A PSYCHO – ANALYSIS OF BEREAVEMENT IN XHOSA, ZULU AND TSWANA CULTURES

BY

SIBONGILE NDILEKA YAWA

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- Lastly, to my research participants, without your co operation this study would not have materialized.
I declare that the “A PSYCHO – EDUCATIONAL ANALYSIS OF BEREAVEMENT IN XHOSA, ZULU AND TSWANA CULTURES” 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 and that this dissertation was not previously submitted by me for a degree at another University.

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SIGNATURE
(Mrs Sibongile Ndileka Yawa)

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ABSTRACT

A PSYCHO-EDUCATIONAL ANALYSIS OF BEREAVEMENT IN XHOSA, ZULU AND TSWANA CULTURES.

This study investigated the process of bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures with participants including three cultural experts and a bereaved family from each ethnic group. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews mainly in the participants’ homes. Analysis was used by comparing and contrasting the information gathered.

Empirical research findings revealed that the process in the African culture specifically in these three ethnic groups is different from the western culture as stated in the literature. The literature review findings show that the western culture’s processes of bereavement seem focused in the intrapersonal processes. However, the African Black cultures seem to be focused more on interpersonal processes of bereavement.

Recommendations are made in the study on how a western trained Educational Psychologist can approach a bereaved client coming from these ethnic groups. Recommendations are also made for Educators and Parents.

KEYWORDS
Bereavement, cultural diversity, Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, ethnic group, psycho educational, intrapersonal process, interpersonal, rituals.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTORY ORIENTATION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Awareness of the Problem</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Literature Overview</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Limitations of the study</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Demarcation of the study</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Research Problem</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6 Assumptions</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7 Clarification of Concepts</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8 Research Method</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9 Research Programme</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10 Summary</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Introduction</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Bereavement, Grieving and Mourning</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Intrapersonal processes of bereavement</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Interpersonal process of bereavement</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Bereavement and cultural diversity</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6 Process of bereavement in the Xhosa Culture</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7 Process of bereavement in the Zulu Culture</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8 Process of bereavement in the Tswana Culture</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9 Summary</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Introduction 36
3.2 Research problem 39
3.3 Research assumptions 39
3.4 Research method 39
3.5 Selection of research participants 40
3.6 Modes of Inquiry 41
3.6.1 Interactive inquiry 41
3.6.2 Case Study 41
3.7 Method of collecting data 41
3.7.1 Semi – structured interview 41
3.7.1.1 Interview schedule 42
3.7.2 Digital recorder 42
3.7.3 Field Notes 43
3.8 Analysis of Research Results and Method of Presenting Findings 43
3.9 Ethical considerations 45
3.9.1 Informed consent 45
3.9.2 Protection from harm 46
3.9.3 Anonymity and confidentiality 47
3.9.4 Freedom to withdraw 48
3.9.5 Deception of subjects 48
3.10 Summary 49

CHAPTER 4 : RESEARCH RESULTS

4.1 Introduction 50
4.2 Bereavement in the Xhosa culture 50
4.3 Bereavement in the Zulu culture 59
4.4 Bereavement in the Tswana culture 68
4.5 Bereavement across Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures 74
CHAPTER 5 : SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction 82
5.2 Comparing and contrasting literature findings and empirical research. 83
5.3 Main conclusions drawn 103
5.4 Contributions of this study 103
5.5 Limitations of the study 104
5.6 Recommendations for further study 105
5.7 Conclusion 106

Bibliography 107

Appendix A : Interview Schedule 112

Figures

2.1 Schematic representation: Summary of the literature review 34
2.2 Interpersonal processes of bereavement 35
3.1 Schematic representation of the Research Design of this study 38
List of Tables

3.1 Analysis of the results 44
4.1 Process of bereavement in the Xhosa culture 51
4.2 Process of bereavement in the Zulu culture 60
4.3 Process of bereavement in Tswana culture 69
5.2.1 Meaning of bereavement 83
5.2.2 Stages of bereavement process 84
5.2.3 Views about the cultural practices 92
5.2.4 Feelings experienced during the bereavement process 93
5.2.5 Children involvement 95
5.2.6 Family involvement 97
5.2.7 Community involvement 98
5.2.8 Support for the individual 100
5.2.9 Behaviour 102

Map
1.1 Areas where the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana are mostly located 10
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTORY ORIENTATION

This research focused on the process of bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures. The introductory chapter looks at the awareness of the problem, literature overview, limitations of study, demarcation of the empirical study, research problem, assumptions, clarification of the concepts, research method, research programme and summary.

1.1 Awareness of the problem

“And you would accept the seasons of your heart, even as you have always accepted the seasons that pass over your fields. And you would watch with serenity through the winters of your grief.”

Kahlil Gibran, The Prophet.

All human beings are bereaved at some point in their lives. The death of a loved one is always a significant transition in one’s life. Bereavement brings changes that are likely to be felt by the bereaved and those that are surrounding them. In the South African context there are many different cultural groupings including Western, Eastern and African cultures. These cultures deal with the process of bereavement differently from each other and cultural norms always play an important part in dealing with bereavement. In addition, within the African culture, there are various ethnic groups, which are, non-exhaustively; Venda, Xhosa, Tswana, Ndebele, Zulu, Swati, Pedi, Sotho, and Tsonga in which the management of the bereaving process is not similar.
Through the informal conversations that the researcher has held with Western trained psychologists and counselors, they all seem to raise the same concern that there is a lack of information regarding the process of bereavement among the traditional African Black clients.

This lack of information and knowledge often results in a misunderstanding between a psychologist or counselor and a client. The misunderstanding is likely generated, among other things, by the Western expectation of "moving on" which to the traditional African Black client may not make sense due to the rituals and customs that are performed during the bereavement process.

According to Sunno (2002:3), in the United States of America where the racial, ethnic and cultural diversity is on the increase, a call for cultural sensitive grief or bereavement counselors and educators and health care providers who must continue to expand their knowledge of the many ways that people grieve is on the rise. Just like in the United States of America, South Africa is a culturally diverse country. Accordingly, therefore, psychologists and counselors need to be culturally sensitive when dealing with bereavement across diverse cultures.

The majority of people that live in South Africa are African blacks. The African blacks constitute of the above-mentioned ethnic groups and are about seventy percent of the entire South African population. This therefore makes it necessary for psychologists and counselors to be culturally competent in the area of the process of bereavement in all South African cultures since at a certain point in their careers they will find themselves confronted and or having to deal with a client from a traditional African black culture.

Psychologists and counselors in South Africa are trained in and exposed to the Western process of bereavement. The role and impact of African rituals and customary practices in the bereavement process are as a result often overlooked by western-trained psychologists, counselors and educators. Others are to some extent aware of the bereavement process in the African black culture but often lack training, exposure and knowledge on how to handle the counselling process.
This as a result creates an expectation during counseling that the bereaved traditionally African black clients and learners behave in a traditional Western way of bereavement despite the fact that they are from a different cultural group. At the same time a Western trained psychologist and counselor finds himself or herself in an awkward position of not knowing what to say and what to do. Furthermore, according to (Bopape 1996:262) there is evidence that when a practitioner and a client or patient comes from two different cultures there is a strong potential for misrepresentation and poor communication by all participants.

The researcher is aware as well that black psychologists, counselors and educators may not necessarily have sufficient knowledge regarding the process of bereavement in the black culture just because they are black. Belonging to a different religion and to a different ethnical group, among other things, might influence ones’ extent of knowledge about the process of bereavement in a particular black culture. For example, people who are of and grew up in a Xhosa background might not necessarily know, understand and take into account Tswana processes of bereavement and vise versa during counseling.

In addition, within one ethnic group, different religions might be a hindrance of one knowing the other person’s process of bereavement. For example, a person from a Xhosa ethnic group who has grown up in a Christian family might not know how a traditional Xhosa person who practices African Traditional religion grieves.

Lastly, with the increase of the high mortality rate in South Africa, it is becoming apparent that there is going to be more learners, educators and people who will be affected by bereavement. The learning institutions and employment institutions face bereavement of their own members on a regular basis. The said institutions employ and have learner enrollment from different cultural groupings of South Africa.
The process of bereavement is not undergone in the same way in these cultural groupings which often creates unnecessary conflict due, sometimes, to a frequent request of leave of absence from an employer and request by learners to be absent from school in the honor of bereavement.

All the above, as a result, necessitated this study.

### 1.2 Literature Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bereavement</td>
<td>Definition</td>
<td>Keene and Reder (2006:251, 258)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nieuwmeyer (2003:249)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Safonte-Strumolo (2000:334)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phases</td>
<td>Wortmann and Park 2007:703 – 736</td>
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<td>Biermann (2005:15, 25)</td>
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<td>Oates (2003:3)</td>
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<td>Biermann (2005:24)</td>
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<td>Culture diversity</td>
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<td>Bougere (2008:75)</td>
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<td>Steps in the bereavement</td>
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<td>Ritcher (2005:1006),</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Ngubane (2004:73)</td>
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<td>Lobar et al (2006:45)</td>
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<td>Matumba (2006: 1-4)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Wortmann and Park (2007: 703 -736)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>References</td>
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<td>Rituals</td>
<td>Richter (2005:1006)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Ubuntu   | Puchalski (2006:236)  
           | Waliggo (2006:236)   
           | Manyedi (2003:69)    |
           | Manyedi (2003:69)    
           | Setiloane(1976:68)   
| Zulu     | Selepe, (2008:1)    
           | Nel (2007:103)       
           | Richter (2005:1007)  
           | Ngobese (2004:12,173) 
           | Ngubane (2004:46)    
           | Waliggo (2006:254)   
           | Maloka (1998:19)     
           | Van Dyk (2001:6)     
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| Xhosa    | [www.geometry.net/detail/basic](www.geometry.net/detail/basic)  
           | Somhlaba and Wait (2008:344 - 359) 
           | Nel (2007: 12)       
           | Van Heerden (2005 :1-15) 
           | Manyedi (2003:69)    
           | Waliggo (2003:236)   
           | Soga (1931.;20)      |
1.3 Limitations

- The empirical study may not cover all the rituals and customs that are part of the bereavement process of the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures due to the complexity of these cultures.
- Also, different clans or families in a certain culture might do things differently from other members of the culture.
- In addition, these cultures have been evolving through times as a result; there will be instances whereby a particular culture is mixed religions Christianity for example.
- Lastly, that there is a lack of written literature on the subject which makes it difficult to create a firm foundation for the empirical study.

1.4 Demarcation of the empirical study

The empirical study included only Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnic groups as representative of the traditionally African black culture. A family from each ethnic group that is Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana that practice mainly African traditional religion were chosen to find out what do they understand the phenomena of bereavement. What steps do they take or follow when they are in the process of bereavement? Lastly, what rituals do they practice when in bereavement will be explored.

An elder in each ethnic group that is Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana was interviewed as well to establish their view about the phenomena, bereavement steps that each ethnic group follows during bereavement and the rituals that they practice in that particular ethnic group.
1.5 Research Problem

What is the process of bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures?

1.6 Assumptions

- There is a difference in the bereavement process of Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana from the known and studied Western cultures since they involve customs and rituals.
- The traditional process of bereavement is similar among the Xhosa and Zulu cultures since they are both members of the Nguni ethnic group compared to the Tswana culture, which is a different group.
- Although there may be differences among these groups they probably have more similarities among themselves than with the Western process of bereavement.

1.7 Clarification of Concepts

Grieving

As stated by (Keene and Reder 2006:258), grieving can be viewed as an individual’s response to losing a loved one or anything. It encompasses emotional, physical, cognitive, spiritual and social responses to loss.
**Bereavement**

It is defined as the experience of being deprived of something meaningful and valued, such as the loss of a loved one, by death. The emotion is often shared between family members and can be a group experience (Keene and Reder 2006: 258) and (Nieuwmeyer, et al. 2006:249).

**Psycho - educational**

It refers to psychological aspects of learning and behaviour as they occur in an educational context. A psycho – educational analysis of the process of bereavement in Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures will be done in this study.

**Cultural diversity**

According to Bougere, (2008:75) cultural diversity refers to the differences between people based on a shared ideology and valued set of beliefs, norms, customs and meanings evidenced in a way of life. There is evidence that when a practitioner and a client or patient comes from two different cultures there is a strong potential for misrepresentation and poor communication by all participants (Selepe and Edwards 2008:1).

**Ethnic Group**

It is a group of human beings whose members identify with each other usually on a common heritage, which includes common culture, linguistic and religious behavior or biological traits. Many social scientists like anthropologists regard ethnicity as more of a product of interaction rather than reflecting essential qualities inherent to human groups (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic-group). In this research the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana will be referred to as ethnic groups.
**Xhosa**

These are South Africans that are part of the Southern Nguni group that are mainly based in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. They are divided into several subgroups that are distinct but related. These subgroups are Bhaca, Bomvana, Mfengu, Mpondo, Mpondomise and Xesibe. The majority of the Xhosa live in the Eastern Cape, followed by Western Cape, Gauteng, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, North West, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape and Limpopo. Xhosa speak isiXhosa, which is the second most common language spoken in South Africa after isiZulu ([www.geometry.net/detail/basicx/xosaindigenouspeoples](http://www.geometry.net/detail/basicx/xosaindigenouspeoples)).

**Zulu**

This is a South African ethnic group of about 11 million people who live mainly in KwaZulu-Natal province of the Republic of South Africa. It is the most numerous ethnic group in South Africa. More than half of the South African population can speak isiZulu which is the home language of the Zulu ([www.ehow.com/about-zulu-culture-history.htm](http://www.ehow.com/about-zulu-culture-history.htm)). The Zulu and Xhosa people are both related as they are both part of the Nguni group.

**Tswana**

They are the western division of the Sotho peoples of South Africa and Botswana. About three million Tswana people stay in North West province of South Africa and one million stay in Botswana. The language spoken by the Tswana is called Setswana ([www.southafrica.info.com](http://www.southafrica.info.com)).
Below is a map of South Africa showing the areas where the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnic groups are mostly situated.

**Figure 1.1** “A map of South Africa showing the areas where the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnic groups are mostly situated”.

As indicated in the map Xhosa people are mostly situated in the Eastern Cape, Zulu people in KwaZulu Natal and Tswana speaking in the North West province.
1.8 Research Method

A qualitative study was used in this study. One case study from each ethnic group that is Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana was used as a mode of inquiry in the study. A careful assessment of a bereaved family in each of these cultural groupings was done. Also, a cultural expert from each ethnic group was interviewed. In all, data was collected in all cases using a semi – structured interview. An interview guide; which is a list of prepared questions, was used in order to help the interviewer keep the interactions focused.

Data was also recorded by using a tape recorder and written notes. Regarding the analyses of data, inductive analysis was used. Data was analysed and conclusions were reached.

