AN EXPLORATION OF THE THERAPEUTIC VALUE OF *IHLAMBO:* COMMUNITY MEMBERS' PERSPECTIVES

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DECLARATION

This is to declare that the work is the author's original work and that all the sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and that this document has not in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.

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ABSTRACT

Ihlambo is an African indigenous cleansing ceremony that has been used in an attempt to anchor the peace that has been initiated in some communities in KwaZulu-Natal. Indigenous ways of healing have become increasingly important for the indigenous people of Kwa-ZuluNatal after mass violations of human rights and the deaths of many individuals and families in the 1990s. This research was aimed at investigating survivors of violence's experiences of *ihlambo*. The purpose was to establish the process and therapeutic aspects of these ceremonies through interviewing community members from Mbumbulu and Richmond which are both located in Kwa-Zulu Natal and both have a history of mass violations of human rights, from the killings of innocent people to displacing most members of the community. This was due mainly to tribal and political wars. In the quest for forgiveness, peace and reconciliation, these communities have participated in mass ritual cleansing-*ihlambo*. The results of this research show that indicators of reconciliation and forgiveness for these communities are emotional wellbeing, mental healing, and the interconnection with ancestors. Other important themes were peace in the community, peace for those that died during the violence, and emotional/ mental healing.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

It has been seventeen years since South Africa saw its first democratic elections. With this came the promise of peace, reconciliation, equal opportunity and health. The better half of these years, however, has seen the escalation of poverty and criminal violence in some communities (Benini, Minaar & Pretorius, 1998; du Toit, 2001; Hamber, 1999; Hay, 1998). For as long as fifteen years, communities in the province of KwaZulu-Natal have lived a life characterised by constant political conflict (Higson-Smith, 1999).This has led to immense underdevelopment and loss of hope for many of the communities in this province. The atrocities suffered during apartheid continue to weave themselves into the new South Africa.

Of particular interest for this study is the fact that most of these atrocities affect the black African population the most. They have been suffering from dire poverty and complete estrangement from their cultures and traditions, which were supposed to keep the communities together. Some communities have survived traumatic experiences of political and tribal violence (Higson-Smith, 1999; Hamber 1999). However, other communities have battled to establish and sustain peace (Bonnin, 2000;Goodenough, 2004; Hamber, 1999; Higson-Smith, 1999; Lambert, 1995; Mathis, 2005; Minaar & Hough, 1997; Sithole, 1997& Taylor, 2002).

The South African community has had to deal with protracted political and other forms of violence and many people still need assistance to heal. Two communities in KwaZulu-Natal, Mbumbulu and Richmond, have previously been plagued by high levels of violence and bloodshed due to political and tribal unrest (Higson-Smith, 1999; Lambert, 1995; Mathis, 2005;& Sithole, 1997). These communities therefore have had cleansing ceremonies *(ihlambo)* to facilitate communal healing and reconciliation. This dissertation looks into the healing mechanisms of these ceremonies; the psychological processes by which the community comes to terms with the trauma of violence. The dissertation also looks into the use of *ihlambo* as a means of re-establishing harmony and peace in the communities.

1.1 Context of Violence

According to Higson-Smith (1999), at the time of the publication of his article in 1999, in KwaZulu-Natal alone about 15,000 people were known to have died due to political violence between 1984 and 1999.He goes on to say that people who had been displaced were between 500,000 and one million; and more than one million children had been directly exposed to violence.

If one looks at the following graph (Figure 1), one can see the statistics of the political violence of the whole country, South Africa, compared to those of KwaZulu-Natal alone. Although there have been a lot of deaths in South Africa as a whole in the years 1994, 1995 and 1996, overall KwaZulu-Natal has had more deaths, than has been the case for South Africa.

Figure 1
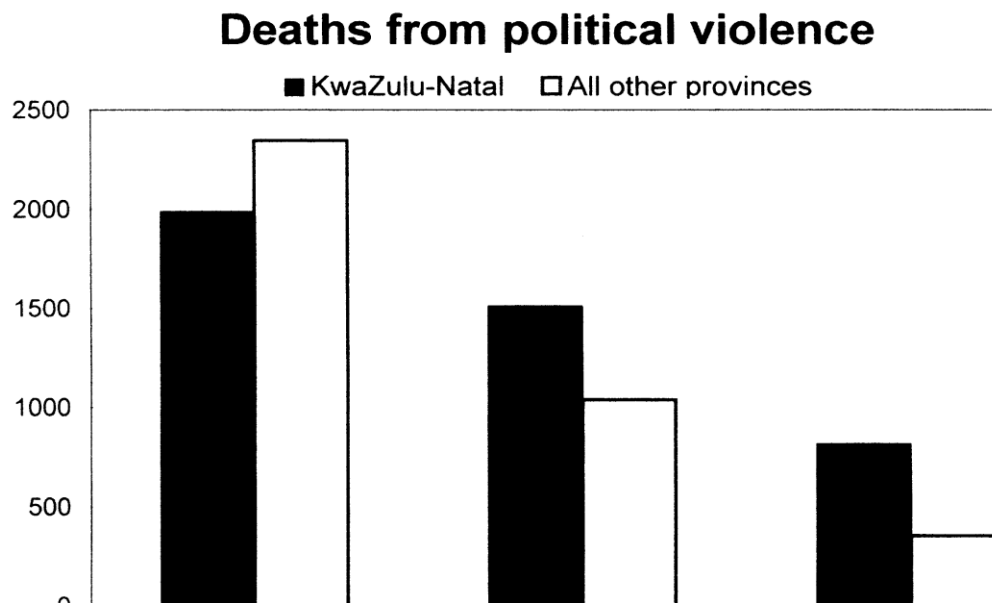
Figure 1: Graph showing deaths in KwaZulu-Natal compared to South Africa. (From Benini, Minaar, and Pretorius, 1999, p.502)

Much more damage that is hard to measure has been done in KwaZulu-Natal, such as the demise of the social fabric of the communities, the disruption of the family unit and the break-down of many social services that are important to the development of any community (Higson-Smith, 1999). Two such communities in KwaZulu-Natal are Mbumbulu and Richmond.

Mbumbulu and Richmond are areas of interest because these are the communities in which peace remained tenuous over the years in spite of the first democratic elections in 1994. Mbumbulu is located in KwaZulu-Natal, 40 km away from Durban, and is one of the many rural areas in the EThekwini municipality. The population of Mbumbulu is approximately a quarter of a million people who are subject to the rule of *amakhosi* and *izinduna*, primary source of employment is farming. Although it is a beautiful place with natural resources,it is also a place where much suffering has occurred (http://www.durban.gov.za/durban/discover/history/our-town/umbumbulu; 2010).

Lambert (1995) argues that the multiplication of small chiefdoms, coupled with the insecurity of appointed chiefs, created a political atmosphere prone to conflict. Upper Umkhomazi, Ixobho and Alexander divisions were particularly affected by "the sale of the crown lands" and the opening up of the area to white settlement (Lambert, 1995, p.125). In addition, colonial rulers often disregarded the reasons for the *izimpi zemibango*[1]among the chiefdoms, and simply punished all parties to the faction fights. This increased bitterness and hostility among the chiefdoms (Lambert, 1995).

According to Mathis (2005), the fighting between Embo and Makhanya clans in the 1980s resulted in the death of more than 300 people. Residents have different accounts of what ignited the Embo-Makhanya conflict. Some say the conflict started over a woman, while others say it was ignited by competition between youth groups, or that it was the result of Makhanya's intention to invade Embo land (Mathis, 2005). Whatever the initial reason, the war was characterised by both large-scale battles between the clans and smaller-scale attacks on villages. The Embo-Makhanya war was followed by, and at some stage was concurrent with, political violence in the Mbumbulu area. The violence –only changing its façade from a faction to a political one –adversely affected Mbumbulu residents.

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[1](wars arising from disputes between clans or tribes)

Similar conflicts took place in Richmond. Richmond is a small town that is situated in KwaZulu-Natal Midlands and is approximately 35km south west of Pietermaritzburg and 100km west of Durban (See Appendix 1) (Goodenough, 2004). It has a population of over 70 000 people in semi-formal and informal settlements, and is a farming and forestry community (Taylor, 2002). According to Gennrich (2009), Taylor (2002) and Injobo Nebandla (2005), the violence in Richmond reached its peak between 1997 and 1998. These conflicts arose in the 1980's through the beginning of apartheid elected leaders as opposed to traditional leaders in the area(Injobo Nebandla; 2005). The reason that there were opposing sides was that most of the traditional leaders viewed Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as the party that could guarantee theirfinancial interests in addition to their cultural and political values. African National Congress (ANC) supporters, on the other hand, considered the IFP an apartheid installed leadership and hence an obstruction to democracy in the country (Injobo Nebandla; 2005). These ideas therefore led to animosity between the ANC and the IFP.

In Richmond, the rural areas of Mkhobeni and Patheni were perceived to be under the control of the IFP, while the semi-urban Magoda and Ndaleni were perceived to be under the ANC. All communities suffered greatly. According to Injobo Nebandla (2005), between 1987 and 1990 over two thousand people died as a result of fighting in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands. In 1991 over 140 were killed (Taylor, 2002). For example there were many attacks on the Magoda and Ndaleni areas by Inkatha, but eventually the ANC gained more ground with the training of self-defense units (SDUs), which resulted in the ANC gaining the upper hand (Taylor, 2002). This resulted in many casualties and approximately 60 percent of the residents of Patheni fled their homes (Taylor, 2002). 20 000 people are said to have been living in shelters, tents and on the streets of Richmond (Taylor, 2002; Injobo Nebandla, 2005).

In 1994, although there were peace talks between the ANC and the IFP, which enabled those who had been displaced by violence to go back to their homes, there erupted more violence again (Taylor, 2002; Goodenough; 2004; du Toit, 2001). This time it was between the ANC and the United Democratic Movement (UDM). There were a hundred or more people killed in what was viewed as a one sided conflict, as those who died were ANC supporters (Taylor, 2002; du Toit, 2001).

Although the violence seemed to be political, it was perpetually referred to as faction fighting. Prior 1994, the government did not want to take responsibility for the deaths of so many people. Post 1994, it became clear that all the parties that were involved would lose rather than gain from probing the killings (Taylor, 2002). Although there were recommendations from the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) that an independent commission of enquiry be established, the ANC rejected the idea, and the IFP feared that senior politicians would be implicated in the violence, and so they also ignored the call. Therefore justice for victims and their families was denied (Taylor, 2002).

Sinani –a non-governmental organisation working with communities affected by violence, poverty, and HIV/AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal –responded to the ravages of violence in both the Mbumbulu and Richmond communities. Between 2005 and 2007, Sinani facilitated the process towards two big cleansing ceremonies, involving whole communities in Richmond and Mbumbulu. The ceremonies brought together about 4000 and 8000 people in Richmond and Umbumbulu communities respectively (Köppen, Mkhize & Schelle-Faucon, 2008).

Why the cleansing ceremonies? Although processes like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) were prominent, they were unable to build peace as desired in these communities because of the nature of the TRC. According to de Ridder (1997), the TRC brought into public focus the extreme forms of violence and abuse that many South Africans had been subjected to for over 30 years. Public testimonies of torture, kidnapping, murder, mutilation and assault were attended by many thousands of people and widely reported in the media. Some of those who made written statements, gave public spoken testimony or applied for amnesty had generally experienced deeply traumatic events - whether they were at the receiving end of acts of gross human rights abuses or whether they committed such acts. At one level, the collective body of deponents to the TRC represent the collective experience of this society in terms of the trauma associated with apartheid (de Ridder, 1997). It is argued in this thesis that though the TRC was a useful reconciliation process, it was unable to penetrate into the hearts of the communities and to provide contextualized ways of peace building (Hay, 1998).

This dissertation explores *ihlambo*, an African indigenous and spiritual-based method of community cleansing and peace building. To do this, it is important to look at the underlying principles of the African worldview. These are principles such as, harmony, inter-connectednessbetween people, and the concept of equilibrium and spirituality (Scheile, 1996; Solomon & Wane, 2005; Phillips, 1990; Mazama, 2001; Jenkins; 2006). It is arguedthat these basic principles are the foundation for the healing process; peace cannot be sustained in African indigenous communities previously affected by war and violence, unless it is based on these principles. The study also explores benefits at the individual, familial and community level that may accrue as a result of indigenous peace building methods such as *ihlambo.*

1.2 Research problem and research questions

The subject of study is the role of *ihlambo* in achieving and maintaining peace in communities that were engulfed by political and tribal violence in the KwaZulu-Natal province. This peace building initiative took shape as it was evident that peace and reconciliation were not being initiated in methods consistent with community members' worldviews. The involvement of Sinanias a mediator between the feuding parties and as the facilitator of the peace process empowered the community to come to peace on their own terms, using their own methods.

This project is aimed at exploring the psychological value of *ihlambo* for the survivors of violence in KwaZulu-Natal. It is hoped that this will be a basis upon which to derive implications for counselling and rehabilitation for the survivors of violence in the African setting. There is also the presumption that there were shortfalls in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which sought to reconcile South Africans(de Ridder, 1997; Graybill & Lanegram, 2004; Honwana, 2006; Hay 1998).The shortfalls include the fact that the TRC was meant to provide a space for therapeutic release of emotions for the healing of the respondents in the TRC and the nation. However de Ridder (1997) questions the power of healing of a nation through individual healing, and whether this (the TRC's) was the type of healing that was necessary for whole communities that were involved in the violations of human rights.The study seeks to understand how cultural practices such as cleansing ceremonies may contribute in efforts to integrate survivors of violence back into their communities. Therefore, the research questions are:

1. What is the perceived inherent meaning of *ihlambo* to the community members and leadership structures in Richmond and Mbumbulu?

2. What are the perceived intraindividual, relational/interpersonal, familial and community benefits of *ihlambo*, from the perspectives of community members?

3. In what way does *ihlambo* contribute to the healing process from a psychological perspective?

1.3 Study Objectives

In undertaking this study, the following objectives will be addressed:

1. To explore the psychosocial value of *ihlambo* to community members.
2. To derive implications for counselling and rehabilitation of survivors of violence in the African setting.
3. To determine the extent to which cultural/indigenous cleansing ceremonies may be a useful instrument in integrating survivors of violence back into their communities.
4. To inform programme development and design for the training of trauma counsellors.
5. To influence curriculum development for training psychologists and counsellors.

1.4 Justification for the research

As an African social scientist, working in the KwaZulu-Natal area, it is my hypothesis that the mental health problems that are faced by many African people who are survivors of violence stem from their involvement in these unfortunate atrocities. It is important to bring to the consciousness of mental health workers, peace workers, security personnel and the country as a whole; alternatives to peace building that are needed in African contexts.Baldwin (1986) states that to speak of Black people and Black experience is meaningless if not understood in the context of African culture. The current study of *ihlambo* seeks not to do away with western perspectives towards peace building; the purpose is to enrich our understanding of how these two

paradigms complement each other, as we attempt to facilitate healing for the survivors of violence.

1.5   Methodology

The study employed a qualitative research design, given that it sought to understand people's lived experiences of the *ihlambo* cleansing ceremony (Maxwell, 1994). The participants were African men and women over forty years of age. Individual interviews were done with the participants using a semi-structured interview schedule. The interviews were tape-recorded, and thereafter transcribed. Data collected from focus groups were also analysed. The data were analysed using the voice-centred relational method, pioneered by Gilligan (1982) and her colleagues, and extended by Mkhize (2005) and Mauthner and Doucet (1998). This involves the researcher reading the narrative four times, each reading engaging with the story from a different vantage point (Mkhize, 2005). The purpose was to explore many positions from which the meaning of *ihlambo* can be told.

1.6   Definitions

1.6.1 *Inhlambuluko/ ihlambo*: The key concept of this study is *ihlambo/inhlambuluko*for which an operational definition is provided. This is process whereby two parties that have had a misunderstanding, forgive and reconcile, and thereafter seal their reconciliation with a ceremony, done in the presence of a third person (Ngubane, 1977). The whole process is guided by communication with the ancestors and involves a ritual sacrifice from the parties involved. This is a reconciliation ritual that is aimed at the re-establishment and restoration of harmonious relationship bonds with ancestors, and resolution of disturbed interpersonal relationship with one another to heal family wounds and to wash away anger (Hay, 1998; Mosue, 2000; Ngubane, 1977; Köppen, Mkhize & Schelle-Faucon, 2008). According to Nolte- Schamm (2006) such a ritual is designedto create harmony where there has been rupture, to balance the statusquo where it has become unbalanced because of rivalry.

Hay (1998) explains that this is a ritual that was historically named *ukuhlanjwa kwemikhonto*, or *inhlambuluko*, that was done also to remove the urge that warriors had to kill. This urge to kill was as a result of *umuthi* called *intelezi* that was given to them by *inyanga*, to remove the fear of war. After the war, they would have to be cleansed of this *umuthi* before they come into their villages, so that they could stop their urge to continue to kill or to remove what is called "*iqunga* (blood-lust)" in which case the person would become overly aggressive and always ready to kill others (Hay, 1998; Ngubane, 1977 p.82); Msimang, 1975).

