multigenerational family on the functioning of the children and grandchildren.

Research that arises out of this particular study could focus on the functioning of the children from Christian families who have incorporated their ancestors into the family process with those Christian families who are cut off from their ancestors.

10.5.3 Isangomas, Healing and the Emotional System

Isangomas have been studied from a number of perspectives. Some of these studies have examined the isangomas from an anthropological point of view, while others have been from a psychiatric perspective. The psychiatric studies have generally used psychoanalytic theory as its framework for analysis. Bürhmann interprets her research concerning isangomas, from a Jungian perspective (Bürhmann, 1984, 14), while Silverman, also approaches the study of isangomas from a psychoanalytical perspective but is more interested in comparing isangomas to people suffering from acute schizophrenia (Silverman, 1967). Anthropologists and theologians have also contributed towards the understanding of isangomas (Rappaport and Rappaport, 1981 July; Van Binsbergen, 1991 November).

A study of isangomas from a Bowen theory perspective can offer an alternative to the traditional social science and psychiatric approaches. The focus of such a study would be on the level of differentiation of the isangomas. Such an approach would avoid the medical model of mental illness, such as schizophrenia, which is used by Silverman when he diagnoses isangomas as acute schizophrenics (Silverman, 1967), which assumes that isangomas are mentally ill. The scale of differentiation avoids the medical diagnostic model for a more neutral description of functioning. One aspect of this study could be to examine the reasons for isangomas being mostly women.

10.5.4 Isangomas and Healing

Anthropologists have offered various explanations for the isangomas' ability to heal. Dow describes their ability to heal as "… symbolic healing" (Dow, 1986, 56), while Bate refers to healing as an inculturation process (Bate, O.M.I., 1995).

Bowen theory assumes that symptoms, whether social, emotional or physical are "… a product of the family emotional unit" (Papero 1997, 123) and therefore related to the emotional systems. For Bowen this related to "… man's being a part of nature that the clinical dysfunctions are a product of that part of man he has in common with the lower forms. What we call 'disease' can be more adequately explained by viewing them as the outcome of a natural process" (Kerr, 1997, 9).

Dow indicates the importance of relationships in the development of illness, He wrote, "Many illness beliefs in different cultures hold that illness results from a disorder in social relations" (Dow, 1986, 58). There are two important components and implications associated with this view of symptom development. "(1) Life problems are tied PRIMARILY to relationships, to an emotional process involving multiple people. (2) Physical, emotional, and social symptoms are a product of the relationship process" (Rauseo, 1990 Spring, 4). This view has led Dr. Michael Kerr to propose a "unidisease concept" of illness. "Just as generations can contract a disease earlier each time, genes may also correct abnormalities over generations. Transmission in utero via metabolites or genetic mutations are possible means of these transmissions. The relationship system and chronic anxiety may play a part in putting important pieces of the puzzle in place in the future" (Gilbert, 1995 Spring, 5).

The relationship components associated with symptom development range from an increase in anxiety in the family system, the functional position of the family member, and the focus of anxiety on one member of an emotional triangle (Maloney-Schara, 1989 Winter, 4). Symptoms also relate to emotional cut-off from a family.

Bowen theory offers another paradigm for the research and study of isangomas' ability to heal. The research problem could investigate the assumption that isangomas bring about healing by using their ability to read, interpret and address the family emotional systems. Furthermore, it could include a study of the level to which isangomas are sensitive to the anxiety in relationship processes which allows them to facilitate healing. In this context healing, while dealing with the symptoms in the individual, would focus on the family relationship process.

10.5.5 Family Relationships and Emotional Illness

In a family presentation, a student at the School of Theology in Pietermaritzburg described how his family dealt with an aunt who had been diagnosed with schizophrenia. When questioned about how the family related to the schizophrenic member, he reported that they treated her with a great deal of respect. When asked what would lead the family to treat her with such respect, his response was that she was going to be an ancestor. A possible research project could include an examination of how African families and family members respond to those who have been diagnosed with a mental illness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abimbola, Wande. (1995). The meaning and purpose of marriage in African Traditional Religion. *Dialogue & Alliance, 9*(1):54-64.

Abraham, W.E. (1962). *The mind of Africa.* London: Weidenfield & Nicholson.

Ahia, Chikezie Emmanuel. (1984). Cross-cultural counseling concerns. *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 62.

Althaus, Paul. (1966). *The theology of Martin Luther* (Robert C. Schultz, Trans.). Philadelphia: Fortress Press. (Original work published 1963).

Altheide, David and John Johnson. (1994). Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 485-499). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ambuk, Francis K. (1989). Meaning of ancestors for Christian faith. In Klaus G. Walz (Ed.), *Lutheran Theologians face old traditions and new challenges* (pp. 131-142). Neuendettelsau: Institute for Studies of World Mission, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

Anderson, Allan. (1993). African Pentecostalism and the ancestor cult: Confrontation or compromise? *Missionalia,* 21(1):26-39.

Anyanwu, H. Onyema. (1985). Why the Igbos abandoned their Gods. *African Theological Journal,* 14(2):91-99.

Augsburger, David W. (1986). *Pastoral counseling across cultures.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.

Awolalu, J. Osmosade. (1976). Sin and its removal in African Traditional Religion. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion,* 44(June):275-287.

Baital, J. Hooker. (1986 Spring/Summer). *What is Idolatry?* London: Committee for relations with people of other faiths, The British Council of Churches.

Baker, Katharine G. and Julia B. Gippenreiter. (1996). The effects of Stalin's purge on three generations of Russian families. *Family Systems: A Journal of Natural Systems Thinking in Psychiatry and the Sciences*, 3(1):5-35.

Balzer, Marjorie Mandelstam. (1997). Soviet superpowers. *Natural History,* 3:38-39.

Barber, Katherine. (Ed.). (1999). *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary.* Don Mills: Oxford University Press.

Bate, Stuart C., O.M.I. (1995). *Inculturation and healing.* Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Beal, W. Edward, M.D. (1990). Child-focused divorce. *Family Center Report,* 11(2):5.

Becken, Hans-Jurgen. (1993). Beware of the ancestor cult! A challenge to missiological

    research in South Africa. *Missionalia,* 21(3):333-339.

Becken, Hans-Jürgen. (1997). African Independent Churches. *Dictionary of Mission:*

    *Theology, History, Perspective*s (pp. 6-8). Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

Becvar, Dorothy Stroh, Ph.D. and Raphael J. Becvar, Ph.D. (2000). *Family Therapy: A*

    systemic integration (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bediako, Kwame. (1983). Biblical Christologies in the context of African traditional

    religions. In Vinay Samuel and Chris Sugden (Eds.), *Sharing Jesus in the two-*

    thirds world (pp. 81-121). Grand Rapids: William Eerdmans Publishing

    Company.

Bell Diane. (1997). Desperately seeking redemption. *Natural History,* 3:52-53.

Bennett, Andrew and A. Stanford. (n.d.). Process tracing in Case Study research [14

    pages]. [On-Line serial]. http://www.georgetown.edu/bennett/PROTCG.htm.

Berg, Astrid (2003, June). Ancestor reverence and mental health in South Africa.

    Transcultural Psychiatry, 194-207.

Berglund, Axel-Ivar. (1965, March). The worship of ancestors as problems of the church.

    Credo, XII(1):8-21.

Berglund, Axel-Ivar. (1973). Communion with the shades in traditional Zulu society. *Missionalia,* 1(2):39-41.

Berglund, Axel-Ivar. (1976). *Zulu thought-patterns and symbolism.* Cape Town: David Philip.

Berry, R. J. (1988). *God and evolution.* London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Binsbergen, Wim Van. (1991). Becoming a sangoma: Religious anthropological field-work in Francistown, Botswana. *Journal of Religion in Africa,* XXXI(4):309-344.

Boman, Thorleif. (1960). *Hebrew thought compared with Greek.* USA: W.W. Norton & Company Inc.

Bond, George C. (1987). Ancestors and Protestants: religious coexistence in the social field of a Zambian community. *American Ethnologist,* 14(F):55-72.

Bowen, Murray. (1960). A family concept of schizophrenia. In Don D. Jackson (Ed.), *The etiology of schizophrenia* (pp. 346-372). New York: Basic Books Inc.

Bowen, Murray. (1961). The family as the unit of study and treatment. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* XXXI:40-60.

Bowen, Murray. (1976). Family reaction to death. In Philip Guerin Jr. (Ed.), *Family Therapy.* New York: Gardner Press Inc.

Bowen, Murray. (1976). Theory in the practice of psychotherapy. In Philip Guerin Jr.

  (Ed.), *Family Therapy.* New York: Gardner Press Inc.

Bowen, Murray. (1980). Clinical Addendum. *Family Centre Report,* 2(2):1-3.

Bowen, Murray. (1985). *Family therapy in clinical practice.* (Original work published

  1978).

Bowen, Murray. (1987). Psychotherapy - past, present and future. In Jeffrey K. Zeig

  (Ed.), *The evolution of psychotherapy.* New York: Brunner/Mazel Inc.

Bowen, Murray. (1997). Subjectivity, homo sapiens and science. In Ruth Riley Sagar

  (Ed.), *Theory & practice: Featured articles from The Family Center Report 1979-*

  1996 (pp. 15-21). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Family Center.

Breure, Johan. (1999). *Ancestors: A Challenge to the Oruuano Church of Namibia.*

  Unpublished thesis for Master of Theology, University of South Africa.

Bujo, Bénézet. (1992). *African theology in its social context.* New York: Orbis Books.

Bujo, Bénézet, (1997). Polygamy. *Dictionary of mission: Theology, history, perspectives*

  (pp. 6-8). Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

Busia, K.A. (1959). Ancestor worship. *Practical Anthropology,* 6:23-28.

Brandenburg, Yedo. (1989). Sickness and healing as challenges of the Christian faith. In

    Klaus G. Walz (Ed.), *Lutheran theologians face old traditions and new challenges*

    (pp. 166-174). Neuendettelsau: Institute for Studies of World Mission,

    Department of World Mission, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

Browning, Don S. (1976). *The moral context of pastoral care.* Philadelphia: The

    Westminster Press.

Browning, Don S. (1987). *Religious thought and the modern psychologies.* Philadelphia:

    Fortress Press.

Browning, Don S. (1991). A fundamental practical theology: Descriptive strategic

    proposals. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Brunner, Emil. (1952). *The Christian doctrine of creation and redemption* (Olive Wyon,

    Trans.). Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.

Bruyns, Noel. (n.d.). Saints Alive! The ancestor cult. *The Southern Cross* [On-Line

    serial]. Available www.the southerncross.co.za/features/saintsalive.htm.

Bryant, A.T. (1983). *Zulu medicine and medicine-men.* Cape Town: Centaur.

Browning, Don S. (1985 April). Practical theology and political theology. *Theology

    Today,* 42(1).

Bührmann, M. Vera. (1984). *Living in two worlds: Communication between a white healer and her black counterparts.* Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.

Burck, J.R. and R.J. Hunter. (1990). Pastoral theology in its social context, Protestant. In Rodney J. Hunter (Ed.), *Dictionary of pastoral care and counseling* (pp. 934-936). Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Busia, K.A. (1959). Ancestor Worship. *Practical Anthropology,* 6:23-28.

Calhoun, C.J. (1980, June). The authority of the ancestors: A sociological reconsideration of Forte's Tallensi in response to Forte's critics. *Man,* 15:304-319.

Callaway, H. (1970). *The religious system of the Amazulu.* Cape Town: C. Struik (Pty.) Ltd.

Carter, Betty and Monica McGoldrick. (1988). *The changing family life cycle.* New York: Gardner Press.

Chihota, Dominic. (Speaker). (1996). *Family of origin presentation*. Pietermaritzburg.

Chupungco, Anscar J., O.S.B. (1989). *Liturgies of the Future: The process and methods of inculturatio*n. New Jersey: Paulist Press.

Clebsch, William A. and Charles R Jaekle. (1964). *Pastoral care in historical perspective.* New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Comella, Patricia A. JD. (1994 Spring). A brief summary of Bowen family systems theory. *Family Center Report,* 15(2):2-4.

Corbin, Juliet and Anselm Strauss. (1990). Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, canons and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology,* 13(1):3-21.

Crosthwaite, J., N. MacLeod, and B. Malcolm. (1997). Case studies: Theory and practice in natural resources [On-line serial]. www.landfood.unimelb.edu.au/ research/grass_eco/casemeth.PDF

Csordas, Thomas J. (1997). On the peyote road. *Natural History,* 3:48-49.

Daneel, M.L. (1973). The Christian gospel and the ancestor cult. *Missionalia,* 1(2):46-73.

Daneel, M.L. (1983). Communication and liberation in African independent churches. *Missionalia,* 11:57-93.

Daneel, M.L. (1991, August). The liberation of creation: African traditional religious and independent church perspectives. *Missionalia,* 19(2):99-121.

Darwin, Charles. (1859, 1985). *The origin of species by means of natural selection.* England: Penguin Books.

Degler, Carl N. (1991). *In search of human nature: The decline and revival of Darwinism in American social thought.* New York: Oxford University Press.

De Waal, Frans. (1989). *Peacemaking among primates*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

De Waal, Frans B.M. (1995). Bonobo sex and society. *Scientific American,* 82-88.

De Waal, Frans. (1996). *Good natured: The origins of right and wrong in humans and other animals.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

De Waal, Frans. (1997 Fall). The triadic nature of primate social relationships. *Family Systems: A Journal of Natural Systems Thinking in Psychiatry and the Sciences,* 4(1):5-18.

Dow, James. (1986). Universal aspects of symbolic healing: A theoretical synthesis. *American Anthroplogist,* 88:56-69.

Driberg, J.H. (1936). The secular aspect of ancestor-worship in Africa. *Journal of the Royal African Society, XXXV*(CXXXVIII):3-21.

Duffy, Regis A. O.F.M. (1983). *A Roman Catholic theology of pastoral care.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Du Toit, Brian M. (1973). The isangoma: An adaptive agent among urban Zulu. *Anthropological Quarterly,* 50-64.

Dzobo, Noah K. (1985). African ancestor cult: A theological appraisal. *Reformed World, 38*(6):333-340.

Epe, Pesoto. (1989). Introduction to the meaning of the ancestors for the Christian faith. In Klaus G. Walz (Ed.), *Lutheran theologians face old traditions and new challenges* (pp. 123-125). Neuendettelsau: Institute for Studies of World Mission, Department of World Mission, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

Ephirim-Donkor, Anthony. (1997). *African spirituality: On becoming ancestors.* Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc.

e Silva, Teresa Cruz and Ana Loforte. (1994). Christianity, African traditional religions and cultural identity in Southern Mozambique. *The interaction between Christian religion and African traditional religions.* Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe.

Farley, Edward. (1975). *Ecclesial man.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Farley, Edward. (1983). *Theologia: The fragmentation and unity of theological education.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Farley, Edward. (1990). *Good and evil.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Farley, Edward. (1996). *Divine empathy.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Fisher, Helen. (1992). *The anatomy of love: A natural history of mating, marriage , and why we stray.* New York: Fawcett Columbine.

Forell, George W. (1954). *Faith active in love.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.

Fogarty, Thomas. (1972). Fusion in the family system. In Francis D. Andres and Joseph P. Lorio, *Georgetown Family Symposia.* Georgetown: Department of Psychiatry, Georgetown University School of Medicine.

Fogarty, Thomas. (1975). Triangles. *The Family,* 2:11-20.

Fogarty, Thomas. (1979). The distancer and the pursuer. *The Family,* 7(1):11-16.

Ford, Edward E. and Robert L. Zorn. (1974). *Why marriage: A Reality Therapy approach to marriage.* Niles, Illinois: Argus Communications.

Forsyth, Adrian. (1993). *A natural history of sex.* Vermont: Chapters Publishing Ltd. (Original work published 1986).

Fortes, Meyer. (1960). Pietas in Ancestor Worship. The Henry Myers Lecture 1960. http//lucy.ukc.ac.uk/LOCAL-ONY/Ancetors/fortes1.htm.

Fortes, Meyer. (na). Some Reflections on Ancestors Worship in Africa. In Fortes and Dieterlen (Eds.). *African systems of thought* (pp. 122-145). http//lucy.ukc.ac.uk/LOCAL-ONLY/Ancstors/fortes2.html.

Freedman, Michael R., Samuel J. Rosenberg, and Karen B. Schmaling. (1991).
Transgenerational Psychosomatic Respirataory Symptoms: A case illustration.
Journal of Family Psychotherapy, 2.

Friedli, Richard. (1997). Intercultural Theology. *Dictionary of Mission: Theology,
History, Perspectives* (pp. 219-222). Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

Friedman, Edwin. (1974). *The nature of the marital bond.* Paper presented at Annual
Symposium on Family Psychotherapy, Georgetown University Medical School,
Georgetown.