1.9 Research Programme

Chapter 1: It presents the general orientation to the subject of the empirical study. It focuses on the awareness of the problem, literature overview, and demarcation of the empirical study, research problem, and assumptions

Chapter 2: It documents the literature study, which will explore the process of bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures. This literature study will begin by looking at the definitions of bereavement, grief and mourning. Then the phenomena –bereavement - will be explored at large, examining both its intrapersonal and interpersonal processes. In addition, cultural diversity and bereavement will be examined. Lastly, steps taken during bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures will be examined in each cultural group.
Chapter 3: This chapter deals mainly with the research design which is applied during the course of this research. Also, in this chapter ethical considerations which have been applied during the research are looked at in detail. The following ethical considerations are looked at; informed consent, protection from harm, anonymity and confidentiality, freedom to withdraw and deception of subjects.

Chapter 4: It provides a report of the empirical study undertaken. This chapter contains six interviews from the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnical groups. Two interviews were done in each ethnic group; a cultural specialist was interviewed. Also a member or members of the bereaved families from each ethnic group were interviewed as well.

Chapter 5: This chapter contains a summary of the empirical study and the results of thereof. Limitations of the empirical are also looked at and the recommendations for future research are drawn from the empirical study.

1.10 Summary

In summary, according to the literature review, the process of bereavement in the black cultures of South Africa in general and African black culture, notably the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultural groups in particular differs from the western culture. The process of bereavement in the western culture seems to be internally focused whilst in the Black culture it is more externally focused. According to the literature, a black person also undergoes the internal processes of bereavement, which includes denial, avoidance (carry on pretentiously as though nothing happened) but he or she is further expected by his or her culture to undergo certain bereavement rituals that are part of his specific ethnical group.
I don’t mind dying
But I’d hate to die all alone!
I want a dozen pretty women
holler, cry and mourn

I don’t mind dying
But I want my funeral to be fine
A row of long tall mamas
Fainting, fanning, and crying

I want a fish – tail hearse
And sixteen fish – tail cars
A big brass band
And a whole truck loads of flowers

When they let me down,
Down into the clay,
I want the women to holler
Please don’t take him away!
      O woo – oo!
Don’t take daddy away

Source: Collected Poems by L Hughes: 1994
2.1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review will begin by looking at the definitions of bereavement, grief and mourning. Then the phenomena – bereavement - will be explored at large, examining both its intrapersonal and interpersonal processes. In addition, cultural diversity and bereavement will be examined. Lastly, steps taken during bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures will be examined in each cultural group.

2.2 BEREAVEMENT, GRIEVING AND MOURNING

Bereavement

Bereavement is defined as the experience of being deprived of something meaningful and valued, such as the loss of a loved one by death (Keene and Reder 2006: 258) and (Nieuwmeyer et al. 2006:249). The emotion is often shared between family members and it also can be a group experience. It is also important to note that on one hand, bereavement process in many instances is short lived and uncomplicated without even a need for psychotherapy (Warden 2002:14). On the other hand, the emotion of losing someone can be so intense that one runs a risk of developing a variety of psychological and somatic ailments which may require a need for psychotherapy (Warden 2002:14).

Grieving

According to Keene and Reder (2006: 251) grieving can be viewed as an individual's response to losing a loved one, or anything. It is multi- faceted in nature and encompasses emotional, physical, cognitive, spiritual and social responses to loss (Frankel 1997:9). Parker et al. (1997:47) further argue that in the societies whereby final funeral ceremonies continue for months or years after the initial funeral, ceremony may do relatively well at preventing “interminable intense grieving”.
Mourning

As grieving is the internal response to a loss, mourning however, is the external response to a loss. It is the external things that one does for example the shaving of a head, the lighting of the candle. Mourning is influenced by the bereaved cultural expectations, customs and gender (Keene and Reder 2006:251).

Looking at the definitions of bereavement, grieving and mourning it can be argued that these concepts are interrelated. Bereavement is an individual response to a loss of a loved one, which may manifest itself through grief (intrapersonal experience) and mourning (external experience, the cultural displays of grief).

2.3 INTRAPERSONAL PROCESSES OF BEREAVEMENT

This refers to what the bereaved person experiences internally during his or her bereavement. Oates (2003:15) argues that in all cultures the intrapersonal experience of the process of bereavement is the same. Several theories about grief have been proposed by different scholars and investigators. Other scholars prefer to describe grief in terms of phases, others in terms of stages while others prefer to describe bereavement in terms of tasks. Since there are many models of bereavement the researcher will just confine herself to two which are by Kubler-Ross and by Oates.

Kubler – Ross Model of Bereavement

According to Biermann (2005:15) Kubler – Ross proposes five overlapping stages of the grieving process namely, denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance. She argues that not everyone will experience all these stages and if one experiences all of them she or he may not experience them in a particular order.
The first stage is denial in which the bereaved is unable or unwilling to accept the loss. The bereaved considers denial and shock as normal reactions to loss as long as they are not prolonged. As a bereaved person comes out of denial she or he experiences anger as she or he recognises that she or he does not have control over the loss. Feelings of abandonment may also occur. Once the bereaved recognises that they do not have control over the loss they begin to bargain for the return of the loved one. This phase involves promises of better or improved behavior in exchange of better behaviour (Biermann 2005:15).

When the bereaved realises that bargaining does not yield results hoped for she or he goes through a next phase which is the period of depression and despair. In the depression phase the bereaved releases the inevitability of the loss and their helplessness to change the situation. During this phase the bereaved may cry, withdraw from other relationships, and or experience sleep changes. The last phase is when the bereaved enter a stage of accepting the loss. It is at this stage whereby the bereaved begin to plan about the future, (Biermann 2005:15).

Oates Model of bereavement

According to Oates, (2003:28) there are four phases which a bereaved individual passes through. These phases include avoidance, denial, confrontation and accommodation phase. The avoidance phase begins when one learns about death. One becomes confused, disoriented and a wonder whether what she is feeling is normal. There are also physical characteristics which are prominent in this stage. These include trembling, physical weakness and exhaustion. Depending on the cause of the death, the emotional shock may vary from mild to acute physical manifestation. As the numbness wears off the client may move into denial.
The next phase after denial is confrontation phase which is regarded as a difficult one since the bereaved experiences an intense emotional pain of sadness, anger and frustration. Due to the pain the bereaved may try to numb the pain by resorting to drugs and alcohol for instance. Also, one may return to the avoidance phase.

The last phase is called accommodation phase which is regarded as a recovery stage. This is a phase whereby the bereaved learns to live with the loss and adjusts to the present reality by integrating the past and the present. Sometimes the bereaved may see themselves going back emotionally and physically to the previous phase (Oates 2003: 30).

Oates (2003:33) further argues that within those phases there are six processes of mourning. The first process involves recognizing the loss which is part of phase one namely is avoidance. In this stage the bereaved is expected to acknowledge and understand the death. By acknowledging the death, the bereaved is expected to accept death both emotionally and intellectually. Funeral services, obituary notices, honouring the deceased help the bereaved to acknowledge the death. Sudden death may be difficult to acknowledge since the bereaved had no time for anticipatory grief. Regarding understanding death the bereaved want to know what caused the death. Without this understanding the bereaved may become anxious or confused.

The second process is confrontation. Oates (2003:32) regards it as reacting to the separation. Confrontation process is part of phase two which is denial. This process requires the bereaved to experience fully the pain of the loss. The pain can be experienced in many dimensions including spiritual, psychological, physical and social. The bereaved can put his or her feelings into words by writing in a journal. Joining a support group can also be helpful to some people.

The third process is to recollect and re-experience the deceased and the relationship which the two had that is the bereaved and the deceased. Re-experiencing, reviewing, re-collecting is part of healthy grieving.
The bereaved has to remember the good times, good qualities and also admit the conflicting areas about the deceased. Such remembering is useful in the healing process. Remembering and reviewing may involve collecting memories of the deceased such as his or her pictures and photographs.

The fourth process requires the bereaved to relinquish old attachments to the deceased and the old assumptive world. The old assumptive world means the deceased’s beliefs, hopes, dreams, daily routines which were taken for granted before his or her death. Marked events can be used to relinquish old attachments and old assumptive world. The bereaved can create their own rituals such as going for camping with mutual friends in celebrating the life of the deceased.

The fifth process is readjustment and moving to the world without forgetting old assumptive world and adopting new ways of being in the world. This fifth process goes with phase three which is accommodation. The bereaved must readjust his or her life to fit in new goals and new dreams without the deceased. The bereaved must form new identity. The sixth process involves reinvesting and is part of the last phase which is accommodation. This final process involves reinvesting emotional energy that has been invested with the deceased. This may involve setting new goals, learning new behavior or taking new roles; (Oates 2003:33).

There appears to be a difference of opinion regarding whether children during bereavement undergo same process or intrapersonal feelings or not just like adults. Other researchers believe that children experience bereavement the same way as adults. Monroe and Kraus (2005:23 -24) for example, argue that children and adolescents experience death the same way as adults. Webb in (Frankel 1997:11) however contends that there are distinct differences between children and adults. He argues that children are able to experience feelings of sadness, rage and all the feelings which are associated with grief.
However, because of their state of immaturity they are unable to understand the finality of death and its meaning of the irreversible loss. The researcher will not interrogate this difference of opinion further since it is not her primary research problem.

What seems to be popular though in both models discussed above is that mourning moves in different stages until the bereaved reaches a point where death is accepted and grief is resolved.

2.4 INTERPERSONAL PROCESS OF BEREAVEMENT

Some researchers and scholars on bereavement are opposed to the traditional grief models which emphasizes the cutting of bonds with the deceased. Instead they advocate that the bereaved must connect with the deceased (Biermann 2005: 24). Michael White (2002) as quoted in Biermann (2005:24) argues that when the metaphor of “saying goodbye” is not working for the bereaved, the bereaved must employ the metaphor of “hallo again”. He contends that if the bereaved struggles to sever bonds with the deceased, that is “saying goodbye” the bereaved must reclaim the relationship that he or she once had with the bereaved by saying ‘hallo again’. Saying “hallo again” opens the connection with the deceased instead of disconnecting with her or him.

For the traditional African, death, although a dreaded event, is perceived as the beginning of a person's deeper relationship with all of creation, the complementing of life and the beginning of the communication between the visible and the invisible worlds. Life does not end with death, but continues in another realm. The concepts of "life" and "death" for the traditional African are not mutually exclusive concepts, and there are no clear dividing lines between them (Ngobese 2003: 49).

Death does not alter or end the life or the personality of an individual, but only causes a change in its conditions. This is expressed in the belief of "ancestors," that is people who have died but who continue to "live" in the community and communicate with their families (www.deathreference.com).
In addition, (John Mbiti 1975:124) contends that according to a traditional African “life continues more or less the same in the hereafter as it did in this world. Funeral rites are aimed at marking a separation of the departed from the living, even though it is believed that the dead continue to live in the hereafter”.

### 2.5 Bereavement and Cultural Diversity

Selepe and Edwards (2008:1) argue that before there was modern technology and professional funeral services existed grief was more shared and more public whereby rituals would be performed in their process of bereavement. In the British and the Irish cultures for example, the bereaved and the members of the community would have a wake keeping on the night before the burial. This would sometimes involve drinking and feasting. Although these practices or similar practices have vanished in the West they however remain relatively intact in the traditional African cultures.

According to Bougere, (2008:81) cultural diversity refers to the “differences” between people based on a shared ideology and valued set of beliefs, norms, customs and meanings evidenced in a way of life. There is evidence that when a practitioner and a client or patient comes from two different cultures there is a strong potential for misrepresentation and poor communication by all involved.

As already mentioned above, studies have shown that people from different cultures have similar intrapersonal experiences regarding grief and bereavement across cultures, (Kuebler et al. 2000:75). In all, this implies that the bereavement process discussed above can be experienced by any bereaved person from any culture group. At the same time cultural traditions, beliefs and values do make a difference in how people outwardly express their grief and how they try to cope with it. To provide cultural sensitive care, health care professionals must possess an understanding of cultural practices and how they affect the overall grief experience of the client (Waliggo 2006:236).
As already mentioned above, bereavement takes place within the context of families and communities and is played out through interaction. Specific bereavement practices vary depending on the cultural diversity of the client. Failure to follow through with certain traditional practices or rituals after death of a person can have a devastating impact on the family of the deceased and can result in an experience of unresolved loss and lack of closure (Waliggo 2006:237).

Lobar et al. (2006:45) warn that when discussing cultural practices of a specific ethnic minority group, it is always important to avoid making blanket generalizations, assuming that all individuals in that culture think, behave, believe exactly alike and have the same beliefs. In fact according to (Safonte – Strumolo and Dunn 2000:334) one of the greatest obstacles to successful grieving is the assumption made by clinicians that, because the same family members have lost the same individual, they will grieve or experience the loss the same way. In reality dissimilar experiences seem to be the norm in the families let alone in the same cultural groups.

Mndede (2003) in Van Durren (2005:1001) argues that in the South African context, the members of the black cultural group are expected to grieve in the Western way by the therapists who have been trained in the Western Saxon Christian way. Both parties become either frustrated or disappointed when each other does not meet each others’ expectations. The therapist is trapped because he or she does not know and does not understand the process of bereavement in the culture of his or her client. The client on the other side feels cheated in the process of therapy since his or her expectations have not been met.

Safonte – Strumolo and Dunn (2000:336) therefore contend that it is acknowledged that culturally prescribed traditions for dealing with loss may represent sources of strength and support for families or may become barriers to successful resolution to grief.
They recommend that therapists help families identify resources congruent with their cultural backgrounds, resources that can enhance the process of grief resolution while meeting the specific needs of the family and supporting ongoing family development.

2.6 PROCESS OF BEREAVEMENT IN THE XHOSA CULTURE

Below is a picture of traditional Xhosa women

Source: Maflib.mtandao-afrika.net

The Xhosa people are part of the Southern Nguni group and are mainly based in the Eastern Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa. They are divided into several subgroups that are distinct but related. These subgroups are Bhaca, Bomvana, Mfengu, Mpondo, Mpondomise and Xesibe. The majority of the Xhosa people live in the Eastern Cape, followed by Western Cape, Gauteng, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, North West, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape and Limpopo Provinces. The Xhosa people speak isiXhosa, which is the second most common language spoken in South Africa after isiZulu (<http://www.geometry.net/detail/basic>.)
Soga (1931:20) writes that,

“death to the Xhosas does not mean extinction. The soul lives on, continuity of the family is preserved, the spirits of the departed have direct communication with the living: the living minister to the wants of those who “have gone before.”

The above explanation is the background in which bereavement in the traditional Xhosa culture should be understood, that a deceased is not regarded as dead but continues to live on, albeit in another realm. In the traditional Xhosa culture the bonds between the living and the deceased are not supposed to be severed but to be maintained. In addition, in the Xhosa culture death marks the beginning of a new phase “of family membership” thus understanding of the relationship of the traditional Xhosa with their ancestors is important in the understanding of their worldview.

The dead acquire the status of being called ancestors. According to (Nel 2007: 12) ancestors “are those elders, living and dead – of the family, clan and tribe – with whom there is a significant emotional attachment”. As the ancestors are called the living dead, this presupposes that the relationship between the bereaved and the living dead are supposed to continue to exist.