As explained by Msimang (1975), the same process of *ihlambo* was historically one that was performed to cleanse the deceased. It was performed a year after the death so that those moaning could be released of their duties as moaners and go on with their lives. It was also performed to stop further deaths of the same kind in the family (especially if it is an accidental death).

The process of *ihlambo*, performed a year after the deceived is buried, involves men gathering and going out to hunt (*baphuma inqina*). Depending on the strength of the ancestor, the bigger the number of animals killed. When they go out in this manner, it is imperative for something to be killed, and they kill anything on their way. If they do not catch anything, they need to get a cow. When they return to the homestead, singing the clan names, they are awaited with *ukhamba* (clay pot for serving beer) that has *imikhubalo* (medicinal root, plants and herbs) and clean water in which they wash their hands and weapons. Everybody else must wash their hands, and then they can all eat. The deceased is then asked to look after his/her family that has been left behind. This is called *"ukumkhuphula umufi"* (to raise the deceased from the land of wandering spirits to the ancestral realm).

Ukubuyisa: A related concept is that of *ukubuyisa.* This practically means to bring the deceased back. According to Msimang (1975) this is done on the same day as *ihlambo*. Here *inqina*(a group of *izinsizwa*going to hunt) leaves at night to throw weapons away, and comes back in the early morning hours as in *ihlambo*. They then go into the kraal and the convenor chooses a cow. He then says that using that cow (*ukhuphula*) the deceased has been returned (*ukubuyisa*) to his family as an ancestor. He speaks to the deceased, naming them, and saying that he should look after the home. Then the next morning the meat is eaten, and the men say praises.

If a person in not 'brought back home' (*engabuyiswanga*) they become troublesome, following people around, and become a shadow over the home. If they happen to have died away from home, or at war, and are not buried in the home, they becomes troublesome where they died, causing*umnyama*[2] where they are. His relatives then "fetch" the person using *umlahlalankosi/umphafa*(scientific name: *Ziziphus mucronata*). Those fetching him would also ask the ancestors to go with him. At the place where the deceased died-perhaps at the grave or where he is known to have died, they then tell him to come home. They then go home with him and upon arrival, the *umlahlankosi* branch is fed to a goat, which is then slaughtered and through which s/he is able to come home. Thereafter a cow may be slaughtered *ukumbuyisa* (Msimang, 1975).

1.6.2 Living-dead: Because death is seen in indigenous African communities as the beginning of another phase of existence, there is still a relationship between the living and the dead (Grills, 2002). This relationship needs to be maintained and this leads to the dead being considered as the "living-dead", "the sleeping" or "the ones on the other side". These terms are used interchangeably in this paper. The living-dead, according to Mbiti (1969), are in the state of personal immortality and their process of dying is not yet complete. The term describes one who is a spirit in the sense that he/she is no longer in the body, and yet retains features which describe them in physical terms, such as their names. They are the closest links that people have with the spirit world and are bilingual, speaking the language of other spirits, and also that of humans with whom they lived until recently (Mbiti, 1969).

1.7   Delimitations of scope and key assumptions

The participants of this study were African middle aged men and women who reside in KwaZulu-Natal. The aim of this study was to investigate their way of forgiving and reconciling after the war or conflict. These results cannot be generalised to a vast majority of people, given that non-probability sampling was used. In spite of this however, there are many principles referred to in this study that relate to the African belief system in general. The use of *inhlambuluko/ ihlambo* as a means of forgiveness and reconciliation of African communities in

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[2]Umnyama is defined by Ngubane (1975) in the literature below. It refers to a state of being under a cloud of darkness, which is not desirable in the African people.

South Africa may be fruitful, especially where tribal and political violence was or continues to be rife. It could also be an important perspective in terms of tailoring counselling strategies for African communities that have such violent pasts.

Only middle aged residents of these communities were used as participants in the study because it was assumed that they would have a better understanding of African rituals. It would have been problematic to interview younger participants (especially those who are unmarried), who may not know, or even feel that they should not share some important information. Older residents were also most likely to have a complete or richer memory of the violence that had plagued the regions in the previous two decades.

1.8 Outline of this report

ChapterOne presented the background to the research, together with the research questions, aims of the study, the rationale, research questions, and a brief summary of methods, definitions and delimitations. Chapter Two provides the theoretical and contextual foundations of the study, while Chapter Three takes the reader through the research methodology incorporating sampling, the study design and the ethical considerations. The results are presented and discussed in Chapter Four. Chapter Five summarizes the study outcome, providing recommendations for further research, theory and practice.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The new democratic South Africa has inherited from the apartheid era a society that has been embroiled in violent conflict. Prior to the democratic South Africa, the apartheid policies had to be upheld through a system of control, which was structural violence (Khumalo, 1995; Hamber, 1990; Hay, 1998). According to Benini, Minnaar and Pretorius (1998), in 1998, the province of KwaZulu-Natal had remained the home of persistent violence that was historical. It is stated by Higson-Smith (1999) that up to 15,000 people lost their lives in the political violence and that between 500 000 and one million were displaced in the KwaZulu-Natal region. He goes on to say that one million children were exposed to violence (Higson-Smith, 1999). Many models of peace building have proved unequal to the task of ending violence completely in the KwaZulu-Natal region of South Africa. The aim of this literature review is to provide the theoretical underpinnings of the study. The argument is that most methods of peace building in African communities are inadequate unless they address some of the important aspects of traditional African beliefs.

The literature will firstly look at the trauma of war and what consequences these have on the people that are involved. The next section discusses systematic peace building in the form of the Spectrum of Prevention Model (Cohen, Davis & Aboelata; 1998;Retray, Brunner, & Freestone; 2002). We will look at this model in terms of what it entails, and discuss its weaknesses relating to its use in African contexts. The next section that will be looked into will be the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and this intervention model will be discussed at length since it was the one proposed by the South African government as a means of bringing about peace and reconciliation, as well as healing for the people of South Africa. Reconciliation in the African context will thereafter be discussed. We will then discuss ritual cleansing, what it means, and why it is so significant in the process of healing for African people. Finally we shall look at the gap between the expected form of healing in the African context according to the African worldview, and the healing methods that have thus far been proposed or used, such as the TRC.

2.2. Trauma of war

According to Khumalo (1995), violence impacted negatively on the people of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Many families were displaced, homes were destroyed and looted, and the economic infrastructure and other social and political structures, including governance, were destroyed. Khumalo (1995) goes on to say that a number of prominent political leaders from all organisations were killed in the violence together with ordinary members of communities. In some families, members belonged to different political organisations which prompted family separation. Innocent people who found themselves in the midst of this were the ones who suffered the most. Furthermore, the violence impacted heavily on education in many areas where students could not attend schools which were considered to be aligned with certain political parties (Khumalo, 1995; Taylor, 2002;Benini, Minnaar & Pretorius, 1998).

Khumalo (1995) documents that the health services of the area suffered greatly because most nurses could not go to work, as they lived in certain areas. If they did, they were not allowed to treat certain patients, depending on the political orientation of the patient. Since there was only one clinic in the area, it became difficult to operate as they were seen to be siding with one party or the other. Eventually it became life threatening for them to service the public at night as the lives of the nurses were in danger (Khumalo, 1995).

The church, a highly respected organisation in the Mpumalanga Township, also became threatened. Depending on the location of the church itself, members could or could not attend. People who depended significantly on the spiritual nourishment could not even access that because of the lack of trust among the people. All other recreational activities that the youth were involved in had to be stopped completely in the area for fear of being accused of being the "wrong" political party, and the facilities were not maintained (Khumalo, 1995).

Some psychological symptoms that are also associated with political violence include cases of obsessive-compulsiveness, phobic anxiety, and social alienation(Slone, Kaminer, & Durrheim, 2000). According to Slone *et al.* (2000), this is more so for political violence than is reported in other forms of violence. A whole range of psychological symptomshave been observed, such as

posttraumaticstress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety disorders, and behavior problems in children (Mels, Derluyn, Broekaert & Rossel, 2010).

For women and children the situation was even worse. Girls were often called on by groups of men (from all political parties) and would be asked for sex, abducted or raped. The women also knew that if they refused sex, their families would be in danger (Bonnin, 2000). Households were vulnerable to attacks due to them being identified as one political party or the other as well, thus constantly exposing young children to possible violence (Bonnin, 2000). According to Bonnin (2000), although some of the young men used to serve as protectors of their respective communities, they spoke of death all the time, so much so that the young girls (who were already afraid of being raped or worse), were constantly worried about being killed by the very people who were assigned to protect them. This led to an atmosphere of distrust and fear.

Even the business sector was affected in that production levels were low. Local business people were suspected of political activities, and were therefore seen as a threat (Khumalo, 1995; Bonnin, 2000). As violence spilled over to the factories, factory workers were arriving late to work.   Most businesses had to eventually relocate and as a result many people lost their jobs.

Another important aspect of the war in KwaZulu-Natal was that families could not always find their loved ones to bury them. In African thought this is disturbing because the process of death and dying is one that is ongoing and it takes time before all the whole process is done (Marschall, 2008). According to Marschall (2008) a newly deceased person is initially located in a transitionalrealm and can only integrate into the body of ancestral spirits after specific ritualprocesses or full funeral rites have been completed by the living. A fuller picture of the process is given in the section on death and dying in African thought, but the fact that communities lost the ability to perform rituals that form the core of their survival cannot be ignored.

The grim picture painted above is one that is seen in most war torn countries of Africa. Countries such as Burundi, Angola, Ivory Coast, Uganda, Sudan, and Zimbabwe have all suffered the same fate (Honwana, 2006). There has been little or no development in these countries and poverty persists due to violence and where violence has ended, it remains very difficult for development to begin. This leads to further oppression and poverty for the African people. According to Naidu

and Adonis (2007), violence in group conflict usually involves not only loss of human life but great suffering, humiliation, and trauma. This trauma is usually not forgotten, especially in the case of intractable conflicts. Naidu and Adonis (2007) go on to say that these are often incorporated into the collective memory of the group and underlie the development of a culture of trauma and sometimes violence. Collective memory of the events that occur during conflict are directly linked to the groups' beliefs in the sanctity of life, the emotional meaning of loss of life, the irreversibility of those losses, the desire for revenge and the need to rationalize violence. Naidu and Adonis (2007) believe that the longer the conflict takes to subside, the more likely that the groups involved will have prejudice, mistrust, hatred and animosity, which further play an important part in how the groups treat each other. This has an impact on how future generations of these groups will behave towards one another. In the following section systematic peace building approaches attempt to understand trauma and violence, and find ways in which it can be curbed.

2.3 Systematic peace building

Cohen, Davis and Aboelata (1998) argue that, because violence is complex, it requires a comprehensive approach. The spectrum of prevention model, developed by Cohen, Davis, and Aboelata (1998) as an example of systemic approaches to violence prevention, entails six factors, namely, enhancing an individual's capability of preventing injury or crime, reaching groups of people with information and resources to promote health and safety, informing providers who will transmit skills and knowledge to others, bringing together groups and individuals for broader goals and greater impact, adopting regulations and norms to improve health and safety and creating new models, and finally developing strategies to change laws and policies to influence outcomes in health, education and justice (Cohen *et al*., 1998).

The risk and resiliency factors as well as individual and community characteristics are central to preventing violence, and must be addressed (Cohen *et al*., 1998). According to Cohen *et al*. (1998), when risk and resiliency issues are noted, violence in a community can be reduced. Thus when it is known that a certain community has access to weapons, and there is an intervention at that level, it is less likely that there will be as much violence in that community. Cohen *et al*.

(1998) also believe that an action plan is necessary to offer the broadest, longest lasting solutions to resolving violence. These must have specific goals and state that is responsible for their achievement.

There are similarities between the systemic Spectrum of Prevention model and *ihlambo* in that *ihlambo* is holistic in its methods; it provides alternatives that seek to rehabilitate rather than punish the individual. Because the individual is considered only in the context of his/her family and/or community, his/her risks and resilience are assessed at that level and this allows an accurate measure of the likelihood of more violence (Reynolds, 1990). However, Cohen's proposed model is idealistic rather than practical and is universalistic in nature- which makes it problematic. This has been the mistake that other models have also made. According to Ntsoane (2003), people who live together are experienced in resolving conflict and to bringing peace to neighbourly relations, respect, and the experience of unity with humanity. It is not the duty of people who do not know the community to bring their methods for peace-building (Ntsoane, 2003). Furthermore, Baldwin (1986) argues that is it important to look firstly at African cosmology in dealing with African issues. He goes on to say that to speak of Black people and Black experience is meaningless if not understood in the context of African culture and without the African experience (Baldwin 1986). Higson-Smith (1999) points out that imposing models derived in one context onto another carries with it the risk of wasting limited resources or even doing more harm than good in communities. This also undermines the existing stabilising and healing mechanisms within communities.

Constantine, Myers, Kindaichi and Moore (2004) go on to critique western approaches to mental health stating that the focus primarily on independence and individuality in relationships, direct verbal communication styles, emotional expressiveness, and clear distinctions between mind and body are all factors that influence people's resistance of mental health systems based on the western worldview. However, the systematic peace building process as proposed by Cohen et al. (1998) does not take into cognisance (not clearly anyway) the factors that influence peace building and sustenance in the African context which will be discussed in this paper. These include the centrality of the community rather than the individual, a high level of spirituality, harmony with nature, the sociality of selfhood and the veneration of ancestors. Similarly it does not speak of bad spirits that African people often speak about as the cause of many of their

stressors (Reynolds, 1990; Honwana, 2006; Schiele, 1996). This intervention does not speak of such factors and how one addresses these.

Perhaps a look at other interventions that have been used, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), will highlight some of the important factors involved in peace building.

2.4 The Truth and Reconciliation Commission(TRC)

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa was formed for many reasons, one of which was to bring people together to heal past conflicts. According to Hamber and van der Merwe (1998), the idea was to achieve social interaction through the rule of law and to prevent certain forms of violations of rights from happening again. This requires that inappropriate behavior is condemned, irrespective of who is responsible. People are discouraged from repeating these offences through setting up appropriate institutional and social safeguards (Hamber & van der Merwe, 1998). The TRC's role was seen not only as a body that could build a human rights culture through bringing atrocities to public awareness, but also as a body that could strengthen human rights in the country by making recommendations regarding the prevention of future abuses.

Another ideathat the government was looking at was the fact that the TRC would be a form of community building. According to Hamber and van der Merwe (1998, para. 8.), "[r]econciliation at this level is generally concerned with individual relationships rather than with broad and abstract values of co-existence and national political tolerance". It was assumed that the violence and conflicts of the past had broken down the network of interdependent relationships in communities. Therefore reconciliation in this context would require the illumination of mistrust between previously conflicting parties and rebuilding personal bonds at the local level. Therefore the TRC was meant to facilitate a public airing of allegations and suspicions and then to help facilitate the reconstruction of interpersonal relationships through creating a space for direct interventions like conflict resolution initiatives (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004; Hamber & van der Merwe, 1998).

We now turn to look at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and that of Sierra Leone. This process seeks to find the outcomes of the different TRCs and the reasons for success or failure in relation to community reintegration and reconciliation of survivors of violence.

According to de Ridder (1997), the TRC in South Africa brought to the public's awareness the extreme forms of violence endured by many South Africans in the previous thirty years or so. As part and parcel of the proceedings of the TRC, many people gave testimonies of torture, kidnapping, murder, and mutilation, in an event that received a lot of media attention. People gave their testimonies in various ways, with some making written statements while others gave verbal testimonies. De Ridder (1997) argues that whether people were on the receiving end of the gross human rights violations or whether they were the perpetrators, it was evident during the TRC that both parties experienced events that were deeply traumatic. In a way, as de Ridder (1997) argues, collectively the experiences of the deponents to the TRC represented the microcosm of the entire South African community in general, as far as the trauma associated with apartheid is concerned. .

Most survivors of violence in the apartheid era have had to face, both in the past and present, a complex matrix of issues with a psycho-social dimension. These include unresolved bereavement, the demise of a supportive 'struggle community', intense feelings of abandonment by the new political leadership, and often crippling poverty and unemployment (de Ridder, 1997). The psychological responses of individuals who testified or gave statements were mixed. Many reported an initial sense of relief at having unburdened themselves (de Ridder, 1997). However, a worrying number of these individuals found that in the weeks following their deposition, there was a return and intensification of symptoms associated with the original violations as well as the onset of new symptoms that may be related to an actual re-traumatisation caused by retelling the story (de Ridder 1997; Hamber 1998). On the contrary, the silence of those who did not tell the stories has been destructive and has resulted in them being excluded from social, emotional and political life (Hamber, 1998). Hamber (1998) discusses the weakness of the TRC in neglecting the psychological needs of the perpetrators and their families. Although most perpetrators have presented in mental health institutions, there has been limited support for them. So while the TRC may have attempted to create conditions favourable for the

beginnings of healing the nation, the bulk of the work has had to be done by communities on their own and in methods in which they are experts. Therefore it is on the basis of these shortcomings that this study has found ground to materialize.