Friedman, Edwin J. (1978). Culture and family process. In Ruth Sagar Riley (Ed.),
Georgetown Family Symposia: A collection of selected papers 1971-1972 (Vol. 1,
pp. 158-167). Georgetown: Georgetown University School of Medicine.

Friedman, Edwin. (1985). *Generation to generaation: Family process in church and
synagogue.* New York: Guildford Press.

Friedman, Edwin H. (1988). Systems and ceremonies: A family view of rites of passage.
In Betty Carter and Monica McGoldrick (Eds.), *The changing family life cycle: A
framework for family therapy* (pp. 119-147). New York: Gardner Press.

Friedman, Edwin H. (1999). In E. W. Beal and M. M Treadwell (Eds.). *A failure of nerve:
Leadership in the age of the quick fix*. Bethesda, Maryland: The Edwin Friedman
Foundation.

Friesen, Priscilla J. (1993 Summer). Marriage: Differentiation and togetherness. *Family Center Report,* 14(3):4-6.

Frost, Randal T. (1998). Faith and functioning. In Joseph C. Carolin (ed.), *The Wisdom of the Ages.* Pittsburgh: Western Pennsylvania Family Center.

Furlong, Patrick J. (1983, June). Catholic initiatives in the Africanization of Christianity. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*. Issue 43.

Gaba, Christian R. (1978). Man's salvation: its nature and meaning in African traditional religion. *Christianity in independent Africa* (pp. 389-401). London: Rex Collings.

Galdikas, Biruté M. F. (1995). *Reflections of Eden: My years with the orangutans of Borneo*. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

Gale, George. (1979). *Theory of science: An introduction to history, logic, and philosophy of science.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Gehman, Richard J. (1995). Will the African ancestors be saved? *Africa Journal of Evangelical* Theology*,* 14(2):85-97.

Gijana, E. W. M. (1981). The psychology of ancestral shades. In H. Kuckertz (Ed.), *Ancestor religion in Southern Africa* (pp. 40-51). Transkei: Lumko Missiological Institute.

Gilbert, Roberta. (1989 Spring). Bowen family systems theory and one life. *Family Center Report,* 10(2):1-3.

Gilbert, Roberta. (1989 Spring). Incest: A family systems perspective - Peter Titelman. *Family Center Report,* 10(2):4-5.

Gilbert, Roberta M. (1992). *Extraordinary relationships.* Minneapolis: Chronimed Publishing.

Gilbert, Roberta M. (1992 Winter). Freud revisited. *Family Center Report,* 13(1):3-4.

Gilbert, Roberta. (1993 Spring). Symposium review. *Family Center Report,* 14(2):4-6.

Gilbert, Roberta M. (1995 Spring). Thirty-first Symposium on family theory and family psychotherapy. *Family Center Report,* 16(1):4-5.

Gilbert, Roberta M. (1998). *Connecting with our children.* New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Gluckmann, Max. Mortuary customs and the belief in survival after death among the south-eastern Bantu. http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/Fdtl/Ancestors/gluckman.html.

Gobana, James. (1996). *Family of origin presentation.* Paper presented at School of Theology, Pietermaritzburg.

Goldsmith, Timothy H. (1991). *The biological roots of human nature.* New York: Oxford

　　University Press.

Good, Kenneth and Mark Ritchie. (1997). New spirits for old. *Natural History,* 3:46-47.

Good, Kenneth. (1997). Amazon grace. *Natural History,* 3:44-45.

Goodall, Jane. (1990). *Through a window: My thirty years with the chimpanzees of*

　　Gombe. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Gould, James L. and Carol Grant Gould. (1997). *Sexual selection.* New York: Scientific

　　American Library. (Original work published 1989).

Guba, Egon and Yvonne S. Lincoln (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research.

　　In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp.105-

　　117). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Guerin, Philip J. (1976). *Family therapy: Theory and practice.* New York: Gardner Press

　　Inc.

Gundani, Paul. (1994). The Roman Catholic Church and the Kurova Guva ritual in

　　Zimbabwe. *Zambezia*, XXI(ii).

Hall, Douglas John. (2003). *The Cross in our context: Jesus and the suffering world*.

　　Minneapolis: Augsberg Fortress Press.

Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in practice* (2nd ed.). London: Tavistock.

Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1981). Ancestor Religion. In H. Kuckertz (Ed.), *Ancestor Religion in Southern Africa* Transkei: Lumko Missiological Institute.

Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1994). *Creed and confession in South African ancestor religion.* Paper presented at Margaret Shaw Lecture 4, South African Museum, Cape Town.

Harner, Michael. (1997). A different drummer. *Natural History,* 3:50-51.

Haught, John F. (2000). *God after Darwin: A theology of evolution*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Hefner, Philip. (1993). *The human factor: Evolution, culture, and religion.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Heitink, Gerben. (1993). *Practical theology: History, theory, action domains* (Reinder Bruinsma, Trans. [1999]). Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Heyns, L. M. and H. J. C. Pieterse. (1990). *A primer in practical theology.* Pretoria: Gnosis.

Hexham, Irving. (1987). *Texts on Zulu religion: Traditional Zulu ideas about God.* Queenstown, Ontario, Canada: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Hiltner, Seward. (1949). *Pastoral counseling.* Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Hiltner, Seward. (1958). *Preface to pastoral theology.* Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Hisada, K. Oda and T. Sugimoto. (2000). Qualitative Research in Social Work [14 pages]. [On-Line serial]. Http://pweb.cc.sophia.ac.jp/~t-oka/papers/2000/qrsw.qrsw.html.

Hodder, Ian (1994). The interpretation of documents and material culture. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 393-402). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Holifield, E. Brooks. (1983). *A history of pastoral care in America: From salvation to self-realization.* Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Holt, Roberta B. (1989 Spring). Toward theory and science: A professional symposium. *Family Center Report,* 10(2):5-7.

Holt, Roberta B. (1989 Fall). Reproduction, survival and extinction. *Family Center Report,* 10(4):1-2.

Holt, Roberta B. (1990 Winter). Differentiation of self as process. *Family Center Report,* 11(1):6-7.

Holt, Roberta B. (1994 Spring). Marital conflict and emotional cutoff. *Family Center Report,* 15(2):5-6.

Holt, Roberta B. (1996 Spring/Summer). Gender and Bowen theory. *Family Systems: A Journal of Natural Systems Thinking in Psychiatry and the Sciences,* 3(1):52-63.

Hooker, Roger. (1986). *What is idolatry?* London: Committee for Relations with People of other Faiths, The British Council of Churches.

Hoopes, Margaret H. (1987). Multigenerational system: Basic assumptions. *The American Journal of Family Therapy,* 15(3).

Howard, Michael C. and Janet Dunaif-Hattis. (1992). *Anthropology: Understanding Human Adaptation.* New York: Harper Collins Publisher.

Huberman, Michael A. and Matthew B. Miles. (1994). Data management and analysis methods. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 428-444). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Huether, G. (1996). The central adaptation syndrome: Psychosocial stress as a trigger for adaptive modificaitons of brain structure and brain function. *Progress in Neurobiology,* 48:569-612.

Hulme, William E. (1956). *Counseling and theology.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Hulme, William E. (1965). *Building a Christian marriage.* Minneapolis: Augsburg
Publishing House.

Jackson, Morris L. (1987). Cross-cultural counseling at the crossroads. *Journal of
Counseling and Development*, 66.

Johnson, Kofi. (2004). Understanding African Traditional Religion. *Thinking About
Religion*, 4. Retrieved , from h*ttp://organizations.uncfsu.edu
/ncrsa/journal/vo4/johnson_understanding.htm.*

Kahakwa, S.B. (2005). Christ and the Ancestors in African Christian Theology. In
Wulfhorst, I. (ed.). *Ancestors, spirits and healing in Africa and Asia: A challenge
to the Church,* (ss. 89-112). Geneva: Lutheran World Federation.
http://www.lutheranworld.org/What_We_Do/Dts/Programs/AfricaEnglish.pdf.

Kahatu, Zacharia. (1989). Who has the power: The Holy Spirit or the spirits? In Klaus G.
Walz (ed.), *Luther theologians face old traditions and new challenges* (pp. 84-95).
Neuendettelsau: Institute for Studies of World Mission, Department of World
Mission, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

Kamuyu-Wa-Kang'ethe. (1988, January). African response to Christianity: A case study
of the Agikuyu of Central Kenya. *Missiology,* XVI(1):23-43.

Kendall, Laurel. (1997). The shaman's apprentice. *Natural History,* 3:40-41.

Kerr, Kathleen B. (1995 Fall). The transmission of individual variation: Genetic process and family process. *Family Center Report,* 16(2):4-5.

Kerr, Michael E. (1976). Conceptualizing change in relationship systems. *The Family,* 3:62-64.

Kerr, Michael E. (1980). Emotional factors in physical illness. *The Family,* 7:59-66.

Kerr, Michael E. (1981). Cancer and the family emotional system. In J. Goldberg (Ed.), *Psychotherapeutic treatment of cancer patients.* New York: The Free Press.

Kerr, Michael E. (1981). Family systems theory and therapy. *Handbook of family therapy.* New York: Brunner/Mazel Publishers.

Kerr, Michael E. (1985). Obstacles to differentiation. In Alan S. Gurman (Ed.), *Casebook of marital therapy.* New York: Guilford Press.

Kerr, Michael E. (1986 Fall). Significance of Murray Bowen's scientific contributions. *Family Center Report,* 7(4):1-4.

Kerr, Michael E. (1988). Chronic anxiety and defining a self. *Atlantic Monthly,* 262:35-58.

Kerr, Michael E. (1988, Summer). Murray Bowen's Professional Odyssey. *Family Center Report.* 9(3):1-3.

Kerr, Michael E. (1988 Fall). Some aspects of systems thinking. *Family Center Report,* 9(4):1-2.

Kerr, Michael E. and Bowen, Murray. (1988). *Family evaluation.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Kerr, Michael E. (1989, Fall). Natural selection theory and the emotional system. *Family Center Report.* 10(3):1-4.

Kerr, Michael E. (1992 Fall). Physical illness and the family emotional system. *Behavioral Medicine,* 4:101-113.

Kerr, Michael E. (1993 Fall). Complex biological systems. *Family Center Report,* 14(4):1-4.

Kerr, Michael E. (1994 Fall). Challenging assumptions. *Family Center Report,* 15(3):1-2.

Kerr, Michael E. (1995 Spring). Theory and therapy. *Family Center Report,* 16(1):1-2.

Kerr, Michael E. (na). Lessons from research on cancer and the family. *Family Therapy News.*

Kerr, Michael E. (1997). Significance of Murray Bowen's scientific contributions. In Ruth Riley Sagar (Ed.), *Theory and pracitce: Feature articles from the Family Center Report 1979-1996* (pp. 3-13). Washington: Georgetown Family Center.

Khumalo, Madodomuzi. (1996). *Family of origin presentation*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, School of Theology.

Khumalo, Madodomuzi. (2000). *Bowen's family systems theory and its applicability to pastoral care and counselling in the South Africa context.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

Kidd, Dudley. (1904). *The essential kafir.* London: Adam and Charles Black.

Kileff, Clive and Peggy Kileff. (1970). *Shona customs.* Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Kimirei, Gabriel. (1989). Sickness and healing. In Klaus G. Walz (Ed.), *Lutheran theologians face old traditions and new challenges* (pp. 179-184). Neuendettelsau: Institute for Studies of World Mission, Department of World Mission, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

King, Fergus J. (1994). Angels and ancestors: A basis for Christology? *Mission Studies,* 11(1):10-26.

Kitshoff, Mike. (1996, July). Isaiah Shembe's views on the ancestors in biblical perspective. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* (95):23-36.

Kleinman, A., L. Eisenberg and B. Good. (1978). Culture, illness, and care: Clinical

    lessons form anthropological and cross-cultural research. *Annals of Internal*

    Medicine, 88:251-258.

Kleinman, Arthur. (1989). *Culture and health care: The practical implications of ethnic*

    diversity for a diverse health care. Paper presented at Multicutural Health

    Symposium, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

Koehler, Walter J. (1982). *Counseling and confession: The role of confession and*

    absolution in pastoral counseling. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Kopytoff, Igor. Ancestors as elders in Africa. . Retrieved from

    http://era.anthropology.ac.uk/era_resources/era/ancestors/kopytoff.html

Krige, Eileen Jensen. (1962). *The social system of the Zulus.* Pietermaritzburg: Shuter &

    Shooter. (Original work published 1936)

Krige, E. Jensen and J. D. Krige. (1980). *The realm of the Rain-Queen.* Cape Town: Juta

    & Company. (Original work published 1943)

Kuckertz, H. (1981). Ancestor religion in African theology: a review. In H. Kuckertz

    (Ed.), *Ancestor religion in Southern Africa* (pp. 79-97). Transkei: LUMKO

    Missiological Institute.

Kudumela, Jack. (1996). *Family of origin presentation*. Pietermaritzburg: University of

Natal, School of Theology.

Kuhn, Thomas S. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: The University

of Chicago Press.

Kwenda, Chirevo V. (1999, March). Affliction and healing. *Journal of Theology for*

Southern Africa, 103:1-12.

Laiser, Naaman. (1989). The meaning of ancestors for the Christian faith. In Klaus G.

Walz (Ed.), *Lutheran theologians face old traditions and new challanges* (pp.

143-154). Neuendettelsau: Institute for Studies of World Mission, Department of

World Mission, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

Lamla, C. M. (1981). The dead: prepared to live in the spirit world. In H. Kuckertz (Ed.),

Ancestor religion in Southern Africa (pp. 14-21). Transkei: LUMKO

Missiological Instititute.

LaPointe, Eugene. (1986). *An experience of pastoral theology in Southern Africa.* Roma:

Pontificia Università Urbaniana.

Lawson, E. Thomas. (1985). *Religions of Africa: Traditions in transformation.* San

Francisco: Harper & Row.

Lawuyi, Olatunde Bayo. (1988). Obituary and ancestral worship: Analysis of a

contemporary cultural form in Nigeria. *Sociological Analysis,* 48(4):372-379.

Lebesa, Theresa. (1996). *Family of origin presentation*. Pietermaritzburg: University of

    Natal, School of Theology.

LeDoux, Joseph E. (1989). Cognitive-emotional interactions in the brain. *Cognition and*

    Emotion, 3(4):267-289.

Leupold, Ulrich. (1965). *Liturgy and Hymns* Luther's Works. (Vol. 53). Philadelphia:

    Fortress Press.

Lerner, Harriet G. (1985). *The dance of anger.* New York: Harper & Row.

Lerner, Harriet G. (1989). *Dance of intimacy.* New York: Harper & Row.

Lienhard, Marc. (1982). *Luther: Witness to Jesus Christ*. Minneapolis: Augsburg

    Publishing House.

Livingstone, David N. (1997). *Darwin's forgotten defenders.* Vancouver: Regent College

    Publishing. (Original work published 1984).

Louw, Daniel J. (1997). Pastoral care in an African context: A systemic model and

    contextual approach. *Missionalia,* 25(3):392-404.

Luther, Martin. (1957). *Sermon's on the Gospel of John: Chapters 1-4.* (Vol. 22) (Martin

    H. Bertram, Trans.). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1958). *Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 1-5* (Vol. 1). George B. Schick, (Trans.). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1959). *Sermons 1*. (Vol. 51). Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Luther, Martin. (1959). *Sermons on the Gospel of John: Chapters 6-8*. (Vol. 23) (Martin H. Bertram, Trans.). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1960). *Three treatises*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Luther, Martin. (1960). *Lectures on Deuteronomy*. (Vol. 9). Richard R. Caummerer (Trans.). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1961). *Word and sacrament III*. (Vol. 37). Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Luther, Martin. (1961). *Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 15-20*. (Vol. 3) (George V. Schick, Trans.). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1963). *Lectures on Galatians: Chapters 1-4*. (Vol. 26). Jaroslav Pelikan (Trans.). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House. (Original work published 1535).

Luther, Martin. (1964). *Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 21-25*. (Vol. 4). George V. Schick (Trans.). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1964). *Lectures on Galatians.* (Vol. 27). Saint Louis: Concordia
    Publishing House. (Original work published 1519, 1539)

Luther, Martin. (1967). In Robert C. Shultz (Ed.) *The Christian in society III.* (Vol. 46,
    pp.258-319). Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Luther, Martin. (1968). *Lectures on Genesis: Chapters 26-30.* (Vol. 5). George V. Schick
    and Paul D. Pahl (Trans.). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1968). *The small catechism.* Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1969). *Devotional writings.* (Vol. 42). Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Luther, Martin. (1970). *Church and ministry, I.* (Vol. 39). Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Luther, Martin. (1972). *Lectures on Isaiah: Chapters 40-66.* (Vol. 17). Herbert J. A.
    Bouman (Trans.). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1972). *Lectures on Romans.* (Vol. 25). Saint Louis: Concordia
    Publishing House.