Also, bereavement in the Xhosa traditional culture can be understood in the Xhosa saying that “Umntu ngumntu ngabantu” which translates to - a person is a person because of others. This implies that relationships rather than individuality define the self. The bereaved is expected to behave in the expected way than the way she or he feels.

Manyedi (2003:69) argues that the communal nature that exist in the black culture sometimes becomes disadvantageous to the bereaved as the community has expectations that the bereaved must for instance undergo a particular process when bereaved.
This creates an emotional strain to the bereaved because even if she does not feel like observing a certain process she does not have a choice but to observe it if she still wants to be part of the community. Somhlaba and Wait (2008:344) further contend that “while support may be intended to help the bereaved ease their pain and suffering, the providers of support often unwittingly overburden the grieving family with heavy demands and direct interference into the private family matters”. This, as a result, has a negative impact on the bereaved psychological wellbeing.

In the traditional Xhosa culture the bereaved is expected in the first twelve months of mourning to conform to cultural norms set for bereavement (Somhlaba and Wait 2008:354). To start with, the bereaved family has to shave their heads as a sign for the mourning of the deceased. Soga (1931:323). Also what is peculiar in this culture is regarding the burial of a twin. The Xhosa people consider that there is a connection that is sacred between the twins. If for example, one of the twins is sick, his or her clothes are put on by the healthy one for a short time in order to transfer health to the sick one. Soga (1931:321). So in the case of the burial of the twin, after the death of the twin, the survivor first enters the grave for a short period and lies on the spot where the deceased will lie since the two have a connection (Soga 1931:321).

When a member of the family dies, umkhapho (to accompany) ritual is performed in order to accompany (ukukhapha) the deceased to the land of the ancestors. The purpose of this ritual is to help facilitate “the movement beyond so that the departed maybe able to come back later” (Van Heeden 2005:7).The local male clan or his proxy is the one who facilitates the process. The purpose of umkhapho is to keep the bonds between the deceased person and the bereaved alive so that the deceased may be able to return later (van Heeden 2005: 7-10).

During this ritual, either a beast or a goat is slaughtered. This depends on the importance of the person. A beast may be slaughtered for an important person like a head of the family whilst a goat without a blemish may be slaughtered for others.
As it has been mentioned above everything is approached communally in the traditional Xhosa culture; for a period of around two weeks after the burial, people sit with the bereaved and share the person’s pain. Mourning may continue until the performance of the umbuyiso ritual. Umbuyiso literally means “bringing the spirit of the ancestor back home.”

This ritual normally takes place within a year the deceased has passed on. During this ceremony an ox is slaughtered for the male and for the female a cow is slaughtered. The meat is consumed within a day. Unlike umkhapho the umbuyiso is a celebratory event. It is usually done after a year the deceased has passed on (van Heeden 2005: 8).

Looking at these above mentioned rituals, umkhapho and umbuyiso; it would seem that the traditional Xhosa is able to maintain the bonds with the deceased and at the same time manage to carry on with their lives. This is unlike the Western traditional models of grieving whereby the bereaved is advised to sever the bond with the deceased in order to be well.
2. 7 PROCESS OF BEREAVEMENT IN THE ZULU CULTURE

*Below is a picture of a traditional Zulu woman.*

![Traditional Zulu Woman](source.jpg)

Source: [www.sacrs.org.za](http://www.sacrs.org.za)

The Zulu people are about eleven million and live mainly in KwaZulu-Natal Province of South Africa [www.nationmaster.com](http://www.nationmaster.com). Some are also scattered throughout other provinces in South Africa. KwaZulu-Natal borders on Mozambique in the north, Eastern Cape in the south, the Indian Ocean in the east and Lesotho in the west.

The majority of the Zulu people still maintain a traditional way of living. Others mix both the traditional and Western ways of life. IsiZulu is the language spoken mainly by Zulu people and is the most spoken language in South Africa. [http://www.ehow.com/about_zulu-culture-history.html](http://www.ehow.com/about_zulu-culture-history.html)
As with the Xhosa, a traditional Zulu process of bereavement is also largely informed by the belief that the deceased continues to live even after death. Ngobese (2004:12,173) argues that:

“Physical death does not necessarily mean discontinuity of life hence when a person has died the Zulu would refer that he or she has gone to be with the forefathers (useye koyise-mkhulu)… There is a chain between the living and the dead that creates continuity in terms of carrying forward family traditions. The perception of life as a unity enhances and strengthens the view that it cannot be terminated even by death. Those who have died are seen as having moved into another world, which is part of the whole reality.”

In addition, what also informs the traditional Zulu process of bereavement are two concepts Ubuntu and Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu. Both concepts illustrate the communal nature of the Zulu people. The concept of Ubuntu which literally means humanness, good moral nature or good disposition shapes the everyday life of the Zulu people including during bereavement. This comes from a notion that a human being is the highest of all species. There are hundreds of proverbs written about Ubuntu. These proverbs relate to the treatment of people, good and bad behavior, pride, ingratitude, bad manners, moral degeneracy, conceit, cruelty, obstinacy, pretence, helping others, and so forth.

The umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu (a person is a person through other people) concept is a Zulu common saying which implies that a person’s relationship with other people is central to the Zulu people. As Ngubane (2004:46) puts it, solitude and individuality are regarded as anomalies in the Zulu culture. This indicates that the self for the Zulu is defined in the connectedness to others unlike in the western culture whereby it is individualistic. A person has to participate in the cultural practices against his or her will.
Richter (2005:1007) notes that amaZulu do not work through the death of a loved one emotionally but instead involve themselves in the funeral rituals surrounding the actual burial. Rituals and ceremonies play an important aspect of the Zulu culture and “form part of the process for dealing with the imbalance associated with disturbance of family togetherness” (Nel 2007:103). The purpose of this concentration on ritualism according to (Richter 2005:1007) is to protect people from becoming absorbed emotionally. The focus is diverted from the current problem by engaging the bereaved in the complexity of rituals.

Van Dyk (2001:6) argues that in the black culture no emotional assistance or counseling is given to either the adult or children. Once all the burial rituals have been fulfilled the grieving process is regarded as completed. However, (Selepe 2008:1) contends that in most African communities especially in the rural areas the bereaved count on the clergy in order to make sense of what has occurred. This implies that the clergy gives both emotional and spiritual support. Maloka (1998:19) also notes that even the “heathens’ would invariably invite a missionary to come and help and lead the funeral service.

Generally in the African culture rituals are performed “in order to restore or maintain relationship between persons and spiritual powers for example appeasing angry ancestors; initiating a baby into the community, sending of dying, praying that they should be accepted by the living dead” (Ngobese 2003:9). Rituals that are performed are part of the traditional African in each ceremony.

Waliggo et al. (2006:254) contend that in the initial stages of bereavement in both the Zulu and the Xhosa culture, it is customary that the members of the local church visit the bereaved person or person’s place everyday until the funeral has taken place. The visits include prayers and preaching.

Another step in the bereavement process of the traditional Zulu is the burial of the deceased; certain rituals are practiced during the burial.
Maseko (2005:15) notes that children, if it is possible, are kept away from the rituals surrounding the burial of the deceased even if the deceased are their own parents. Richter (2005:1006) also argues that, what is unique in the black culture is that children are not present in the burial site - they remain with an adult as death is regarded as pollution. A few days though after the burial one of the elders takes the children to the graveside where each child has to place a stone on the grave in remembrance of the deceased.

The other process of bereavement that is undergone in the Zulu culture is that after the burial the bereaved are required to shave their heads or at least a lock of their hair is cut off. According to Ritcher (2005:1006), the hair is burnt together with the deceased clothes. This is done in order to cleanse the mourners from the pollution of death. Also from the graveside, hands, like with the Xhosa culture, are washed as in washing the death away and avoid carrying it around. Thereafter a feast is prepared for the mourners whereby a goat is slaughtered with the idea of celebrating the deceased's life.

If the bereaved is a man, he is supposed to put a strip of a black cloth. The children are also expected to put on the black strip for a specific period. However, widows are expected to wear black mourning clothes. During this period, the widow is expected to be confined to her home for a certain period of time, which is specified by the family. The reason for the confinement is that it is believed that, if she is not confined, she will spread the bad luck (Manyedi 2003:78).

Then after several months of mourning, the maternal uncle of the bereaved takes a lead role in the ritual of the cleansing of the bereaved and the belongings of the deceased (Maloka1998, 19). Manyedi (2003:78) also agrees that this ritual takes place and in the case of the widow, she is given herbs in order to take away the bad luck.
Lastly, in the process of bereavement, the bereaved in the black culture, including the Zulu people, are expected to visit the grave of the departed. The reason for this practice as stated by (Ngubane 2004:73) is that once a person has died he is regarded as an ancestor; the ancestors are seen as part of the reality of the African people. It is believed that they sustain and nurture the interests of the living. The visit to the grave helps the bereaved to contemplate on life he shared with the departed and plead for luck and success.

After a year or two after death, the Zulu perform a ritual called *ukubuyisa* that is “to bring back”. The spirit of the deceased is called upon to be the protector of the descendants in the household (Ngubane 2004:40). A beast is slaughtered for the head of the family, a cow or a goat is slaughtered in the case of a woman (Ngubane 2004:89). The senior member of the family or the traditional priest leads the ceremony.

The ritual begins by the graveside and the invitation is directed to the deceased to come back and look after the descendants. The rite is only for the blood relatives. A mixture of medicine is used for the ritual cleansing. The mourning people are cleansed because it is believed that they have *isinyama* that is, a dark shade at the death of their loved one. The other purpose of this ritual according to (Nel 2007:103) is to “assist the family to process their grief.”
2.8 PROCESS OF BEREVEAMENT IN THE TSWANA CULTURE

Below is a picture of traditional Tswana women.

Source: www.organicgreenandnatural.com

Tswana are the western division of the Sotho peoples of South Africa and Botswana. About three million Tswana people stay in North West province of South Africa and one million stay in Botswana. The language spoken by the Tswana is called seTswana (www.southafrica.info.com).

Just like in the Zulu culture as mentioned above the Tswana people also tend not to focus on their emotions during the bereavement process but focus more on rituals. Manyedi (2003:69) raises this issue among the Tswana people that it is possible for the bereaved person not to experience grief but to engage in “cultural expressions of mourning.” She further argues that mourning seems to be externalized among the Batswana with the bereaved doing what is expected culturally.
As part of the process of bereavement, the traditional Tswana slaughters an ox called “mogage” at dawn on the day of burial. The chime of the ox is held in one hand and is thrown into the grave by the mourning relatives. As they throw it they incantate, “o re robale” meaning sleep for us. The meat from the ox is eaten without salt signifying that no joy was derived from eating the meat since the family is in the state of mourning (Setiloane 1976: 68).

The role played by the community in the process of bereavement is also important in the traditional Tswana culture. A death of a person is not seen as a loss only to the family concerned but to the community at large. Manyedi (2003:84) raises the fact that in the Tswana culture the members of the community give emotional support to the bereaved in various ways including paying frequent visits and helping with the household chores.

In addition, during the burial of the deceased, commitment to the communal approach is further displayed by the traditional Tswana. During the burial the soil is added to the grave. The addition of the soil symbolises prayer for the continuity of communal life and that the remaining offspring may continue to live well in the community according to (Setiloane 1976:68).

Manyedi (2003:69) argues that the communal nature that exist in the black culture sometimes becomes disadvantageous to the bereaved as the community has expectations that the bereaved must for instance undergo a particular process when bereaved in order to be accepted by the members of the community. This creates an emotional strain to the bereaved because even if she does not feel like observing a certain process she does not have a choice but to observe it if she still wants to be part of the community. Hence, (Manyedi 2003:69) contends that mourning is more externalized than internalized in the African culture particularly in the Batswana culture.
The traditional Tswana people also believe in the life after death and the continuing bonds between the living and the dead. Setiloane (1976) in Ngobese (2003:13) argues that Tswana people illustrate their belief in life after death when conducting a funeral by proclaiming to the dead; “remember us where you go! Ask them to send us rain, food and grain.”

During the mourning period the mourners are expected to wear grass necklace and shave their heads. The duration of the mourning period is usually less than a year after the death and is usually performed towards the end of the winter. The maternal uncle (malome) or his proxy is responsible to perform the purification during the ceremony. The purification involves the smearing of cleansing herbs on the mourners. The maternal uncle or his proxy is responsible to provide new clothes for the mourners, food and drink. (Setiloane 1976:69).

2.9 SUMMARY

In summary, according to the literature review, the process of bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultural groups in particular differs from the western culture. The process of bereavement in the western culture seems to be internally focused whilst in the Black culture, especially the ones in question, it is more externally focused. Mourning and grieving are acceptable in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures during the bereavement process as part of psychological relief from the pain.

According to the literature, a black person though also undergoes the internal processes of bereavement, which includes denial, avoidance but he or she is further expected by his or her culture to undergo certain bereavement rituals that are part of his specific ethnic group.

In addition, according to the literature review, psychologically it would seem that in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures the occurrence of death is something that affects the whole community not the individual or individuals concerned. It is not only one person who is bereaved but the whole community.
Lastly, unlike in the western traditional models of bereavement whereby one has to sever bonds with the deceased in order to become well, the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures promote that the bonds between the deceased and the living should be maintained.

**SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION: SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW**

Figure 2.1

**Intrapersonal processes of bereavement**
Figure 2.2
Interpersonal processes of bereavement

Interpersonal Processes of Bereavement

- African Culture
  - Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana
- Western

Externally focused
- Communal Based
  - Involvement of Ancestors
    - Rituals
      - Common rituals amongst the groups

Internally Focused
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

“We all have stories, we just lack listeners”

Reverend Jackie Sullivan

Source: A Ritcher and J Muller

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 dealt mainly with the introduction to the awareness of the problem and the motivation for this study. Chapter 2 dealt with a literature study which encompassed the process of bereavement in the traditional Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures.

This chapter deals mainly with the research design which was applied during the course of this research and the ethical considerations. Research design has two meanings - one meaning refers to a “procedural plan that is adopted by the researcher to answer questions validly, objectively, accurately and economically” (Kumar 2005:84). This meaning relates to the testing of the hypothesis and it is quantitative in nature.

The second meaning, which is relevant in this study, is the detailed plan that guides a researcher on how to go about collecting, analyzing and interpreting observed facts. It is the naturalistic approach to research and it emphasizes the importance of the subjective experience of individuals, with a focus on qualitative analysis (Blaxter et al. 2006:63).

According to Blaxter et al.(2006:64) qualitative researchers have different perspectives, based on their frame of reference. Bearing in mind the sentiments of Blaxter the description of the qualitative approach that the researcher will use in this study is the one which is given by Wellington (2000:133) that, qualitative research is:
“usually an exploratory activity; data is usually collected in a real-life, natural setting and is therefore often rich, descriptive and extensive; the human being or beings involved is [are] the main research “instrument”, and the design of a study emerges or evolves “as you go along” – sometimes leading to a broadening or blurring of focus, at other times leading to a narrowing or sharpening focus.”