According to Hamber (1998), the above reasons make it clear that networks of support organisations such as traditional and community support, and an efficient referral strategy are needed in order to set up any psychological support system in South Africa. "Any uniform mechanism is in itself insufficient" in bringing about long term peace and reconciliation, argues Hamber (1996, p. 4). It is therefore unfortunate that at a time, when forgiveness and reconciliation were being negotiated, the methods of the African people (those most affected) were not sought. The TRC principles were not based on what people believe to be essential elements of a healing process, and the reconciliation of a nation. In essence, local notions of war pollution and cleansing used by African communities in post-war reintegration were not considered (Honwana, 2006).

Tristan Borer (in Graybill and Lanegran, 2004) identifies the multiple meanings of reconciliation used by people inside and outside of South Africa's TRC. She demonstrates that the TRC's founding documents, as well as its final report, failed to define clearly the kind of reconciliation the commission was charged with building. She finds two models of reconciliation permeating the commission's statute and report. Interpersonal or individual reconciliation in which the victims and perpetrators of gross human rights violations have their relationships restored with the victims being healed, is one goal which the commission sought to achieve (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004). Yet, the commission also strove to hasten national unity and reconciliation in order to create a democratic and peaceful nation. The problem with forgiveness and reconciliation is that it cannot be rushed, because all parties involved must be ready to forgive.

In Sierra Leone, the TRC was able to facilitate victim-offender mediation in some cases where the victims welcomed it. Each week, a reconciliation ceremony was held where survivors could come together. On the issue of apology and forgiveness, TRC Chair Reverend Bishop Humber stated: "We will not expect you [victims] to forget, but we will expect you to forgive. And the message to the perpetrator will be that by your own cultural standard there is a duty to express remorse, to confess, and to accept forgiveness because forgiveness does not come on a silver

platter" (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004 para. 40). This phrase shows that the role that ritual plays in forgiveness which is part of healing for the survivors. This was part of integration into the community. The difference here is that many of those who acknowledged their crimes were 'baptised' through a special cleansing ceremony and thereby ritually reintegrated into the community. In the South African TRC, victims of violence were expected to go back to their communities, without proper rituals of reconciliation or reintegration.

According to Honwana (2006), there are many ways of understanding and dealing with war trauma, which at times collide with or may not find expression in local understandings of healing war trauma and reconciling communities after the war. There is a popular assumption that the TRC provided the space for a therapeutic release of emotions that can form the basis for psychological healing for individuals who were involved in gross violation of human rights and for society as a whole (de Ridder, 1997). In his article "The burdens of truth: an evaluation of the psychological support services and initiatives undertaken by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission", Brandon Hamber (1998) discusses the shortfalls of the TRC in bringing about complete reconciliation, and to ensure that the probability of future violence is minimised (Hamber, 1998). He also argues that in terms of the psychological well-being of those testifying, the TRC was not sufficient for dealing with the past and coming to terms with it. De Ridder (1997) concurs with this view and suggests that one of the significant shortcomings of the TRC was that inadequate provision was made for professional psychological follow-up for these individuals. Other individuals did not receive any psychological support at all. Even more people ignored their mental health to deal with immediate needs such as food and shelter due to their socio-economic status (Hamber, 1998).

Political and cultural factors in large part explain Rwanda's initial preference for prosecution of the genocidaires. Having vanquished the interim Hutu government, the Rwandan Patriotic Front was under no pressure to compromise. In addition, since church leaders were implicated in the genocide, the religious-redemptive model of forgiveness and reconciliation was significantly discredited (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004). Practical considerations played a major role in Rwanda's turn to restorative justice. First, it became clear that the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was unlikely to try more than a hundred of the most prominent suspects. Meanwhile over 100,000 people accused of human rights crimes languished in

Rwandan prisons. It was simply impossible for the country's decimated justice system to try the huge number of suspects. Authorities admitted that at the present rate of prosecutions, Rwandan courts would take 150 years to try all the suspects.

As a result of this predicament, in early 2001, the government decided that the use of the restorative justice approach might indeed better serve the country's needs. They therefore passed a law establishing the *gacaca* system of a hierarchically organized network of about 11,000 community courts that would try lower level crimes (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004).

The traditional system of *gacaca* existed from the pre-colonial times into the 1990s and was used alongside the formal judicial system at the local level, especially in settling family disputes and minor offences between neighbours (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004). Intended primarily to restore social order, traditional *gacaca* meted out punishments with the intention of restoring harmony between the community and those responsible for discord. This system now had to deal with crimes more serious than those for which it was originally intended. *Gacaca* began on a national level in November 2002 and most cells began work in 2003 (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004). According to Uvin (2003), because of the fact that the *gacaca* process is decentralized, it's relatively simple and recognizableprocedures, and the importance attached to local participation, the *gacaca* should be much better atinvolving the entire community, including victims. As a result it is potentially more victim-centered, and therefore has a more profound impact in terms of reconciliation (Uvin, 2003). Furthermore, through the process of local discussion and fact-finding, *gacaca* proceedings develop a fuller picture of the nature of the violence that occurred and the responsibilities of different people (Uvin, 2003).

The *gacaca* law contains a politically astutely designed set of incentives to encourage popular participation and acceptance. According to Graybill and Lanegran, (2004) *gacaca* encompasses three important features of relevance to broader experiments of reconciliatory justice. First, *gacaca* rewards those who confess their crimes with the halving of prison sentences (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004; Uvin, 2003). As a result, 60,238 prisoners confessed to participating in the genocide. Furthermore, the confessions procedure, with its requirement for complete confession, including the names of all other people involved in the crime, sets in motion an avalanche of confessions, including the implication of other people, which is likely to lead to significant debates as people seek to explain themselves, implicate others, contextualize events and so on.

Hence the *gacaca* procedure could produce more truth than the formal justice system has so far managed to do.

Second, *gacaca* law highlights apologies. Part of the procedure of the traditional *gacaca* system, apology has been maintained in the new variant as an important ingredient to promote reconciliation (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004). In addition, the confessions procedure and the community service commutation option bringsignificant reductions in length of prison sentences, even for those found guilty. As a result, many people should be able to finally rejoin their families and get on with life.

Third, there must be reparation to victims, that is, those found guilty must contribute to a compensation fund and/or perform community service (Graybill & Lanegran, 2004; Uvin, 2003). This form of direct reparations should be applauded as it contributes something tangible to improve victims' lives, which was not the case in the South African TRC.

As has been noted, the *gacaca* system is one that has worked well in terms of reconciliation for the survivors of violence. This is an African traditional system. However there are some very important aspects that are not touched on in this system and that is holistic healing involving oneself, their ancestors and one's family and community. Perhaps if one was looking at the subjective meaning of the experiences of *gacaca*, one would be able to tease out these important themes.

South Africa approached peace building through the TRC and focussed on individual testimonies of the violence. The approach did not take into account the importance of negotiating peace with those who were survivors of violence in their respective communities. It did not, take into serious consideration the fact that ways of bringing about peace, and especially reconciliation depends on those who are involved, and their ways of reconciling are the steps that need to be taken. Therefore du Toit (2001, p. 188) explains the South African TRC experience as follows:

> "The brittleness of the South African peace is found in the fact that it was constructed by peacemakers who perceived and grasped implications of relations of mutual dependants and mutual hostageship between belligerents who are intermingled within complex economy and geographical domain. The peace was made and is cemented by the recognition of these factors by astute leaders, who knew that they were constructing a fragile product, to be handled with care."

This means that one of the failures of the TRC was that it was not community rooted, and relied solely on what those who were in political power perceived to be the answer to South Africa's problem of violence. According to Hay (1998) there are challenges in social reconciliation that need to be taken into account. Tuner (2002) brings to our attention two important failures of the TRC. Firstly he speaks of the fact that the ANC and the IFP in KZN both denied the fact that there had been any political violence, therefore there was not need for them to be involved in the TRC at that level thereby rendering the TRC process useless. This meant that the truth about those people who died, and justice for them was not served. To come to terms with this problem, it was decided that "general amnesty" for KZN because prosecuting every case would "open a can of worms" was the second failure (Taylor, 2002, p.36). This meant that all the survivors of violence in KZN would never come to terms with the violations and trauma that they experienced, and could never be reconciled. Those who knew their abusers would not be able to forgive, and those who were the violators, would not be able to be accepted as part of their communities, thus perpetuating the cycle of violence and non-acceptance. According to Hay (1998), justice is not about vengeance. Although it (justice) is not able to repair fully the human rights abuses of the past, it does address responsibility and accountability for the dignity and honour of the victims and for the functioning of society. When justice is not served, that is when victims resort to revenge.

Benini, Minaar and Pretorius (1998) go on to say that although the process was finished, the traditional leaders were left to deal with opposing groups. Therefore the animosity which initially was not acknowledged as a reality, wove itself into new conflicts, which led to greater violence.

Perhaps a look into how Africans conceptualise reconciliation with the view to liberation and peace building would be the next step in order for any programme aimed at assisting these communities to succeed.

2.5 Reconciliation in the African context

African societies generally conceptualise life in an interdependent manner (Bojuwoye, 2005; Graham, 1999; Holdstock, 2000; Mkhize, 2004). It follows then that interventions, especially those dealing with trauma, need to be holistic in order to address all the necessary dimensions of human life, such as the spiritual, the intrapersonal, the interpersonal, and the person's relationship with his/her family and community, including the relationship with the ancestors and God (Wessels & Monteiro, 2006). This is because violence not only destabilizes the equilibrium between people, but also leads to disconnections among people and everything to which they stand in relation. This therefore calls for a better way of understanding the African person through the Afrocentric way of looking at social phenomena.

There is a general challenge of understanding the worldviews and value systems of communities that have been involved in violence (Honwana, 2006). Afrocentric approaches to healing use the cultural values of the people concerned in order to bringabout communal equilibrium (Honwana, 2006; Schiele, 1996). This view is important in that it allows one to balance the individually-focused approaches to healing with the holistic/ systemic models. It is therefore important to look into what incorporates the Afrocentric position in order to account for its ability to provide a holistic view of the peace building process.

The Afrocentric worldview assumes that firstly, human identity is a collective identity, and secondly that the spiritual or nonmaterial component of the human being is just as important and valid as the material component (Schiele, 1996). These principles are similar to those of the African belief systems in South Africa. Authors such as Mazama (2001), Mkhize (2005), Holdstock (2000) and Baldwin (1986) all refer to a worldview defined by the African social and cultural experience. This includes the centrality of the community rather than the individual, respect for tradition, a high level of spirituality and ethical concern, harmony with nature, the sociality of selfhood, veneration of ancestors, and the unity of being. Baldwin (1986) argues that this can be achieved by using African (Black) psychology, which concerns itself with and is defined as offering an understanding of the behavioural definition of African philosophy and to document what, if any, modifications it has undergone during particular experiential periods. He goes on to say that African psychology is rooted in the nature of Black culture which is based on particular indigenous (originally indigenous to Africa) philosophical assumptions.

According to Phillips (1990), the NTU psychotherapy approach best describes the worldview, which is based on the core principles of the Afrocentric paradigm. This approach uses the basic principles of the Nguzo Saba as guidelines for harmonious living. These basic principles of the NTU approach include harmony, balance, interconnectedness, cultural awareness, and authenticity. This approach recognizes that the healing process is a natural process in which the healer assists the client to rediscover natural alignment (Phillips, 1990).

Harmony, according to Phillips (1990), is the belief that there is a spiritual force to all life and that the spiritual dimension is the connective link to the mental and physical spheres of human kind. From the NTU point of view, the overriding focus of life is to be in harmony with the forces of life. Balance refers to life as a dynamic process of energy fields and forces and therefore our life task is to balance these seemingly competitive forces in a manner that brings about a unified whole. According to Eagle (2004), this idea of harmony and equilibrium is very important for the African. A typical traditional Zulu cosmology is an undivided universe in which plants, animals, humans, ancestors, earth, sky and the entire universe all coexist in varying states of balance between order and disorder, harmony and chaos (Eagle, 2004). This worldview does not set apart the living and non-living, the natural and supernatural, material and immaterial, conscious and unconscious. Instead, these sets of phenomena are understood as unities where the seen and the unseen exist in dynamic interrelationship and the past, present and future harmoniously weave into one another (Eagle, 2004). This view also affects the way in which Africans view themselves.

The African belief system is grounded on the notion that the universe is both visible and invisible, and yet the two are connected. According to Baldwin (1986:244), this means that humanity forms an integral-inseparable part of nature, a "oneness of Being". He goes on to say that all aspects of nature, then, including consciousness, are integral and interdependent , forming one phenomenal reality- a communal phenomenology. This interconnection brings order and as long as this order is not disturbed, the universe will continue to operate in a harmonious, rhythmic and continuous fashion (Obasi, 2002). There are four dimensions of order mentioned by Obasi (2002). There is order in the laws of nature, that which allows nature to be predictable. Secondly he speaks of moral order among people, which produces value systems that support them to live in harmony among one another, with the universe and with the Supreme

Being. Thirdly there is religious order in which the Supreme Being and other spiritual entities actively engage in the world's events, and finally there is the mystic order in which traditional medicine and healing practice take place. These dimensions of order work together for the maintenance of harmony and equilibrium (Obasi, 2002).

In order to explain interconnectedness, Phillips (1990) explains that NTU is a cosmic universal force, which is the essence of life, and things that never occur apart from its manifestations (Phillips, 1990). NTU is the connecting link among all phenomena; it is a link that binds the entire universe. NTU psychotherapy emphasizes the interconnectedness of human beings from within and without. This is a view shared by Ntsoane (2003) that humanness is the cornerstone of all peace-building processes. He goes on to say that nurturing the survivor's and the perpetrator's personality as well as their spiritual being is significant, so much so that reconciliation becomes the ultimate goal, rather than having a winner in a particular case (Ntsoane, 2003).

According to Nwoye (2006), the idea of the communal self refers to the relational or dialogical and *inclusive* character of the African self, or the notion common in Africa of the self as a participant in the lives of others. It thus places emphasis on the phenomenon of social solidarity or the factor of mutual dependence of selves, including the living and the living-dead (that is, the ancestors). The above characterization implies that part of the centre of gravity of the African self is a dialectic connecting him or her and members of his or her community. This shows that once one has been cast away from the community, part of the self is no longer there (Nwoye, 2006), which is termed *umnyama*(literally, a shadow of darkness; it refers to spiritual weakness and proneness to dis-ease). The term spiritness is used to describe a real and symbolic meaning of African social thought and the self (Solomon & Wane, 2005). This means that the human is an embodied subject so that spirit is the energy source and the basis of existence (Solomon & Wane, 2005).According to Ngubane (1976) darkness is symbolically seen as representing death. Pollution for the Zulu can be seen as a marginal state believed to exist between life and death (Ngubane, 1976). It is conceptualised as a spiritual force, which weakens one's resistance to disease, creates conditions of misfortunes, disagreeableness and repulsiveness, showing disequilibrium among the family, or the community.

The individual is understood to exist as an element of a broader social unit or system, being part of a family, an extended family and a broader community (Eagle, 2004; Solomon & Wane, 2005; Obasi, 2002). This collectivism may be explained through the common expression "*umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" which translates, as "a person is a person through other people". One's personal existence is only realized as part of a collective existence. Personal achievement is valued less highly than respect for what is of common interest. The integrity of the group comes before the interests of the individual (Eagle, 2004). This is because mutuality and individuality are inextricably linked in the concept of the self. The assumption helps people conceptualise and tap into sources to enhance human achievement (Solomon & Wane, 2005).

According to Wessels and Monteiro (2006), in Africa people attribute events in the visible world to events in the invisible world of the ancestors. They go on to say that having a spiritual cosmology, local people often regard spiritual stresses as primary even though the trauma idiom offers little insight into them. In one case a former child soldier reported having problems with sleeping and concentrating. Asked why, he said he had killed a man during a fire fight and that man's spirit came to him in the night, asking, **"Why did you do this to me?"** Trauma approaches are not designed to handle such problems, which are probably better addressed by carrying out purification rituals by local healers to get rid of bad spirits (Wessels & Monteiro, 2006). Moreover, Wessels and Monteiro (2006) go on to say, trauma approaches tend to view emotional problems as individual and as indicating a need for individualised treatment. In rural Angola, however, such problems are understood to be communal rather than individual. People believe that if a boy comes home from war, before having completed a purification ritual, he will bring spiritual contamination to his family and village, causing misfortune, bad health, etc. (Wessels & Monteiro, 2006).This is also true for child soldiers in Mozambique as well (Honwana, 2006). This shows the importance of re-establishing harmony and a state of equilibrium to the community which is done in a holistic and inclusive manner, stemming from the way that African people view themselves and the world around them.