Luther, Martin. (1972). *Sermons on Ecclesiastes, Lectures on the Song of Solomon,
    Treatise on the last words of David.* (Vol. 15). Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing
    House.

Lutheran World. (2004). Ancestors and Healing in African Spirituality: Challenges to the
Churches in Africa [Electronic version]. *Lutheran World*.

Mace, David and Vera Mace. (1977). *How to have a happy marriage.* Nashville:
Abingdon.

Maimela, S.S. (1985). Salvation in African traditional religions. *Missionalia,* 13(2):63-77.

Malek, Roman SVD. (1997). *Ancestors Worship I (General).* Dictionary of Mission:
Theology, History, Perspectives (pp. 17-19). Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

Maloney-Schara, Andrea. (1989 Winter). AIDS and the family. *Family Center Report,*
10(1):3-5.

Maloney-Schara. Andrea. (1990 Winter). Divorce as adaptation. *Family Center Report,*
11(1):4.

Maloney-Schara, Andrea. (1995 Spring). Anatomy of a crisis. *Family Center Report,*
16(1):5-7.

Maluleke, Tinyiko Sam. (1998). African traditional religions in Christian mission and
Christian scholarship: Re-opening a debate that never started. *Religion Theology:
A Journal of Comtemporary Religious Discourse,* 5(2):121-135.

Ma Mpolo, M. (1987). Polygamy in pastoral perspective. In Masamba ma Mpolo and

Cécile de Sweemer (Eds.), *Families in transition: The case for counselling in

context.* Geneva: World Council of Churches.

Ma Mpolo, M. (1990). African pastoral care movement. In Rodney J. Hunter (Ed.),

Dictionary of pastoral care and counselling (pp. 11-12). Nashville: Abingdon

Press.

Ma Mpolo, M. (1990). African traditional religion, Personal care in. In Rodney J. Hunter

(Ed.), *Dictionary of pastoral care and counseling* (pp. 12-13). Nashville:

Abingdon Press.

Manona, C. W. (1981). The resurgence of the ancestor cult among Xhosa Christians. In

H. Kuckertz (Ed.), *Ancestor religion in Southern Africa* (pp. 34-39). Transkei:

LUMKO Missiological Institute.

Manyeli, Thomas Lesaoana. (1992). *Religious symbols of the Basotho.* Lesotho: Mazenod

Printing Works.

Manyeli, Thomas Lesaoana. (1995). *Phenomenological perspective of Basotho religion.*

Lesotho: Mazenod Book Centre.

Massawe, Wilfred. (1989). Who has power—The Holy Spirit and the spirits. In Klaus G.

Walz (Ed.), *Lutheran theologians face old traditions and new challenges* (pp. 75-

83). Neuendettelsau: Institute for Studies or World Mission, Department of World Mission, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

Masson, Jeffrey Moussaieff and McCarthy, Susan. (1995). *When elephants weep.* New York: Delacorte Press.

Mayr, Ernst. (1988). *Toward a new philosophy of biology.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Mayr, Ernst. (1991). *One long argument: Charles Darwin and the genisis of modern evolutionary thought.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Mbiti, John S. (1972). The growing respectability of African traditional religion. *Lutheran World*, XIX(1):54-58.

Mbiti, John S. (1989). *African Religions and Philosophy* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers. (Original work published 1969).

Mbiti, John S. (1991). *Introduction to African Religion* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers. (Original work published 1975).

McGoldrick, Monica and Randy Gerson. (1985). *Genograms in family assessment.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

McKnight, Anne S. (1989 Summer). Symbiosis, systems, and selection. *Family Center Report,* 10(3):6-7.

McKnight, Anne S. (1992 Spring/Summer). Conference on death in the family. *Family Center Report,* 13(2):6-7.

Mgeyekwa, Gabriel. (1996). *Family of origin presentation*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, School of Theology.

Middleton, J. (1971). *Lugbara religion ritual and authority among an East African people.* London: Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1960).

Mills, L. O. (1990). Pastoral theology, Graduate education. In Rodney J. Hunter (Ed.), *Dictionary of pastoral care and counseling* (pp. 865-867). Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Miner, Horace. (1994). Body ritual among the Narcirema. In Aaron Podolefsky and Peter J. Brown (Eds.), *Anthropology: An introductory reader* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company.

M'Passou, D. (1994). The continuing tension between Christianity and rites of passage in Swaziland. *The interaction between Christian religion and African traditional religions: Focus on rites of passage.* Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe.

Moerman, Daniel E. (1979 March). Anthropology of symbolic healing. *Current Anthropology,* 20(1):59-80.

Mogoba, M. S. (1981). The erosion of the Bapedi religious world. A study of the impact

    of Christianity and Western life on Bapedi religion. In H. Kuckertz (Ed.),

    Ancestor religion in Southern Africa (pp. 52-65). Transkei: LUMKO

    Missiological Institute.

Mogoba, *Mmutlanyane* Stanley. (1985, September). Christianity in a Southern African

    context. *Journal of theology for Southern Africa,* 52:5-16.

Mohale, Patrick. (1996). *Family of origin presentation.* Pietermaritzburg: University of

    Natal, School of Theology.

Moila, M.P. (1989). The effect of belief in the living dead on the church's mission in

    South Africa. *Africa Theological Journal,* 18(2):140-150.

Mokhethi, Pascalis. (1988). *Lesotho's challenge: The irregular marital unions.* Lesotho:

    Mazenod Insititute.

Moon, Mi Sun. (December 2000). *A pastoral theology of caring in Korea: Contributions

    from marriage and family therapy*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The

    Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Mosala, Jerry. (1983). African traditional beliefs and Christianity. *Journal of Theology

    for Southern Africa,* 1(43):15-24.

Mosala, Bernadette I. (1987). Pastoral care and family counselling : South African

experiences. In Masamba Ma Mpolo and Cécile De Sweemer (Eds.), *Families in

transition: A case for counselling in context.* Geneva: World Council of Churches.

Mouton, Johann, and H.C. Marais. (1990, 1993). *Basic concepts in the methodology of

the social sciences.* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Mouton, Johann. (1996). *Understanding social research.* Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik.

Mukhwana-Nafuma, Joel Eric. (1991). *'Imbalu' the Gisu Initiation rite: implications for

understanding African religion and Christian acculturation.* Pittsburgh:

University of Pittsburgh.

Müller, Karl, SVD. (1997). Inculturation. *Dictionary of Mission: Theology, History*,

Perspectives (pp. 198-201). Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

Murphy, Douglas. (1988 Fall). General systems theory and natural systems theory.

Family Center Report, 9(4):5-6.

Myburgh, Douglas C. and B. A. Pauw. (Eds.). (1981). *Trilogy on South African bantu

religion.* Pretoria: University of South Africa.

North Carolina State University. Case Studies [On-Line serial]. Available

http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/cases.htm

Neuman, W. Lawrence. (1994). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (2nd ed.). Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon.

Ngubane, Harriet. (1977). *Body and mind in Zulu medicine: an ethnography of health and disease in Nyuswa-Zulu thought and practice*. London: New York: Academic Press.

Niebuhr, H. Richard. (1956). *Christ and culture.* New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row. (Original work published 1951).

Niebuhr, H. Richard. (1963). *The responsible self: An essay in Christian moral philosophy*. San Franscico: Harper & Row Publishers.

Njeni, Lwaga. (1989). Sickness and healing as challenges of the Christian faith. In Klaus G. Walz (Ed.), *Lutheran theologians face old traditions and new challenges* (pp. 185-191). Neuendettelsau: Institute for Studies of World Mission, Department of World Mission, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

Nunnenmacher, Eugen. (1997). Culture. *Dictionary of Mission: Theology, History, Perspectives* (pp. 94-98). Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

Nxumalo, J. A. (1981). Zulu Christian and ancestor cult: A pastoral consideration . In H. Kuckertz (Ed.), *Ancestor religion in Southern Africa* (pp. 65-78). Transkei: LUMKO Missiological Institute.

Nxumalo, Jabulani A. (1980, September). Christ and ancestors in the African world: A

    pastoral consideration. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 32:3-21.

Nyakale, Leonard. (1996). *Family of origin presentation*. Pietermaritzburg: University of

    Natal, School of Theology.

Nyamiti, C. (1984). *Christ our ancestor.* Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.

Oglesby Jr., William B. (Ed.). (1969). *The new shape of pastoral theolgoy.* Nashville:

    Abingdon Press.

Ojo, Matthews A. (1994). Sexuality, marriage and piety among Charismatics in Nigeria.

    The interaction between Christian religion and African traditional religions:

    Focus on rites of passage. Zimbabwe: Univerity of Zimbabwe.

Oka, Tomofumi and Ian Shaw. (2000, September). Qualitative research in social work [14

    pages]. [On-Line serial]. Available *http://pweb.cc.sophia.ac.ip/~t-*

    oka/papers/2000/qrws/qrsw.html

Okafor, Stephen. (1982). Bantu philosophy: Placide Tempels revisited. *Jounal of Religion*

    in Africa. XIII(2):83-100.

Okere, Theophilus. (na). African Culture: The past and the present as an indivisible

    whole. http://www.crvp.org/book/Series02/11-3/chapter_i.htm.

Okoye, James C. (1997). *African Theology*. Dictionary of Mission: Theology, History, Perspectives (pp. 9-17). Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

Oliwenstein, Lori. (1995). Death and the microbe. *Discover,* 99-103.

Olupuna, Jacob K. (2000). To praise and to reprimand. In Steven J. Friesen (Ed.), *Ancestors in post-contact religion* (pp. 49-71). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Onunwa, Udobata R. (1994, Spring). The individual and community in African traditional religion and society. *Mankind Quarterly,* 34(3):249-256.

Onyewuenyi, Innocent. Reincarnation: An impossible concept in the framework of African ontology. *African Traditional Religion*. Retrieved from *http://www.afrikaworld.net/afrel/afr-reincarnation.htm.*

Oosthuizen, George C. (1988, January). Interpretation of demonic powers in Southern African independent churches. *Missiology,* XVI(1):3-21.

Opuku, Kofi Asare. (1989, April). African Traditional Religion: An enduring heritage. *A.M.E. Zion Quarterly Review,* 101:16-26.

Papero, Daniel V. (1983). Family systems theory and therapy. In Benjamin B. Wolman and George Stricker (Eds.), *Handbook of family and marital therapy.* New York: Plenum Press.

Papero Daniel V. (1989, Fall). Systems thinking and tomorrow's world. *Family Center Report,* 10(4):3-4.

Papero Daniel V. (1989, Fall). Helpers and the misery of others. *Family Center Report,* 10(4):6-7.

Papero, Daniel V. (1990). *Bowen family systems theory.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Papero, Daniel V. (1990). Twenty-Sixth Annual Symposium. *Family Center Report*, 11(1):1-3.

Papero, Daniel V. (1991 Spring). Differentiation of self and learning. *Family Center Report,* 12(2):4-6.

Papero, Daniel V. (1995). Bowen family systems theory and marriage. In Neil S. Jacobson and Alan S. Gurman (Eds.), *Clinical handbook of couples therapy.* New York: Guilford Publications Inc.

Papero, Daniel V. (1997). The family as a unit. In Ruth Riley Sagar (Ed.), *Bowen theory and practice: Feature articles from the Family Center Report* (pp. 163-182). Washington: Georgetown Family Center. [Original articles appeared serially in *Family Center Report:* part 1, Summer 1987, 8(3):1-3; part 2, Fall 1987, 8(4):5-7; part 3, Winter 1988, 9(1):6-7.]

Papero, Daniel V. (1997). Responsibility for self. In Ruth Riley Sagar (Ed.), *Bowen Theory & Practice* (pp. 123-132). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Family Center.

Parrinder, Edward Geoffrey. (1954). *African Traditional Religion.* New York: Hutchinson's University Library.

Partain, Jack. (1986, November 26). Christians and their ancestors: A dilemma of African theology. *The Christian Century,* 103(36):1066-1069.

Passover Haggadah (1963). Rabbi Z. Harry Gutstein (Trans.). USA: Asher Scharfstein.

Pato, Luke Lungile. (1997, March). Being fully human. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 97, 53-61.

Pauw, B. A. (1960). *Religion in a Tswana chiefdom.* London: Oxford University Press.

Pert, Candace B. (1998). *Molecules of emotion.* New York: Scribner.

Peters, Ted. (1995 Fall). Theology and science: Where are we?. *Dialog.*

Peters, Ted. (1997). *Playing God? Genetic determinism and human freedom.* New York: Routledge.

Phiri, Isabel Apawo. (1994). The initiation of Chewa women of Malawi: A Presbyterian woman's perspective. *The interaction between Christian religion and African traditional religions: Focus on rites of passage.* Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe.

Pieterse, H.J.C. (nd). Practical Theology Lecture Notes, Lessons 6 and 7.4. UNISA
[PTA1000T/1 and PTB20004/1].

Pinker, Steven. (2002). *The blank slate: The modern denial of human nature.* New York:
Viking.

Plog, Fred and Daniel G. Bates. (1980). *Cultural anthropology.* New York: Alfred Knopf.

Pobee, John. (1976). Aspects of African traditional religion. *Sociological Analysis,*
37(1):1-18.

Pöllitzer, Ph. (1984). Ancestor veneration in the Oruuano movement. *Missionalia,*
12(3):124-128.

Prenter, Regin. (1967). *Creation and redemption.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Pula, A. L. (1990, December). Balimo (ancestor) veneration & Christianity. *AFER,*
32:330-345.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. and Daryll Forde. (1958). *African systems of kinship and
marriage.* London: Oxford University Press.

Rappaport, Herbert and Margaret Rappaport. (1981 July). The integration of scientific
    and traditional healing: A proposed model. *American Psychologist,* 26(7):774-
    781.

Rauseo, Louise, M.S., C.S.N. (1990, Spring). Family Center Report. Symposium on
    Chronic Illness. 11(2):2-4.

Reed, Sydney. (1991 Winter). Differentiation as an ethic for practice. AFTA

Rehfisch, Franham. Death, dreams, and the ancestors in Mambila culture.
    http://www.afrikaworld.net/afrel/rehfancs.html.

Richardson, Ronald W. (1984). *Family ties that bind.* Vancouver: Self-Counsel Press.

Richardson, Ronald W. and Lois A. Richardson. (1990). *Birth order and you.* Vancouver:
    Self-Counsel Press.

Richardson, Sarah. (1995 November). Battle of the burrow. *Discover.* Accessed online:
    http://discovermagazine.com/1995/nov/battleintheburro594.

Ritchie, Ian. (1990, Spring). Nature and humanity in African traditional religions. *ARC,*
    XVIII:27-46.

Robinson, H. Wheeler. (1980). *Corporate personality in ancient Israel.* Philadelphia:
    Fortress Press. (Original work published 1964).

Rosaldo, Renato. (1993). *Culture and truth.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Sapolsky, Robert M. and Glen E. Mott. (1987). Social subordinance in wild baboons is
associated with suppressed high density lipoprotein-cholesterol concentrations:
The possible role of chronic social stress. *Endocrinology,* 121:1605-1611.

Sapolsky, Robert M. (1994). *Why zebras don't get ulcers.* New York: W. H. Freeman and
Company.

Sapolsky, Robert M. (1997). *The trouble with testosterone and other essays on the
biology of the human predicament.* New York: Scribner.

Sapolsky, Robert M. and Martin E. Spencer. (1997). Insulin-like growth factor I is
suppressed in socially subordinate male baboons. *The American Physiological
Society.* 273(4):R1346-R1351.

Schapera, I. (1959). *The bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa.* Cape Town: Maskew
Miller Ltd.

Schofield, J. N. (1964). *Introducing the Old Testament.* London: SCM Press Ltd.

Setiloane, Gabriel. (1992). Salvation and the secular. In Buti Tlhagale and Itumeleng
Mosala (Eds.), *Hammering swords into ploughshares: Essays in honor of
Archbishop Mpilo Desmond Tutu* (pp. 73-83). Grand Rapids: William B.
Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Silverman, Julian. (1967). Shamans and acute schizophrenia. *American Anthropologist,* 69:21-31.

Smuts, J. C. (1987). *Holism and evolution.* Cape Town: N & S Press. (Original work published 1926).

Snaith, Norman H. (1973). *The distinctive ideas of the Old Testament.* London: The Epworth Press.

Staples, Russell Lynn. (March 1981). *Christianity and the cult of the ancestors: Belief and ritual among the Bantu-speaking peoples of Southern Africa.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary.

Strahler, Arthur N. (1992). *Understanding science.* New York: Prometheus Books.

Steadman, Lyle B. and Craig T. Palmer. (1994, June). Visiting dead ancestors: Shamans as interpreters of religious traditions. *Zygon,* 29(2):173-189.