Blaxter (2006:64) states that qualitative research is concerned with collecting and analyzing information in as many forms, chiefly non-numeric—as possible, as it tends to focus on exploring in as much detail as possible, smaller numbers of instances or examples which are seen as being interesting or illuminating, and aims to achieve “depth” rather “breath”.

The researcher therefore used qualitative research since the qualitative research allows data to be collected from the participants’ own words, experiences, perceptions and they will be in their own natural settings. Data about the process of bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures was collected from the participants in their natural setting. Through the interview process the participants, in their natural setting, were asked in their own words to share their experiences and perceptions about bereavement.
Schematic Representation of the Research Design of this Study

Figure: 3.1
3.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

What is the process of bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures?

3.3 THE RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

This study’s research assumptions are as follows, that:

- There is a difference in the bereavement process of Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana from the known and studied Western cultures since they involve customs and rituals.
- The traditional process of bereavement is similar among the Xhosa and Zulu cultures since they are both members of the Nguni cultural group compared to the Tswana culture, which is a different group.
- Although there may be differences among these groups they will probably have more similarities than the Western process of bereavement.

3.4 RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed the qualitative method of research since the researcher focused on an individual, his or her interactions and was trying to understand his or her meaning.

Payne and Payne (2004) in McLaughlin (2007:36) states that qualitative methods:

- Focus on seeking out and interpreting the meanings that people ascribe to their own actions.
- See actions as contextualized, holistic and part of social process.
- Seek to encounter social phenomena as they naturally occur.
- Work with smaller samples looking for depth and detail of meaning with a less general and abstracted level of explanation.
Use inductive as opposed to deductive logic allowing ideas to emerge as they explore the data.

Qualitative research also constitutes a multi perspective approach, of which divergent research methods are used in one research subject for example, observation, physical proof and interviews (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:2). A multiple perspective approach will also be used in this study in order to gain an overview of the process of bereavement in the Black African cultures.

3.5 SELECTION OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The following research participants were used in the empirical study; bereaved families of Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana. Also, a cultural expert who was either an elder or a chief was used from each ethnic group that is from Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana.

3.5.1 Family

Two bereaved families from each ethnic group who practice African traditional religion were identified. They were interviewed in order to gather information about how they experienced the process of bereavement in their respective cultures. The researcher got hold of the research participants by getting referrals from the members of the community.

3.5.2 Cultural expert in each ethnic group

There is scarcity of information written on this topic, most information in the African culture is kept through oral tradition which means that information or knowledge is passed from one generation to the next. It was very critical therefore to interview an elder or a chief in each ethnic group. It was most ideal to interview a chief since chiefs are regarded by the community as custodians of customs and culture. Because of that they are taught early on in their lives about their customs in order to enforce and uphold them. This therefore necessitates a chief to have no choice but to know the customs and traditions of his ethnic group.
3.6 MODES OF INQUIRY

Modes of inquiry which were used in the study were interactive inquiry and the case study. Both modes are discussed in detail below.

3.6.1 Interactive inquiry

McMillan & Schumacher (2001:35) refer to this type of inquiry “as in-depth study using face – to – face techniques to collect data from people in their natural setting. The researcher interprets phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them.” In this study semi structured interview was used.

3.6.2 Case Study

A simple case study which is descriptive in nature was be used in the empirical study. According to Kumar (2005:113) an approach of using a case study rests on the assumption that the case being studied is typical of cases of a certain type so that through intensive analysis, generalizations may be made that will be applicable to other cases of the same type. Worchel and Shebilske (2001) in Mwawenda (2004:10) put the advantages of the case study as that; it is easy to get information in a short period of time. Also, a case study makes it possible to a greater degree to study “human behaviour in its naturalistic way” (Worchel and Shebilske (2001) in Mwawenda (2004:10).

A bereaved family which practices African traditional religion from Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnic groups was used as case studies to find out the process of bereavement in their respective cultures. It was assumed also that the cases which were chosen were a representative of the wider traditional populations of Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures.

3.7 METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA

There are many different methods of collecting data. For the purpose of this study the semi - structured interviews, digital recorder and field notes were used to collect and store data.
3.7.1 Semi – structured interview

A semi – structured interview was also used to obtain information from the research participants. A semi - structured interview “consists of asking respondents to comment on widely defined issues; those interviewed are free to expand on the topic as they see fit, to focus on particular aspects, to relate to their own experiences – the interviewer will only intervene to ask for clarification or further explanation but not to give directives or confront the interviewees with probing questions” (Blaxter 2006:172). In all, the semi – structured interview is flexible since it allows new but related questions for clarity.

Also, in this type of interview usually there is no time limit fixed. The interviewee is free to formulate his or her answers or responses. With what has been mentioned above this type of interview is the most suited for this research since it has an element of flexibility in terms of questions and of time limit. In all, as Smit et al. (1995) in Vos et al. (2006:296) put it that when the semi – structured interview is conducted “the participant can be perceived as the expert on the subject and should therefore be allowed maximum opportunity to tell his story.”

Vos et al. (2006:296) and Lindlof and Taylor (2002:195) advise that it is important to have an interview schedule when conducting a semi – structured interview so that the interview can be guided. The interview schedule is discussed in detail below.

3.7.1.1 Interview Schedule

An interview schedule; which is a list of written and prepared questions, was used during the process of the interview in order to help the interviewer keep the interactions focused (Kumar 2005:126). The list of prepared questions for the bereaved families in Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnic groups was the same. The questioning approach though was different between a cultural expert and a grieving family.
For example, a member of the bereaved family was asked, “How did you feel when you were told your husband was dead”? The same question for the elder or expert was asked differently like, “what feelings are normally displayed by the bereaved when hearing the news about the death of a loved one?” The cultural experts though were not required to necessarily share their own experiences but share what they have heard (from oral traditions) or what they know or have studied.

3.7.2 Digital Recorder

During the process of the interview, data was recorded by using a digital recorder. Using a digital recorder according to (Blaxter 2006:172), the researcher is able to concentrate on the process of the interview and be able, for example, to give appropriate eye contact.

The digital recorder was used by the researcher in the empirical study to record the semi – structured interviews conducted with the members of the bereaved families in the three ethnic groups and the cultural experts from the three ethnic groups.

3.7.3 Field Notes

Field notes were used in this research as well; notes were taken as the semi structured interview was conducted with the members of the bereaved families and experts from the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures.

According to Johnson and Christensen (2005:188), researchers record what they believe is important in their field notes.

3.8 ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH RESULTS AND METHOD OF PRESENTING FINDINGS

According to Blaxter (2006:209) data collected is likely to be disorganized and chaotic. Therefore, in order to reduce chaos and to organize data, data analysis is conducted. Data may be analysed in terms of themes or issues it addresses, noting similarities and dissimilarities (Blaxter 2006:209).
Also, in the case of this research, the data will be collected from different participants and from the different ethnic groups and will be analyzed according to themes identifying similarities and or differences.

Results from the interviews are put in the table format. The table is used in presenting the similarities and differences among the three ethnic groups. According to Blaxter (2006:209) analyzing data in this format may also help the interviewer to find confirmation and rejection of the findings.

The table below illustrates how the analysis of the results was done.

**Table - 3.1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Data Analysis 1</th>
<th>Data Analysis 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Xhosa</strong></td>
<td>Bereaved Family and Authority (Chief)</td>
<td>Compare and contrast the information received from the different participants.</td>
<td>The data collected from the participants from the three ethnic groups which are Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana was compared and contrasted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zulu</strong></td>
<td>Bereaved Family and Authority (Cultural Expert)</td>
<td>Compare and contrast the information received from the different participants.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tswana</strong></td>
<td>Bereaved Family and an Elder</td>
<td>Compare and contrast the information received from the different participants.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As indicated above, data analysis will be done by:

1. Comparing and contrasting information received from the participants of each ethnic group.
2. Data collected from the participants from the three ethnic groups which are Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana will be compared and contrasted.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to De Vos et al (2006:57) “ethics is a set of moral principles which is suggested by an individual or group, is subsequently widely accepted and which offers rules and behavioral expectations about the most correct conduct towards experimental subjects and respondents, employers, sponsors, other researchers, assistants and students”.

This therefore means that ethics can help prevent researchers from making experiments which may harm the research participants, from asking questions that could prove to be embarrassing or threatening, from making observations that would deceive or place subjects under duress and from reporting information that would constitute invasion of privacy (Singleton and Straits 2005:515).

For the purposes of this study the following ethical issues; which are informed consent, protection from harm, anonymity and confidentiality, freedom to withdrawal and deception of clients were considered in this study.

3.9.1 Informed Consent

According to McLaughlin (2007:58) a central issue in ethics is the need for the informed consent. He puts the implications of the informed consent as follows:

- That informed consent implies that the research participants should be provided with information about the purpose of the empirical study and what participation is required of them. Also, about who are the sponsors of the empirical study and the researchers who make up the research team. In addition, that the research participants are allowed to exit research study any time they wish to do so.
Lastly, McLaughlin (2007:58) argues that informed consent should imply that participation is voluntary.

In this study the researcher informed all the research participants about the purpose of the empirical study.

Also, the research participants were told that they were not obliged to carry on with the interviews should they wish to discontinue with them. The participants were told that where necessary their responses may be quoted verbatim in the empirical study.

McLaughlin (2007:59) points at the importance of a researcher to show evidence on how he or she had gained informed consent from the participants. He argues that, the evidence can be either in the form of oral or written agreement. The researcher in this study opted to obtain the informed consent of her research participants through an oral agreement.

3.9.2 Protection from Harm

According to Johnson and Christensen (2004:111) the most fundamental and important issue which the researcher has to consider when conducting research is the treatment of the research participants. They argue that a researcher has to be cautious and not expose research participants to undue mental and physical harm. Singleton and Straits (2005:518) elaborates that mental harm could mean personal harm which refers to humiliation or embarrassing the participant. Also, it can include psychological harm which means loosing self esteem and social harm which means losing trust in others.

Leedy and Ormrod (2005:101) advises that in the cases “where the nature of a study involves creating a small amount of psychological discomfort, participants should know this ahead of time, and any necessary debriefing or counselling should follow immediately after their participation.”
Since this study is about bereavement, the researcher had to exercise a great deal of sensitivity and caution towards research participants during the interviews especially with the bereaved family members. Caution and sensitivity were extra exercised to families who had been bereaved recently. Also, the researcher tried to observe cultural sensitivities for example, not calling an older person by his or her name but rather refer to her or him as “sisi” and “bhuti” which means big sister and big brother in Xhosa and Zulu.

Also, regarding the Tswana she referred to the older person as “ausie” and “abuti” meaning big sister and big brother. When interviewing a chief the interviewer referred to him as “Mhlekazi”.

3.9.3 Anonymity and confidentiality

According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2006: 62) a research participant has a right to privacy and his or her right to privacy can be ensured through the promise of anonymity and confidentiality. Babbie (2001) in McLaughlin, (2007: 62) argues that anonymity implies that only the researcher and few other researchers who are involved in the empirical study know the identity of the research participants.

Confidentiality implies that although the researcher knows the identity of the research participant who has provided information he or she will not make the connection publicly (Cohen et al. 2006: 62).

In order to keep a research participant’s confidentiality (Leedy and Ormrod 2005:102) advise that the researcher could give each participant a code name and label all documents with that code name instead of referring a research participant by his or her name. Also, if the research participants are mentioned in the research report that pseudonyms should be given.

In order to keep the research participant’s confidentiality in this study the members of the bereaved families in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnic groups (research participants) were given pseudonyms. The pseudonym that the Xhosa family was given was Xee family. The pseudonym that the Zulu family was given was Zee family and the Tswana family was given Tee family.
The cultural expert in each cultural group was not be given a pseudonym in order to give the empirical study credibility. The researcher obtained oral consent from the cultural experts regarding the mentioning of their names in the empirical study.

3.9.4 Freedom to withdraw

Oliver (2003) in McLaughlin (2007:62) highlights the fact that the research participants have a right to withdraw their involvement in the empirical study at any time without prejudice.

Oliver further argues that the participants are not required to give notice of their withdrawal and they may not give explanation about the withdrawal as well.

Johnson and Christensen (2004:11) caution though that the participant at times might feel pressured to carry on with the empirical study despite the fact that she or he has been told about his freedom to withdraw. In this instance the participant is not completely free to withdraw. The researcher must convince the participant that withdrawing from the research will not have diverse effects on him or her.

In this study the research participants were told about their rights to withdraw in the event that they were not comfortable to carry on with the interview. A special emphasis was put especially to the members of the bereaved families.

3.9.5 Deception of subjects

Corey et al. (1993) in McLaughlin (2007:60) argues that deception of subjects can involve withholding information or giving incorrect information. The deception of subjects occurs when the researcher deliberately misleads the participants either through written instruction or verbal instructions. Jud et al. (1991) in McLaughlin (2007:60) list the following reasons as to why subjects may be deceived:

- To disguise the real goal of the empirical study
- To hide the real function of the actions of the subjects
- To hide the experiences that subjects will go through.
In this study the researcher did not withhold any information from the research participants and she also gave them correct information. The participants were further encouraged to ask questions when they required clarification or did not understand the questions they were asked.

**3.10 SUMMARY**

As mentioned above, qualitative research was employed in this study. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect information from the six case studies.

In order to help the interviewer keep accurate information a data recorder was used to capture the information and at the same time the interviewer took field notes. In addition, data collected from the participants from the three ethnic groups were analyzed by comparing and contrasting the collected information.

Lastly, the following ethnical considerations were employed in the empirical study, that is, informed consent, protection from harm, anonymity and confidentiality, freedom to withdrawal and none deception of clients.
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH RESULTS

“...he who remains passive when overwhelmed with grief loses his best chance of recovering elasticity of mind.” Darwin in Waisbrod (1998:1)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter contains six interviews from Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnical groups. Two interviews were done in each ethnical group; a cultural specialist was interviewed and also either a member or members of the bereaved families from each ethnic group.

A brief background information is given for each research participant. Themes that are elicited from the interviews are identified and described from all three ethnic groups. The researcher has tried to elicit common themes from the three ethnic groups for easy reading and to eliminate confusion from the reader. It should be noted as well that the themes were found to be not mutually exclusive and an overlap occurs at times.

The researcher used pseudonyms to protect the identity of the research participants of the bereaved families. However, the identity of the cultural experts is revealed since first of all, they did not mind for it to be revealed and also it will contribute to the credibility of the empirical study. Lastly, in this chapter recommendations are drawn for an Educational Psychologist, Educators and Parents.

4.2 Bereavement in the Xhosa Culture

(a) Specialist in the Xhosa Culture

An interview was held with Chief Barnes Ncamashe. He is one of the Chiefs of the Xhosa tribe and he is in his late forties. He is also the advisor to King Sandile of the Xhosa tribe. In addition, he is the Deputy Chairperson of the Eastern Cape House of Traditional Leaders and the National Organiser of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).
(b) Bereaved Family from the Xhosa Culture

An interview was also held with a bereaved family; Mrs. Xee (pseudonym) who is in her late sixties was interviewed. She has three children; two are married and another child graduated from high school in 2009. Mrs. Xee’s husband died in early January 2010.