Death and dying in African communities

We also need to understand death and dying in the context of African people to understand the importance of ritual cleansing. Among the Nguni, death is seen in two concepts. The first regards a timely death, which assumes that the deceased is survived by many children and grandchildren

(Berglund, 1976; Msimang, 1975)). In isiZulu this type of death is named *ukugoduka, ukudlula, ukuhamba* or *ukuqhubeka,* all of which give notions of continuation onto the next stage of life (Berglund, 1976). The other concept of death is when one's death is untimely, and this is regarded as a serious interference in a human's life. This death is considered *ukufa,* or *ukubhubha* which denotes a breaking off of life (Berglund, 1976). When death occurs, it is believed that there is there is pollution (*umnyama*) that occurs. Therefore there is great importance that is ascribed to cleansing, to rid the family and relatives of impurities associated with the deceased social life and the polluting aspects of death itself (Ngubane, 1977; Msimang, 1975).

The passage of the deceased from the land of the living to the land of the dead is a lengthy process, and can only be completed with the help of the living through the different rituals. After a prescribed time since the passing away of the deceased, rituals are performed so that the mourners are separated from the spirit of the deceased, and to complete the purification of that spirit. According to Ngubane (1977) this facilitates the reintegration of the mourners into society, and the spirit of the deceased into the body of the ancestors. Further rituals are thereafter done to reinvite the spirit of the deceased into the home so that they life cycle and the union between the living and the dead is completed. We turn to look at a more detailed review of rituals cleansing.

2.6 Ritual Cleansing

Many writers (Honwana, 2006; Mkhize, 2004; Ngubane, 1976; Nolte-Schamm, 2006; Nwoye, 2006; Schmidt, 1997; Wessels & Monteiro, 2006) acknowledge that indigenous African people attribute events in the visible world to events in the invisible world of the ancestors. Owing to their spiritual cosmology, people in rural African communities often regard spiritual stresses as primary even when there is trauma. Schmidt (1997) illustrates the importance of appeasing certain spirits when dealing with the spiritual side of healing in Zimbabwe. In the same article, there is an emphasis of reconciliation through the living- dead (Schmidt, 1997). According to Mbiti (1969), the living-dead are the "spirits" with which African people are most concerned and it is through them that the spirit world becomes personal to humans. They are still part of their

families, and people have personal memories of them. Mbiti (1969) goes on to say that the living-dead are still people who visit their families from time to time. They know and have an interest in what is going on in the family. Even though the living-dead may not perform miracles to remedy the need, humans experience a sense of psychological relief when they express their concerns before their seniors who have a foot in both worlds (Mbiti, 1969).

In her paper titled "The African traditional ritual of cleansing the chest of grudgesas a ritual of reconciliation",Nolte-Schamm (2006) notes the important aspects of traditional cleansing rituals that highlight the relevance of these rituals as therapeutic means of healing for the survivors of violence. According to Nolte-Schamm (2006), there is an urgent need for innovative methods for social reconciliation and healing in communities. African tradition, she argues, has a range of resources that can be employed for the purpose of social reconciliation. "Our ancestors have taught that if any of our actions result in disequilibrium; we have to find ways of healing and purifying the environment, our relations and ourselves" (Solomon & Wane, 2005, pp.55). Solomon and Wane (2005) go on to say that one of the problems with sharing practices is that indigenous methodologies are not always respected for the integrity inherent in them. Most people do not understand the significance and responsibility associated with an invocation to the spirit of a plant, an animal, or an ancestor (Solomon & Wane, 2005).

The ritual of *cleansing the chest of grudges* is a particularly impressive resource, which can, and ought to be, used in the quest for reconciliation in South Africa. This ritual is described in detail Nolte-Schamm's paper (2006). According to Nolte-Schamm (2006), in Africa, an important way of healing relationships is through ritual. Rituals that seek to promote the restoration or healing of human relationships can in many cases be deemed rituals of reconciliation. The ritual is performed outside the homestead of the persons involved, in the open. "This is to signify that the conflict or dispute is not accepted or desired within the community as it disturbs the communal or family harmony." (Nolte-Schamm, 2006, p. 96). The warring parties are brought in front of the elders to state their cases respectively. They are advised to be honest and open "so that the Ancestors, who are forever present, can reverse the curse that caused the conflict."(Nolte-Schamm, 2006, p. 96). The contenders are led by the elders to a mutual confession of guilt or profession of innocence. They are encouraged to express their hope for prospective peace among

one another. Then the parties are asked to shake hands and utter forgiveness. This opens the way for reconciliation and must be preceded by regret, desire for forgiveness and preparedness to reconcile (Nolte-Schamm, 2006).

In her analysis of the ritual, Nolte-Schamm (2006) goes on to say that in many cultures, fighting or quarrelling is regarded as being destructive of the proper ritual condition of the village. A social dispute is deemed dangerous because it threatens the delicate social harmony of the group. Such a "dangerous situation has to be handled with washings" (Nolte-Schamm, 2006, p. 94). The ritual at hand is an example of such a ritual which involves washing or cleansing, that is, the banishment of a force of destruction which in this case is social enmity. Rituals such as this one are employed to even out the social equilibrium when it has been altered or breached. For this reason, this ceremony can be understood as a ritualised form of conflict resolution. It is a mechanism for reducing, excluding, or resolving social conflicts in society (Nolte-Schamm, 2006). One could argue that this ritual is employed for universe maintenance. It can be seen as a ritual which establishes and maintains the delicate social and political network of the community. In other words, it is a ritual designed to create harmony where there has been rupture, to balance the status quo where it has become unbalanced because of rivalry. The social universe of the participants in the ritual has come under attack; the evil of enmity and resentment has crept into the system and has caused social disarray. For this reason, it is necessary to do something to maintain stability and restore harmony (Nolte-Schamm, 2006).

Besides bringing coherence and stability to a society, rituals are essential for social experience in time, for change, and interaction. Throughout the *cleansing the chest* ritual, the element of publicity is of fundamental importance. Public ritual practices make reality transparent enough to handle. By publicly appearing before the gathered community and the elders, the feuding persons expose – not only to themselves, but also to the whole community – the reality of enmity or hostility between them and those they represent (Nolte-Schamm, 2006). The feud between them is made transparent and obvious to the community, as is their intended reconciliation. What might have been an intangible and somewhat obscure force in the community becomes overt and definable – therefore manageable –through ritual (Nolte-Schamm, 2006).

The body, and how it is used, is an indicator of society's values and norms. There is an argument that the human body is always treated as an image of society (Nolte-Schamm, 2006). Therefore,

the humble and even humiliating action of licking ash from the hand of another has social meaning (known in the Zulu culture as *ukukhumelana umlotha*). It signifies the willingness and ability of both parties to show vulnerability and to be humbled before the other (Nolte-Schamm, 2006). This humility and remorse is a necessary social condition for reconciliation and acceptance of each other (Hay, 1998). In order to achieve reconciliation, participants show through their bodily actions that they are prepared to surrender their pride and honour in order to restore good relations. It is interesting that some scholars and theologians argue that personal sacrifice is important for a reconciliation process. Such sacrifice involves an individual's readinessto let go of the status quo (especially if they are advantaged) and to adopt a lesser position so that a new relationship is facilitated (Nolte-Schamm, 2006).The element of sacrifice in this ritual may be just that, and is presented as displaying humility in word and deed. Sacrifice here means giving up one's sense of pride and letting go of all smugness, accepting the role of the fool (Nolte-Schamm, 2006).

According to Mayanja (2007), living according to the moral norms means participation in the vital relationships and all deviation from them means moving in the direction of death. Whenever evil is committed, following the good will and freedom of the person or persons involved, there is a possibility of reparation. It is understood that making peace is important not only for the individual, but for the common interest of all that are in the community (Mayanja 2007). Nolte-Schamm (2006) has shown the many aspects displayed by cleansing rituals and what these signify. Trauma approaches are not designed to handle such problems, which are probably better addressed by the conduct of purification rituals by local healers to get rid of bad spirits (Honwana, 2006; Nolte-Schamm, 2006; Schmidt, 1997; Wessels & Monteiro, 2006; Reynolds, 1990). Moreover, Wessels and Monteiro (2006) note that trauma approaches tend to view emotional problems as individual and as indicating a need for individualised treatment.

The perceived meaning of these indigenous cleansing rituals is what informs the current study. It can be concluded from the literature above that healing systems vary but there is a need to incorporate African healing systems in trying to find ways of healing survivors of violence in South African communities that have been involved in violence.

We can learn a lesson regarding peace interventions from Eagle's (2004) understanding of practicing psychology in South Africa. Eagle (2004) states that practicing psychology in South

Africa is often complex, not only because of the historical legacy of apartheid that contributes to a range of sensitiveness in across-race relationships, but also because of the prevalence of traditional African beliefs and healing systems that exist together with western systems of healing. A further dimension of South African society, that has relevance for the therapist, is the exposure of the population to high levels of violence, both historically and contemporary (Eagle, 2004). She goes on to say that of the clients presenting for counselling with western trained black and white psychology therapists, have been African people whose world views reflect aspects of African cosmology despite their simultaneous engagement with western healing resources. Perhaps this could be due to the ways the African sees him/herself in relation to others. It is evident that western ways of healing often only involve the client, and not their family, and /or community.

2.7 Conclusion

The truth of the matter is that a large percentage of the South African population *is* African, making up black 75.2% the population, and we must take this into cognisance when planning interventions (Worldfacts.us; 2010). The literature above has shown that there is a gap in the current systems, such as the systematic peace building model of peace and reconciliation, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and even the *gacaca*, which is an African traditional system. Central to any intervention in the African context must be the centrality of the community rather than the individual, respect for tradition, a high level of spirituality and ethical concern, harmony with nature, the sociality of selfhood, veneration of ancestors, and the unity of being. Owing to their spiritual cosmology, people in rural African communities often regard spiritual stresses as primary even when there is trauma (Schmidt, 1997). This is not considered in models based on TRC, nor do systematic peace building model take this into consideration.

This literature review has looked into important factors that impact on peace and reconciliation in Southern Africa. The literature firstly looked at the trauma of war and what consequences these have on the people that are involved. It was mentioned that war not only destabilises communities and families, but it impacts on the very livelihood of the communities, such as weak relations among the people, lack of development, therefore poverty and lack of freedom to move around in one's own community.The next section therefore tried to find ways in which

these problems can be resolved. Systematic peace building in the form of the Spectrum of Prevention Model (Cohen, Davis & Aboelata 1998) was then discussed and found to have difficulties regarding practice in the African context.The next section that was looked at was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and this intervention model which was used by the South African government as a means of bringing about peace, reconciliation and healing for the people of South Africa. The weaknesses of this intervention were discussed.Reconciliation in the African context was thereafter discussed highlighting the importance of the African worldview and communal healing systems rather than individual focussed models of peace building.Finally the gap between western and African perspectives in dealing with peace, reconciliation and healing of communities was discussed. It remains essential that interventions that focus on healing communities such as indigenous practices be investigated as a means of bridging this gap. The following chapter, Chapter 3, focuses on the methods that were used to investigate the psychological value of cleansing rituals.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology and its justification. Thereafter the design of the study is looked at. A description of the sampling that was employed in the research is then discussed. We then look at the data collection strategies followed by the procedure- which entails negotiation for entry and access and selection of interviews. Thereafter the transcription and data analysis follow. This is followed by an explanation of the ethical concerns and how these were overcome. Finally the dependability and validity of the study are discussed.

3.2 Research methodology

This research seeks to explore the lived experiences of the survivors of violence in Mbumbulu and Richmond in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. It is interested in how these people make meaning of these events in their lives. Therefore a qualitative research design has been employed. According to Babbie and Mouton (2005), qualitative research always attempts to study human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves, the primary goal being to describe and understand social action. This is an important aspect in that *ihlambo* may be understood only in the context of the people that practice it. The key features of qualitative research are that the main concern is to understand social action in terms of its specific context rather than attempting to generalise to a theoretic population (Babbie & Mouton 2005). Furthermore, qualitative research focuses on the process rather than the outcome. Research is conducted in the natural setting of the social actors and the actor's perspective (the insider's or emic view) is emphasised (Babbie & Mouton 2005). These are the main epistemological reasons for engaging in qualitative research to study*ihlambo*.

A qualitative investigation of indigenous cleansing ceremonies such as *ihlambo* involves attempting to determine why people practice these rituals, how the rituals are performed and what the expected results are. A detailed picture of the people's experiences is determined in this study. A qualitative investigation of the performance of these rituals and the benefits thereof were looked at through interviewing survivors of violence.Schreiber (2000) describes this as a

culturally centred approach to research, that is, research which allows us to generate explanations and interpretations that are relevant for this research while understanding it in this context.

3.3 Design of study

In particular, the design of this study is informed by Maxwell's (1994) interactive model (Appendix 2). This model allows all the components of the study to work harmoniously together. According to Maxwell (1994), the interactive model has five components each of which addresses a different set of issues that are essential to the coherence of a study. The five main issues that are looked at by the model are: *purposes of the study,* which refers to the intended goal of the study and why the results are important. The *conceptual context* of the study contains the theory that is already being developed about the setting or the issues that are being studied. The *research questions* refer to problem areas that need to be answered and how these are structured to relate to each other and to the topic. The model also emphasises *methods*, that is, what will actually be done and how, in order to answer the research questions. The final concept addressees the *validity* of the study; this entails how the researcher might be wrong and what other plausible explanations for the findings are available. The model seeks to ensure that the research questions have a clear relationship to the purposes of the study and are informed by what is already known about the topic and the theoretical tools that can be applied (Maxwell, 1994).

This holistic method of studying indigenous cleansing ceremonies rejects the reductionist approach characterised by splitting sections and understanding the whole from the properties of its parts. In contrast to this Schreiber (2000, p. 662), states that "the properties of the parts can only be understood from the dynamics of the whole". Therefore understanding any part of this research requires that we look at the above mentioned sections as interconnected parts of the research.

The literature that has been reviewed supports the importance of the study's focus and will be used to validate the eventual findings of the study.

3.4 Sampling

The sample for this study was drawn from two area in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN); Mbumbulu on the south coast, and Richmond in the midlands of KZN. Both these areas were subjected to incessant violence during the transition to the new South Africa than other places.

The generalizability of the results was not a major concern for this study. Hence, a sample of six participants was interviewed from Mbumbulu. All participants were over the age of thirty, the reason being that they are most likely to have a complete memory of the violence and understand the process of peace and reconciliation better. All participants were Black Africans because this specified population is known to perform these cleansing rituals. For the individual interviews (for which the interview schedule appears as Appendix 3), three of the participants had been involved in the peace talks in Mbumbulu. Of these two were women, and one a man (he is one of the *izinduna)*. The other three was *undlunkulu* (an *inkosi'*s wife); a woman who is a community member and an *insizwa* (young man) who was also a community member and the last was a Shembe priest who has been involved in the peace talks in the area. All these participants were survivors of the violence in Mbumbulu.

The researcher also used data collected from focus groups that were run by Sinani in Richmond and Mbumbulu. The permission to use this data was obtained through discussions held with representatives of Sinani together with the community leaders. A short description of the focus groups appears below.

Focus group 1 (*Amakhosikazi* from Mbumbulu) and 2 (Leadership Forum in Mbumbulu): The first focus group consisted of six women in Mbumbulu who were involved in the peace process, up until and after *ihlambo*. Three of the women in this group were *ondlunkulu* (wives of *amakhosi*) in the area, and they seemed to be the ones who took initiative in answering the questions. The other three were community members that had also been survivors of violence. This focus group was co-facilitated by the researcher with a Sinani representative (Juba) so that the researcher was also able to clarify any information that she may have needed. The other focus group consisted of many of the leaders who had been involved in the peace process. There was a mixture of men and women here, some of whom were there in their capacity as traditional leaders (*Izinduna* and *Amakhosi*).

Focus group 3: Richmond community group: This group consisted ofninecommunity members from Richmond. Some of the participants had lived in Richmond when they were

young, left because of the violence, and have returned after the cleansing ceremonies. Other participants have been involved in the peace process since it started.

Focus group 4: Richmond Leadership forum: This focus group was formed by fourrepresentatives from different areas of Richmond. These representatives were selected for their knowledge of the process of *ihlambo* as it pertains to the Richmond area, and served as experts. They also had been part of the peace negotiation process and were therefore able to negotiate the best possible peace process for their communities (as these areas were enemies). This focus group was done before *ihlambo*. The guiding questions for the group discussion are attached as Appendix 4.

Since the sample was selected distinctly as a means to get cases that were relevant to finding out the exploring the therapeutic value of *ihlambo* using community members' perspectives, purposeful sampling was used. According to Gavin (2008), this method provides cases which are rich information and will give in-depth insight to the topic of study. Furthermore, this is a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be obtained as well from other sources (Gavin, 2008; Maxwell, 1994).