Steadman, Lyle B. and Craig T. Palmer. (1996, Winter). The universality of ancestor worship. *Ethnology,* 35(1):63-73.

Stein, Howard F. The problem of cultural persistence, and the differentiation of self in one's culture. *The Family,* 8(1).

Steinmetz, Urban G. (1969). *"I will": The present and future of marriage.* Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press.

Sundkler, Bengt G. M. (1964). *Bantu prophets in South Africa* (2nd ed.). London: Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1961)

Tappert, Theodore G. (Ed.). (1959). *The Book of Concord.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Tellis, Winston. (1997 July). Introduction to Case Study [9 pages]. *The Qualitative Report* [On-Line serial], 3(2). Available http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-2/tellis1.html

Tellis, Winston. (1997 September). Application of a Case Study Methodology [12 pages]. *The Qualitative Report* [On-Line serial], 3(3). Available http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-3/tellis2.html

Tempels, Placide. (1952). *Bantu philosophy.* Paris: Presence Africaine.

Ter Haar, Gerrie. (1994). The African diaspora in the Netherlands: Life crisis rituals. *The interaction between Christian religion and African traditional religions: Focus on rites of passage.* Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe.

Theissen, Gerd. (1984). *Biblical faith: An evolutionary approach.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Thom, Gideon. (1973). A Reformed perspective on African belief in ancestors. *Missionalia,* 1(2):73-85.

Thomas, Lewis. (1974). *The lives of a cell.* New York: The Viking Press.

Thompson, T. Jack. (1994). Sacramental conventions of the Ngoni of Northern Malaŵi: Conscious interaction or happy coincidence. *The interaction between Christian religion and African tradtional religions: Focus on rites of passage.* Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe.

Thornton, Edward E. (1964). *Theology and pastoral counseling.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press.

Tillich, Paul. (1973). *The shaking of the foundations.* London: Collins, The Fontana Library. (Original work published 1953).

Tjibeba, Hendrik. (1996). *Family of origin presentation*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, School of Theology.

Toman, Walter. (1969). *The family costellation: Its effects on personality and social behavior.* New York: Springer.

Triebel, J. (1989). The role of ancestors in Christian theology. In Klaus G. Walz (Ed.), *Lutheran theologians face old traditions and new challenges* (pp. 155-160).

Neuedettelsau: Insititute for Studies in World Mission, Department of World
Mission, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

Turnbull, Colin M. (1971). *The forest people.* London: Jonathan Cape.

Uchendu, Victor C. (1976). Ancestorcide! Are African ancestors dead? *Ancestors* (pp. 283-296). The Hague: Mouton.

University of Texas. (1997 Spring). The Case Study as a research method [On-Line serial]. Available http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~ssoy/usesusers/139d1b.htm

Van Binsbergen, Wim. (1991). Becoming a sangoma: Religious anthropological field-work in Francistown, Botswana. *Journal of Religion in Africa,* XXI(4):309-344.

Van der Spuy, Roelie. (1997, March). The sickness of the spirit: A white (South) African perspective. *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa,* 97:62-67.

Van der Ven, Johannes. (1993). *Practical theology: An empirical aproach.* Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House.

Verstaelen, F. J. Attitudes of missionaries to Africans and their culture in colonial Zimbabwe. *The interaction between Christian religion and African traditional religions.* Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe.

Vilakazi, Absolom. (1962). *Zulu transformations.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal
    Press.

Vitebsky, Piers. (1997). Dialogues with the dead. *Natural History,* 3:36-37.

Vitebsky, Piers. (1997). What is a shaman? *Natural History,* 3:34-35.

Von Loewenich, Walther. (1976). *Luther's theology of the cross*. Minneapolis: Augsburg
    Publishing House.

Wadley, Reed L. (1999, December). Disrespecting the dead and the living: Iban ancestor
    worship and the violation of mourning taboos. *Journal of the Royal
    Anthropological Institute,* 5(4):595-607.

Watson, Philip S. (1966). *Let God be God: An interpretation of the theology of Martin
    Luther.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press. (Original work published 1947)

Watson, Allen. (1997). Objects of power. *Natural History,* 3:42-43.

Weiner, Johathan. (1994). *The beak of the finch*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf

Williams, George C. (1996). *Adaption and natural selection: A critique of some current
    evolutionary thought.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
    (Original work published 1966).

Wilson, Edward O. (1978). *Sociobiology.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press

    of Harvard University Press.

Wilson, Edward O. (1998, April). The biological basis for morality, *Atlantic Monthly*.

    281(4). Online at:http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/98apr/biomoral.htm.

Wilson, Edward O. (1998). *Conscilience: The unity of knowledge.* New York: Afred A.

    Knopf.

Wise, Carroll A. (1951). *Pastoral counseling: Its theory and practice.* New York: Harper

    & Row.

Writing Center at Colorado State University. Case Studies [16 pages]. [On-Line serial].

    http://writing.colostate.edu/references/research/casestudy/index.cfm

Wolcott, Harry F. (1995). *The art of fieldwork.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Altamira Press.

Worden, J. Willian. (1982). *Grief counseling and grief therapy*. New York: Springer

    Publishing Company.

Young III, Josiah U. (1992). African traditional religion and African theology. In Dan

    Cohn-Sherbok (Ed.), *World religions and human liberation* (pp. 93-112).

    Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books.

Zerwekh, JoAnn. (2002). A case for the Case Study: Learner Handout Capella University

[10 pp.]. [On-line]. http://www.nursinged.com/StudentHandoutCaseStudy.doc.

Zhou, Tsvakai. (1996). *Family of origin presentation*. Pietermaritzburg: University of

Natal, School of Theology.

Zulokardi. Case Study Research: Design and methods [12 pages]. [On-Line serial].

http://www.geocities.com/culkardi.reviewzulkardi.html.

Appendix A

RELEASE OF INFORMATION

RELEASE OF INFORMATION

I _____ give my consent to

Michael John Nel or his designated interviewer, to interview me and to

make a video or audio tape of the session. I do so with the understanding

that the information be used for his doctoral research and that I not be

identified by my name in any papers or documents associated with this

project.

_____

_____

Signed   **Date**

APPENDIX B

FAMILY OF ORIGIN

Appendix B
FAMILY OF ORIGIN:

Name: _____
Relationship: _____

Name:	Date of birth	Date when steady dating began with future spouse	Date when began to date 2nd spouse	Date when began dating 3rd spouse		
Children of 1st marriage:	Date of birth	Date of engagement	Date of 2nd engagement	Date of 3rd Engagement		
Children of 2nd marriage:	Date of birth	Date of 1st marriage	Date of 2nd marriage	Date of 3rd marriage		
		Date of separation	Date of 2nd separation	Date of 3rd Separation		
Children of 3rd marriage:	Date of birth	Date of divorce	Date of 2nd divorce	Date of 3rd divorce		
Physical illnesses: 1. 2. 3.	Dates of onset 1. 2. 3.	Degree of severity of symptoms (mild, moderate, severe) 1. 2. 3.	Dates of recovery 1. 2. 3.	Dates of hospitalization 1. 2. 3.	Dates of death	Cause of death
Emotional illnesses 1. 2. 3.	Dates of onset 1. 2. 3.	Degree of severity of symptoms (mild, moderate, severe) 1. 2. 3.	Dates of recovery 1. 2. 3.	Dates of hospitalization 1. 2. 3.	Dates of therapy 1. 2. 3.	

Social illnesses (Alcoholism/Drug Addiction, Affairs, Criminal activity, Irresponsibility)	Dates of onset	Degree of severity (mild, moderate, severe)		Dates of sobriety, cessation of irresponsible or criminal behaviour	Dates if imprisonment	Dates of treatment at Alcohol or drug centres
1.	1.	1.		1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.		2.	2.	2.
3.	3.	3.		3.	3.	3.

Places of education	Dates of education	Highest level of education completed	Occupation	Places of employment	Dates of employment	Date of retirement

Places of residence		Dates in each location	Frequency of your contact with the person (daily, weekly, monthly, yearly, hardly ever, never)	Means of contact (personal visits, letter, phone)	Quality of your relationship. (open), natural, person to person, formal, distant, intense, conflictual cut-off)

Questions:
A. Ancestors
   1. Do you believe that your ancestors have a place in your family life?

      (a) What function(s) do they have?

   2. Is the presence and participation of the ancestors important at times of:

      (a) Childbirth? What is the importance of their presence and function?

      (b) Initiation? What is the importance of their presence and function?

      (c) Marriage? What is the importance of their presence and function?

      (d) Sickness? What is the importance of their presence and function?

      (e) Death? What is the importance of their presence and function?

   3. Have you called upon the diviner? Under what circumstances?

   4. How severe should the symptoms be before you will call upon the services of a diviner? Mild, moderate, severe?

   5. Under what circumstances would you consult with a medical doctor? Whom would you consult first when there is an illness in the family?

   6. What is your understanding of the relationship between the diviner and the medical doctor?

   7. Have you had any experiences of the influence of your ancestors?

   8. Do you participate in the rites and perform the rituals relating to your ancestors? Please give details.

   9. On what occasions do you think about your ancestors? What was the most recent occasion?

   10. If ancestors are not part of you belief system and practice, how do you celebrate events such as:
       (a) Childbirth

       (b) Marriage

       (c) death

   11. What funeral rites and rituals do you follow in your family?

   12. Upon what resources do you draw in times of crises?

13. If the ancestors are not important, do you still think about them on occasions? How often and when?

14. How do you understand the Church's celebration of "All Saints Day"?

15. How do you understand the Church's teaching about ancestors?

16. What is your understanding of the work of the diviner? How does the work of the diviner relate to that of the medical doctor?

B. Marriage
1. Was the "bride-wealth' (lobola) paid when you were married? Who did the negotiations and their relationship to you and your spouse?

2. Were there close relatives who were unable to attend your wedding? Did they provide reasons for their absence?

3. Were the family ancestors referred to at your wedding?

4. In which way did the relationship between you and your family and community change after you married?

5. Is there an *umsamo* in your home?

C. Childbirth
1. Were traditional rites used at and after childbirth?

2. Did you have your child/ren baptized? Does baptism change the child's relationship to the family and past generations?

D. Initiation
1. Were you and other members of your family participate in the initiation rite?

2. Who encouraged you to participate in the initiation rite?

3. Would you encourage your children and grandchildren to participate in the initiation rite?

4. What is the importance of participation in the initiation rite?

5. Are the ancestors involved in the initiation process? In which way?

6. Did participation in the initiation rite change your relationships, and in what ways, to:
   (a) your parents

(b) your older siblings?

(c) your younger siblings?

(d) your extended family?

7. Were you confirmed? How old were you at the time?

8. Are your children confirmed?

9. What is the importance of confirmation to:
    (a) the child?

    (b) The parent's

    (c) The family?

10. In what way did confirmation affect your relationships to:
    (a) Parents?

    (b) Siblings?

    (c) family?

    (d) Society/community?

11. Does confirmation affect one's relationship to the past generations?

E. Sickness
    1. Do the ancestors have a role in a family member becoming ill?

    2. Did your parent's consult a diviner when a family member was ill?

    3. Under what conditions would a diviner be consulted?

    4. Was a diviner ever consulted when you were ill?
        (a) Who made the request?

        (b) What was the diagnosis? If the diagnosis included an ancestor, was the ancestor named?

        (c) What was the outcome of the treatment by the diviner?

    5. Would the family also consult with a medical doctor? Under what circumstances?

6. Who would be consulted first when there was a major illness in the family?

7. As a Christian, what resources have you found most helpful in time of crisis e.g. a serious illness?

F. Faith
1. If you are a Christian, how often do you:
    (a) pray?

    (b) On what occasions are you most fervent in your prayers?

    (c) Attend church services?

    (d) Participate in the Lord's Supper?

    (e) What is your thinking about the ancestors?

APPENDIX C

COLLATION OF RESPONSES

Appendix C

ANCESTORS – REPSONSES TO THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

CHRISTIAN

QUESTION 1 Do you believe that your ancestors have a place in your family life? What function(s) do they have?

Name		
2	No. I don't believe in them	

QUESTION 2   Is the presence and participation of the ancestors important at times of:

NAME	CHILDBIRTH	INITIATION	MARRIAGE	SICKNESS	DEATH
2	No	No	No	No	No

QUESTION 3   Have you called upon the diviner? Under what circumstance?

NAME	
2	Yes. I was sick. I have an abdomen problem. There was water in my womb. He did not help me.

QUESTION 4   How severe should the symptoms be before you will call upon the services of a Diviner?

NAME	
2	I go there when it is still mild.

QUESTION 5   Under what circumstances would you consult with a medical doctor? Whom would you consult first when there is an illness in the family?

NAME	
2	When it is mild I go to medical doctor first.

QUESTION 6   What is your understanding of the relationship between the diviner and the medical doctor?

NAME	
2	No they have no relationship.

QUESTION 7   Have you had any experiences of the influence of your ancestors?

NAME	
2	No, nothing.

QUESTION 8 Do you participate in the rites and perform the rituals relating to your ancestors? Please give details.

NAME	
2	

QUESTION 9   On what occasion do you think about your ancestor? What was the most recent occasion?

NAME	
2	I used to do it before I got into this religion that I am in now.

QUESTION 10   If ancestors are not part of your belief system and practice, how do you celebrate events such as: childbirth Marriage and death?

NAME	CHILDBIRTH	MARRIAGE	DEATH
2	We don't do anything, we are just happy	There is a feast. An ox is slaughtered.	They do slaughter an animal to increase food.

QUESTION 11   What funeral rites and rituals do you follow in your family?

NAME	
2	Christian rites and rituals.

QUESTION 12   Upon what resources do you draw in times of crises?

NAME	
2	I pray to God.

QUESTION 13   If the ancestors are not important, do you still think about them on occasions? How often and when?

NAME	
2	This happens very seldom. I do sometimes think about them. When there is a problem at home I sometimes think that maybe it is an ancestor and then I move away from it because I don't believe in them.

QUESTION 14 How do you understand the Church's celebration of "All Saints Day?"

NAME	
2	I know nothing about.

QUESTION 15 How do you understand the Church's teaching about ancestors?

NAME	
2	In my church we say ancestors enter the Kingdom of heavens through us. If we believe while on earth we are helping them to be saved too.

QUESTION 16 What is your understanding of the work of the diviner? How does the work of the diviner relate to that of the medical doctor?

NAME	
2	He sees things that are beyond the normal personal visions. He has supernatural visions. Diviner and doctors are not related.

B. MARRIAGE

QUESTION 1 Was the "bride-wealth" (lobola) paid when you were married? Who did the negotiations and their relationship to you and your spouse?

NAME	LOBOLA
2	Yes. My father and my husbands' brothers did the negotiations.

QUESTION 2 Were there close relatives who were unable to attend your wedding? Did they provide reasons for their absence?

NAME	
2	Yes but they did not give any reasons.

QUESTION 3 Were the family ancestors referred to at your wedding?

NAME	
2	No. Nothing was said about the ancestors.

QUESTION 4   In which way did the relationship between you and your family and community change after you were married?

NAME	
2	Nothing changed but maybe I got some degree of respect.

QUESTION 5   Is there an *umsamo* in your home?

NAME	
2	Yes. I used to make beer and put it there before I became religious. It was for ancestors.

C. CHILDBIRTH

QUESTION 1   Were traditional rites used at and after childbirth?

NAME	
2	No. Nothing was done for them, except when they have to inhale inyamazane.

QUESTION 2   Did you have your child/ren baptized? Does baptism change the child's relationship to the family and past generations?

NAME	
2	Yes. When baptised you have light. The dead can see that you have this light and follow you. They know they'll enter the Kingdom of God because of you.

D. INITIATION
QUESTION 1   Did you and other members of your family participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
2	Yes. My family performed that rite. My uncle from my father's side encouraged us.

QUESTION 2   Who encouraged you to participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
2	My uncle from my father's side. Our father had died a long time ago.

QUESTION 3 Would you encourage your children and grandchildren to participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
2	Yes. It is good thing. The child is also aware that he is now an adult if s/he participates in this rite.

QUESTION 4 What is the importance of participation in the initiation rite?

NAME	
2	It is important because the ancestors are told that the girl is now a young woman.

QUESTION 5 Are the ancestors involved in the initiation process? In which way?

NAME	
2	Yes they are informed that so and so is now a young woman or man. They must look after him.

QUESTION 6 Did participation in the initiation rite change your relationships, and in what ways, to: (a) your parents, (b) your older sibling, (c) your younger siblings?

NAME	PARENTS	OLDER SIBLINGS	YOUNGER SIBLINGS
2	Yes. They do expect you to act more responsibly. They are happy for me.	I get respect and they expect me to do harder things.	They respect me and call me Sisi.

QUESTION 7 Were you confirmed? How old were you at the time?

NAME	AGE
2	No

QUESTION 8 Are your children confirmed?