Both interviews were conducted in isiXhosa since both research participants were comfortable in speaking their own mother tongue. It was easy for the researcher to translate the responses into English since she is Xhosa speaking as well.

Below is the summary of the information obtained from both the specialist and the bereaved family regarding bereavement in the Xhosa Culture.

Table 4. 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Xhosa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of bereavement</td>
<td>• When one dies it is believed that he or she is not dead but has gone to <em>kwelemimoya</em>, the spiritual world. The Xhosa people believe in life after death. This belief helps to keep the relationship between the living and the dead alive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stages of bereavement process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(a) Before Burial

- When one dies at home the eyes of the deceased are closed by the eldest present member of the family. It is considered a privilege to close the eyes of the dead because it is believed that the deceased passes on blessings to the one who closes his or her eyes.

- The room or hut that he or she died in is evacuated and the dead is left alone. This signifies that the hut where the deceased lies ceases to be the operations room and the mourning process starts.

- The furniture is taken out; a mat is put for the bereaved to sit on. The chief mourner sits specifically on a mat below a window. It is not compulsory for a man to sit as it is compulsory for a woman.

- When one dies outside his or her home an elder of the family comes to make the announcement to the bereaved.

- The way one dresses also changes during this time. For a woman it is compulsory for her to cover her head with a black scarf and to put on a blanket over her shoulders. However, a man is not expected to cover his head or to put a blanket over his clothes.

- The children in the homestead are taken to neighbours to try and protect them from the source of the pain, as put by Chief Ncamashe.

- The food that is eaten by the family also changes to simply *inkobe* that is, boiled dry mealies and *irostile* which is roasted bread. (This is the case among Xhosa in the former Ciskei region of the Eastern Cape).
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Also, one is required to drink black coffee without milk or cream.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(b) Burial Day</strong></td>
<td><strong>The deceased is buried at midday, when the shadow of the person standing corresponds directly with the person. It is believed that when the shadow and the body collide that signifies the completeness of the person and that is the time one should get buried.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>A cow is slaughtered so that the skin may be used to wrap the deceased with or be put on top of the coffin. This practice differs from one traditional family to the next.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>A goat is also slaughtered; the meat from the goat is specifically meant for family members only. Each family member is given a piece of a goat’s meat to eat. The chief mourner is given a special part of the goat which is called igxalaba that is meat taken from the shoulder of the goat.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>New clothes for mourning are sown for the widow by the family members. This consists of white traditional gear. Only one set of clothes is sown. The bereaved goes to the river and washes it when it is dirty and waits for it to dry. She only stops wearing the clothes when they are in rags no matter how long it takes for them to be in rags (when the dress is torn it is not repaired). There is no change of attire from a man’s side except putting on a button covered with a black cloth.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(c) Day after the Burial.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### (c) Day after the Burial

- When the bereaved is a man no special clothes are made for him. He is however expected to always put on a button covered with a black cloth with the attire he is wearing.
- What is done also on this day is that all members of the family have to go preferably to the river to wash the whole body so that *isimayama sikhushe*, that is to take off the bad luck. The bathing could either be taken in the homestead or at the river. Also, all members of the family are expected to cut all their hair as a symbol of mourning.
- The chief mourner goes to the forest in order to get fire wood. This ritual is done in order to help the bereaved “to get fresh air and to feel better” according to Mrs. Xee.
- The bereaved has to clean the main hut and also paint it; this ritual signifies a new start or new beginnings.
- Every family member is given a button covered in a black cloth in order to be seen by everyone that they are in mourning. The community members are expected to be sympathetic and not to raise fights with the bereaved for instance.

### (d) Eight days after Burial

- On the eighth day after the funeral a ceremony is held called “the washing of the spades ceremony.” A traditional beer is brewed by the bereaved and is served on this day to the young men who dug the grave.
| (e) Four months after the Burial | • On the fourth month after the funeral the bereaved brews a traditional beer again so that people can be able to visit her unlimitedly. Also, the bereaved white clothes are dyed in yellow ochre in order to mark this stage in the bereavement process. |
| (f) Between four months and a year. | • A cow which is called a cow of *eyaMarhamncwa* is slaughtered for the purposes of helping the deceased to be accepted by the ancestors and mingle well with them. (This name, *eyaMarhamncwa* is used in the former Ciskei region not necessarily in the former Transkei region of the Eastern Cape Province). This ritual is called *umkhapho* that is, “to accompany.” |
| (g) A year after | • In most traditional homesteads the mourning period last for a year after the deceased has been buried. If the chief mourner is a woman she is expected to burn the mourning clothes and wear regular ordinary clothes. The buttons which were worn by the bereaved family are also burnt. |
| | • In other households however, the mourning period is dependent on the durability of the mourning clothes. If the mourning clothing for instance gets completely worn out after a two year period so will be the length of the mourning period. |
| | • After a year the deceased has passed on a cow for *ukubuyiswa* that is, to bring the deceased “back home” is slaughtered. This ritual is done to invite him or her formally to come back and take care of the family. |
| Family Involvement | • The father’s role is to give guidance and provide leadership during the bereavement period, for example to give a ruling about when the funeral will take place.  
• The mother is expected to keep the tradition of being respectful during the bereavement time; to help enforce the tradition.  
• The siblings are expected to help mainly by providing financial support if they can.  
• The extended family gives financial support as well and helps with the organization of the funeral. |
| Community Involvement | • Community members play different roles.  
• Elders are utilized to give direction and advice to the bereaved and the head of the family.  
• The role of igqirha, the traditional healer and diviner is also vital. When the deceased dies in an accident for instance, the bereaved usually try to find out from igqirha what caused the death so that the bereaved might have closure.  
• The traditional Xhosa always believe that the actual cause of death is not what is obvious. For example, it may happen that someone has died in a car accident; the Xhosa believe that there is a cause for that, and the accident was just the means. |
| Children Involvement | • Children are involved in the bereavement process from the onset but it depends on the level of understanding or age of the child.  
• On one hand, a child younger than six years is usually not told directly about the death.  
• The child is told about the death when he or she is in deep sleep. |
He or she is then told that he or she must never ask about the whereabouts of the deceased again because the deceased has died.

On the other hand, school going age children are told about the death since they are expected to behave in a certain manner even at school.

On the day of the funeral younger children are not allowed to go to the graveyard; this is a way of protecting them against the pain of death (this differs from one household to the next).

Regarding rituals which take place during this period the children are also involved. They are also given a special bath which intends to wash off the evil that has come to the family.

Their hair is cut and they are given buttons covered with a black cloth to wear all the time.

Children are also expected to behave in a certain way during this period of bereavement.

The way they carry themselves should reflect those who are in mourning, they may not for instance participate in school activities like playing soccer, they may not be involved in fighting, even when provoked they must maintain restraint.

They are not allowed to socialize and attend parties. This is to be observed for at least three months.
| Support for the individual                                                                 | • The bereaved gets emotional support from the family members and the community at large.  
• It is expected that the family members and relatives give support by providing things like food so that the bereaved can concentrate on the problem at hand. |
| Feelings experienced during the bereavement process                                         | • Feelings of sadness and anger are experienced by the bereaved. The culture requires one to express these feelings by crying for instance.  
• One is encouraged to cry so that they can get better emotionally. |
| Behaviour                                                                                    | • The bereaved are not expected to raise their voices when speaking amongst family members and to other people in general.  
• During the first three months the family is expected not to socialize, going to parties and getting into new love affairs. The children are also expected to restrain themselves by not getting into fights or if they are still going to school, must not participate in school activities. |
• The interviewees felt very proud about their cultural practices. For example, Chief Ncamashe explained that, “I have a deep respect of my culture that revere the dead; the process of bereavement is a good example.”

### 4.3 Bereavement process in the Zulu Culture

(a) Specialist of the Zulu Culture

An interview was held with Mr. Biyela of the Zulu descent. He is in his early fifties. He is working for Lesedi cultural centre based in Pretoria. He has worked at the centre as a Zulu cultural expert for eleven years.

(b) Bereaved Family from Zulu Culture

An interview was also held with Mrs. Zee (pseudonym), her two daughters and a cousin who all got bereaved when Mr. Zee died in 1986. The cousin is a teacher and also a traditional doctor who lost her brother in 1991 and lost again another brother in 2003.

Both Mr. Biyela and Mrs. Zee family were interviewed in isiZulu since all the participants were comfortable in expressing themselves in their mother tongue. There was no need for translation since the researcher has a fair knowledge of isiZulu, where deep isiZulu was used the researcher requested clarification.
Below is the summary of the combined information of both the specialist and the bereaved family.

Table 4.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meaning of bereavement</strong></td>
<td>• It means that “someone has left you” said Mr. Biyela. Also, Mrs. Zee did not mention the word dead but referred to the deceased as “left” us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Also, it is the respect that is given to the deceased and to express how much he or she meant to the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bereavement process</strong></td>
<td>• The community is told immediately including the chief of the area, if the family is based in the rural area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Before Burial</td>
<td>• When the chief mourner is a woman she sits on the floor to show respect, this is also an indication of a start of the mourning process. Everyone who comes inside the main hut is expected to pay his or her respects to the bereaved. It is not compulsory though for a male to sit on the floor, he can move around.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The attire of the main bereaved person changes immediately after hearing the news.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Before burial | • She is expected to wear a blanket over her clothes and to cover her head and face with a none-transparent cloth. No changes in the attire are expected from the male folk before the funeral.  
• The windows of the main hut which has been identified for mourning are smeared with a wet ash. The ash is cleaned from the windows on the day of the funeral.  
• *Umlahla nkosi* is a traditional medicine and is known to dispel death and a white candle is always present in the hut or the room where the chief mourner sits. The presence of the *umlahla nkosi* and a white candle is believed to bring God and the ancestors together.  
• If the deceased has died in a hospital the family members before leaving the homestead tell the ancestors that they are leaving the homestead to get the dead. The family also addresses the deceased as well when they reach the hospital where he or she died in and tell him or her that, “we are here to fetch you and your spirit”.  
• It is considered very important to mention the latter because it is believed that the deceased’s spirit will remain at the hospital and will not be present at the homestead. The white candle and *umlahla nkosi* are brought along and the family goes to the bed where he or she died in.  
• On their way home after fetching the deceased the family keep on communicating with him or her until they reach their destination.  
• When arriving home the candle is put on top of the coffin together with the *umlahla nkosi*. |
Before burial

- The candle should always burn and a curtain is put around the coffin.
- The widow is expected to sit next to the coffin until the deceased is buried, “because of the love she has shared with her husband” said Mr. Biyela. The man is not expected to sit next to the coffin all the time. He is allowed to move around.
- It is the job of the women to be the one to sit around the deceased; they are considered to be brave since they are the ones who give life through birth.
- The women have to wash the deceased and clothe her in order to prevent *ukugodola* that is, to be cold.
- It is believed that if the deceased has not been washed the children in the homestead will be prone to sickness. When the deceased is a male he is washed by other males.

(b) Burial Day

- A man is buried in the afternoon, *xa zibuya izinkomo*, when the cows come back from the grazing fields.
- Other households bury their loved ones in a coffin. In other households however, they destroy the coffin and wrap the deceased in the skin of the cow which was slaughtered for him. The destroyed coffin is buried in the grave as well.
- After the burial a basin containing water is put at the gate of the deceased’s homestead so that people coming from the graveyard can wash their hands, in order “to wash off” death. The members of the bereaved family wash their hands with water mixed with *umswane*, the dirt found inside the intestines of a cow or a goat so that bad luck may leave the family.
(b) Burial Day

- Also, what is important in this ethnic group is that the meat from the slaughtered ox is cooked without salt and is served to the elders of the bereaved family only. Since the bereaved family is in mourning it is not allowed to eat tasty food.
- The guests are not supposed to say goodbyes after the funeral, they just leave. The reason to leave without saying goodbyes is a sign of rejecting death.
- After the funeral the members of the family are expected to shave their hair both women and men. They have to take a bath as well; they can either take it in the homestead or go to the river in order to wash away the bad luck.
- Every family member is also given a button covered with a black cloth in order to be seen by everyone they come across that they are in mourning (the community is expected to be sympathetic when it sees someone in mourning and not to raise fights).

(c) Day after Burial

- The day after the funeral is called *usuku olumnyama*-day of the darkness. This is a day whereby no work is done in the household. No cooking of food for example is allowed, food like bread can be eaten.

(d) Second day after Burial

- Early in the morning on the second day the members of the community especially those members who missed the funeral visit the bereaved household. The visitors arrive as early as eight o’clock *bazokukhuza*, meaning to pass their condolences to the bereaved family. A family representative is obliged by tradition to tell how the death came about to all the visitors.
- The process of *ukukhuza* carries on for a week.
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</thead>
</table>
| (e) Ten days after Burial | • On the tenth day after the funeral a ritual is done which is called the “washing of the spades ceremony”. A traditional beer is brewed by the bereaved and is served on this day to the young men who dug the grave. This is to thank them for the work they have done. Also to wash away the bad luck which has been carried by the spades which were used in the digging of the grave.  
• The spades which were used to dig a grave are not utilized in the household unless they are “cleaned” first.  
• Another cow is slaughtered for the purposes of the dead to be accepted on the other side. This cow is slaughtered towards the end of a year after a person has passed on.  
• The mourning period ends a year after the burial has taken place. If the bereaved is a woman it is expected that she should stop wearing the mourning clothes and burn them. The black buttons which are worn by the rest of the family members are also burnt.  
• The members of the family buy her new clothes to signify a new season in the life of the bereaved.  
• The ceremony whereby the end of the mourning period is marked is done only in June and July. During the ceremony a cow is slaughtered. |
| (f) Under twelve months after Burial |   |
| (g) Year after Burial |   |
| Family Involvement | • The father’s role is to give guidance and provide leadership, for example, to give a ruling about when the funeral will take place. He is basically a decision maker. |
The mother is expected to keep the traditions and customs during the bereavement time; to help enforce the tradition.

The siblings are expected to help mainly by providing financial support if they can. The extended family is also expected to help financially as well and help with the organization of the funeral.

The neighbours are expected to bring cooked food to help ease the burden.

The role of elders is to stay with the bereaved family until the day of the funeral. There is also expectation that those elders, who came, stay until the “ceremony of the spades” is performed.

The isangoma, that is, the traditional doctor or healer is involved only when the bereaved family suspects that there is foul play regarding the passing away of the dead. Once the family suspects a foul play they have to go to the isangoma before the dead is buried since the isangoma sometimes recommends that the body should be medicated so that the evil may never befall the family again.

Children are told about the passing away at the earliest possible time with the exception of the small children who are told when they are in deep sleep. It is believed that when children are told in their sleep they will never ask about the deceased’s whereabouts.