3.5 Data collection methods

Haslam and McGarty (2003) note that when using qualitative data collection methods, researchers can be internal or external to the data; that is, they can choose to use data that have been collected by someone else, or collect their own data. In order to enhance validity as well as to increase reliability and generalizability, focus groups as well as individual interviews were done.

Focus groups discussions are defined as a conversation in which a small number of participants talk about topics that are believed to be of special importance in a particular investigation while being guided by a facilitator (Folch-Lyon & Trost, 1981; Gibbs, 1997). The significance of a focus group is that it elicits multiple views and emotional processes within a group context in a shorter time (Gibbs, 1997). This is important in the understanding of the *ihlambo* and its therapeutic value. Furthermore the focus groups allowed participants to disclose information that

they may not have disclosed in individual interviews because they felt more comfortable in the company of other participants who share similar experiences (Folch-Lyon & Trost, 1981).

The instrument used in this study was a tape recorder because of the nature of the data which gave in depth descriptions of the participants' stories. This allowed the researcher an opportunity to listen carefully and ask follow up questions on certain points.Where this was not possible, for example, if the tape recorder was faulty, the researcher wrote the participant's responses in a notebook. This type of data is called narrative records. According to Schweigert (1994: p. 53), narrative data are "running records of behaviour observed in a given situation". These can be created by audio taping or videotaping a situation, or by writing notes by hand and thereafter organised, and various hypotheses about them can be tested.

The author also attended *ihlambo* ceremony as part of the data collection. This was aimed at getting an in depth understanding of the process of *ihlambo*. According to Schweigert (1994), this method of data collection is participant observation and the researcher is required to be active in the situation in which the subjects are involved. She goes on to say that this is a useful starting point when researching a new topic and allows the researcher to unobtrusively observe so as to get a rich understanding of his/her data once it is collected (Schweigert, 1994). However there were certain parts of the ritual that outsiders were not allowed to witness, for example the slaughtering of the animal and the ritual of talking to the living-dead. So although there was a lot of qualitative data that was collective during the celebration of peace, the actual ceremony was not recorded by the research and data for this was gathered at a later stage.

3.6 Procedure

3.6.1 Negotiating for entry and access

The *amakhosi* of the Mbumbulu area were approached to seek permission to conduct the study. This was done through Sinani, the NGO through which the researchers are working. As part of Sinani's ongoing peace building efforts, monthly meetings were being held with community leaders including *amakhosi*, and it is in one of these meetings, in which the researcher participated, that the proposal for the research was presented. This process started in May until August of 2007, when permission was received. Once permission was received, appointments to meet participants where they were most comfortable were made. Most participants were

interviewed in their homes, others at the hall where the monthly peace meetings are held with Sinani.Six participants were interviewed. Issues of informed consent were explained to participants individually (See Appendix 5 for the consent form). This included consent for using tape recorders during the interview. It is important to note that some of the participants for the research were part of the organisers of the *ihlambo*andtherefore they knew about the research. Getting informed consent from these participants therefore became simplified as the participants were informed of the aims of the research. For those participants who were not familiar with the study, the aims of the study had to be explained fully to the participants. Participants were allowed an opportunity to decline participation and to read and sign the consent forms. All the participants gave verbal consent in spite of being encouraged to sign the consent forms. The interviews were tape recorded and a separate consent form was provided for this.

3.6.2 Data collection

All questioning, probing and answering was done in isiZulu. Data collection was done in the form of semi structured individual interview, the questions for which appear on Appendix 3 The remainder of the data were collected by members of Sinani, in the form of focus group discussions, the questions for which appear on Appendix 4.

3.6.3Selection of interviews

Interviews for analysis were selected because of their potential to yield good data. The researcher used six interview transcripts from data collected in Mbumbulu (which were individual interviews), as well as four transcripts from data collected in Richmond and Mbumbulu (which were focus groups). These were all read, using the voice-centred relational method, which involves the multiple readings of text. Extracts from some of the interviews were used in the results and discussion section. The extracts that were used were those that were best able to articulate the perspectives of community members regarding the therapeutic value of *Ihlambo.*

3.7 Transcription

The collected data were analysed in the language in which it was collected, therefore there was no translation necessary for each transcript. However, sections of the transcripts were translated for the purpose of this paper.The tapes for the five interviews took about three and a half hours

each to transcribe and were forty five minutes to an hour long. Since the interviews were transcribed word for word, no translations of metaphors were done so transcripts contained "raw" data.Data collected from focus groups were already translated into English by the researchers from Sinani. Therefore these transcripts were already transcribed and translated when they reached the researcher.

3.8 Data Analysis

The aim of this research is to allow members of the Mbumbulu and Richmond communities to express, on their terms, the meaning of *ihlambo*.Mkhize and Frizelle (2000) point out that "[t]he narrative approach is best-suited to investigating the meaning of human experiences". This statement is echoed by Camic, Rhodes and Yardley (2003) who express the view that the telling of narratives is closely intertwined with the shaping and maintenance of personal identity. A narrative based research method that has been developed by Mkhize and Frizelle (2000) for career development which looks at a voice centered approach to making sense of a client's decision making process. The principles of this method are briefly explained below.

The important principle in the multiple readings of text is that as a voice-centered, relational method, it focuses on the person who is speaking and the researcher pays particular attention the voices that emerge in the reading of an individual's story (Gilligan; 1982; Mkhize & Frizelle, 2000). It is a style that is grounded on listening (Gilligan, 1982). When people give a voice to their most natural and cultural expression, it gives us a powerful psychological instrument with which to understand inner and outer worlds of the person (Gilligan, 1982). According to Gilligan (1982), the central assumptions when one uses this form of understanding, we are in effect saying is firstly, that the way in which people talk about their lives and experiences is of significance; and secondly, that the language that they use and the connections that they make reveal the world that they see and in which they act (Gilligan, 1982)

This method involves the researcher reading the text many times, but each from a different vantage point, the purpose being to explore many positions from which the story can be told (Mkhize, 2005). Furthermore this type of analysis allows the researcher to understand, and therefore make conclusions on phenomena by contextualising them. According to Camic,

Rhodes and Yardley (2003); Gilligan (1982), this method draws on voice and relationship as a point of entry to the human psyche. The importance of this is that it is designed to open a way to discovery when one's aim is to know the inner world of another person. They go on to say that the collectivity of different voices that compose the voice of any given person is always embodied in culture, and in relationship with oneself and with others (Camic, Rhodes & Yardley, 2003). Therefore "each person's voice is distinct bearing the marks of the body of that persons history and culture in the form of language, and the numerous ways in which human society and history shape the voice of the human soul" (Camic, Rhodes & Yardley, 2003: 157).

There are four readings and each has guidelines that could be adopted by the researcher to suite his/her purposes.Mkhize (2005) recommends that the counselor listens for different voices about relationships as they emerge in the person's narrative, in order to explore the many positions from which stories can be told, to deconstruct restrictive narratives and to jointly explore with the clientpossibilities for future (possible) selves. Maxwell (1998) describes this type of data analysis as a contextualizing strategy. This means that it is a strategy that allows the researcher to understand data without fracturing the initial text into discrete elements and then re-sorting it into categories. Instead, these find meanings in context, using various methods to identify the relationships among the different elements of the text (Maxwell, 1998).

The first reading was dedicated to reading for the overall plot, which is finding the main events. This includes events from the onset of violence to the process of ritual cleansing and after effects. Therefore the researcher looked for images, words, metaphors and contradictions in the transcripts. During this reading, the researcher was also looking out for "reader response" which means that the researcher reads for herself in the text in the sense that she places herself, with her own background, history and experiences, in relation to the person she has interviewed. The assumption was that by trying to name how we are socially, emotionally and intellectually located in relation to our respondents we can retain some grasp over the blurred boundary between their narratives and our interpretations of those narratives.

Because this research deals with participants' experience of *ihlambo* and what it means to each person's psychological health, in Reading 2, the researcher focused on finding the respondents' conception of themselves within the whole process of cleansing ceremonies. This reading allowed the researcher an opportunity to see how the respondents see or speak of themselves,

before the researcher speaks of them. Another significant aspect that was being looked at is the fact that there are many voices that may be acting on the person. Therefore, particular voices dominant in the interview were identified.

The third reading of transcripts involved reading for how the respondents spoke about their interpersonal relationships, with their relatives, children and broader social networks within which they live. This is an important aspect of this data analysis because, among other reasons, interconnectedness is a very important phenomenon among the African people from whom the research sample was drawn. Furthermore, consciously reading for relationships was particularly valuable in revealing the theoretical framework, which underlines *ihlambo.*

The final reading, reading four, involved placing people within cultural contexts and social structures in this case the cultural context of a history of ongoing violence. It is acknowledged that the people of Mbumbulu are a society living with the belief that for peace to prevail certain practices need to be observed. However because they are part of South African society, there needs to be a way to locate them in certain societies and as such create possible intervention. Having analysed the readings using this method, the researcher thereafter used the research questions as points of departure regarding setting the results and discussion section.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Factors that contributed to participants' vulnerability were the fact that the population has been affected by violence and this caused them to be very emotional while speaking about their experiences. Furthermore, they relived the experiences of violence which could have potential psychological harm. However the participants were used to speaking about these experiences through the peace process arranged by Sinani and the cleansing ceremony. Secondly, a system of referral to trained counsellors and psychologists was set up with Sinani, who have years of experience working with trauma victims. However, none of the participants needed this counselling.

According to Gibbs (1997), the use of focus group discussion may be the handling of important information confidentially by other members of the group since there is more than one participant in the group. However Folch-Lyon and Trost (1981) reassures us that there is generally a greater feeling of anonymity in a group than in an individual interview, due to the

homogeneity of the group. However the participants in the group were encouraged to keep confidential all that they hear in the group and the researcher made certain the data that was collected was kept confidential and anonymous by not having any names or distinguishing characteristics on it. The same was done for individual interviews.

There was no risk to the participants in terms of physical or legal risk. Furthermore, special permission was not necessary as participants were all adults.

It was acknowledged that at the time of conducting the interviews, the interviewer may not have been well trained enough to be able to ask sensitive questions that may invoke grief. To deal with these problems the interviewer was trained by a professionally experienced psychologist on how to conduct a sensitive interview. The whole process was role played with a student from the drama department and video-taped. The drama student played the role of a victim of violence who had gone through the cleansing ceremony. The role plays were recorded and discussed with the supervisor and the drama student to improve the interview process. This also gave the supervisor an opportunity to observe and give advice on the researcher's response to emotionally charged responses during the replay, in preparation for the main research interviews.

The participants were taken through the informed consent process. The interviewer explained,in isiZulu, the participant's right to abstain from the process or to stop the interview whenever they did not feel comfortable. They were also assured that all interviews were confidential and encouraged to sign an informed consent form.

There was a difficulty in terms of the participants agreeing to be interviewed using a tape recorder. This was because during the interviews, some of them mentioned names of those people who were involved in violence. It was then explained that the tape recorder had to be used so that the interviewer does not misquote the interviewees. They were also reassured that all the interviews were completely confidential, and that all information will be used solely for research purposes. When data were used, all personal reference would be deleted and data will be presented in the form of themes. Collected data would also be safely stored. An option was given however for those who did not want the tape recorder to be used, in which case the interviews was recorded in writing.

3.10   Dependability and validity of study

The validity and reliability of this study were achieved through using what Jick (1979) calls triangulation. This research strategy involves using a combination of methods to study a particular topic (Jick, 1979; Schreiber, 2000). This was done in this research by collecting data from focus groups (from two different communities) and conducting individual interviews (Gibbs, 1997). A triangulation of researchers was also used, where the Sinani facilitators are familiar with the history, language, philosophy of the people of Mbumbulu and Richmond (Schreiber, 2000).

This research has taken into consideration the fact that in order for a study to be dependable, there needs to be rich and detailed descriptions, in other words a "thick description" that shows how the process of *ihlambo* occurs in the Mbumbulu and Richmond contexts (Jick, 1979, p. 609). The data collected were also rich in the sense that transcripts from tape recorded individual interviews, transcripts from focus groups and extensive notes were used for the study. This makes it difficult for respondents to produce data that uniformly support a mistaken conclusion and for the researcher to conclude on his/ her own prejudices and expectations. Using these multiple methods enhances our belief that the results are not due to methodology, but are valid (Jick, 1979).

The ways in which dependability and validity have been achieved was through member checks. According to Miller and Dingwell (1997, p. 48), "validation techniques are not tests of validity but opportunities for reflexive elaboration". Member checks or member validation refers to the systematic soliciting of the views of participants about the data (Maxwell, 1998; Miller & Dingwall, 1997). According to Miller and Dingwall (1997) this method includes an array of techniques that purport to validate findings by demonstrating a correspondence between the researcher's analysis and members' descriptions of their social worlds. This is done by allowing the participants an opportunity to judge the adequacy of the researcher's analysis by taking results back to one of the meetings with a few of the participants and checking with them if the researchers results were understandable and if they recognised the descriptions (Miller & Dingwall 1997:41).

In this study this was done through the information given on the subject of *ihlambo*from different people, who are familiar with*ihlambo*, not just the participants of the study who have given

valuable comments about the study. After the first phase of this study was done, feedback was given by the researcher to the participants and the *amakhosi* at a meeting that was organised by Sinani for this purpose. The results of the study were affirmed by the community members that were present.

3.11 Conclusion

This study is an exploration of the therapeutic value of *ihlambo* using the perspectives of community members. This chapter discussed the methodology that was used to investigate this topic. Research methodology, the design of the study, sampling and data collection were discussed. Thereafter the procedure followed by data analysis, ethical considerations and the dependability and validity of the study were all discussed in turn. The following chapter deals with the results of the study, and these are discussed.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

"I live in an area where a lot of people were killed. I used to wake up hearing voices outside, but when I went out there was no one. The day after the cleansing ceremony it was quiet and I have not heard the voices."

Richmond community member

4. Introduction

The themes that arose from the data are firstly, the meaning of *ihlambo* to the community members of these communities. Secondly, results pertaining to the perceived intra-individual and interpersonal, familial and community benefits of *ihlambo;* in other words, the benefits of using such a method for peace building and reconciliation, are presented. Finally, we discuss the ways in which *ihlambo* contributes to the healing process from a psychological perspective. To do this, we look into the symbolism that is, discussing mainly the slaughtering of the animals sprinkling of bile and washing in bile, burning of incense, eating together, eating of ash and the shaking hands.

4.1 THE PERCEIVED INHERENT MEANING AND PURPOSE OF *IHLAMBO* FOR COMMUNITY MEMBERS

As far as the meaning and purpose of *ihlambo* is concerned, Extract 1 gives a summary of the meaning of *ihlambo* to the community of Richmond and there are five meanings that are presented by the respondent, while the respondent on Extract 2 echoes some of the ideas. The meanings of *ihlambo* include *ihlambo* as a method of reconciliation (*ukuthelelana amanzi*), *ihlambo* as a means to remove war from the heart (*kungabikhona ukubukana ngeziqu zamehlo*), *ihlambo* as a means to gaining a new spirit (*Sibe nomoya omusha*), *ihlambo* as a means to bring peace for those who are sleeping (the deceased), and *ihlambo* as a means to bring about economic development in the community (*ukungena kosomabizinisi*).

Extract 1:Focus Group 4 Leadership Forum

IsiZulu	English
Inhloso-ngqangi yomkhosi wehlambo … <u>ukuthelelana amanzi</u> singathi ngoba simile ekulweni akusho ukuthi impi isiphelile, impi ingaphela ukuphela kodwa <u>ukuxolelana akwenziwanga</u>. Ikakhulukazi njengoba siqhamuka kwa [uyalisho igama lendawo] salwa nazo zonke izigodi ezikhona . Ngakho-ke lomcimbi <u>ubaluleke ngokuthi bonke lababantu engilwe nabo kungabi khona ukubukana ngeziqu zamehlo</u>. Inhloso <u>ukukhipha amaggqubu</u> akudala <u>sibe nomoya omusha</u>, kwenzelwe nalabo abalele ukuthibalale ngokuthula njengoba kuthiwa basalwa njengo bafa belwa. <u>Nosomabhizinisi nabo bakwazi ukungena</u> endaweni yase [usho indawo] bangabi nalovalo lokulwa.	The objective of the celebration of *ihlambo* is <u>reconciliation</u>. Just because we have stopped actively fighting, does not mean that there is no more violence. We can stop actively fighting, but there is still war, <u>we have not forgiven/reconciled</u> with each other. Especially since we are from [names area] we fought with every community. Therefore this celebration is important so that t<u>here is no longer war in our hearts.</u> The objective is <u>to get rid of grudges and to have a new spirit</u>, and <u>to do it for those who are sleeping [the deceased], because apparently they are still fighting as they died in war</u>. Even <u>business people will be able to then invest </u>in [names the area] and not worry about the violence.