NAME	
2	No

QUESTION 10 In what way did confirmation affect your relationships to: (a) parents (b) siblings, (c) family (d) society/community?

NAME	PARENTS	SIBLINGS	FAMILY	SOCIETY/COMMUNITY

QUESTION 11   Does confirmation affect one's relationship to the past generations?

NAME	

E. SICKNESS

QUESTION 1   Do the ancestors have a role in a family member becoming ill?

NAME	
2	Yes. Sometimes they do make some family members ill if they want something. Like if ukubuyisa was not done, they can make one ill and say they are cold outside, they want to come home.

QUESTION 2   Did your parent's consult a diviner when a family member was ill?

NAME	
2	Yes

QUESTION 3   Under what circumstances would a diviner be consulted?

NAME	
2	Any illness. My mother went to a diviner when a bird kept bothering her. She went to her and was given medicine to spray it. She did, it got tired and she was able to bit it till it died.

QUESTION 4   Was a diviner consulted when you were ill? Who made the request? What was the diagnosis? If the diagnosis included an ancestor, was the ancestor named? What was the outcome of the treatment by the diviner?

NAME	CONSULTATION	REQUEST	DIAGNOSIS	ANCESTOR NAMED	OUTCOME OF TREATMENT
2	No except that abdomen.				

QUESTION 5   Would the family also consult with a medical doctor? Under what circumstances?

NAME	
2	Medical doctor, yes we would consult

QUESTION 6   Who would be consulted first when there was a major illness in the family?

NAME	
2	Medical doctor.

QUESTION 7 As a Christian, what resources have you found most helpful in time of crisis e.g. a serious illness?

NAME	
2	I pray for myself and also go to fathers in church to pray for me.

F. FAITH

QUESTION 1 If you are a Christian, how often do you: Pray?, On what occasions are you most fervent in your prayers? Attend church services? Participate in the Lord' Supper? What is your thinking about the ancestors?

NAME	PRAY	OCCASIONS FOR FERVENT PRAYER	ATTEND CHURCH	LORD'S SUPPER	THINK ABOUT ANCESTORS
2	I pray often especially when I am down emotionally.	Emotional problems.	When I think I have been lazy. What will I do should I die now? Then I try to go to church week after week.	Yes	It is anybody who is dead in the family. They don't help. Sometimes really bad things happen in the household and I ask myself if there are ancestors, why do they let something like this happen. They are not helpful at all.

ANCESTORS – REPSONSES TO THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

NEITHER CHRISTIAN NOR TRADITIONAL

QUESTION 1

NAME	Do you believe that your ancestors have a place in your family life?	What function(s) do they have?
1		It is difficult for me to say. My parents believe in them but not I.

QUESTION 2   Is the presence and participation of the ancestors important at times of:

NAME	CHILDBIRTH	INITIATION	MARRIAGE	SICKNESS	DEATH
1					

QUESTION 3   Have you called upon the diviner? Under what circumstance?

NAME	
1	Yes. My Kombi was stolen. I did not get any help from the diviner. I did not get my car back.

QUESTION 4   How severe should the symptoms be before you will call upon the services of a diviner?

NAME	

QUESTION 5   Under what circumstances would you consult with a medical doctor? Whom would you consult first when there is an illness in the family?

NAME	
1	I don't go to a doctor. But my wife sometimes takes the children to the doctor but is very seldom.

QUESTION 6   What is your understanding of the relationship between the diviner and the medical doctor?

NAME	
1	I don't really see the work of a diviner. I think they are useless. If you are bewitched they can't help you. They don't help you with anything. Doctor is better.

QUESTION 7   Have you had any experiences of the influence of your ancestors?

NAME	
1	Yes. I once slaughtered a goat when I began to work. I was advised by my parents. It did not come from me.

QUESTION 8 Do you participate in the rites and perform the rituals relating to your ancestors? Please give details.

NAME	
1	No.

QUESTION 9   On what occasion do you think about your ancestor? What was the most recent occasion?

NAME	
1	No. It does not happen. Bit I once dreamy seeing myself with many goats. I don't know what it meant.

QUESTION 10   If ancestors are not part of your belief system and practice, how do you celebrate events such as: childbirth Marriage and death?

NAME	CHILDBIRTH	MARRIAGE	DEATH
1	I do slaughter a goat because everybody at home does it next because I have a reason to do.	I will do what will be appropriate at the time. I won't say how it will be. I will look at the situation at that time.	I know that sometimes an animal is slaughtered for the meat. I don't know of any other reason.

QUESTION 11   What funeral rites and rituals do you follow in your family?

NAME	
1	I have not have any funeral in my family.

QUESTION 12   Upon what resources do you draw in times of crises?

NAME	
1	I don't know. I don't pray and I don't speak to ancestors. I rely on myself and work hard. I also speak to people and find out their opinions. I also use herbs.

QUESTION 13   If the ancestors are not important, do you still think about them on occasions? How often and when?

NAME			

QUESTION 14   How do you understand the Church's celebration of "All Saints Day?"

NAME	
1	Nothing

QUESTION 15   How do you understand the Church's teaching about ancestors?

NAME	
1	Many churches criticise ancestors and say ancestors are demons.

QUESTION 16   What is your understanding of the work of the diviner? How does the work of the diviner relate to that of the medical doctor?

NAME	
1	See No. 6

B. MARRIAGE

QUESTION 1   Was the "bride-wealth" (lobola) paid when you were married? Who did the negotiations and their relationship to you and your spouse?

NAME	LOBOLA	RELATIONSHIP
1	Yes. I went there myself and my brother in law. Uncles of my wife.	

QUESTION 2   Were there close relatives who were unable to attend your wedding? Did they provide reasons for their absence?

NAME		REASONS
1	I don't remember. It is a long time. I did not take notice.	

QUESTION 3 Were the family ancestors referred to at your wedding?

NAME	
1	I cannot really say because I got married during the weekend and then went to live in Clermont on Sunday.

QUESTION 4   In which way did the relationship between you and your family and community change after you were married?

NAME	
1	Here was no change that I noticed. I moved to new people as soon as I got married. Those people did not know my previous status.

QUESTION 5   Is there an *umsamo* in your home?

NAME	
1	No. I don't have it in my house.

C. CHILDBIRTH

QUESTION 1   Were traditional rites used at and after childbirth?

NAME	
1	Imbeleko. Yes. A goat is slaughtered for the child.

QUESTION 2   Did you have your child/ren baptized? Does baptism change the child's relationship to the family and past generations?

NAME	
1	Yes. Full Gospel. But I don't believe past generations have anything to do with live people.

D. INITIATION

QUESTION 1   Did you and other members of your family participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
1	No

QUESTION 2   Who encouraged you to participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	

QUESTION 3   Would you encourage your children and grandchildren to participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
1	If there would be financial gain I would encourage the ukuphehlwa so that girls don't wish to do sex while they are young. I also like checking for virginity so that girls are afraid to have sex.

QUESTION 4   What is the importance of participation in the initiation rite?

NAME	
1	I do not really know.

QUESTION 5   Are the ancestors involved in the initiation process? In which way?

NAME	
1	I do not know.

QUESTION 6   Did participation in the initiation rite change your relationships, and in what ways, to: (a) your parents, (b) your older sibling , (c) your younger siblings?

NAME	PARENTS	OLDER SIBLINGS	YOUNGER SIBLINGS

QUESTION 7   Were you confirmed? How old were you at the time?

NAME	AGE
1	No. I do not know what it is.

QUESTION 8   Are your children confirmed?

NAME	
1	No

QUESTION 10   In what way did confirmation affect your relationships to: (a) parents (b) siblings, (c) family (d) society/community?

NAME	PARENTS	SIBLINGS	FAMILY	SOCIETY/COMMUNITY

QUESTION 11   Does confirmation affect one's relationship to the past generations?

NAME	

E. SICKNESS
QUESTION 1 Do the ancestors have a role in a family member becoming ill?

NAME	
1	No I cannot say. I do hear it happens to other people.

QUESTION 2 Did your parent's consult a diviner when a family member was ill?

NAME	

QUESTION 3 Under what circumstances would a diviner be consulted?

NAME	

QUESTION 4 Was a diviner consulted when you were ill? Who made the request? What was the diagnosis? If the diagnosis included an ancestor, was the ancestor named? What was the outcome of the treatment by the diviner?

NAME	CONSULTATION	REQUEST	DIAGNOSIS	ANCESTOR NAMED	OUTCOME OF TREATMENT
1	No				

QUESTION 5 Would the family also consult with a medical doctor? Under what circumstances?

NAME	
1	Yes my wife not I. When the child is sick.

QUESTION 6 Who would be consulted first when there was a major illness in the family?

NAME	
1	Doctor

QUESTION 7 As a Christian, what resources have you found most helpful in time of crises e.g. a serious illness?

NAME	
1	I am not a Christian.

F. FAITH

QUESTION 1 If you are a Christian, how often do you: Pray?, On what occasions are you most fervent in your prayers? Attend church services? Participate in the Lord' Supper? What is your thinking about the ancestors?

NAME	PRAY	OCCASIONS FOR FERVENT PRAYER	ATTEND CHURCH	LORD'S SUPPER	THINK ABOUT ANCESTORS
1		I don't pray.			

ANCESTORS – RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES

CHRISTIAN AND TRADITIONAL

QUESTION 1

NAME	Do you believe that your ancestors have a place in your family life?	What function(s) do they have?
3	Yes I do.	They protect us in some way. They also bring us good luck. They see beyond.
9	Yes	They control the life of the family. They give good luck and bad luck.
4	Yes, very much.	They don't want lies. If you lie to you marriage partner bad luck follows you. They help you prevent accidents. They help you in getting a marriage partner.
8	I strongly believe.	I believe that whatever we do we rely mostly on the ancestors.
18	Yes I do believe.	They protect us from illness, misfortunes and accidents. They give us good luck. They guide us in our actions.
7		
6	Yes I do believe that ancestors have a place in my family because I even go to the extent of remembering them by slaughtering a goat or something for them.	Wherever I go, I do believe that the ancestors are there and they give me protection.
13	Yes I do believe.	They look after myself and my family and our lives are controlled by ancestors.

QUESTION 2   Is the presence and participation of the ancestors important at times of:

NAME	CHILDBIRTH	INITIATION	MARRIAGE	SICKNESS	DEATH
3	Yes. Children get sick if they have not been reported to the ancestors.	Yes. If the initiation has not been done a woman can sometimes not bear children in her marriage.	Thinks do not get well if the ancestors are not referred to. E.g. umembeso. They (ancestors) can cause bad luck if they do not get anything from umakoti.	Yes. Some sicknesses can be attributed to certain ancestors, if they want something.	The dead person is believed to be joining the other dead members of the family. He will also give them our best wishes.
9	Yes. No child can be born without the will of ancestors.	Initiation is like a uniform. A child should be announced when he reaches a certain stage.	Ancestors give you your spouse. There can be no marriage without them.	They can punish you by making you sick if you don't perform certain things.	They know that the dead one is joining them. They will continue looking after the living.
4	They help I successful childbirth. I nearly died when giving birth to my last daughter. I could not walk. I went to the diviner and she told me that ancestors will help me and they did.	They guide the person.	They visit you in dreams. If you are a makoti in that family they show themselves to you. Even if you have never seen them. If you describe to your husband what you have seen he tells you who the visitor was. It shows you are welcome.	They choose somebody to show that they want something. That somebody gets sick.	Sometimes ancestors do things that result in death. Usually they are well meaning they do not mean to hurt you. They choose the person that they want to join them. That person dies and it is painful for the person.

8	The fire is made to make the house warm. Then a goat is slaughtered (imbeleko) so as to help the child grow..	In our culture this is not applied.	Two families are connected together by means of the ancestors through goats and cows slaughtering.		After the burial ceremony there must be a cleansing process where a goat is slaughtered and its dung is used to clean (wash) the people's hands.
18	It is very important. A child is a gift in the family. The ancestors must see to it that the child is growing. We must report the child to the ancestors.	In girls a goat is slaughtered (umhlayane). Then a cow is slaughtered (umamulo). Its like when the child entering/reaching a menstruation stage.	The bile from the cow is used to report the bride who has come to join the family.	It happens that someone gets sick because there were some things for ancestors which were not fulfilled.	An animal (goat) is slaughtered to report that someone is dead and is coming to join. The mourners ask the dead to be a good ancestor.
6	Impepho is burn at emsamo to report to the ancestors that here is the newborn child they must welcome him/her.	Yes it's important because it's where you realise your manhood as well as your nationality.	Impepho is burnt a goat is slaughtered to welcome the bride or the groom.	We burn impepho at emsamo to ask the ancestors to help by healing the sick person.	The dead body cannot go to the graveyard without first telling the ancestors that they must welcome this person who has come to join them.
13	Yes the ancestors are present and important since the baby is the mother's womb when conceived till the child is born.	The ancestors prepare the child so that the child's life is not destroyed by bad things.	They look after the two who are planning to get married. They're in between them.	The ancestors can talk to God on the other side and they can save life of the one who is sick.	The ancestors help the bereaved to be strong so that the correct procedures are followed to bury the dead person.

QUESTION 3 Have you called upon the diviner? Under what circumstance?

NAME	
3	Yes. I was not sick. I was accompanying my friend. I was also interested to know about my affairs. He told me about things that I knew were true.
9	Yes. If there is misunderstanding between my wife an I
8	Yes. If things are becoming severe. Also if the doctor's treatment does not help me.
8	I've been to the Sangoma because I lost the money. The Sangoma told me where the money was I found it and I believed that the Sangoma's work.
18	It's a very difficult question. In my family I do have a Sangoma.
6	Yes I called a diviner when I slipped on the floor and my leg was broken.
13	Yes. I had a problem in connection with my life so I wanted the diviner to help solve the problem.

QUESTION 4 How severe should the symptoms be before you will call upon the services of a diviner?

NAME	
3	Severe. I will go to them when I am desperate. I go to the doctor first. It I do not get help from him then I go to umthandazi. I believe the doctor is professional that why I trust him first. Diviners have not formal training.
9	Severe
4	Severe
8	It depends if things don't come right you go to the diviner.
18	It depends as to when were the symptoms recognised.
6	When it is moderate and you can see that things are not going well at home then you go to see the diviner.
13	If I am failing to solve the problem myself I then consult the diviner.

QUESTION 5 Under what circumstances would you consult with a medical doctor? Whom would you consult first when there is an illness in the family?

NAME	
3	Doctor first. I trust the doctor. He knows what he is doing. The diviner is mostly speculating.
9	When I have flu I definitely go to the medical doctor first.
4	Doctor first. Diviner when I don't get better. If things are very severe I simply go to the diviner.
8	If one had a flue, headache, or diarrhea you consultation with the doctor helps in a sense that you get an injection.
18	I consult a medical doctor first for illnesses such as TB, hypertension and flue.

6	If there is an ordinary flue or when then there is an accident e.g. you can't just go for tooth extraction without reporting to the ancestors.
13	If I see that the traditional healing is failing I'll go to the medical doctor but still I will insist on traditional healing.

QUESTION 6   What is your understanding of the relationship between the diviner and the medical doctor?

NAME	
3	They are both concerned with out health, they heal.
9	They both heal, but the diviner has supernatural powers whereas the medical doctor does not have such powers.
4	There should be a relationship between doctor and diviner, because they use trees and herbs to heal.
18	Other illness can be cured by diviner when the medical doctor has failed. They do the same work.
7	The doctor has studied human physiology so s/he understands the sickness better. And because I believe in diviners what the diviner will tell or give me will work and I can be healed.
6	The doctor is looking after my health according to medical technology. The diviner is looking after my health in a traditional way.
13	The relationship is that there are other sickness which you feel are traditional like umego when you feel you've jumped over muthi. Then if traditional healing fail I will go to the medical doctor.

QUESTION 7   Have you had any experiences of the influence of your ancestors?

NAME	
3	Yes. I lost my car (It was stolen at home). One diviner who my mother visited said it was the work of the ancestors. I was given herbs and it came back. We had not done ukubuyisa for my father.
9	Yes. I know that the wife I have was given to me by ancestors. They are always guarding her. If ever she can commit adultery, they will make me know and she will have to go.
4	Yes. My elder daughter has been having a big problem. She has been seeing a short man. Nobody else has been having that experience. The diviner said ancestors want a goat and a skin bangle for her. We did it and she is better.
8	Yes. I had one recently because I was suffering from hallucination and I went to the diviner s/he helped me but then referred me to the doctor again for an injection and some pills.
18	A child does something like the eyes have tears because the child wants rituals to be performed for him like face cuts.
7	Yes. It the time when my child was sick. When the diviner mentioned the problem and the child was healed after we followed the procedures she told us.
6	There are lots. In 1997 I was attacked by people I was supposed to die because I was stripped off but I believe the ancestors gave me protection.