Mrs. Zee’s youngest daughter confirmed this, “I have never asked my mom again about the whereabouts of my dad after his death.”
| Children Involvement                                      | Children, even the young ones, are allowed to go to the grave. They are expected to take some soil and put in the grave.  
|                                                          | They also participate in the rituals like cutting of the hair, are given buttons covered in a black cloth to wear. Lastly they are not allowed to wear jewelry.  
|                                                          | The bereavement period for the children ends on the third month after burial. A ceremony is done to signify this. After the ceremony they are allowed to wear jewelry and to mingle freely with other children.  
|                                                          | The children’s participation and involvement in the rituals helps to inculcate respect in the children as put by Mr. Biyela. |
| Emotional Support                                        | It is the community that is supposed to take care of the bereaved family. The bereaved are not expected to be involved in the preparations for the funeral nor in the activities for example, cooking and digging the grave.  
|                                                          | The mother of the widow is expected to be the main person to give emotional support to her daughter. If she is not available other members of the family are supposed to give support. In the case of Mrs. Zee she did not get the support from the mother since she was dead and other members of her family lived afar. She was given emotional support by her ten year old child since her mother in law was not giving it either.  
|                                                          | If the bereaved does not get better emotionally, for example, does not stop crying or is withdrawn, a goat is slaughtered. Before the goat is slaughtered the bereaved is expected to crawl under it.  
|                                                          | If a family cannot afford a goat, a chicken is slaughtered to ask the ancestors to intervene. |
| Feelings experienced during the bereavement process | - The bereaved usually experiences feelings of sadness and grief.  
- The bereaved is encouraged to cry, if she does not cry, it is believed that she will have *isilokotho* meaning, she will not stop crying. Although the bereaved is allowed to cry she is however, not allowed to cry too much. It is believed that the tears can prevent the bereaved from having a closer relationship with the creator. |
| Behaviour | - The bereaved has to wake up early in the morning everyday starting from the day after burial to do the cleaning, because “if you carry on sleeping after the cock has crowed you will sleep forever” said Mr. Biyela.  
- The bereaved is expected to stop going out at night and not to attend parties. It is believed that once one starts going against the tradition *uzakwedlulwa* - meaning that the person will not be able to stop even if one wants to. |
| View about the cultural practices | - “We like it, we would like to continue practicing it, when we used to practice our customs and traditions hundred percent, we did not have sicknesses and ailments “ said Mr. Biyela  
- Mrs. Zee however, had a different view from Mr. Biyela, namely, that the cultural practices can be unfair sometimes;  

“My mother in law was too strict she even covered my face completely, you see when you are in pain and your husband is gone now someone covers you up and you become hot the pain, it becomes worse.” |
4.4. Bereavement process in the Tswana Culture

(a) Specialist of Tswana Culture

Mr. Nkosana Mondi is a specialist of the Tswana culture. He was as a result interviewed to represent the Tswana culture. Mr. Mondi is a cultural manager of Leseledi cultural village and he is in his forties. Although born a Zulu he grew up with the Tswana ethnic group since his father died when he was five years old. Mr. Mondi is both a cultural manager and also a Tswana cultural consultant at Lesedi cultural village. He has worked at the cultural centre for nine years.

The interview was conducted in both isiZulu and English since the researcher does not understand Setswana. Although Mr. Mondi is Tswana speaking fortunately, he could communicate in both English and isiZulu which cancelled the need for translation.

(b) Bereaved Family from Tswana Culture

An interview was also held with a member of a bereaved family, Mrs. Tee (pseudonym) who is in her early sixties. She experienced bereavement when her husband died in 1999. When her husband died they had only one child.

Since the interviewer does not understand Setswana she had to employ the services of an interpreter to help with translating from Setswana to isiZulu and English and from isiZulu to SeTswana since the interpreter could speak all three languages. The interpreter did not find it difficult to translate because she claimed to know the customs and traditions of the Tswana people even though she is a Christian and does not practice African traditional religion.
Below is the summary of the combined information of both the specialist and the bereaved family.

### Table 4.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Tswana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of bereavement</td>
<td>• Loss of a loved one through death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stages of bereavement process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Before Burial</td>
<td>• After getting the news the bereaved is not expected to get out of the main hut except for going to the bathroom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The bereaved is allocated cutlery which is meant for his or her use only. If the bereaved does not finish food she was eating, the leftovers are thrown away, no one else is allowed to eat those leftovers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The bereaved is also not required to speak to anyone except to the person allocated to him or her.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Burial Day

|                                            | • It is tradition that the burial takes place early in the morning. It is expected that by seven o'clock in the morning everyone ought to be in the graveyard. |
|                                            | • A cow and a sheep are slaughtered. A sheep is slaughtered because it is regarded to be a quiet animal and it is also symbolic that the family must stop crying. |
| (b) Burial Day | • Other families sell the skin of the ox while others bury it with the deceased.  
• The *irhala* which is medicine which has a burning effect on the flesh is put in the water. The *irhala* is used to bath all the members of the family in order to take off the bad luck of death. The washing takes place in the middle of the kraal for both women and men.  
• If a twin has died the twin who is still alive gets inside the coffin first, also at the graveyard so that he or she cannot follow him or her.  
• Every family member is also given a button covered in a black cloth in order to be seen by everyone that they come across that they are in mourning. The community is expected to be sympathetic when it sees someone in mourning and is expected not to raise fights. |
| (c) A year after Burial | • The bereavement period ends after a year has passed. A day is chosen when the end of the bereavement will end. The clothes which were used during the bereavement period are burnt on this particular day. |
Support for the individuals

- The bereaved get support from a traditional healer which is called “ngaka ya setso” who must attend to the bereaved in order to take away the bad luck and to restore the bereaved physical and emotional health.
- The ngaka ya setso gives the bereaved medication to heal the joints of the body. Small incisions are made on the joints of the body and medication is put into the wound.
- Also, ngaka ya setso prepares medicine made from the herbs of which the bereaved has to take daily until the mourning period ends which is a year. The medication is believed to help the bereaved to be calm and to be better emotionally.

Family Involvement

- The father usually helps by providing leadership.
- The mother is expected to keep the tradition and customs expected during the bereavement period especially regarding to children.
- The children that are employed are expected to contribute financially and help with the preparations of the funeral.

“The Tswana people want their families to be involved; they do not view the help that they provide as burdensome. They help, to make the burden easier” as put by Mr. Mondi.
| Community Involvement                                                                 | - The elders stay and camp with the deceased until the day of the funeral.  
|                                                                                      | - The neighbours come with food for the bereaved and always play the role of informing the visitors about “announcements” and narration of what happened to the deceased etc. |
| Children Involvement                                                                | - The children are told about the death in the family, depending on their ages. The young ones are told when they are in deep sleep. Someone whispers in the ear of the child and tells him or her about the death.  
|                                                                                      | - The older children are told directly about the death like in the case of Mrs. Mathibe’s child who was older during the time of his father’s death. |
| Emotional Support                                                                   | - The people who give emotional support consist mainly of the relatives of the bereaved. Also, the people in the community who have been bereaved before normally play the role of being a counselor.  
|                                                                                      | - If the bereaved does not get better there is a ritual which is done in order to attend to the person’s wellbeing. Traditionally when one dies one item of his or her clothing is kept (other items are given to family members). When a bereaved person does not get better water is poured on the item which could be a shirt or a belt. The bereaved is given a teaspoon of that water from the item and the bereaved becomes better. |
| Feelings experienced during the bereavement process. | The bereaved is expected by the culture to cry and be sad because of the bereavement. The Tswana proactively help one not to be emotionally and physically sick by advising the bereaved to get medication from the *ngaka ya setso* that is a traditional doctor. |
| Behaviour | The bereaved is expected not to go and pay a visit for the whole year. However, when he or she is forced to go and pay a visit he or she must pay such a visit before twelve o’clock midday and after three o’clock in the afternoon.  
- There are specific clothes that the bereaved should wear. A woman is expected to wear either black or blue clothes for a year. The clothes can be washed only at night and be taken from the washing line before anyone can get up. The clothes are not ironed. The belief is that the heat of the iron will affect ones emotions in a negative way.  
- Men are required to wear a jacket and a “doek”. They must also put a black belt on their arm for a year, as a sign of mourning. |
| Views about the bereavement cultural practices | Both the expert and Mrs. Mathibe were happy with their cultural bereavement cultural practice. Mrs. Mathibe adds to say, “*I have to accept our norms and traditions*”. |
4.5 Bereavement across Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana Cultures.

4.5.1. Meaning of bereavement

All the three ethnic groups seem to view bereavement as meaning - to lose someone through death. All refer to the deceased as having “left us”. They use the euphemism of “leaving” rather than using a word like dead. When one dies it is believed that one is not dead but has gone to the spiritual world. All the three cultures believe in life after death. This belief helps to keep the relationship between the living and the dead alive.

4.5.2. Bereavement process

(a) Before Burial

In all the three ethnic groups the bereavement process starts by the family members identifying a room or hut which will be considered as a *mourning room*. This is a room where the chief mourner sits with relatives. It is an important aspect to inform the members of the community about the death including a chief if the bereavement is in the rural area. When a chief mourner is a woman in Xhosa and Zulu cultures she is expected to sit on the floor while the men are not expected to do the same. Contrary to Xhosa and Zulu ethnic groups, the Tswana treat the men in the same way like women; a man for example has to sit down on the floor before the burial as it is expected of the women.

Both Xhosa and Zulu communicate with the ancestors before leaving the homestead when bringing the deceased to be buried regardless of the way the deceased died. In the Tswana culture however, the communication with the deceased is done only when the deceased died as a result of an accident. The members of the bereaved family go to the place where the accident took place and address the deceased directly, “so that the spirit of the dead may not linger at the spot of the accident” said Mrs. Tee.

A ritual of slaughtering a cow and a goat seem to be practiced in both Xhosa and Zulu ethnic groups. The Tswana people however, slaughter a sheep instead of a goat because they believe that it symbolizes quietness.
According to Mr. Mondi the purpose of slaughtering a sheep is to encourage the bereaved to stop crying and to keep quiet as symbolized by the sheep.

(b) Burial

Burial times differ in the three ethnic groups. For Tswana the burial takes place early in the morning; for Xhosa it takes place at twelve o'clock while Zulu prefer afternoon time when the cows are coming back from the grazing field, “so that umnumzana (the man of the house) can be accompanied by his flock” so says Mr. Mondi.

(c) Few days after Burial

In all the three ethnic groups there seems to be a culture of encouraging the members of the community who missed the funeral to pay their condolences to the bereaved. This act is done mainly after the funeral and it is called ukukhuza in Zulu and Xhosa ethnic groups. There is a slight difference among the three cultures though, the Zulu culture is specific on when the period of ukukhuza starts and ends. Xhosa and Tswana however are not specific, the community is just encouraged to go and pay their respects just soon after the funeral.

What is peculiar in Xhosa ethnic group which is not done in the other two ethnic groups is the ritual of going to the forest after the burial day for the purposes of distressing.

Both the Xhosa and Zulu have a ritual called the “washing of spades”, which is meant to thank the young men who dug the grave. The difference between the two ethnic groups is that Xhosa hold it on the eight day while Zulu hold it on the tenth day after the burial.

(d) Between four months and a year

Both Xhosa and Zulu ethnic groups slaughter a cow just before a year finishes after the burial date so that the deceased may be welcomed by the ancestors on the other side. In the Tswana however, there seems as if there is nothing which is slaughtered for the purposes of welcoming the dead.
(e) A year after Burial

This is the time whereby in all the three ethnic groups the mourning period ends. One of the common rituals done is to be burn the mourning clothes. There seems to be a difference regarding some Xhosa households especially from the former Transkei that the mourning period only ends when the mourning clothes are in rags no matter how long it takes.

4.5.3 Family Involvement

In all the ethnic groups the father usually helps by providing leadership, the mother keeping to the set norms and traditions and siblings and extended family contributing financially and helping with the arrangements of the funeral. All the three ethnic groups want their families to be involved; they do not view the help that they provide as burdensome.

4.5.4. Community Involvement

There are similarities across the three ethnic groups that everyone is expected to contribute, neighbours are expected to help with the cooking; the elders stay and camp with the deceased until the day of the funeral. The traditional healers are consulted in all the ethnic groups when there is a suspicion of a foul play regarding the cause of the death of the loved one. To the Tswana though, it seems as if it is norm for the bereaved to consult the traditional healer whether there is a suspicion of a foul play or not.

In addition, both the Xhosa and the Zulu also put emphases at recognizing the efforts of the young men who dig a grave for the deceased by holding a ceremony of the “washing of spades.”

4.5.5 Children Involvement

In all the three ethnic groups children are told about the death. The younger children are told not directly but someone whispers in their ear while they are deeply asleep.
Also, the children are made to participate in the rituals that are part of the bereavement process like the shaving of the hair and restraining themselves in certain activities while they are still bereaved or in mourning. Also the research participants do agree that the children’s participation in these rituals teaches them to respect their cultures.

4.5.6 Emotional Support

The people who give emotional support consist mainly of the relatives of the bereaved and the community members in all the ethnic groups. There was no mention of seeking help from psychologists. It is compulsory for Tswana to visit a traditional healer in order to get medicine that will heal the bereaved both physically and emotionally. The Tswana also put emphases of getting support from those who have undergone the same process, that is who have been bereaved before.

Also, the Xhosa have two rituals which are aimed at making one feel better, the ritual of cleaning and painting the ‘mourning room’ and the ritual of taking a walk to the forest.

4.5.7 Behaviour

In all the three ethnic groups the bereaved movements are restricted, the bereaved are not supposed to pay visits and attend parties. The slight diversion that Tswana has is when the bereaved is forced to go and pay a visit he or she must pay such a visit before twelve o’clock midday and after three o’clock in the afternoon. Also, in all the ethnic groups the bereavement period of the children is shorter than that of the adults, it is three months.

4.5.8. Views about the bereavement cultural practices

All the ethnic groups are happy with their cultural bereavement cultural practice with the exception of one research participant who felt that she was ill treated during her bereavement.
4.6 SUMMARY

In general the three ethnic groups seem not to differ much in their bereavement processes. All the cultural groups seem to view the bereavement process in a similar way; consisting mainly of rituals which have to be conducted during this period. Also, what seems to be central in their bereavement process is the involvement of family members and the community members.

In addition, across the three ethnic groups there is an emphasis on how one should behave during this process. All the research participants did not have a problem about the regulations regarding the attire worn and restrictions put for the bereaved during this time except for one research participant who thought that it was unfair for her to be expected to cover her head and face.

Lastly, it has been observed that there seems to be a lot of similarities between the Xhosa and the Zulu ethnic groups; they seem to have more common ways of doing things than they have with the Tswana.

The differences which exist between the Zulu and the Xhosa are mostly in terms of detail, for example both ethnic groups hold the ceremony of washing of the spades but one ethnic group, the Xhosa, holds it eight days after the burial while the other, the Zulu, holds it ten days after the funeral.