Extract 2: Focus Group 3

IsiZulu	English
Mina njengomuntu owumzulu *ihlambo* lisho <u>ukukhululeka emoyeni</u>, <u>ukugezeka ezihlotsheni zamiezalimala ngenkathi kunezimpi</u>. Okulandelayo ukuthi singabantu njengoba sakhile kulendawo siyi [usho indawo] sonke kuyinto enhle ukuthi <u>sibuye siqale phansi sihlangane njengasekuqaleni</u>.	For me as a Zulu person, *ihlambo* means <u>feeling free emotionally</u>, <u>being washed off my relatives who died during the violence</u>. Another thing is that we are people who live in [names area], it is a good thing for us <u>to reunited as before.</u>

The meanings are discussed below, giving other supporting extracts where necessary to further elaborate the meaning of *ihlambo*.

4.1.1 *Ihlambo* **as a method of reconciliation (***ukuthelelana amanzi***)**

The celebration of *ihlambo* was seen by the respondents as an event where *ukuthelelana amanzi/ukubuyisana* could happen, thus the respondent in Extract 2 points out that it allows them to be reunited (*sihlangane njengasekuqaleni*). This concept that the respondent is talking about is also known as *ukubuyisana* which is, "to return to each other" and is about mutual forgiveness, and can be translated to reconciliation in English (Hay, 1998). *Ukuthelelana amanzi* means "washing each other's hands" and refers to the washing away of anger (Ngubane, 1977, p. 36). This is a process that allows those who have been in conflict to wash away their anger, and thereby regain favour from their ancestors.

4.1.2 *Ihlambo* **as a means to cease hostilities**

The participant in Extract 1 also sees *ihlambo* as a means to remove "war from the heart", that is, to remove animosity (*ukukhipha amagqubu nokungabikhona ukubukana ngeziqu zamehlo*). The hostility that has been evident in these communities is as a result of war.

Historically when the army leaves for war, all the men gather together to be sprinkled with protective *intezi*[3]. They may no longer sleep with their wives because this causes the medicine to be weak. According to Magema (1979; Flint & Parle, 2008) they can develop *iqunga* (a form of insanity that causes bloodthirst) from this medicine. When they return from war, they must be strengthened and washed off with medicine that will remove *intelezi*so that they do not develop *iqunga.* It is believed that if one fails to carry out the necessary purification rituals after killing another person, they will develop *iqunga* and will not be able to stop killing other people (Flint & Parle, 2008). This is an undesirable situation as Magema (1979) states that fighting was not normal for Zulu people, and happened occasionally. People were friendly and helped each other out (Magema, 1979). Therefore the condition of *iqunga* must be healed by using purification rituals such as *ihlambo.*This also refers to the new spirit (*umoya wokuzwana-* a spirit of togetherness) that is refered to in the following extract, Extract 3.

***Ihlambo* to have a new spirit (*Sibe nomoya omusha*).**

Extract 3 from Focus Group 4

IsiZulu	English
Umbuzo: Yikuphi okufanele kwenzeke uma kwenziwa umkhosi womhlanga? Impendulo: Okokuqala kufanele kube <u>nomoya wokuzwana</u> kungakhulunywa amagama ayizinhlamba, singazimbandakanyi kwezocansi kubekhona ukubambisana kuzekube sekupheleni kwalomkhosi	Question: What must happen before the cleansing ceremony? Response: First of all there must <u>be a spirit of understanding,</u> to not speak offensive words, to not involve ourselves in sexual intercourse until the end of the ceremony.

The "new spirit" that the respondent in Extract one refers to, is echoed by the following Extract (3). Here he speaks of "umoya wokuzwana", which is, "hearing each other" and this spirit is

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[3] The scientific name for intelezi *Portulacaria afra*(www.herbgarden.co.za, no date).It is also noted that *intelezi* is a mixture of herbs which have been designed to counteract evil. The plants that are in intelezi are mixed with water and are sprinkled around the yard in the home for protection(www.thebotanicalsource.com, no date).

positioned as a prerequisite the process of building peace. This spirit of *ukuzwana/*hearing each other or understanding each other is also expected to penetrate to those who are sleeping because what happens with living people also happens with those who are deceased. In this way any hostilities that may still exist among the feuding parties are put to rest.

***Ihlambo* as a means to communicate the end of hostilities to the living-dead**

We turn now to look into the importance communicating peace and the end of hostilities to the ancestors and the living-dead. According to Mbiti (1969), if the living-dead are not buried properly, or were offended before they died; it is feared by the relatives or the offenders that the living-dead will take revenge. This is in the form of misfortune, especially illness, or disturbing frequent visits to the living (Bujowoye, 2005). In the next two extracts, due attention is paid to the people who died during the war and the people who were warriors with them. It is important that these people are told that the war is over and that they need to forgive. This emphasizes the importance of interconnectedness, the fact that the living cannot forgive and move on if the living- dead do not.

Extract 4: Focus group 1

The community ... will be mourning the whole week, meaning that there will be inactivity throughout the week. On Saturday <u>*the warriors (middle aged men who were involved in the war) will visit the grave yard to communicate with those who died during the war, pleading them for forgiveness.*</u>

Extract 5: Focus group 2

Those people that died during the war are the ones that are making us to start the war again because we didn't tell them to make peace; we have to do that in our area.

<u>*We will start by going to the place where the people were fighting and we will [tell] those who died in the war that we are gathered here to ask for forgiveness the war is over, after that we will burn the incense and then eat the meat, nobody will kill another person....*</u>*What I'm trying to explain is that, there is peace within people and we have to do some preparations for those who died during the war.*

Extract 6: Focus group 2

On the 29th of October <u>we will go past the graveyard to call the names of the warriors who died during the war and request them to go with us to be cleansed.This will ensure peace and stability,</u> and communities will now be able to visit others. The outside communities will visit [our community] with no fear.

Extract 7: Individual interview with an elderly woman

IsiZulu	English
Uma nisuka enhlambulukweni, kwakufanele beseku bakhona futhi ukwakhana, kakhulukazi emakhosini nasezinduneni nabantu ke, ngoba phela njengoba leyanto ilungiswa kufuze…<u>kuzohamba kuhambe ke manje sibathathe laba ke abalimele, sesibathatha-ke ngoba sesihlambulukile, ngoba angithi ngoba nihlambulukile nabo bahlambulukile? Sekuzofanele bathathwe yimindeni ngemindeni, sebebuyela emakhaya abo. Ngoba uma kungenzeki lokho, lukhona uthuthuva oluyohamba luhambe lwenzeke.</u>	When you are done with the ceremony there should be a re-building, especially between the *amakhosi,* and the *izinduna*, as well as all the people, because as we are sorting that out, <u>because eventually we will have to take those who were injured, taking them as we are cleansed, since you are cleansed they are also cleansed. They then have to be taken by their families back to their homes. Because if that does not happen, there will eventually be some kind of chaos.</u>

All the above extracts (Extracts 4, 5,6,7) show that peace needs to be established; peace between people, the living-dead and the ancestors. When one looks at the African worldview, it is clear that these entities cannot survive independently of each other, or of the system within which they exist. According to Mkhize (2004), there is an interconnection between all things in the universe. Beings and objects are organised hierarchically and there are intricate webs of relationships that exist between them. He goes on to say that each object or organism is dependent upon and capable of influencing and being influenced by others, depending on the life force that the organism or object has.

The connection with God through *izinyanya* or ancestors is the desired outcome of a good relationship between the living and the ones who are sleeping, as this is considered essential for

unity and prosperity in the family and community. Therefore, it is not surprising that the participants believed that after *ihlambo*, there will be prosperity in their communities. Furthermore, it is a peace building initiative for all as we shall see in the next theme.

Ihlambo as an opportunity to bring about peace

According to Obasi, in the African tradition violence that leads to the death of another cannot be acceptable, and in fact refers to it as an act of suicide because "interconnectedness of people would render the act of homicide as suicide because to harm another is tantamount to harming oneself" (2002, 65). Peace in African communities is not only important but a pillar to harmonious living for both the living and the dead. In a collectivist culture such as this one, interdependence among individuals, empathy and a strong sense of belonging to a supportive group are encouraged (Swartz, de la Rey & Duncan, 2006). According to the following extract some salient themes are crime, and talking about peace instead of war.

Extract 8: Focus group 2

Responce 1: *We can stop crime by* <u>uniting amakhosi and headmen</u>, <u>they are suppose to talk to people and tell them that if any person has a knife, gun or any weapon he must throw that weapon away because we are making peace nobody must have any weapon surely people will do as they told…</u>

Responce 2:*…*<u>we have done terrible things so we want peace</u>, *we don't want to hear any guns after this ceremony in our areas… when we had a dance when people go to their places after that dance nothing bad must happen to them on their way home.*

Response 3:<u>*They can say that we are so happy that at last you have made peace with us, we were very tired of fighting but now thank you for helping us stop this war through this ceremony.*</u>

Response 4:<u>*If people are still killing each other it will show that we are not yet ready for the Ceremony.*</u>

Response 5:*Everybody is supposed to be in the ceremony* <u>nobody must threaten other people</u>. *We need to talk about this everywhere even emaceceni [at our parties] we must preach this peace.*

It is important to note that in this community, treatment involves the community acting together to overcome the problem. To achieve peace in the community, the *amakhosi* have had to bring their people together, to the cleansing ceremony. What this intervention has done is to promote

discussion and active collaboration within the community, thus strengthening existing social ties, and a sense of unity as well as their capacity to work together (Lipsedge & Tanya, 2004). We can see this in the following extracts, Extracts 9, 10 and 11.

Extract 9: Focus Group 4

IsiZulu	English
Usinani: Emva kwamathuna kungabe lukhona yini olunye uhlelo okufanele lulandelwe? Impendulo:Into ehleliwe ukuthi kumenywe amakhosi kanye nabaholi bamaqembu epolitiki Njengabaholi be UDM, ANC kanye ne IFP. Okuyothi uma sekuqediwe abaholi bamaqembu bakhulume nabantu, kube khona namaqembu azonandisa	Question: After visiting the graves is there anything else that needs to be done? Response: What has been planned is for leaders of political parties like the leaders of UDM, ANC and IFP. When we are done the leaders will speak to the people, and there will also be entertainers.

Extract 10: Focus Group 4

IsiZulu	English
Usinani: Abaholi bamaqembu bazothini emphakathini? Impendulo: Inhloso yokuba mema ingoba sikholwa ukuthi ingoba bazokwazi ukukhuluma nabantu babatshele ukuthi ukulwa akuyona indlela eyaphambili noma yokuxazulula izinto Usinani: Kukhona yini okulindelekile ukuthi kwenzeke emva kokuthi abaholi sebekhulumile? Impendulo: Silinde ukuthi abantu bayilalesise imiyalezo yabaholi besekuyaqhutshekwa nokuzijabulisa	Question: what will the leaders of political parties say to the people? Response: the point of inviting is for them to speak to the people and to tell them that fighting is not the way forward and is not a means to sort things out. Question: is there anything that is expected after the leaders speak? Response: we are expecting the people to listen carefully to their message and then we can go on with the entertainment.

Extract11 Focus Group 1

"and just that here in our place <u>coming of uHlanga Lomhlabathi was a very important thing he wasn't going to leave his home and his family for nothing really that was very important </u>to him <u>and even us it made us happy</u> that they stood up for us, as well as people like <u>uMntwana kaPhindangene and</u>

*Ministers*they were there all of them it seemed as a way forward. _It can't be that big people like that can_
leave their meetings and families and come to us and that really really that touch us to the bottom of our
heart…"

The above extracts(Extracts 9, 10, 11) show that the process requires full participation from all
the people in the community, and it is a serious affair since the *amakhosi* were required to gather
their people, as well as the leaders of political parties and especially *uHlanga Lomhlabathi*
(*Inkosi* of all the Zulu people). People in these positions are afforded much respect because they
are the divine symbol of their people's health and welfare (Mbiti, 1969). The office that they
hold as leaders is a link between human rule and spiritual government. According to Mbiti,
amakhosi and leaders in the land symbolise the link between God and man because they are
believed to have been instituted into their positions by God. They are considered to be ritually
holy, and therefore must be respected and obeyed (Mbiti, 1969). Therefore if there is communion
between the leaders and *amakhosi* of previously enemy communities, it is believed that this
peace and communion will trickle to members of the community.

4.1.3 *Ihlambo* as a means to bring peace for those who are sleeping (the deceased).
The following extract (Extract 11) shows that people that died during the war cannot rest until
certain rituals have been performed. This extends to the living people, in terms of the fact that if
the dead do not rest, the living cannot fully live in peace either. According to Rudnick (2003),
when someone dies, they are initially in a shadow state until a sacrifice is made on their behalf. It
is believed that those who die without having been initiated in the beliefs or those who did not
have implicit and absolute obedience to the *izinyanya*, would roam around the homes and not
know the way to the other world when they died (Laubscher, 1975; Holdstock, 2000). Therefore
the surviving relatives have to perform a ritual for them. This shows that there is a tightly woven
interdependence between the living and the dead, and it is compulsory for the living to pay ritual
reverence to the deceased ancestors (Rudnick, 2003; Holdstock, 2000). Ancestors lead similar
lives as deceased spirits as they did when they were alive. They are actively involved in the lives
of their descendants and have a powerful influence on their behaviour. Some participants
claimed that the deceased came to them in dreams, requesting to be left in peace. They believe
that the people who died during the wars and political violence have not properly been laid to

rest. According to Vontress (1991), African dreams are not accidental but are always filled with messages from the living-dead.

Extract 11 Participant 1: Individual interview

IsiZulu	English
Abaphumuli abantu abalele uma befe kuliwa. Njengoba sisabathanda noma sebelele, kumele sibatshele uma sesixolelene, khona nabo bezoxola. Ngokwesiko labantu asikho isidingo sokumlahla umuntu.	Sleeping (dead) people do not rest if they have died violent deaths. Since we love them, even though they are now sleeping, we must tell them that we have made peace with each other. In our culture, there is no need to "forget about" the person.

Extract 12:Focus group 2

"On Saturday the warriors (middle age men who were involved in the war) will visit the grave yard to communicate with those who died during the war, pleading them for forgiveness…On the 29th of October we will go past the grave yard to call the names of the warriors who died during the war and request them to go with us to be cleansed."

These extracts (Extract 11 and 12) emphasize the point that in order for those who are alive to rid themselves of hostilities, this must be done to those who died as well. There is a need for them to be cleansed as well as the warriors that are still alive. The following extract explains this further.

Extract 13:Focus group 2

"Those people that died on the war, they are the ones that are making us to start the war again because we didn't tell them to make peace… We will start by going to the place where the people were fighting and we will tell those who died in the war that we are gathered here to ask for forgiveness the war is over, after that we will burn the incense and then eat the meat and nobody will kill another person….What I'm trying to explain is that, there is peace within people and we have to do some preparations for those who died during the war.…in our custom, and I think that is true really that if there is someone who was killed by the weapon he or she is going to come back with weapon but we won't be able to see him personally. Those people who died during the war they are using those people that are alive to kill other people so we have to stop them by burning incense and ask for forgiveness telling them that we are making peace they must also make peace."

According to Vontress (1991), when it is believed that something has been done to disturb the harmony between the living and the ancestors or those recently departed from the community of the living, such as war, the effects will be felt until there are certain rituals done. Therefore healing of the survivors of violence including the living-dead cannot occur until proper rituals are done. The participants of this focus group attest to the fact that peace cannot be achieved until *Ihlambo* is performed. This is the process through which peace is communicated to those who died.

4.1.4 *Ihlambo* as a means to bring about economic development in the community (*ukungena kosomabhizinisi*).

Murder and incest are considered to be the greatest offences to the ancestors, and is regarded as an offence against the clan, and clan members (Berglund, 1975). This causes anger to the ancestors, and in order to restore normal relationships, a ritual must be done. The consequences of the anger of the ancestors, if rituals are not performed, lead to sicknesses, childlessness and general misfortune. The participants believed that the lack of economic growth in their community was caused by the anger of the ancestors.

Extract14 below highlights the building of low cost houses and a new hall as signs that there is development in the area, which has been brought about by having done *ihlambo*. The participant on Extract 8 also sees the benefit in terms of investors coming into the communities without fear because those people in the community are no longer stealing and damaging property.

Extract 14 Focus Group 3

IsiZulu	English
Ngokucabanga kwami *ihlambo* lilethe ushintsho ikakhulu njengoba siyabona nentuthuko ingenilekwakhiwa imixhaso nehholo nalo nanti liyakhiwa. Bekunzima ukuletha intuthuko kulendawo ngenxa yomlando wayo. Ihholo liqalwe ngo Msombuluko odlule kwakhiwa nemixhaso yezindlu zangasese obekungekho ekuqaleni.	I think *ihlambo* has brought change especially since we can see that they are building low cost houses and a hall. It was hard to develop this area because of its history. The bulding of the hall started on last Monday and they are also building low cost toilets, which was not the case previously.