13	I once suffered a terrible headache, the doctors' pills failed to help me but I went for traditional healing I think because the ancestors were there I was healed.

QUESTION 8 Do you participate in the rites and perform the rituals relating to your ancestors? Please give details.

NAME	
3	Yes. We performed ukubuyisa for my deceased father. But I have not performed any in my own house. I still consult my mother.
9	Ukubuyisa – for my grandmother and grandfather. I reported where I was when I bought this house.
4	Yes. We slaughter goats. We burn incense and speak to them (ancestors) We wear goat skin bangles.
8	We remember them, ancestors, by slaughtering and giving them whatever you can afford.
18	Yes. Imbeleko (slaughtering a goat for the child) and ukulanyisa (to remember a member of the family who is dead.)
7	If you feel you want to remember the dead you slaughter either a goat or a rooster. It depends on your budget.
6	There is time when you always have to remember the dead by slaughtering a goat and tell them you miss them.
13	If I have a need like to stay alive I talk to my ancestors because I think they have a strong connection with God.

QUESTION 9 On what occasion do you think about your ancestor? What was the most recent occasion?

NAME	
3	When we were performing ukubuyisa for my father. I was thinking tat maybe I will have good luck not bad luck like when my care was stolen.
9	Always. Right now. I have problems with my wife. She has left me. It is more than a month now.
4	When I have a problem with my husband I sometimes wonder why they don't make him see when he is in the wrong.
8	You don't have specific times but it just comes out that now I must do something for my ancestors. Recently I've been thinking about them but I'm still trying to accumulate cash.
18	My son was studying and he could not succeed without failing the exams he would refuse to go and sit for exams. I decide that (impepho) should be burned thereafter he freely went to write exams and passed very well.
7	I think ancestors when I'm happy or when I've achieved something like promotion at work, winning the lotto etc.
6	The incident in 1997.
13	All the time when I go to sleep I wake up I have to go out anywhere I tell my ancestors. I believe I should talk to them all the time.

QUESTION 10 If ancestors are not part of your belief system and practice, how do you celebrate events such as: childbirth Marriage and death?

NAME	CHILDBIRTH	MARRIAGE	DEATH
3	The ancestors are my belief system and I so go to church as well. But what I believe is that worshipping God and ancestors is one and the same thing.		
18	I would just take the child to church to be baptised. Without reporting to the ancestors.	The priest would just conduct the wedding sermon bless the ring. The couple and the guests would have lunch without talking to the ancestors.	Some with the funeral we just follow the Church rituals and do not report to the ancestors that someone is late or deceased.
7	I would just bring the child straight from home to hospital.	I would follow the Indians culture of wedding even if I'm black.	I would do the cremation.
6	This I cannot comment on because I believe in ancestors.		
13	I cannot celebrate the childbirth without the ancestors because I strongly believe that a goat should be slaughtered for imbeleko ritual so that the child is reported to the ancestors.	I know the date when I married my wife. I will just always celebrate that day with my wife.	What I believe is that ancestors should be told that someone is now dead. If not I really don't know what to do.

QUESTION 11 What funeral rites and rituals do you follow in your family?

NAME	
3	We make beer (Zulu beer) We slaughter a goat and/or an ox We do inhlambuluko after a certain period where we wash our hands with the chewed grass inside the goat.
9	Traditional and Christian. We tell him that we are taking him to his last room – the grave. He must give regards to the ancestors.
4	We use both Christian and traditional funeral rites.
8	We meet together as family and have discussions. Then we follow the programme that we planned together. We burn impepho and do the slaughtering when necessary.
18	No death has occurred in our family so I don't have any specific answer to this question.

7	You've to go and fetch the Spirit of that person with a certain kind of a tree leaf called (Mlahlankosi). If the person died because he was stabbed you have to close those wounds (by cleaning) his body. So that it does not happen again to any member of this family. After the year we do (Ukubuyisa) by that we believe that now his spirit has come to live with us as his family members. Then after that we can make a tombstone.
6	We mourn. There are things we don't do because there is death. In the family slaughtering something depends on how much you have. We don't attend parties while we're still mourning.
13	We call the elders. There must be someone in the family who will tell the people coming to the funeral the history of the dead. If is a man who is dead a cow must be slaughtered so that the corpse is covered with a skin.

QUESTION 12   Upon what resources do you draw in times of crises?

NAME	.
3	I pray to God. And I also go to my mother and she burns the incense and calls for ancestors help.
9	I burn incense. I speak to my ancestors
4	I pray. I get the power from God.
8	I strongly believe that my help comes from both God and my ancestors that I don't discriminate.
18	Most of the time I pray a lot.
7	I depend on God together with my ancestors. I feel if I just report to them my problem will be solved.
6	I talk and ask the ancestors to give me luck.
13	I have brothers and my family to help me.

QUESTION 13   If the ancestors are not important, do you still think about them on occasions? How often and when?

NAME	
8	I can never think that ancestors are not important.
18	Sometimes if I think my prayer is failing I do think that now I must go back to my rots, my ancestors.
7	I won't think about them if they are not important.
6	Ancestors have never been unimportant in my life.
13	No I won't think about them.

QUESTION 14 How do you understand the Church's celebration of "All Saints Day?"

NAME	
3	The church criticises.
9	I am not sure.
4	I do not know anything about it.
8	I believe it's a day we remember the dead but who were blessed while they were alive.
18	It depends as to which church religion do you belong. In our church where we belong every Sunday we do remember the Saints. There is no special one day for it.
7	We remember all those who are dead.
6	I've never noticed this. I've never experienced this.
13	It's the day they're worshipping God like any other Sabbath day.

QUESTION 15 How do you understand the Church's teaching about ancestors?

NAME	
3	The church criticises the ancestors.
9	They don't want to speak the truth. But I believe even the church does have ancestral worship. Like we do the unveiling in out church, which is remembering the dead (ancestors).
4	We do mass for the ancestors. Sometimes we ask for work from the ancestors. Our church teaches that there is nothing wrong in worshipping our ancestors.
8	Our church the Roman Catholics are not against ancestors because slaughtering and brewing is not forbidden.
18	Most religions/church nowadays do not teach about ancestors they just deny that. They say ancestors are demonics.
7	The Catholics are of the idea that ancestors are important.
6	I think the churches are confused because they deny the existence of ancestors whereas the Bible itself tells us about the people who're dead already.
13	The churches are not the same. Others are against the ancestors and others are for ancestors.

QUESTION 16 What is your understanding of the work of the diviner? How does the work of the diviner relate to that of the medical doctor?

NAME	
3	See No. 6.
9	S/he has supernatural powers given by god. No one can claim that power. It is given. They both heal.

4	See No. 6
8	When the diviner fails s/he refers you to the medical doctor some thing applies with the medical doctors.
6	The diviner can pray directly to ancestors. The medical doctor studied to become a medical practitioner.
13	The diviner is consulted by Mvelinqangi God in what ever s/he does. Even the doctor is helped by God to heal the people who are sick.

B. MARRIAGE

QUESTION 1   Was the "bride-wealth" (lobola) paid when you were married? Who did the negotiations and their relationship to you and your spouse?

NAME	LOBOLA
3	Yes. My uncle and my brother. My spouse – her uncle and her uncles in her mother's side.
9	Yes. My cousins (elder) and my brothers spouse. Her uncles.
4	Yes. My husband's brothers and my uncles and neighbours.
8	Yes I paid lobola. My relatives helped me in the negotiation process.
18	Yes the lobola was paid. Abakhongi (men) were sent to my home the talks were between them and my father and my brother.
7	Yes. Abakhongi met with my Dad
6	Yes I paid lobola. Honest people from family members negotiate the process of lobola.
13	Yes I paid lobola. My brothers were negotiation the relationship.

QUESTION 2   Were there close relatives who were unable to attend your wedding? Did they provide reasons for their absence?

NAME	
3	No. All my relatives came.
9	Yes. My marriage happened hastily. So some did not have enough time to prepare.
4	I did not notice
8	Those who could not make it were from far away that is the reason.
18	All my close relatives were able to attend my wedding.
7	Yes. They were able to give no reasons.
6	Yes others were not present, different reasons I got like they were invited late. They were sick and all those sorts of things.

13	All my relatives were able to attend my wedding.

QUESTION 3 Were the family ancestors referred to at your wedding?

NAME	
3	No. I have no reason. It is because things happened hastily. It was only church wedding because of the violent circumstances in the area at the time.
9	Yes. Yes even though it was a church ceremony my ancestors were informed that a new member was joining the family.
4	Yes. From my household, ancestors were informed that I am not leaving them to join the surname of Chiya. They must also go with me.
8	Yes during the traditional wedding cows were slaughtered. The elder man in the family talked to the ancestors.
18	Yes there was a referral to the ancestors.
7	Yes
6	Yes early in the morning the impepho was burnt. And when we come back the bride was slaughtered a goat as a symbol of welcoming, telling, reporting to the ancestors about this newly we bride.
13	Yes the bride was welcomed and introduced to the Zondi family.

QUESTION 4 In which way did the relationship between you and your family and community change after you were married?

NAME	
3	No. But I think there was respect that I noticed that was not there before I got married.
9	There was a drastic change. I found that my family did not like my wife that much. There were fights at home. But my family did have some respect for me. My sibling canned me Bhuti.
4	I did not notice any change in my family. Everything was just the same. The community does respect me because I respect myself too.
8	I did not notice any change.
18	The relationship did not change.
7	It changed with my family because I had now to look after the family that I married to. I also had to move to the new community my husband's.
6	It didn't change it is still the same.
13	There was no change. Instead was overjoyed.

QUESTION 5 Is there an *umsamo* in your home?

NAME	
3	Yes. It is that upper area in the are where dishes are put (utensils). It is also where incense is burnt.
9	Yes. It is where I burn incense and do ubulawu. Mine is beside my bed in my bedroom.
4	Yes. It is where the ancestors are. That is where we burn incense, and speak to ancestors.
8	Yes there is.
18	Yes there was umsamo. The purpose of this place is to have a place where you will go to when you want to talk to the ancestors.
7	Yes. Where we go to talk to about ancestors. We believe the spirit of the dead is there.
6	Yes. It's a place where we talk to the ancestors.
13	Yes

C. CHILDBIRTH

QUESTION 1 Were traditional rites used at and after childbirth?

NAME	
3a	No
9	My wife was given izihlambezo during her pregnancy. As soon as the child is born s/he given ash and smeared ash on the fontanelle. Incense is burnt and ancestors are informed.
4	No. Nothing was done, except that after about 3 years a child is cut on the face.
8	Yes.
18	Yes they all have a goat slaughtered for them that is called "IMBELEKO".
7	Yes. The grandfather of the child reported the child to the ancestors. The goat slaughtered and the child given face marks.
6	Yes. Imbeleko
13	Yes. We reported by burning the impepho to say here the child has arrived.

QUESTION 2 Did you have your child/ren baptized? Does baptism change the child's relationship to the family and past generations?

NAME	
3	Not yet. They are still young. I do not know whether there is anything that changes when the children are baptized.
9	No. It does not change the relationship between generations. That cannot change.
4	Yes. Old people say yes something happens. The past generation are happy when children are baptized.

8	Yes they were baptised. Baptism did not change the child's relationship to the family and the past generations.
18	Yes children are baptised. This does/did not change the relationship.
7	Yes.(children baptised) No(no change in relationships). By baptism the first sin of the child is removed so that the child meets the family.
6	Yes
13	No. It does not change.

D. INITIATION

QUESTION 1   Did you and other members of your family participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
3	Yes but it is not something that includes the family. It is something that we did as boys. Parents were not involved.
9	No boys. But we simply do imbeleko. That imbeleko shows if the child is this family or not. If the child does not belong here the wife will die. The child from outside cannot wear isiphandla of this home.
4	No
8	This is not part of our culture.
18	Yes my parents slaughtered a goat for me. That is called umhlayane. And a later stage a cow was slaughtered for me and that is called umemulo.
7	Yes. It's a stage where you're regarded as a grown up and no more a child.
6	Yes only the boys were there.
13	Yes

QUESTION 2   Who encouraged you to participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
3	My friends.
9	Solomon, my friend. That initiation was something that we did without our parents knowing. It was something of peer group.
18	Both my parents encouraged me.
7	My parents.
6	The brothers who were older than me.
13	I was ready for the initiation.

QUESTION 3   Would you encourage your children and grandchildren to participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
3	Yes I will. In the initiation process the child is taught about the rights and wrongs. They learn to be bold, strong and courageous, to withstand difficulties and be a man.
9	Yes. The girls especially. After menstruating I have to do something for my daughter to show my ancestors that their daughter is growing up. She is now a woman.
4	Yes. The thing is I don't have any experience of it.
18	I would encourage my children but now its very difficult because it's unlike older days when we use to get either a cow or a goat from the kraal. Nowadays a lot of money is required.
7	Yes
6	Yes I will encourage them.
13	Yes because I would love my children to live the same life as I lived.

QUESTION 4   What is the importance of participation in the initiation rite?

NAME	
3	I feel it is important to show that you have entered a certain stage in your life.
9	It gives respect and pride to oneself.
4	It is important. Children are taught how to behave in the initiation process.
18	It is important that they're introduced to this stage as it is like an adult stage.
7	It's important because the ancestors were first told that there is a child in this family. They must also be told that there is an adult in this family. Because they won't just understand themselves family. Why sometimes they're referred to as idiots.
6	You become proud of your culture and the family name as well.
13	There are certain things you must be ready. Like you must be ready to meet the person of an opposite sex before you reach that stage.

QUESTION 5   Are the ancestors involved in the initiation process? In which way?

NAME	
3	Yes I believe so. But mostly in girls. In our case as boys there is no formal ceremony. In girls like umemulo the ancestors are involved, they are informed that the girl has grown and they should look after her.
9	Yes I think. Even though I did not do the initiation that is structured but I think ancestors are involved, they have to look after you.
4	Yes. I think they are involved because they should be informed that the child is growing up and s/he needs guidance.

18	Everything that involves slaughtering go through the ancestors. There is nothing that can be done without involving the ancestors.
7	Same as I explained in the last question.
6	The ancestors are told that the boys are now leaving for this purpose and when you come back as well they're reported.
13	Yes because the ancestors also participated in the initiation rite once they're alive. Before you go for the process you have to report to ancestors because it's a critical process where one will loose one vein an anything could happen from there.

QUESTION 6 Did participation in the initiation rite change your relationships, and in what ways, to: (a) your parents, (b) your older sibling , (c) your younger siblings?

NAME	PARENTS	OLDER SIBLINGS	YOUNGER SIBLINGS	EXTENDED FAMILY
9	No. They never knew about it.		Those that knew about it knew I was growing into a man, I was also a man like others.	
18	The relationship did not change at all.	I join the older siblings.	I needed to guide them so that they to will get into this stage.	The relationship was not affected we always communicated very well.
7	You must be accepted as an adult they must now take your view as an adult.		You give them advice as an adult no more playing with them.	Same as with parents.
6	There was no change.	No change because they encouraged me to do.	They must see from and also want this initiation to happen to them. They will be eager to reach the stage.	It did not change.
13	It changed because I couldn't sleep with others and young one's and then I have to get my own room now.			

QUESTION 7 Were you confirmed? How old were you at the time?

NAME	AGE
3	No
9	No
4	No
8	Yes, 10 years old
18	Yes I was 16 years old.
7	No
6	Yes. 17 years old
13	Yes I was 19 years

QUESTION 8 Are your children confirmed (umqiniso)?

NAME	
3	No
4	Not yet.
8	No, they died very young.
18	Not yet.
7	No
6	Not yet confirmed they're only baptized.
13	Yes

QUESTION 9 What is the importance of confirmation to: the child?, the parent's?, the family?.

NAME	CHILD	PARENTS	FAMILY
3	I think it inculcates the conscience. Always behave in the right manner you know all the rules.	The same as above.	The same as above.
9	I don't know.		

4	It is important because the child knows all the teachings of the church.	The parents have to know the teachings in order to guide the children.	If all the family knows the teachings of the church, they do one thing and there is unity in the home.
8	It is important as for one's church beliefs and you family.		
18	It is important because through confirmation the child comes to know him/herself and know how to behave. Respect as such is taught and emphasised through confirmation.		
6	I was able to take part in the holy communion.	The parent's take it that once you're confirmed you're now a responsible adult.	That I'm not sure.
13		It shoes that the child is fully grown up.	

QUESTION 10 In what way did confirmation affect your relationships to: (a) parents (b) siblings, (c) family (d) society/community?