4.7 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the results of this study, the following recommendations are proposed for an Educational Psychologist, Educators and Parents,

4.7.1 Educational Psychologist

- When addressing a bereaved client from a traditional Xhosa, Zulu or Tswana family the Educational Psychologist may not refer to the deceased as “dead” but as someone who has “left”. For example, the psychologist can ask, ” when did your father leave you,” instead of asking, “when did your father die?”
• The psychologist to be aware of the culture specific stages of bereavement so that he or she may not interpret a certain emotion as regress. For example, a psychologist may do a follow-up therapy after seeing the client a number of sessions and she or he might have thought that the client has been doing well. However during this follow up session the client might seem to have regressed; the reason being that a traditional ceremony was held whereby the client had to think deeply about the deceased again.
• Alternatively, the client may seem regressing yet he or she is not. The cause may be that not doing the ritual has an effect that the therapy is not working yet the reason is the cultural belief that if a particular ritual is not conducted, the person will not be well.
• The psychologist has to realise that failure to follow through with certain traditional practices or rituals after death of a person can have a devastating impact on the family of the deceased and can result in an experience of unresolved loss and lack of closure. It is therefore recommended that the psychologist allows the client to explore his or her traditional practices and rituals.
• To customize therapeutic interventions like play therapy bearing in mind that, to seem to be having fun during this period is not allowed in all the three cultures.
• In the therapy session the psychologist to involve the members of his or her client’s family in order to understand the sub - culture of that particular family to avoid temptation of generalization.
• Explore feelings that the client has regarding the passing away of the loved one since it appears as if the focus during bereavement in all the three ethnic groups is on behaviour and less on feelings.
• When exploring the feelings of the client the psychologist to be aware of the fact that the client may refer to his or her feelings as “our feelings” because of the communal involvement that is intertwined in the bereavement process.
• To conduct group counselling with the peers of the learner in order to address a possibly awkward situation they find themselves in with the bereaved learner friend.
Lastly, Educational Psychologists are bound in their counselling lives to encounter clients from different ethnic groups and, religious backgrounds. It is recommended that they need to keep an open mind and that they educate themselves more on various ethnic groups or people of different cultural backgrounds.

4.7.2 Educators

- It is a known fact that the schools have a certain dress code for learners. It is therefore recommended that the Educators should be culture sensitive and let the learners wear what is required of them by their culture during the period of their bereavement and not penalize the bereaved learner.
- That the Educators be proactive and organise cultural diversity workshops which would aim for learners to learn about differences in cultures and if it is possible get cultural experts to address learners.
- When a learner has lost a parent, the surviving parent’s movements maybe restricted during the bereavement period therefore the educator could place less demands on the learner especially if the learner that is carrying the demand will need the active role of the chief mourner.
- To excuse the learner from extra mural activities like sport since during the period of bereavement the learners are discouraged from participating in activities that will seem to bring joy to the bereaved.
- If it is the policy of the school to write letters of condolences to the bereaved families, it is recommended that the school refers to the dead as someone who has “left” the family rather than who is dead.

4.7.3 Parents

- To take initiative of explaining to the Educators of their cultural practices during the time of their bereavement and not assume that they know even if the Educators involved are from their ethnic group.
• To realize that the child might not want to follow the rituals as prescribed by his or her cultural norms and traditions especially if the child is a teenager - he or she is still trying to figure out his or her identity.
• Keep communication lines open with the class educator so as to work out strategy of how to catch up with the work missed during the periods when the child had or has to be absent from school to go and perform rituals and ceremonies.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The results of the research have revealed the process of bereavement in Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnic groups. It is hoped that the recommendations made will help the Educational Psychologists and Educators when consulting and working with the clients or learners who are from the traditional black cultures and specifically the Xhosa, the Zulu and the Tswana ethnic groups. It is also hoped that the recommendations made for the parents from the traditional Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana will help to lessen their burden during their time of bereavement.

It is equally hoped that cultural diversity lessons conducted in schools will help bereaved learners as well as their peers treat each other sensitively and well.
CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“When the music changes, so must the dance”.

(Author: Unknown)

5.1 Introduction

This study was undertaken to discover the process of bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures. Chapter 2, dealt with a literature study which encompassed the process of bereavement in the traditional Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures. Chapter 3 dealt mainly with the research design which was to be applied during the course of the research and the ethical considerations. Chapter 4 looked at the research results and the recommendations.

This chapter contains a summary and the results of the empirical study. Limitations of the empirical study are also looked at and the recommendations for future research are drawn from the empirical study.

5.2 Comparing and contrasting literature findings and empirical research

The comparison and contrasting will be based on the themes which were created when analyzing the empirical research. The following themes will be used when comparing and contrasting the literature study and the empirical research:

- Meaning of bereavement
- Stages of the bereavement process
- View about the cultural practices
- Feelings experienced in bereavement process
- Family involvement
- Community involvement
- Behaviour during bereavement
- Children involvement
- Support for the individual
The table below compares and contrasts the findings of the literature and empirical studies.

5.2.1. Meaning of bereavement

Table 5.2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The literature findings define bereavement as the experience of being deprived of something meaningful and valued, such as the loss of a loved one, by death. Also, it is defined as an emotion which is often shared between family members and can also be a group experience. It is indicated that it can be short lived and uncomplicated. However, at times it can be complicated resulting in a need for psychotherapy. In addition, it is stated in the literature that bereavement in the three ethnic groups is understood as that the deceased is not regarded as dead but continues to live on, albeit in another realm.</td>
<td>All the three ethnic groups seem to view bereavement as meaning to lose someone through death. All however refer to the deceased as having “left us”. They use the euphemism of “leaving” rather than using a word like dead. When one dies it is believed that the deceased is not dead but has gone to the spiritual world. All the three cultures believe in life after death. This belief is said to help and keep the relationship between the living and the dead alive.</td>
<td>Both the literature and empirical research seem to have a common understanding of what bereavement means - losing someone by death. The empirical research however, emphasizes the bond that continues to exist between the dead and the living than the intrapersonal meaning of bereavement. Accordingly, according to the findings and their interpretation, in these three cultures, ‘there is no death’, as the dead is not dead but alive, connected with the living, just in another realm.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Actually death in these ethnic groups marks the beginning of a new phase “of family membership”.

### 5.2.2 Stages of bereavement process

#### Table 5.2.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>According to the literature findings, the bereavement process lasts for a period of a year in the Xhosa and Zulu ethnic groups while for the Tswana ethnic group it lasts for just under a year.</td>
<td>The results of the empirical study show that in all the three ethnic groups, the process of bereavement lasts for a year. It has also shown that within a particular ethnic group rituals are not followed the same way. For example, in some other parts of the former Transkei (where some Xhosa reside) mourning can last for more than a year depending on the durability of the mourning clothes.</td>
<td>There seems to be a difference between the literature study and the empirical study since the literature says that in the Tswana ethnic group the bereavement process lasts for just under a year while the empirical research reveals that it lasts for a year. Also, the empirical study shows that bereavement in the Xhosa culture can last for more than a year while the literature states only a year.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The stages of bereavement in these cultures ranges from and begins with the before burial process and ends at a stage and processes after a year. These are elaborated and expatiated on below.

**Before Burial**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The literature is silent on what takes place before the funeral except that it indicates that the clergy is called in order to make sense of what has happened even if the people practice African traditional religion.</td>
<td>According to the empirical study the bereavement process starts with the identification of the mourning room and informing community leaders. Also, that the attire of the chief mourner changes if she is a woman in the Xhosa and Zulu cultures. In the Tswana culture the attire changes for both men and women. The empirical evidence also indicates that the Xhosa and the Zulu cultural groups communicate with the ancestors before leaving the homestead when bringing the deceased to be buried regardless of the way the deceased died. In the Tswana culture however, the communication with the dead is done only when the deceased died as a result of an accident.</td>
<td>The literature does not mention anything about the processes that take place before the burial. The empirical research however states what happens before the burial or funeral. This may not necessarily reveal that there is congruence between literature findings and empirical research but that this information contributes to the existing body of knowledge.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Literature Findings

The members of the bereaved family go to the place where the accident took place and address the deceased directly. This indicates that even though he or she is dead and possibly the body has been removed, they believe the spirit of the dead is still there.

## Empirical Research

On the burial day

The literature mentions that the traditional Tswana slaughters an ox called “mogage” at dawn on the day of burial. The chime of the ox is held in one hand and is thrown into the grave by the mourning relatives. Also, according to the literature in the Tswana culture the meat from the ox is eaten without salt signifying that no joy was derived from eating the meat since the family is in the state of mourning.

Just like in the literature the participants confirmed that in the Tswana culture the deceased is buried in the morning. The traditional Xhosa according to the empirical study bury at midday while the traditional Zulu bury in the afternoon. The empirical study also reveals that the three ethnic groups bury the skin of the slaughtered ox with the deceased. In some other homes, they wrap the skin of the slaughtered ox around the body of the deceased.

In the literature presented there is no mentioning of the burial times of the Xhosa and the Zulu groups whilst in the empirical study it is mentioned. There is difference as well between the literature and the empirical study in that on one hand the literature speaks of the chime of the ox which is thrown in the grave of the deceased.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The literature also mentions that in the Zulu culture after the burial the bereaved are required to shave their heads or at least a lock of their hair must be cut off. In the Tswana culture though the mourners are expected to wear grass necklace and also shave their heads.</td>
<td>In addition, the empirical study has shown that in the three ethnic groups the elders of the members of the bereaved families eat the meat from the ox slaughtered for the funeral without salt. In the three ethnic groups after the burial the family members are required to shave their hair and have a special bath which normally takes place in the river if the bereavement is in the rural setting.</td>
<td>On the other hand, the empirical study speaks of the skin of the ox which is either put in the grave or a deceased is wrapped with it. Although the literature has not stated that the elders of the Zulu and the Xhosa eat meat without salt, the empirical research shows that this is a universal practice in the three cultures. While it is not mentioned in the literature that the Xhosa also shave their heads, the empirical study has confirmed that they also do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Literature Findings</strong></td>
<td><strong>Empirical Research</strong></td>
<td><strong>Interpretation</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>A ritual of slaughtering a cow and a goat seem to be practiced in both Xhosa and Zulu ethnic groups. The Tswana people however, slaughter a sheep instead of a goat because they believe that it symbolizes quietness.</td>
<td>Another difference from the literature is that the empirical study does not reveal the wearing of grass necklace by the Tswana people. The slaughtering of the sheep instead of the goat, in the Tswana culture is mentioned in the empirical study and is not mentioned in the literature.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Between a day and four months after the funeral**

The literature is silent regarding what happens between a day after the funeral and four months later and/or after. | According to the empirical research in all the three ethnic groups there seems to be a culture of encouraging the members of the community who have missed the funeral to pay their condolences to the bereaved. In the Zulu culture visitors are expected to come on the third day after the burial, *bazokhuza*, that is, to say their condolences. | The ritual of *ukukhuza* can be interpreted as demonstrating continued therapeutic support given to the bereaved. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the Tswana and Xhosa cultures there is no specific day that is dedicated to paying a visit for the purpose of <em>ukukhuza</em>, people do so when time permits them.</td>
<td>What is peculiar in the Xhosa ethnic group, which is not done in the other two ethnic groups, is the ritual of going to the forest after the burial day for the purposes of <em>ukubethwa ngumoya</em> that is, distressing.</td>
<td>The <em>washing of the spades</em> ritual demonstrates that the three cultures, in my view, while the bereaved comfort themselves that the dead is still with them, albeit in another realm actually, hate and do not desire death, hence the washing away and cleansing the bad luck off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Also, what seems to be distinct in the Xhosa and Zulu cultures is the holding of the <em>washing of spades</em> ritual which is done on the eighth day after the funeral in the Xhosa culture and performed on the tenth day in the Zulu culture. The purpose of this ritual is two fold; to thank the young men who were responsible to dig the grave and also cleanse or take off the bad luck carried by the spades since they were used in digging the grave.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Literature Findings</td>
<td>Empirical Research</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
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<tr>
<td>In the fourth month after the funeral in the Xhosa culture the bereaved brews beer so that people can be able to visit her unlimitedly. Also, the bereaved white clothes are dyed in yellow ochre in order to mark this stage in the bereavement process.</td>
<td></td>
<td>As already mentioned above there is no information provided in the literature regarding this period in the bereavement process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is also interesting to note the diversity in the different ethnic groups which cautions one from making generalizations when coming to the Black culture.</td>
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</table>

**Between four months and a year**

<p>| The Xhosa slaughter a cow just before a year finishes after the burial date so that the deceased may be welcomed by the ancestors on the other side. This ritual is called <em>umkhapho</em>. In the Tswana and Zulu cultures however, the literature does not indicate that the ritual mentioned above is done. | The empirical study shows that both the Zulu and the Xhosa hold a ritual called <em>umkhapho</em> so that the deceased can be welcomed by the ancestors. The empirical study does not indicate that this ritual is done by the Tswana people. | It seems as if the ritual, <em>umkhapho</em>, is done by both the Zulu and Xhosa ethnic groups and not the Tswana. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>After a year</strong></td>
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</table>

The literature indicates that a ceremony called *umbuyiso*, "bringing back" in Xhosa and *ukubuyisa in Zulu* is performed. The purpose of the ceremony is to call and welcome the deceased back into the family in order that he can be able to take care of the family. This ceremony is held after a year or two after the deceased has passed on. A beast is slaughtered for the head of the family, a cow or a goat is slaughtered in the case of a woman. The literature, however, does not indicate the existence of this ceremony in the Tswana culture.

According to the empirical study this is the time whereby in all the three ethnic groups the mourning period is stopped. One of the common rituals in all the three ethnic groups is to burn the mourning clothes. Also, as it is indicated in the literature, the Zulu and the Xhosa ethnic groups hold a ceremony a little after a year has passed in order to welcome back the deceased so that he or she can take the role of a protector in the family. The Tswana research participants did not mention anything about the *umbuyiso* ceremony.

Both the literature and the empirical research do not mention that *umbuyiso* ceremony is celebrated in the Tswana culture. However, in both the literature and the empirical research the *umbuyiso* or *ukubuyisa* ceremony is practiced by both Zulu and Xhosa cultures.
### 5.2.3 Views about the cultural practices

**Table 5.2.3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The literature shows that the communal nature that exist in the black culture sometimes becomes disadvantageous to the bereaved as the community has expectations that the bereaved must for instance undergo a particular process when bereaved. This creates an emotional strain to the bereaved because even if the bereaved does not feel like observing a certain process he or she does not have a choice but to observe it if the bereaved still wants to be part of the community. The three cultural groups in question, Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana, being part of the black community, and bereaved persons therein are not immune from such practice and its effects.</td>
<td>All the ethnic groups were happy with their cultural bereavement practices with the exception of the one research participant, Mrs Zee. Mrs Zee for instance was not happy at the way she was told to dress when she was bereaved, especially the head gear.</td>
<td>There seems to be consensus between the empirical research and the literature study that one should avoid making generalizations when working with people from the same ethnic background.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Also, the literature warns that when discussing cultural practices of a specific ethnic minority group, it is always important to avoid making blanket generalizations, assuming that all individuals in that cultural minority group think, behave and believe exactly alike and have the same practices.