Extract 15 Focus Group 4

IsiZulu	English
Usinani: Kungabe ozakwethu ondlebe zikhanya ilanga usho ukuthini kobona lomcimbi? Impendulo: <u>Abelungu bakubuka njengomdlalo lokhu, kodwa sethemba ukuthi uma bengachazeleka kahle ukuthi nabo bazozuza ngoba uma sekukhona ukuthula kuzophela ukuthi bahlaselwe bantshontshelwe baphinde futhi beze bazo tshala izimali endaweni yangakithi bese behlomula nabo.</u>	Sinani: What does this ceremony mean for the White people? Response: <u>White people see this as a joke, but we hope that if it is explained to them properly, they will also gain from it because when there is peace, they will not be attacked and robbed, and they will invest and gain wealth from our areas.</u>

During the violence, many of the community members lost their jobs because they could no longer go to work. Businesses closed down because there were looting of shops and damage to property and those who previously lived on produce from their land could no longer do so. According to Baloyi (no date), this affected negatively the economy of the province as businesses had to move to other areas of the country, contributing to joblessness. The participants believe that businesses will return so that there are jobs, and that people will no longer loot and rob. Therefore the decrease in crime and violence is seen here as to be able to increase economy.

4.2 THE PERCEIVED INTRA-INDIVIDUAL, RELATIONAL/INTERPERSONAL, FAMILIAL AND COMMUNITY BENEFITS OF *IHLAMBO* FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE COMMUNITY.

The themes that were salient regarding this question were the role that is played by *ihlambo* regarding healing at a communal level; there is a restoration of the social fabric of the community that happens due to *ihlambo*; there are benefits that the community members experience intra-individually, interpersonally and community benefits, and the interconnection with ancestors.

4.2.1 Role of healing at a communal and individual level

There were two main themes that emerged in connection with the meaning of *ihlambo* at a communal and individual level. These were i) restoration of the social fabric of the community, psychological benefits, restoration of interpersonal relationships through the ability to forgive on another, the reduction of taxi violence, the fact that youth are now able to attend any school that they wish to attend, and lastly, a sense of restored communal life. These are discussed below.

Extract 16 Focus Group 4

IsiZulu	English
Question: Yini eyenza ukuthi lomcimbi uze wenziwe manje ungenziwanga ngesikhathi esiphambili?	Question: Why has this ceremony been performed now and has not been performed previously?
Impendulo1: <u>Ziningi izinhlangano ezifikile zithi zizama ukusihlanganisa kodwa abanye besikhohlisa kodwa bebebezuza ngathi ngaphandle</u>. Sikusho singahlonizi ukuthi <u>Usinani ukwazile kuqala ukuhlanganisa amaqembu abekade engahlangani, anjengo ANC, UDM kanye ne IFP bakhulume ngazwilinye yingakho kubelula ukuthi sifike la sikhona</u> ngaphandle kuka Sinani bekuzoba lukhuni.	**Response 1**: <u>There have been many organizations that have come trying to unite us but some were deceiving us because they gained from the process.</u> <u>Sinani was able to unite parties that did not meet like ANC, UDM, and IFP, and they are able to speak in one voice which is why it was easy to be where we are now</u>, it would have been hard without Sinani.
Impendulo2: Usinani ukwazile<u>ukusihlanganisa savulelekelana, sakhuluma iqiniso, saxolelana ngokweqiniso.</u> Usinani ube ngumlamuli kuthina mphakathi waseRichmond ngale kuka Sinani mancane amathuba okuthi besiba la sikhonamanje.	**Response 2**: Sinani <u>was able to unite us and we were able to open up to each other, speak the truth, forgive each other truthfully</u>. Sinani was an intervener to us as the Richmond community, without their intervention, the chances that we would have been where we are now are slim.

Extract 17 Focus Group 4

IsiZulu	English
Question: Kuzobonakala kanjani ukuthi sekukhona ukuthula emva kwalomcimbi?	Umbuzo: How will we know that there is peace after the ceremony?
Impendulo1: <u>Kuyabonakala njengamanje ukuthi iskhona inkanyezi yokuthula njengoba sekuqalile ukuthi ukuhlangana kwamaqembu abekade engahlangani anjengo ANC, IFP ne UDM ndawonye.</u>	Response 1: <u>We can already see now a spark of peace since the political parties are meeting together like the ANC, IFP and thee UDM</u>.
Impendulo2: <u>Sekuvele sekukhona ukuthula la eRichmond</u> yize-ke singeke siye ndawonye singemanzi kodwa angeke sizivumele izinto	Response 2: <u>there is peace already here and although we disagree sometimes; we will not permit anything that threatens our peace.</u>

ezizovimba ukuthula	

4.2.1.1 Restoration of the social fabric of the community

Participants were asked about the role of *ihlambo* to the healing process at individual and communal level. According to Crawford and Lipsedge (2004), traditional healers concentrate their interventions within the social arena, curing distressed individuals by bringing about significant changes within their social environment. This allows participants in the ceremony an opportunity to discuss the meaning of the ritual openly as they work through the task. Consequently, participants in the ritual cleansing ceremony cannot be expected to speak of individual healing. Healing is conceptualised, in this community, as the collective wellbeing of the community through such indicators as peace in the community, and freedom of movement (Eppel, 2002).

Extract 18 Focus Group 3

IsiZulu	English
Okusijabulisayo ngokuthi kube khona ihlambo ukuzwana kwabantu ngezigodi ezehlukene nokuyinto enhle kakhulu. Sesiyakwazi ukuhambelana	What makes me happy is that we have had *ihlambo* and people from different communities getting along. We can now visit each other.

Extract 19: Participant 2 Individual interview

IsiZulu	English

| Ngicabanga ukuthi kufanele bakuthole ukulapheka ngoba kwakuhlangene amakhosi …ayehlanganiswe lamakhosi yingoba yiwona ayekade enenkinga yabantu abalwayo abantu ekufana nokuthi abandawonye kodwa belwa bodwa. Labantu ke manje, ubusungasakwazi ukuthi usuke uye esigodini senye inkosi ukhululeke ushele intombi yakwesinye isigodi

Ufike ubulawe, lapho lokho ekungafanele kwenzeke… ukuthi uyokwakha ubuhlobo obuhle.So labantu njengoba kuthiwa kuhlanganwa kanjalo kuhlangana amakhosi nesizwe kuthiwa asivunule izinsizwa nomama bavunule kukikizwe kube njeyaya kuzanywa ukuqedwa leyanto eyayiye yenzeka phambilini yokuthi abantu babulalane behlukumeza abantu. Umuntu ubengasamboni omunye umuntu ukuthi umuntu, esebona ukuthi nje nasi isilwane. | I think that they should receive healing because all *amakhosi* …came together. These were the *amakhosi* whose people were fighting each other, even though they are like brothers. <u>You could not even go from one community to another and propose marriage to a woman.</u>

<u>You were killed there, which is not what should happen. Your intention was to create good relations.</u> <u>So when the nation is told to put on their traditional attire and congregate together with their *amakhosi*, and to ululate, it is an attempt to finish what once happened where people killed and abused others</u>. |

The other indicator was being able to marry people from other communities, without fear of being harmed (See Extract 19).

In extract 19 above, the participant raises three main issues. Firstly, there evidence that people are healed because intermarriages between people from areas falling under different *amakhosi* are now possible. People no longer fear that they will be killed, which was the case previously. According to Mbiti (1969), the deep sense of kinship is one of the strongest forces in traditional family life. He goes on to say that it is reckoned through engagement and marriage. Kinship controls social relationships between people in a given community:it governs marital customs and regulations and also determines the behaviour of one individual towards another. Mbiti (1969) explains that this sense of kinship binds together the entire life of the community; it is even extended to animals, plants, and non-living objects Although the totality of Mbiti's (1969) work is beyond the scope of this paper, the emphasis is on the importance of kinship. Since marriage is important, the knowledge that marriages across villages are possible is testimony to the restoration of the community's social fabric.

Secondly the participants talks about how the ceremony itself has brought *amakhosi* and people together, dressed in traditional attire (Extracts 16 and 17). Living in harmony with others,

without fear of victimization, lends further credence to the view that the social fabric of the community is being restored. According to Schiele (1990), in the Afrocentric view, not only are humans interconnected, they are also interdependent. This interdependence encourages a unity among them because of a sense of a collective survival, where one sees the survival of another as their own survival.

Lastly, although there were people who committed crimes before and were involved in the violence, such things do not happen anymore. There is recognition that war is to the detriment of the community as a whole.Thus, while the wrongdoing may be continuing, this is no longer attributable to war but the pervasive criminal element. However the following extract (Extract 20) shows that there has been an improvement in following up and sorting out problems before they become too difficult.

Extract 20 Focus Group Discussion 3

IsiZulu	English
Ngicela ukwengeza kwiphuzu <u>lenkohlakalo ayenzeki ngoba sibambene thina mphakathi noma kunento eyenzekayo isheshe ikhulunywe ilungiswe.Noma ingane yakho ezalwa uwena inokonakala uyakwazi ukutshela obaba balungise lolodaba.</u>	I would like to add to the point <u>about cruelty that there is no longer that we are together as a community even if something happens it gets spoken about quickly and gets solved. Even if a child causes trouble you can tell the men to sort it out.</u>

4.2.1.2 Perceived intra-individual and interpersonal familial and community benefits

Community members felt that they were now personally reconciled. Furthermore they felt that they had fewer bad dreams, and less anxiety. They also felt that they were now able to have better relationships with other people in their communities. There were also benefits for the community that included better relations even at a transport level (less taxi violence) and their children are now permitted to attend any school that they wish to attend.

Intra- individual benefits

The following extract (21) brings to our attention the psychological benefits of *ihlambo*. Three respondents speak of improved relations between themselves and their friends, fellow

community members, and family which are all of benefit psychologically to them. Secondly they speak of reduced anxiety regarding being in one's community, as they were always afraid when walking around. They also have peace of mind that troublesome spirits that have been surrounding them have left.

Extract 21: Focus Group 3

IsiZulu	English
SINANI: Ukulandelela nje kuleyo nkulumo ngabe ninazo yini izibonelo lapho uthola abantu akade bengasahambelani sebehambelana noma mhlambe beza ngala kade bengasezi noma izibonelo zenkohlakalo lapho ivinjwa khona kuthiwe cha lokhu kuzosidalela inxushunxushu futhi akwenzeki?	Sinani: to follow up on that, do you have examples where people were no longer able to visit each other, visiting each other or example s of evil doing being prevented?
Response 1: Yebo, mina <u>nginabantu ekade bengasafiki kwami kodwa emva kwehlambo sebeyeza</u>…<u>Mina ngase ngesaba ngisho umfowethu inkosana yakithi ngoba yayihlala kwesinye isigceme kwakuthi noma ngiyibona edolobheni ngiyilandelengemuva ngoba angifuni ingibone kwazise akekho owayazi ukuthi yini eyayingenzeka uma engibona.Kodwa manje sesihlala etafuleni sidle njengezingane zomuntu oyedwa.</u>	Response 1: Yes, <u>I had people who no longer visited me but after *ihlambo* they do come…I was even afraid of my eldest brother becaused he lived in another community. Even when I saw him in town, I used to avoid him and make sure htat he does not see me because nobody know what would happen if he saw me. But now we are able to sit at one table and eat like the children of one person.</u>
Response 2: Yebo, ngoba <u>usuhamba yonke indawo manje ngaphandle kokwesaba siyajabulelana noma sibonana akusafani nakuqala lapho ubuhamba endaweni yakho kuphela.</u>	Response 2: <u>Yes because you are able to walk wherever you want to walk without being afraid, we are even glad when we see each other.</u>
SINANI: Kunabanye abantu baseMbumbulu nabo balungiselela *ihlambo*, <u>bona bakholelwa ekutheni uma *ihlambo* selenziwe kuba nezinkomba noma imiphumela eshoyo ukuthi lenzekile futhi lihambe kahle, uzwe nje nasegazini ukuthi lenzekile noma kube khona ababa namaphupho asho ukuthi ihlambo lihambe kahle.</u> Ngabe nina niyakholelwa kulokho?	SINANI: There are people in Mbumbulu who are also getting ready to perform *ihlambo*, <u>and they believe that if the ceremony was successful, there are signs that it went well and people have been cleansed, and you even feel it in your blood that it went well, and you even dream about it.</u> Do you believe in that?
Response 3: <u>Mina ngiyakholelwa noma kungakaze kuphuphe mina qobo kodwa nginabantu engibaziyo amaphupho afika kubona mayela nokuhamba kahle kwehlambo.</u>	Response 3: <u>I do believe it even though it has not happened to me but there are people that I know of who have dreamt that we were cleansed.</u>
Mina kwami sakhe endaweni lapho izidumbu eziningi zasala khona, njengomuntu oyi Sangoma lingakenziwa *ihlambo* bekunezinkinga eziningi kuleyandawo. Kwakuthi phakathi nobusuku uzwe	Our home is in a place at which a lot of people died, as a Sangoma I often had problems there before *ihlambo*. In the middle of the night I used to hear themwalking outside and talking and <u>I would</u>

kunabantu abahamba ngaphandle futhi bekhuluma minake <u>ngivuke ngilunguze ngewindi ngithole ukuthi ilabantu abashonela laphayana basayibambile impi uze uzwe omunye ethi "baleka"</u>.	<u>wake up and peep through the window to find that it was those people who had died there and they are still fighting, and you even here one saying "run". If I said I have heard it after *ihlambo*, I would be lying.</u>

The above Extract (21) shows us some of symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) that that most of the community members would have suffered from. Participant 1 above reports that she was in constant fear (even in town which is supposedly neutral ground), and was afraid of her own brother, to such an extent that she avoided him. Intense psychological distresses at the exposure to internal or external cues that symbolize an aspect of the traumatic event, as well as efforts to avoid people that arouse the trauma are symptoms of PTSD (Kaplan & Saddock, 2007). Participant 2 speaks of his inability to walk on the streets for fear of being attacked. Participant 3 explains that she re-experienced the trauma through recurrent and intrusive recollections of the event (dead people talking outside her house and telling each other to run) and being unable to sleep. According to Mels, Derluyn, Broekaert, and Rosseel (2010), there is a continuation and maintenance of these symptoms if the victims continue to live in a context that does not offer good resources for recovery. Most of the community members were also constantly under threat, and therefore had fear and feelings of helplessness, as well as a sense of a foreshortened future (most of them did not expect to have a normal life span) (Kaplan and Saddock, 2007).

The participants speak of the reduction of all the above mentioned stress symptoms after the cleansing ceremony. *Ihlambo* appears to have provided for the participants a space to share their experiences and to receive support from each other. Furthermore, because during *ihlambo* the victims and the perpetrators work together, they go through what is called abreaction, which is experiencing the emotions associated with the event (Kaplan & Saddock, 2007). According to Kaplan & Saddock (2007) this is helpful for some patients suffering from PTSD. *Ihlambo* creates a space for this to happen.

Interpersonal Benefits

There were interpersonal benefits that participants found taht after *ihlambo* their relationships with other people were restored because they were able to forgive each other.

Extract 22: Focus group 1

Response 1: <u>To me as a Zulu speaking person it means cleansing myself and others spiritually</u>, especially because I lost some of my relatives through violence. It is a good thing for us all, as [names community] community to come together and be united once again.

Interviewer: There [is a community which is] also preparing for cleansing ceremony and they say that if the ceremony has been well conducted you can see the results, you can even feel it in your blood vessels that it has been well done.   Sometimes you can get signs from the ancestors; it could be in the form of a dream that would come to certain people, which indicates that the ceremony has been a success. Do you also believe in that?

Response 2: Yes, <u>I believe in that although it has never happened to me personally but there are people whom I know who have dreamt about the ceremony after cleansing ceremony has taken place</u>.

The respondents also spoke mostly about their interpersonal relationships with their relatives, children and broader social networks within their communities. The communities rely on these interrelations being harmonious. The main indicator of healthy interpersonal relationships in this community is the ability to visit, and be visited, by significant people in your life, be they distant relatives, relatives by marriage, friends, etc.

As it was stated in the literature review, African cosmology believes in peace, and the ability to live harmoniously with your fellow human beings, as well as in harmony with your surroundings, observing God, the environment, the living, the dead, those to come, etc (Ngubane, 1977; Burgland, 1975; Mbiti, 1969; Bojowoye, 2005; Ogbannaya,1994). So to be in an environment where these values cannot be observed, is, on its own, an abomination to the life of the African, and in fact he/she has is already dead if these relationships cannot happen. Therefore the context in which we look at the plight of these communities is contradictory.

Members of the community were also expected to forgive and forget. However, the process of *ihlambo* necessitated that those who had been perpetrators of violence go to those who they had wronged, and have further talks with them, so that they can all move on. The first extract

(Extract 23) shows us that there should be talks about why a person has done what they have done, and also shows that that person has a responsibility to rectify the situation.