NAME	PARENTS	SIBLINGS	FAMILY	SOCIETY/COMMUNITY
3	(I was not confirmed)			
8	It had not change that I noticed.			
18	Through confirmation I learnt to know how to believe in church. How to respect the elders. How do I go as an adult.	Respect id enforced	Respect is enforced.	Respect is enforced.
6				I'm not sure as to how it affects the relationship but what I know is that once you're confirmed you have to be in company with the Christians.
	Once you're confirmed it's like you've reached the certain stage where you'll be left to be independent.			
13				

QUESTION 11   Does confirmation affect one's relationship to the past generations?

NAME	
3	I have no idea
9	Yes. I think those who were not Christians we are helping them by being confirmed. They'll benefit because of us. I am not sure but that is what I think.
4	I do not know. But I think those past generations who were confirmed are happy when their living generations are confirmed. But I don't know the reason, but maybe because they'll be close to God.
18	It does affect one's relationship with the past generation but confirmation is a church thing it does less to the past generations.
6	I don't think that confirmation has anything to do with this.
13	No it does not change.

E. SICKNESS

QUESTION 1   Do the ancestors have a role in a family member becoming ill?

NAME	
3	Yes. When an ancestors wants something and it is not done, an ancestor can become angry and that particular person can be sick. You must do what the diviner tells you accordingly.
9	No. Ancestors are not one person. They are many different people who have different personalities. Some of them can make things happen in the family. Sometimes they get confused.
4	Yes. If they want to show the family that they want umsebenzi.
8	Yes. One can be mentally ill when you go to the diviner s/he will tell you it's because of the ancestors. Once you attend that person will be healed from the sickness.
18	Yes because there is a belief that ancestors could play a role in bring a cure to the sick.
7	If they're not remembered, they'll just let illness come in so that they be remembered.
6	Yes it happens when the ancestors want something they just let a sickness in the family.
13	If you don't listen to your parent and elders the ancestors just let the sickness on you. They just punish you.

QUESTION 2 Did your parent's consult a diviner when a family member was ill?

NAME	
3	Yes
9	Yes, often. There are sick children at home. Diviners help them.
4	Not while I was a child.
8	Yes. They once consulted a diviner when there was illness.
18	My parents believed strongly in prayer and medical doctors.
7	Yes
6	Yes they consulted a diviner.
13	Yes

QUESTION 3 Under what circumstances would a diviner be consulted?

NAME	
3	If a person has a chain of bad luck.
9	When a family member is sick.
8	A diviner would be consulted so that they make the house look strong and that the home is not easily bewitched.
18	Diviners were never consulted.
7	My dad was ill. Usually when he plans to make ukubuyisa for my late brother. It was diagnosed that they wanted the ukubuyisa to be done for them first before attending to my late brother.
6	If there is sickness a diviner is called or when you just want the diviner to predict if everything is going well at home.
13	If someone is mentally ill.

QUESTION 4 Was a diviner consulted when you were ill? Who made the request? What was the diagnosis? If the diagnosis included an ancestor, was the ancestor named? What was the outcome of the treatment by the diviner?

NAME	CONSULTATION	REQUEST	DIAGNOSIS	ANCESTOR NAMED	OUTCOME OF TREATMENT
3	Yes I had malnutrition.		Malnutrition.	No ancestor was named.	I was given herbs.
9	Yes	My mother	Bewitched at the extended family.	(extended family)	Yes. The situation became better.

4	No				
8	Yes. I was epileptic.	Both my parents.	Only the illness was cured.	The ancestor was not named.	I was cured as I'm alive.
18	No				
7	Yes.	My mother	Headache.	Yes the ancestor's name was mentioned but not in the sense that the ancestor contributed to my illness. Instead the ancestor was protecting me.	No a diviner only but it was together with medical doctors.
6	I had a broken leg.	My father.	Yes the diviner told us what was due to ancestors.	My grandmother's name was mentioned.	He prescribed to me what I was supposed to do. Then my leg was healed.
13	Yes I was suffering from feet	My mother	He mentioned that I walk on something – muthi - from work.	Yes it was mentioned my grandfather.	The outcome was god because I had a hope.

QUESTION 5   Would the family also consult with a medical doctor? Under what circumstances?

NAME	
3	Yes. When a member of the family is sick.
9	Yes if it an uncomplicated illness.
4	Yes. If it is a common cold.
8	My mother was sick and my child who died at the hospital.
18	Yes when they have flue or any illness.
7	Yes for headaches, flues
6	Yes when there is flue.
13	If the sickness is not seen as traditionally.

QUESTION 6   Who would be consulted first when there was a major illness in the family?

NAME	
3	Doctor. I trust him more to give quick help.
9	It depends on the illness. If it a queer illness I would go to a doctor first then to the diviner.
4	Diviner first. If he tells me it is just a common cold then I go to the doctor.
8	That depends in the king of illness. If there is doubt about illness a diviner would be consulted first.
18	A medical doctor.
6	The ancestor through burning of incense – impepho.
13	The diviner.

QUESTION 7   As a Christian, what resources have you found most helpful in time of crisis e.g. a serious illness?

NAME	
9	Prayer
4	I go to a diviner.
8	Doctors are mostly Christians.
18	I rely mostly in medical doctors.
7	You pray, but you need to involve ancestors.
6	Doctor and prayer.
13	Prayer

F. FAITH

QUESTION 1   If you are a Christian, how often do you: Pray?, On what occasions are you most fervent in your prayers? Attend church services? Participate in the Lord' Supper? What is your thinking about the ancestors?

NAME	PRAY	OCCASIONS FOR FERVENT PRAYER	ATTEND CHURCH	LORD'S SUPPER	THINK ABOUT ANCESTORS
3	Not always.	Not always. I sometimes don't pray. I pray when things are not going well.	I don't go to church. I do not believe that I have to go to church in order to pray. I	No.	They protect us from harm. They look after us.

					pray at home.
9	Whenever I get time. I come home and I want to.	When I have emotional problems.	Yes	No	They are spiritual power. It is the power of life that leaves the person when he is dying. That spiritual power becomes ancestors.
4	In the morning and at night before I go to bed.	When I have an emotional problem.	Every Sunday.	Not yet.	I think they help in building my home. They are very helpful in everything that I do.
8	In the morning when going to sleep and before eating.	You feel relive you even have a good sleep and no bad dreams when you've prayed fervently.	Yes	I do take part.	Ancestors were here even before us even the past generations had a very strong belief in ancestors. We inherited that belief from our forefathers.
18	I pray often at night. It's a routine.	When I have problems I do pray a lot.	Yes	Yes	I think the ancestors are part of our lives even in our family lives. There is no nation without tradition/culture. SO ancestors are part of our culture.
7	Always	If I had a problem.	Yes	Yes	I think the ancestors are there and they work for us but we must not say that because we're Christians then we forget about ancestors. Because the Christians worship the God who we regard as Mvelingangi
6	Three times a day.	When I have problem and you want	Yes I do.	Yes I do	Other people do not want to

		your problem to be solved.			believe in ancestors. But I for one strongly believe that ancestors are people who were once alive and now because they're dead through them you can be able to communicate with God. They're sort of between us and God.
13	You pray according to what you believe God will help you if you pray so much.	When I go to sleep or when I wake up in the morning.	Yes	Yes	I think the ancestors help me in many ways because I think they're closer to God. I think if I talk to my ancestors they easily convey my message to God.

ANCESTORS – REPSONSES TO THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

TRADITIONAL

QUESTION 1 Do you believe that your ancestors have a place in your family life? What function(s) do they have?

NAME		
5	Yes	They bring good luck They look after me They guide me in everything that I do
14	Yes	They give me luck. They look after me They give me what I ask from them
15	Yes	They help me in times of trouble in sickness and in emotional problems.
16	Yes	They bring us close to uMvelingangi. They communicate for us to him.
17	Yes I do believe that.	They look after all of us at home.
12	Yes. Ancestors do have a place in the family	When people ask for things such as luck ancestors do provide.
11	Yes I do believe because even if a child is sick and I burn (impepho) the child is healed from the illness.	
10	Yes	They look after us and control our lives.

QUESTION 2   Is the presence and participation of the ancestors important at times of:

NAME	CHILDBIRTH	INITIATION	MARRIAGE	SICKNESS	DEATH
5	Ancestors give the children. If you don't do umsebenzi for them, they don't give you	They are informed that a child is not grown up and they must look after	They look after the couple and they bless them with	They can make a person sick if they want something	When a person dies he hjoins the ancestors. They call you when

	children. When childbirth is difficult, an incense is burnt and they are begged and it becomes successful to give birth.	him/her	children	(umsebenzi). A family has to find out why a person is sick from those who ca who can see (umthandazi).	they want you. They call you by way of death.
14	Yes. They welcome the child and look after the child.	Yes. Ancestors have to be informed that the person has grown and they must lead them accordingly.	Yes. They look after your marriage. There are things that you have to do in order for them to look after your marriage. They give you children.	Yes. If you don't do the rituals, they show their anger by getting somebody sick, they show that they want something to be done for them.	Yes. They have to be informed if somebody has passed away. They have to welcome that person as one of them. They are called upon in the funeral and they are asked to lead the way.
15	Yes. The baby is taken to eisibayeni on the 10th day and is smeared with dung, and incense is burnt and ancestors are informed that a new person has been born.	Yes. If you have not done the initiation rite, there is always a gap and bad things happen to remind you that you have to do it. Sometimes you don't get married.	They are very important. They give you the marriage partner. They welcome the new makoti and watch over her.	They help to heal the sick person. If you call them they make you well.	They are informed about the dead person. Even if they see that a person is dead. The family needs to inform them.
16	We tell them if there is the child born in the family. Sometimes a child is called by an ancestor's name.	They are told to look after the child. They are told that the child is now a grown up. He can look after himself.	They are told that the person is leaving the household and is joining another household. The new household ancestors are then informed that there is a new person joining.	Madness – If the ancestors were not informed about the birth of the person. Imbeleko is important if not done a person may get sick or do funny things, be troublesome.	Ancestors should be informed so that they welcome him. He will be one of them.

17	I is important because impepho is burnt to report the child.	Not in our culture.	It looks after the wedding and things that might disturbed.	Impepho is used and we report and ask the ancestors for healing.	We slaughter the cow.
12	Ancestors are where we report that here is a child that is born in the family. Then the ancestors provide good health because now they know about the child born.	By this process you're notifying the ancestors that this is no more a child but an adult then the child needs to be guided by them towards proper adulthood.	When the girl is leaving home the ancestors are told that this girl no more belongs to this family. She is now getting married . The groom's ancestors are also told that this girl has joined the family.	I tell them that they should not allow the sickness to take place in this home because it is now their home.	This is the work of God (Omni-important). The ancestors are also told there is death in the family. Ancestors become involved since someone is dead till the cleansing ceremony is celebrated.
11	Not necessarily when the child is born but after sometime the goat is slaughtered for Imbeleko ritual.	No applicable to my family.	You have to report to the ancestors that the bride is now joining the other family. And the other family will report as well to their ancestors.	They're important because sometimes you'll think it's a sickness whereas its not. Its just that the ancestors want to show their presence.	I am not really sure with this question.
10	Yes because an incense (impepho) is burnt to report the arrival of the child.	This not part of my culture.	Even before the wedding during the lobola proceedings you report to the ancestors. Everything you have to report to the ancestors otherwise	You've to go to Emsemo and report that you're taking the child to the doctor.	The ancestor should welcome the one who is dead because s/he has to join others who're late.

	it goes wrong. Then you'll feel their presence if there is not fight in wedding. A goat is slaughtered. The changing of surname also involved.

QUESTION 3 Have you called upon the diviner? Under what circumstance?

NAME	
5	I don't have a house yet. I am living with parents in law who call a herbalist if there is something wrong.
14	Yes. I was sick
15	Yes. I wanted her to bring my ancestors home. They were living outside my home.
16	Yes if I have a problem. A child was sick.
17	Yes there was traditional party to remember the ancestors.
12	Yes. We wanted the diviner to come and use the special gift that s/he has from God.
11	Yes, but I don't only go to one diviner. I must go to threee at least so that I can affirm that I had a sick child/husband. One time I went ot more than one diviner.
10	I wanted him to come and make my house to be strong (ukubethela)

QUESTION 4 How severe should the symptoms be before you will call upon the services of a diviner?

NAME	
5	When it is severe
14	Severe
15	When it is still mild. I don't want the diviner to say only if you had called me earlier.
16	Severe, when doctors do not make him better.
17	Severe.
12	When its severe.
11	Where the symptoms are severe I consult the diviner.

10	I don't wait for symptoms. If I have money I go for it very quickly.

QUESTION 5   Under what circumstances would you consult with a medical doctor? Whom would you consult first when there is an illness in the family?

NAME	
5	Doctor is very helpful. His treatment is very quick. I would go to the doctor first.
14	At the first symptoms of an illness
15	When a person is weak, and when a person has no appetite. A doctor first and the diviner later.
16	Normal illness. Depends on the type of illness. If its headaches and tummy aches we take to doctor. IF an illness is persistent we take the person to diviner.
17	If suffering from flue.
12	If we as a family decide that we should consult a medical doctor.
11	If I have painful feet or legs I go to the medical doctor. I tell the children first.
10	It's because at work they want a medical certificate which I will not get from a diviner. Consult wife first.

QUESTION 6   What is your understanding of the relationship between the diviner and the medical doctor?

NAME	
5	No. They don't work the same way. Doctor simply gives you pills or an injection.
14	They are both healer but they do it in different styles. Diviner uses supernatural powers. Doctor uses drugs and instruments – things that can be seen.
15	There is relationship between the two. They both heal sick persons. The only difference is that the diviner sees spiritual things.
16	Yes there is a relationship. They are both healers.
17	There is no relationship because the doctor uses injection and the diviner either uses water or muthi.
12	A diviner has a special gift to foresee things. This gift is natural. The doctor is gift is that s/he is educated and knows how to treat illnesses and diseases.
11	These are two different things because sometimes one can not find help with the medical doctor but find help with the diviner and vice-versa.
10	They're the same they both help the person who is sick.

QUESTION 7 Have you had any experiences of the influence of your ancestors?

NAME	
5	Yes. My two children passed away and there was no cleansing done. I became sickly and went to unthandazi. Also my other child kept failing at school. Unthansazi said this bad luck is caused by that we did not do cleansing. We did it and now my child is passing and I am better. The other child was 7 months in my stomach. I had a miscarriage.
14	Yes. Everything I do and I have succeeded because of the ancestors.
15	Yes my husband fell sick. I called for them when he was about to die. As I called to all of the ancestors I saw him coming to life.
16	Yes. I have been an alcoholic which was caused by no having don ancestors rituals. I did them and I became better. I also had a problem with my wife. I went to the diviner and was told to do ancestor ritual and things got better.
17	Yes, The ancestor helped me when I was shot and wounded but I did not die and when the enemies attacked my house.
12	Ancestors shows clearly when they do something for you. Like you do not things that the ancestors wants once they're angry you'll see that not its ancestors.
11	There are lots.
10	My father and my grandfathers were following a traditional rituals that is I am also doing it.

QUESTION 8 Do you participate in the rites and perform the rituals relating to your ancestors? Please give details.

NAME	
5	Yes. I did for my children's father who passed away. I slaughtered chickens for him.
14	Yes. I burn incense. I slaughter goats. I speak to them umsamo.
15	Yes. I am very humble at home. I don't make noise when talking to them because I respect them. I also burn incense. I also talk to uMveliggangi. I also slaughter chickens, goats and cattle (ox).
16	Yes I burn incense. Like I always inform them when I have relocated. I also slaughter a goat and ask them to come to my new place and look after me.
17	Our ritual are different from others. When we slaughter a cow only the old person in the family is responsible for that not just anyone.
12	No particular rites and rituals that our family perform.
11	For children with slaughter the goat and give the child a bangle.
10	The home beer is brewed. I slaughter a goat and invite people to come and have dinner and we all enjoy it.

QUESTION 9 On what occasion do you think about your ancestor? What was the most recent occasion?

NAME	
5	I am always thinking about them. I know my husband is watching over me as I am working here. I dreamt yesterday of my grandmother.
14	Always. Yesterday when I dreamt about my grandmother.
15	When I have a problem at home. Most of the time I see the results. Recently on Tuesday my grand-daughter fell very ill. I talked a lot to my ancestors all night and as it dawned I began to see life in her, she eventually got better.
16	If there is a change in the family like a new baby and illness or something good has happened. I thought about them when my baby daughter was severely ill.
17	When I shot and wounded with five bullets I wouldn't have survived if it wasn't for ancestors.
12	When I'm both happy or sad I do think about ancestors.
11	I have forgotten about them right now. I only think of them when things don't go right for me.
10	All the time I feel like thinking about them. If there is any good I think it's the ancestors hand that help me. If it's something bad I'll go to a Sangoma s/he will tell me what is wrong.

QUESTION 10 If ancestors are not part of your belief system and practice, how do you celebrate events such as: childbirth Marriage and death?