### 5.2.4 Feelings experienced in bereavement process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The literature suggests that the intrapersonal experience of bereavement is the same in all cultures. The literature also states that in the three ethnic groups focus is paid on how one behaves during bereavement process rather than how one feels.</td>
<td>The results have shown that feelings of sadness and anger are experienced by the bereaved across the three cultural groups. The three ethnic groups encourage one to express these feelings by crying for instance.</td>
<td>It has been revealed by both the literature and the empirical study that focus during bereavement in the three ethnic groups is not so much paid on the feelings of the bereaved but on how one behaves.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Tswana culture even becomes proactive regarding this by encouraging the bereaved to visit an ngaka - traditional doctor - to get medicine to deal with sad emotions.

It has to be noted as well that the participants were not forthcoming when asked about the intrapersonal process during the time of bereavement. They were all comfortable when they were relating to the interpersonal part of the bereavement process.
5.2.5 Children Involvement

Table 5.2.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the literature research findings there has been a difference of opinion among</td>
<td>In all the three ethnic groups the participants did not discuss about how children</td>
<td>The empirical research could not confirm whether the intrapersonal feelings of children are the same as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>researchers regarding the intrapersonal feelings experienced by children whether</td>
<td>feel during bereavement rather about how they should behave. The empirical study has</td>
<td>those of adults or not since it was not a primary concern of the empirical study.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they are the same as those of adults or not.</td>
<td>revealed that children are told about the death in the family.</td>
<td>What seems to be “clear” though is that in these three ethnic groups, focus is seemingly not put on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other researchers argue that children are unable to understand the finality of</td>
<td>Younger children are told about it in their sleep. Someone whispers in their ear to</td>
<td>feelings but behavior in both adults and children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>death due to their state of immaturity while others believe that they do.</td>
<td>inform them about the death. Older children who are able to reason are told about</td>
<td>The literature does not reveal when or how children are informed about the death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the death.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature Findings</td>
<td>Empirical Study</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
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<tr>
<td>The literature states that children, if it is possible, are kept away from the rituals surrounding the burial of the deceased even if the deceased are their own parents.</td>
<td>The empirical study has shown that in the case of the Xhosa ethnic group, children are sent away to stay with the neighbours to try and shield them from the pain of death.</td>
<td>Both the literature and the empirical study seem to agree that the children are shielded from the effect of death by being sent away. However, unlike the literature, the empirical research states that children are not kept away from the rituals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The literature states that the children participate in the rituals, for example, their hair is cut as well.</td>
<td>Furthermore, the children are made to participate in the rituals that are part of the bereavement process like the shaving of the hair and restraining themselves in certain activities while they are still bereaved. Also the research participants do agree that the children’s participation in these rituals teaches them to respect their cultures.</td>
<td>The literature study and the empirical research both agree that children also participate in the rituals. There are many aspects which have been raised by the empirical study which are not recorded in the literature study.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The empirical study in addition shows that the mourning period for children is usually three months.

Lastly, in all the ethnic groups, it is stated that the children are expected to behave in a certain manner during the time of bereavement.

### 5.2.6 Family Involvement

#### Table 5.2.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The literature mentions only the role the maternal uncle (<em>malome</em>) or his proxy. He is responsible to perform the purification during the ceremony at the end of the mourning period in the Tswana culture.</td>
<td>In all the ethnic groups the father usually helps by providing leadership. The mother keeps to the set norms and traditions and siblings and extended family contribute financially and helping with the arrangements of the funeral.</td>
<td>Although only one specific role of a family member is stated in the literature and more different roles are put in the empirical research, what seems to come out is that both the literature and the empirical research agree that the members of the family are involved and given different roles to play.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 5.2.7 Community Involvement

#### Table 5.2.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The literature states that the Zulu and Xhosa cultures have a saying called “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu” in Xhosa and “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu” in Zulu which translates to - a person is a person because of others or a person is a person through other people. According to the literature findings therefore, the self is defined in the connectedness to others unlike in the western culture whereby it is individualistic in all the spheres. This implies therefore that during the bereavement process, the bereaved receives communal help from the community.</td>
<td>The research has shown that all the members of the family and of the community are expected to help the neighbours. For example, they are expected to help with the cooking.</td>
<td>It seems as if both the empirical study and the literature agree that the community gets involved during bereavement period and process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature Findings</td>
<td>Empirical Research</td>
<td>Interpretation</td>
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<tr>
<td>The literature also states that although communal involvement is helpful it is also disadvantageous. It further contends that while support may be intended to help the bereaved ease their pain and suffering, the providers of support often unwittingly overburden the grieving family with heavy demands and direct interference into the “private family matters”. This, as a result, has a negative impact of the bereaved psychological wellbeing.</td>
<td>However, unlike in the literature review, in all the three cultures, the research participants appreciated the community involvement. They seemed not to be bothered about the community involvement they embraced it.</td>
<td>Unlike the literature the results of the empirical research show that the three ethnic groups seem to embrace the community involvement.</td>
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</table>
5.2.8 Support for the individual

Table 5.2.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literature has different views about this support for the individual.</td>
<td>The empirical research has also shown that there are some truths in both views.</td>
<td>The empirical research has also shown that there are some truths in both views.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some other researchers argue that there is no emotional support given to either</td>
<td>Firstly, the empirical study has revealed that the bereaved are not encouraged</td>
<td>that in some traditional families the clergy is involved and that the bereaved is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children or adults during the time of bereavement. Other researchers though argue</td>
<td>to seek counseling from the “professional” counselors.</td>
<td>not encouraged to seek professional help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that even with the traditional African families emotional support is given by the</td>
<td>But just like in the literature study, the empirical study has also shown</td>
<td>However, the empirical study shows also that the bereaved is encouraged to seek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clergy and the community at large.</td>
<td>that the clergy is involved to give emotional support.</td>
<td>help from family members and members of the community who have undergone the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For example Mrs. Zee said that it was her priest who helped her not to cover her</td>
<td>same process.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>her face completely by talking to her mother in law to relax this bereavement</td>
<td>One can conclude that even with the traditionalist they do not practice 100%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>process requirement.</td>
<td>African traditional religion hence the involvement of the priest as well as the</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>seeking of help from professional counseling.</td>
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</table>
Also, the community members who have gone through the process of bereavement give support to the bereaved.

It has to be noted though that the empirical study has also shown that the help that the community renders to the family is regarded as an “emotional” support.
5.2.9 Behaviour

Table 5.2.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature Findings</th>
<th>Empirical Research</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The literature shows that during this period, the widow is expected to be confined to her home for a certain period of time, which is specified by the family. The reason for the confinement is that it is believed that she will spread the bad luck if she is allowed to go about and around anywhere during this period.</td>
<td>According to the empirical study the bereaved are not supposed to pay visits and attend parties during the bereavement process. The slight diversion that the Tswana culture has is that when the bereaved is forced to go and pay a visit he or she must pay such a visit before twelve o’clock midday and after three o’clock in the afternoon.</td>
<td>Both the results of the literature and empirical study show that in the three ethnic groups the bereaved movements are restricted with a view to restrict the spread of the bad luck and or death.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although sometimes a certain ritual or a certain stage of the bereavement processes is not mentioned in the literature or the empirical research, when combining the information obtained from both, it gives a complete picture of the process of bereavement in these three ethnic groups.
5.3 Main conclusions drawn

- That the process of bereavement in the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnic groups in particular differs from the western culture. It seems as if the focus in the western culture is on the intrapersonal processes of bereavement as opposed to the African Black cultures which seems to focus on interpersonal processes of bereavement.

- That the process of bereavement is similar among the Xhosa and Zulu cultures since they are both members of the Nguni ethnic group compared to the Tswana culture, which is a Sotho group.

- That although there are differences among the Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana ethnic groups the similarities are more compared to the western process of bereavement.

5.4 Contributions of this study

- The information obtained from the empirical study can be useful at the Department of Basic Education and Training. This is so because this information can be incorporated in the curriculum of Life Orientation in order to teach the learners about cultural sensitivity regarding bereavement.

- The empirical study also serves as a blue print to schools in general on how to treat a bereaved learner who comes from a traditional Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana cultures.

- In addition, the empirical study also gives a western trained psychologist a basic understanding of the bereavement process of these three cultural groups so that he or she can be able to adjust his or her therapeutic intervention to be cultural and individual specific and not generalize when dealing with them.
• It has been observed that there are a number of rituals which are critical in the bereavement processes of the three ethnic groups which are not stated in the literature but were mentioned to the researcher by the participants. It is believed that this information may play a significant contribution to the academic world.

5.5 Limitations of the study

The following are the limitations in this particular research study:

• The relatively small sample in this study may be seen as a limitation. There were two research participants in each ethnic group. Given that each ethnic group has different clans especially the Tswana and Xhosa each participant had to provide information from his or her frame of reference. It was therefore impossible that the research participants could truly be said to be representatives of the cultures they were representing. In all, a research participant coming from a particular clan may have said that a certain ritual is not done in his or her culture whilst he or she is not aware that another clan is doing it. Alternatively and even if he or she is aware, the participant may well have restricted themselves to their own specific sub-culture and practice.

• The researcher would have also liked to have interviewed the traditional chiefs from the three ethnic groups. However, she only managed to get hold of only one chief. The reason she wanted a chief is because chiefs are regarded as custodians of customs and traditions as they are taught from the very early age about their customs and traditions. That being the case, it somewhat obviates the limitation of the empirical study in relation to the sample in that chiefs are thought both their own rituals as they relate to their own specific clan or group but also the whole populace under their rule, hence the status of being custodians of culture and practice in generally. However, it became difficult to get hold of other chiefs especially as the researcher was told that by tradition she was not allowed to see a chief. No specific reason was given.
Since the interview was impromptu the interviewee might have forgotten or none deliberately missed to raise a particular fact and not to invalidate its applicability. For example, he or she might have forgotten to tell the interviewer a certain ritual which is done at his or her culture at the time when the interview was performed. This as a result appears in the empirical study as if that particular culture does not perform that particular ritual.

Lastly, lack of written literature in this topic especially books, made it difficult for the researcher to create a framework for her study.

5.6 Recommendations for further study

- It would be interesting and valuable to conduct a study similar to this one which will include other ethnic groups like Tshivenda, San and Xitsonga in order to find out their bereavement process and how they differ from the Nguni and Sotho speaking peoples, if they do. This broadening of the scope would possibly help to have a total picture of the bereavement in the traditional African cultures of South Africa.

- A study on providing guidelines to the Department of Education, Educators and Psychologists on how to deal with bereaved learners from traditional black ethnic groups might be worthwhile in the South African context with diverse cultural backgrounds.

- Lastly, a study looking at the relationship between psychotherapy and the act of telling a child about the death of a parent by whispering at his or her ear when he or she is in deep sleep is critically necessary.
5.7 Conclusion

This journey has been an interesting one. While people were reluctant to share their stories and experiences, it proved to be worthwhile at the end.

As a black South African the researcher had thought that she was at an advantage in terms of prior knowledge. This was however evidently proven wrong since there was a lot to learn. She was surprised at her lack or inadequacy of knowledge in the field. As a trainee psychologist the knowledge she has obtained at this point of her training prepares her well for the diverse cultures of South Africa.

Even in those cultures that she did not do the research on, the empirical study has reinforced what she has been taught - to treat a client in his or her frame of reference.

By conducting this study she hopes that she was able to shed some light in this field which will be a basis for handling matters relevant thereto.


Death and dying; Encyclopedia of death and dying. viewed 8 July 2010. www.deathreference.com


www.cancer.gov/cancertopics
APPENDIX A – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

THE PSYCHO EDUCATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESS OF BEREAVEMENT IN THE XHOSA, ZULU AND TSWANA CULTURES – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE.

1. What does the phenomenon, bereavement mean in your culture?
   Rational: It seeks to understand the meaning of the phenomenon, bereavement in the eyes of the culture in question, whether it has its own specific culturally understanding or the general meaning of bereavement.

2. How would you describe the bereavement process in your culture?
   Rational: To understand in the culture specific the process of bereavement in view of the focus of the dissertation.

3. How do you feel about the bereavement process in your culture?
   Rational: to learn about how the community members feel about the bereavement process in their culture, to find out whether they like it or not.

4. What rituals if any does one perform during this time and why?
   Rational: To understand the rituals that is performed during bereavement and to understand the reasons behind the performance of those rituals.

5. What influence does participation in the rituals have on an individual?
   Rational: To establish the influence that participation in the rituals may have in the behaviour of the individual.

6. How long does the period of bereavement last?
   Rational: To find out whether in different cultures there is a duration put regarding bereavement or not.
QUESTIONS RELATING TO AN INDIVIDUAL

7. What feelings do one experience during this period?
Rational: It is to establish what feelings do one experience; the focus is on an individual experience.

8. How do you express these feelings?
Rational: To understand the restriction and freedom of expression that each culture permits or forbids and to understand their effect on the healing process and coping mechanisms.

9. Who do you turn to for support when you need emotional support?
Rational: To ascertain the support system available in general whether one is bereaved or not.

10. Who gives (emotional / psychological and spiritual) support during the time of bereavement?
Rational: To establish the kind of support structures are available to the bereaved during this time. Also, to establish whether support structures are different when is bereaved and not bereaved.

QUESTIONS ON FAMILY INVOLVEMENT

11. What is the role of the following family members during the process of bereavement?
   (a) Father
   (b) Mother
   (c) Siblings
   (d) Extended family
11. How do you feel about the role that the above play during the bereavement process?

QUESTIONS ON INVOLVEMENT OF CHILDREN.

12. Are children told about the death in the family if yes, at what stage are children informed?

Rational: To learn more about the interaction between children and adults during the bereavement process.

13. How are the children involved in the process of bereavement?

Rational: To learn about the involvement of children in the process of bereavement in different cultures.

14. Are children involved in the rituals which take place during the bereavement, if yes what are those rituals?

Rational: To learn more about the rituals that children participate in different cultures.

15. What influence does participation in the rituals have in the behaviour of the child?

Rational: To establish the influence that participation in the rituals may have in the behavior of the child.

QUESTIONS ON COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT.

16. What role does the community play during the time of bereavement in terms of the following?

Rational: To learn about the role that the spiritual leaders, elders and neighbours play during this period if there is one
(a) Spiritual leaders

(b) Elders

(c) Neighbours

17. **What else can you tell about the role played by the community during the time of bereavement?**

Rational: to help the interviewer get information on community she might have missed to ask.

18. **Do you think the community must play a role in the bereavement process? Please elaborate on your answer.**

Rational: to gather whether individuals view community involvement as an inconvenience to them as a literature study suggest or not.

19. **What else can you tell me about the bereavement process in your culture?**

Rational: to be able to gather extra information from the interviewee that the interviewer could not have asked for from the questions asked.