NAME	CHILDBIRTH	MARRIAGE	DEATH
5	That I cannot explain because I strongly believe in ancestors.		
12	All this came about with modernization when people threw away their cultural beliefs. Because people were confusing the church beliefs with their culture. I can not tell how they celebrate such events if they don't believe in their ancestors.	(See Childbirth)	(See Childbirth)
11	Because I strongly believe in ancestors it is rather too difficult for me as to how will I answer this question.		I'm not too sure what happens when there is death.
10	That I cannot explain because I believe in ancestors. Not other way I can tell.		

QUESTION 11 What funeral rites and rituals do you follow in your family?

NAME	
5	Traditional. We slaughter a goat.
14	Traditional and Christian
15	We buy a coffin and put him/her there. If the person has not been a Christian we simply use a traditional funeral rite. We slaughter a goat and tell the ancestors that so and so is joining them.
16	A tree branch is pulled for him, and the dead person's branch is taken home and is told that he is now taken from home and is now taken to the cemetery to be put to rest there. Whatever is being done he is told verbally even if he is dead.
17	We call the relatives together. The children do not go to view the corpse. The goat is slaughtered first. Then the ox so that the skin will cover the dead body.
12	Before we used to wear (ibhashe) traditional African clothing. The slaughtering of a cow only if a man is dead. The children were not told some one is dead. No memorial service. The dead person used not to go to the mortuary. Mostly people used to die during at dawn. Children do not attend the funeral they only go to throw a stone and not the soil.
11	It depends on your pocket you can slaughter either a goat or a cow to accompany the person that is late.
10	If it's a man or a woman a cow is slaughtered to accompany the one who is dead.

QUESTION 12 Upon what resources do you draw in times of crises?

NAME	
5	I pray deeply and I fast and don't eat. I pray to my ancestors and also touch on God but I stick to my ancestors.
14	I speak to my ancestors.
15	I ask from uMvelinggangi first and then follow with ancestors.
16	I speak to my ancestors. Sometimes they don't answer quickly at that time, but I always ask them for help.
17	I rely mostly on ancestors but partly on God.
12	I rely upon God and ancestors. I regard God as someone very important. I always talk to the ancestors whom I think they're closer to God and they're able to convey my message.
11	I can not say what resources because if you're in crisis even the prayer can not come out of your mouth.
10	Ancestors. I burn (impepho) and talk to them.

QUESTION 13 If the ancestors are not important, do you still think about them on occasions? How often and when?

NAME	
17	O can only think about God if really there are no ancestors.
12	I think the ancestors are always very important.
10	I don't think ancestors are not important in any stage.

QUESTION 14 How do you understand the Church's celebration of "All Saints Day?"

NAME	
14	I don't know.
15	I know nothing about that.
16	I am not sure.
17	I think they talk about people who are dead.
12	I have no clear understanding of this particular church.
10	I believe that is Western culture.

QUESTION 15 How do you understand the Church's teaching about ancestors?

NAME	
14	Nothing
15	The church teaches that the dead are watching on us. They are near uMvelinggangi.
16	The bible does not speak about slaughtering animals and burning incense like Abraham.
17	O don't strongly believe in church's teaching because I don't go to church most of the time.
12	The churches differ because other denominations do not even mention the ancestors in their beliefs. Others believe in both church's beliefs and ancestors.
10	I don't feel good about those churches who critise if because they're not sure of the Christianity as well. It just indoctrination from ministers. Like teaching children.

QUESTION 16 What is your understanding of the work of the diviner? How does the work of the diviner relate to that of the medical doctor?

NAME	
5	See #6
14	Diviner uses supernatural powers. Doctors uses medicine, instrument and drugs.
15	See No. 6
16	The diviner is able to see things that are beyond normal people's vision. Diviners are not related to doctors. Herbalists are more

	related to doctors because they both use plants to heal people.
17	The work of the two relate because sometimes you may go to the medical doctor and yet the illness requires the diviner.
12	These two are related. Both can tell what's wrong. Its just that the diviner will be specific and relate your sickness to the ancestors.
10	They both have help in my life s long as they heal myself.

B. MARRIAGE

QUESTION 1   Was the "bride-wealth" (lobola) paid when you were married? Who did the negotiations and their relationship to you and your spouse?

NAME	LOBOLA
5	Yes it was paid. My uncles and brothers and neighbors.
14	Yes. My friends, spouse – her father, her brother and neighbours.
15	Yes. My father, his brothers and neighbours.
16	Yes. Myself and my brothers. My spouse – her father and her uncle.
17	Yes. My uncle and my brother.
12	Yes I paid lobola. I send (Abakhongi) the man to go and talk to the bride to be family members. The umkhwenyena is not part of the people negotiation the talks.
10	Yes. Abakhongi made the negotiations.

QUESTION 2   Were there close relatives who were unable to attend your wedding? Did they provide reasons for their absence?

NAME	
5	Yes there were people who did not attend. But they did not give any reasons why they did not come.
14	Yes. Some were living far away and could not attend. Some regarded the ceremony as not too important for them they could not leave whatever they were doing.
15	Yes. They said they had other commitments.
16	Yes. They provided reasons.
17	No all attended. I was not provided with reasons for their absence.
12	Yes my aunt was working. She really could not make it.
10	Yes. They didn't give reasons because I did not ask them as well.

QUESTION 3 Were the family ancestors referred to at your wedding?

NAME	
5	Yes. Ancestors were referred to. They were told that now I am leaving the Poswa household I am not joining the Zondi household.
14	Yes. They were told each and every step of the way what was going to happen.
15	Yes
16	Yes. The ancestors were told that there is a bride in the home. She is a new member of the family. They must welcome her and look after her.
17	Yes
12	You report to the ancestors by burning
10	Yes

QUESTION 4 In which way did the relationship between you and your family and community change after you were married?

NAME	
5	Some people were happy for me and I am respected in my community.
14	Yes. You are regarded as a man not a boy. You can make decisions and take your own responsibility. I was expected to behave in an elderly manner and take part in discussions.
15	I am respected because I have my own household.
17	I did not notice any change in relationship. It was like I did a very good thing.
12	When you're married you're committed to be a responsible man so you must act as such.
10	I did not see change because I was not with my family I stayed on my own.

QUESTION 5 Is there an *umsamo* in your home?

NAME	
5	Yes. It is where we burn incense.
14	Yes, It is where I speak with the ancestors. We call it kwaGogo. We ask for Good luck and ask for anything from the ancestors that I need.
15	Yes. Where I call my ancestors.
16	My family respected me. The community respected me. I am now called a MAN not a boy. When there are important things in the family that need to be discussed, I am called to take part in discussions.
17	Yes

12	Yes
10	Yes

C. CHILDBIRTH

QUESTION 1   Were traditional rites used at and after childbirth?

NAME	
5	I gave birth in hospital for my first born. After three months I went to my husband's home with people accompanying me carrying food. I carrying my new child to show them that I have a child from them.
14	I don't have children. But I know we welcome children by slaughtering an animal.
15	Yes. The umbilical cord is cut and the skin of inyamazane is burnt and the baby inhales it so that s/he is ready for the real world. The mother is cleaned and given food and placed in comfort.
16	Not yet, I am still going to do imbeleko for my children.
17	Yes
12	At childbirth there is a traditional rite called imbeleko if it's a girl it is followed up by umhlonyane.
10	Yes. The burning of impepho to appreciate the safety arrival of the new born and the mother.

QUESTION 2   Did you have your child/ren baptized? Does baptism change the child's relationship to the family and past generations?

NAME	
5	Yes. Presbyterian. Yes they say if the child is not baptized s/he does not have the sign, and she dies, and have nowhere to go. I am not sure how the ancestors see the baptism because mine do not know about baptism.
14	I believe that is Western civilization but it is not part of my belief system. I don't believe baptism has got anything to do with ancestors. Baptism is getting the child into the church which the ancestors have nothing to do with.
15	No
16	Baptism does not concern me as such I am more concerned about imbeleko.
17	Yes. Yes it changes the relationship.
12	Yes they're baptised. There is really no change in the relationship.
10	That I will not know. There are no sign that shows that someone is baptised.

D. INITIATION

QUESTION 1   Did you and other members of your family participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
5	Yes. A goat was slaughtered for me. Things seemed very clear after that. I had a string of bad luck before. Even the clerks in the government departments did not treat me kindly when I wanted help. Now things are much better.
14	Yes
15	Yes
16	Because of the problems at my home it was not done to me, my family did nothing for me. I only did one with my friends.
17	Not in our culture.
12	There is no such in the Zulu family if the child is a boy. This is only applicable to the Xhosa's.
10	We do not have that culture.

QUESTION 2   Who encouraged you to participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
5	The family. They noticed that things are not going well for me and they decided that I should perform the initiation rite.
14	My friends
15	My friend
16	(relative)
17	Not in our culture.

QUESTION 3   Would you encourage your children and grandchildren to participate in the initiation rite?

NAME	
5	Yes. I want to do for all my children. It is good thing. A person has good luck when he has gone through the initiation process.
14	Yes. But now you have to be careful of the infections.
15	Yes I would encourage them. I don't want them to miss that great opportunity of being recognised as grown up.
16	Yes. TO show that you are now a man.
17	Not in our culture.

QUESTION 4   What is the importance of participation in the initiation rite?

NAME	
5	Ancestors know that you are grown up and they guide you accordingly and provide you with things that you need as a grown up.
14	It builds respect. A boy has to know what responsibilities he has in the community. It creates communication between parents and children. It creates order in the community everyone knows how to behave when he is at a particular stage. It develops maturity.
15	To be initiated it means you are recognised as an adult. Even the ancestors know that you are a grown up and they treat you so. If you don't do it, you are always a baby to them. Also people do not recognise you as somebody who can do better things.
16	Getting into a certain stage shows you are grown up and you are capable of doing greater things and you can be responsible for bigger things.

QUESTION 5   Are the ancestors involved in the initiation process? In which way?

NAME	
5	Yes. They are referred to. Everything is done according to ancestral worship in the initiation process. All ancestors for that family are called upon. Even those we do not know.
14	Yes they are there. The child is theirs. They are called upon when the child is involved in the initiation process. This happens to girls. Boys are not involved in such ceremonies.
15	Yes. They are informed about the whole process. The process is done to inform them and to make other people aware that you are now an adult.
16	Yes. They are informed that you are now a man. They must regard you as a man.

QUESTION 6   Did participation in the initiation rite change your relationships, and in what ways, to: (a) your parents, (b) your older sibling , (c) your younger siblings?

NAME	PARENTS	OLDER SIBLINGS	YOUNGER SIBLINGS	EXTENDED FAMILY
5	I have no parents.	I am the only child.		Yes. They gave me money. They began to like me. I was not liked before but now people seem to like me and accept me.
14	No	No. Only boys of peer group know that I have done such a thing	No. They never knew I had done.	In my peer group only. I get a degree of respect. They recognise that I am brave.

15	They gave me a higher status. They expected greater things from me.	They gave me a higher status. They treated me respectfully now but not better than then.	They called me sisi.	They called me sisi not my name.
16	No	No	No	Everybody knew.

QUESTION 7   Were you confirmed? How old were you at the time?

NAME	AGE
5	No
14	No
15	No
16	Yes in 1979 I was 13 years
17	Yes. 8 Years.
12	No
10	Yes.10 years

QUESTION 8   Are your children confirmed?

NAME	
5	No
14	No
15	No
16	No
17	Yes
12	No
10	Yes

QUESTION 9   What is the importance of confirmation to: the child? The parent's? the family?

NAME	CHILD	PARENT	FAMILY
14	I don't think there is any importance	No – I don't think it makes any difference.	No
16	I don't know. I just know that children are taught about that religion. They are given lessons.	I don't know.	I don't know.

17	It is important because when you get the confirmation's church certificate it becomes easier to get your children registered with home affairs.		
12	This is not applicable to my family.		
10	That I will not now because there is no clarity that one gets from church as to why.		

QUESTION 10 In what way did confirmation affect your relationships to: (a) parents (b) siblings, (c) family (d) society/community?

NAME	COMMENTS	PARENTS	SIBLINGS	FAMILY	SOCIETY/COMMUNITY
14	I don't really believe in Christianity. I believe in traditionalism. I don't believe I can live without tradition but I can live without Christianity.				
17	I had a good relationship with all these people.				
10	There was no change nothing happen.				

QUESTION 11 Does confirmation affect one's relationship to the past generations?

NAME	
14	It does not make a difference.
16	Our priest said there is nothing wrong with doing ancestor rites and rituals. He said its important for us to do our rituals.
17	Yes it does make a change.
10	That I cannot say. I really don't know.

E. SICKNESS

QUESTION 1   Do the ancestors have a role in a family member becoming ill?

NAME	
5	Sometimes no. Sometimes yes. Sometimes a sick person has been bewitched. Sometimes a person gets sick because the ancestors want him to be a sangoma.
14	Yes. Example at home we wanted to slaughter a cow. My uncle wanted my older uncle to slaughter the cow when he came (he was late) the ox was already slaughtered and he became very angry and that ceremony was nul and void. We had to do it again. We consulted a diviner she said we had to do it again.
15	Yes. They are showing what they want. Sometimes they want umsebenzi like imbeleko. Sometimes they want a person to be a sangoma.
16	Yes. If you have not performed any ritual that you were supposed to do.
17	Yes. If you don't look after your ancestors they also let you become sick.
12	There is a showing by the ancestors if they want something for themselves.
10	It's the way the ancestors speak to us by letting one of our family members become sick.

QUESTION 2   Did your parent's consult a diviner when a family member was ill?

NAME	
5	They went to a herbalist.
14	Yes. Sometimes but they started with the Western doctor.
15	Yes if the sickness is not getting better. I had sharp pains which persisted for a long time.
16	Yes
17	Yes
12	Yes but it was not me.
10	No I cannot remember.

QUESTION 3   Under what circumstances would a diviner be consulted?

NAME	
5	When there is severe sickness.
14	Yes – when I was ill.
15	When the illness persists.
16	When the Western doctors can't help him.
17	If they tried the medical help and they see that there is not difference it doesn't help at all.
12	There are also different kinds of diviners. They all differ according to the power they have.
10	If something is lost like a dog or cow because people might use it for bad things.

QUESTION 4   Was a diviner consulted when you were ill? Who made the request? What was the diagnosis? If the diagnosis included an ancestor, was the ancestor named? What was the outcome of the treatment by the diviner?

NAME	CONSULTATION	REQUEST	DIAGNOSIS	ANCESTOR NAMED	OUTCOME OF TREATMENT
5	No. I went to a doctor who uses herbs.				
14	Yes.	My father and myself.	Bewitched. There was no ancestor involved.		I recovered fully.
15	Yes	My father	It was caused by ancestors.	My grandfather	I had to train to be a sangoma.
16	I don't know. I have not seen it when I am old. I don't know when I was still a child.				
17	No				
12	I have never been ill.				
10	Yes. I was suffering from leg pain (umeqo)	I as the head of the family.	Its not really the same but they will mention grandmothers or grandfathers.	They will mention grandmothers or grandfathers.	The outcome is that the problem stops. Then you will regard it as successful.

QUESTION 5   Would the family also consult with a medical doctor? Under what circumstances?

NAME	
5	Yes. We always consult a doctor first.
14	Yes – when there is an obvious illness.
15	Yes. If you are weak and have no appetite.
16	Yes when a child is sick we take her to the doctor first for z-rays and blood tests.
17	Yes when they're suffering with flue.
12	Yes when one is sick or having a flue.
10	If you're suffering from flue.

QUESTION 6   Who would be consulted first when there was a major illness in the family?

NAME	
5	The doctor, then the diviner if the sickness is persistent.
14	Doctor first. The doctor is faster. You get help quicker. When the illness persists, I go to the diviner.
15	Doctor. He is quicker.
16	Diviner first, if its something that has happened to her before. But a new illness we take it to the doctor.
17	My brothers.
12	It would depend on the type of illness as to who will be consulted. But I always believe the ancestor will show if they want something.
10	Diviner first then medical doctor.

QUESTION 7 As a Christian, what resources have you found most helpful in time of crisis e.g. a serious illness?

NAME	
17	Although I'm not a Christian but I can say they rely on God.
12	I only pray to Mvelingangi.
10	It means I will follow the Christian Principles. And pray.

F. FAITH

QUESTION 1   If you are a Christian, how often do you: Pray?, On what occasions are you most fervent in your prayers? Attend church services? Participate in the Lord' Supper? What is your thinking about the ancestors?

NAME	PRAY	OCCASIONS FOR FERVENT PRAYER	ATTEND CHURCH	LORD'S SUPPER	THINK ABOUT ANCESTORS
14					They have a great influence in my life. I am what I am because of them. I cannot live without my ancestors. There is no life for me without them. I cannot abandon them. If I ever abandon them I believe my children will suffer if I don't suffer in my life.