Extract 23 Participant 3(Individual interview)

IsiZulu	English
R: Ngiyambona impela ethatha into zami. <u>Sekuba sekutheni uma abantu benakho manje ukuzama ukuthi ububi siyaku qeda…Ngoba sekuze kwaxolelwana… Ngabona ukuthi wathatha into yami!</u> Ebese ukuthi nalo mayengenwe umoya waKrestu impela kwako yileso sikhathi. <u>Ngicela intethelelo. Ung'thethelele kwakuyi leso sikhathi. Leso skhathi esasinjalo…Ngingaku nxese zela ngani.</u> Sekubuza loyo othatha into! <u>Cha! Ngoba sasingaxabani… kwakuyimpi, kodwa ngoba nje, ngikhuluma lento, ngakubona! Unganginika nje into ethize. Ebese ke uyavuma kulo, ukuthi akunike leyonto. Indlela yokuqeda into nje le (esho ukungazwani)</u>	<u>I see him really taking my things. But the fact remains that we are now ending evil…because we have now forgiven each other. ..I saw you taking what belonged to me!</u> And then the other one if they have the spirit of Christ, eh will say, it was that time. <u>Please forgive me. Forgive me it was that time… how can I repay you?</u> Then the other person who will receive a gift says: <u>No because it was a war, you may just give me something because as I am saying this, I saw you, so you may give me something. Then they agree to give each other whatever that is. That is the way to finish this (meaning the animosity between them)</u>

As is evident in the above extract (Extract 23), people are given back their humanness without retaliation from the wrongdoer. There is a mutual respect that each pays the other, even though there is a perpertor and a victim. According to Hay (1998) reconciliation is about a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reperation, but not for retaliation, and a need for *ubuntu*, not victimisation. Extract 21 and 22 further support this view.

Extract 24 Participant 4 (Individual Interview)

IsiZulu	English
Umbuzo:Mhlambe-ke ngaphandle kokuthi umphakathi uhlambuluke ngendlela ekwenziwa ngayo, zikhona'ezinye izindlela zokuthi abantu babuyisane babe nokuthula ngophandle kwamasiko enhlambuluko omdabu?	Question:Maybe besides the community having *ihlambo* in the way taht they have it, are there other ways in which people can be reconciled and to live in peace withouth using this indegenous method of reconciliation? Like I am saying, it is up to the individual

Njengoba ngishilo nje ukuthi lapho indaba yomuntu ngoba omunye uma elwa impi edibana nesihlobo sakhe ushaya nesihlobo sakhe besenokuba bathi kwakonakele impi yayenzeka ngangingahlosile <u>kwakuyilesasimo kodwa nami ngangeza into engangayithandi nami ngangesaba usibanibani owayengithumile.</u>	because for some people during war, even if they meet a relative, they can even injure the relative and then <u>they may go to them and say, it was that situation and I also did not like what I was doing and I was also afraid of such and such a person who had sent me</u>.

Extract 25 Participants 1: Individual Interview

IsiZulu	English
<u>Abantu ababethinteka ekuhlukumezeni abanye ngezikhathi zodlame, bangabuyiseleka emphakathini ngokuthi bahlambuluke?</u>	<u>Is it possible to intergrate perpetrators of violence back into their communities through the use of inhlambuluko?</u>
<u>Bamukelekile kakhulu.</u> Nalo owayeqaqa ondlu yami wathat nempahla yami, uyangene la kwami. <u>Siyakhuluma naye ngoba uma umuntu ecela intethelelo, wean ongaxoli unecala lalokho kungaxoli, umuntu ebe ekucela.</u>	<u>They are very welcome.</u> Even the one who destroyed my house, and took my belongins, he comes here. <u>We talk to him because when a person asks for forgiveness, if you do not forgive, you are at fault.</u>

The above extracts (23, 24, 25) convey the message that the survivors of violence, collectively have needed to validate each other's stories. The explaination that the the pepertrators were under orders to do what they did (Extract 24 and 25) is important in these extracts as this sets the pace for forgiveness. It also gives those who were wronged the confidence that their abusers are human, and they need not be afraid of them, especially after they have apologised.

The participant shows us a similarity between the Christian belief system and indigenous beliefs when he mentions that "*if you do not forgive, you are at fault*". The participant attributed this to the fact that she observes and practices all cultural rituals but also goes to church. She believes that for forgiveness she needed to do both. According to Garzon (2005, in Moodley and West, 2005), healing involves one's relationship with God, out of which flows the secondary benefits

of enhanced physical and emotional health, and that extending forgiveness towards others deepens the process, permitting a greater outflow of spiritual reality into the physical and emotional realms. Spirituality from the African-centered worldview suggests that there is a creative life force, "the very essence of all things that connects all human beings to each other" (Graham in Moodley and West, 2005, p. 211). This suggests that these two world views make it almost unavoidable that one will forgive even the worst suffering because these beliefs help people conceptualize and tap into sources that enhance human connection and the connection to a higher being (Graham, 2005).

Holdstock (2000) refers to the seperation of one person from others as being in a personal hell because African people are so interdependant on each other. To be related to and to live with other people is the core of an African existance. So when one is no longer able to be with other people due to pollution of any kind (in this case, after having killed), this person ceases to be *umuntu.* If a person is a person through other people, as the Zulu saying goes: *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (a person is a person through other people, then it stand to reason that they cannot exist without the connection to other people.

Communal benefits

There are also benefits for the community such as a reduction in taxi violence, and the youth are able to attend any school they wish to attend.

1. **Taxi violence**

The violence in KwaZulu Natal spread itself into the taxi industry, which is the mode of transport for a large percentage of the population of KwaZulu Natal.

Extract 26 Participant 2: Focus Group 3

IsiZulu	English
Okunye obekwenzeka u[usho indawo] ubungekho eduze kwethu kanye ne [usho indawo] kodwa manje sesihlangene sesiwumphakathi owodwa. Sekuyabonwana ngisho erenki sekuyindawo eyodwa ngisho namatekisi akwa [usho indawo] ayasisiza uma awethu eshoda ebukungeke kwenzeke phambilini. Bekungekho ukuhamba ngokukhululeka noma ungena esitolo ngoba uma nike naficana nizoshayana.	Another thing is that [names area] and [name another area] were not close to us. But now we are closer, we are one community. We even meet at the taxi rank, and it is now a common place, even taxis from [name area] help us if we do not have any of our own which would have never happened previously. You could not walk freely even when you get into a shop because if you meet there, a fight would start.

Transport and schooling were greatly affected by the violence. The taxi violence, according to Minaar and Hough (1997) the continued conflict in the taxi sector pointed to deeply entrenched antagonisms and underlying problems that have not been resolved. Therefore it seems that the resolution of conflict among the taxi owners, so much so that they assist each other regarding transporting people to previously enemy territory, is a benefit not only to these communities, but to the country as a whole.

2. **Youth able to go to any school they wish to attend**

Extract 27 Participant 2Focus Group 3

IsiZulu	English
Izingane zifunda yonke indawo lapho zithanda ukufunda khona, ezangala zifunda ngale nezangale zifunda ngala.	The children can go to any school which they wish to go to, those children from here go to the school on the other side, and children from the other side can come here.

The development of no-go areas due to political differences meant that children could no longer attend school and schools were empty (Ntshoe, 2002; Hamber, 1990). According to Hamber (1990) besides the disruption of the social fabric and culture of the community, intra-community violence also disrupts schooling, which results in incremental disadvantage over time. Baloyi (no date) states that the youth are were at risk of being illiterate and their future is thus doomed because of the violence, and they will not be able to bring about positive change to their communities as their thinking is limited to fighting.

Ntshoe (2002) states that education facilitates and maintains social change, political emancipation, and democracy. Schools also re-socialize children into new roles (after violence) so that they can play a part in the changed conditions. The school also offers a space in which values of tolerance, respect of cultures, languages, religion and tradition can be inculcated (Ntshoe, 2002). Therefore the ability of children to go to schools of their choice is central to the maintenance of peace that has been negotiated. According to the participants, *ihlambo* has made this possible for the community.

A sense of communal life is restored

The following extract denotes that one of the symptoms of a normalcy in the community is a united effort to fight against crime and to discipline children as a community.

Extract 28: Focus group 1

FM: I want to add to what I have just said earlier on, <u>the corruption and criminal activities are still rife here but we are fighting against it, as the united community.</u> <u>Even if your own child is seen to be corrupt you can tell the elders of the community and they are bound to sort that situation out.</u>

The ability to collectively right the wrongs in the community and the raise children as a collective is seen as the restoration of communal life. This is important because it is practicing *ubuntu* to be able to see the wrong done by another's child, and to correct them as you would your own as the responsibility of raising children is the whole community's (Mkhize, 2004).

4.3 THE DISCONNECTION AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISPLACEMENT BECAUSE OF THE VIOLENCE

The violence in Richmond and Mbumbulu was not unique in its ruthlessness. It is reported that political violence in KZN which displaced people, destroyed homes, and claimed the lives of many in the province (Taylor, 2002; Minaar, 1990; du Toit, 2001; Minaar & Hough, 1997). According to Scheile (1996, p.289) alienation is the major source of human problems. He describes spiritual alienation as "the disconnection of nonmaterial and morally affirming values from concepts of human self-worth and from the character of social relationships".*"emva kwehlambo yonke into yabuyela esimweni"*

The participant in Extract 20 elucidates the various forms of disconnection that they went through.

Extract 29: Participant 4: Individual interview

IsiZulu	English
Yebo [sathinteka odlameni] ngoba lomuzi ngawupatanisa emva kodlame, imfuyo yebiwa nezimpahla. Ngaqala phansi. Babefaka izincwadi phansi komnyango, ... bathi phuma wena wedwa, ungaphathi lutho. Salahlekelwa indawo yokuhlala, izihlobo, bakuthatha konke.Kwafanele ngiqube emizini yabantu. Abaningi bafa, baphelelwa yimizi nezindawo zokuhlala… Kubuhlungu kakhulu ngoba ngisabalekile ngafunga ukuthi ngeke ngiphinde ngibuye lapha. Kwakuthathwe izimpahla zonke, ifenisha. Izitsha zonke zendabuko, ngazishiya zonke lezimpahla ezingathengeki, zithengwa ngazinye.Kwafanele ngihambele nje ukuthi izingane zami zingafi, ngakushiya konke…. Uxolo luyenziwa ezinhliziyweni, noma okwakulahlekela ungeke usakuthola. Sibonga nje umphefumulo, ngoba noma sasingathi siyathutha, angeke sikuthuthe konke…Mina ekhaya ngenza isiko lalayikhaya. Uma uhamba emzini kumele ngibatshele ukuthi ngiyaphi, ngizohlala isikhathi esingakanani. Manje indlela okwezeka ngayo, wawungakwazi ukukwenza lokho. Kanjalo ke babengasiboni abalayikhaya. Uma befika, babengasifici. Lokhu kwenza izinkinga kakhulukazi empilweni yezingane. Bayakufuna abasekhaya uma bengasakuboni nasegcekeni. Ngakho ke kwafanela ngenze isiko lokutshela abangasekho. Yingakho ke kwadingeka ukuthi ngibuyele ekhaya.	Yes we were affected by violence because this home was re-built after the violece, all the livestock were stolen. I started over. They used to put letters under doors saying that you must leave everything behind. We lost our homes, relatives, they took everything.I had to live at other people homes.Most people died, lost their homes and places to live in. It is very painful because when I had ran away,I swore never to come back here again.They took all the furniture. All the traditional containers and all these are not easy to buy. You buy them one at a time. I had to go for the sake of my children, so that they are not killed. I left everything behind. Forgiveness is made in the heart, even if you cannot get back what you lost. We are just thankful for the spirit; because even if we wanted to take our belongings with us, we were not going to take everything… I am a traditional person who abides by our rituals. When you leave your home, you must tell them [ancestors] where you are going, and for how long. But the way, in which things happened, you couldn't do that. Therefore the ancestors in this home could not see us. They did not find us when they came. This caused problems, especially in terms of the children's health. The ancestors want to see you, especially when they no longer see you in the home. Therefore I had to come back home.

The ways in which this participant in Extract 29 was violated include losing her home, losing her livestock, losing her relatives, loosing furniture, being robbed of her traditional/cultural artifacts, not having an opportunity to plan where she would go, that is, no freedom of choice, and not having the opportunity to report to her ancestors or let them know of her whereabouts.

Displacement from home

For the purpose of this paper we can look at the participant's losses as a form of disconnection from her home which includes furniture, livestock and most importantly her land. According to Mayanja (2004), Africans are particularly tied to their land because it is the concrete expression

of both their past and present. The land provides them with the roots of existence, as well as binding them mystically to their departed. Mayanja (2004) goes on to say that the fields, animals, and people depend on land and it is from the land that they receive what comes from God through the ancestors. The land is the concretization of what comes from the spiritual world (Mayanja, 2004).

The land on which one's house belongs to *abadala* (Msimang, 1975). When one leaves, they have to slaughter a cow or a goat to tell them you are leaving and going to a new place. By so doing you are telling them to come with you and help you start a new home. If you do not do this, there will be bad luck and *abadala* want to know why they were not told of the new home.

There is an indication of the significance of interrelationships and the importance of one's family and community. Alienation from ones community and /or family results in the end of life, as one knows it.

Social Displacement

The participant also mentions loosing relatives. Although it is not clear whether the relatives died, or also needed to move, it is important to note that the crucial interconnection between the self and other members of the community was seriously compromised. In a community where one is through other people, through the notion of *ubuntu*, separation from ones family/friends/community amounts to a sense of loss of self as well as belonging. Murithi (2006; 18) states that "I am because I belong, I participate, I share" is another way of describing *ubuntu*. Therefore there is no sense of self when one has been cast out of their community. This is resonated in the following extract (Extract 30) where the participant laments his inability to interact with family, especially at critical times like funerals.

Extract 30 Focus Group 3 Respondent 4

IsiZulu	English
….ngabe sengiyosebenza ngangivakasha njalo ekhaya kungenankinga kodwa emva kokuqala kodlame <u>ngahlala emsebenzini ngangingasakwazi ukubuya ngize ekhaya</u>, ngangesaba ukugibela izimoto ngizothi ngiyagibela bese ngiyashaywa. <u>Bafa kakhulu abakomalume la kuzalwa khona uMa ngangingezi ngisho ukuzobangcwaba.</u> Emva	…then I went to work and I used to go home often and had no problems but after the beginning of the violence <u>I had to stay at work</u>, <u>I could not come back home.</u> I was afraid of public transport, with the fear that if I take transport home, I will be beaten. <u>Many of my relatives from my mother's side died and I could not come to their funerals.</u>

kwehlambo yonke into yabuyela esimweni …	After *ihlambo* everything has gone back to normal…

Displacement from cultural practices

Furthermore the participant in Extract 29 states that she eventually had to come back to to her home to perform rituals. When she was not at home she was unable to perform rituals that are not only central to keeping her family connection with the ancestors, but are also necessary for the health of her children. She had to observe these rituals because her children were becoming ill because the ancestors needed to be told where she and the children had gone. According to Rudnick (2003) ill health is used as a signal by the ancestors to point out their displeasure in regards to inharmonious earthly relationships, or omissions between people and ancestors. This participant told her story and outlined the process that had to be followed in the quest for forgiveness, the result of which causes her to say "…*uxolo luyenziwa enhliziyweni*…" meaning that peace is made in the heart. Other important aspects that she had to consider in her own emotional wellbeing were the fact that to go on with life, she would have had to forgive the people that had violated her, in terms of chasing her away from her home, and stealing all her belongings.

4.4 Interconnection with ancestors

The interconnectedness of the land of the living to that of the living-dead is crucial to the lives of the living in the African worldview. As described in the first chapter, the living-dead refer to those who have died, and have entered the spirit world. They are no longer in the body, and yet they retain features which describe them in physical terms. According to Mbiti (1969), they are in the state of personal immortality. They are the closest links that humans have with the spirit world and are bilingual, speaking the language of other spirits, and also that of humans with whom they lived until recently. The surviving relatives of the person who has died wish to remember the person and therefore retain him in a state of personal immortality.

Paradoxically the living-dead are not welcome when they appear to the living. A distance between the living and the dead needs to be maintained, although there is an inter-dependence

between the two- living depending on the living-dead for intercession with God and spirits, and the living-dead needing to be held in the memory of the living (Mbiti, 1969).

One ceremony that is used to maintain the relationship between the living-dead and the living is *ihlambo*. Therefore, this theme is very important in terms of the practice of such ceremonies as *ihlambo*. The following extract explains why it is important for those who were displaced and what significance this had in terms of the relationship with the living dead.

Extract 31 refers to the fact that when people were forced to leave their homes, they did not have an opportunity to conduct rituals to inform the ancestors that they were departing from their ancestral homesteads.

Extract 31: Individual interview with priest from the Nazareth Baptist Church (Shembe)

IsiZulu	English
Kubaluleke kakhulu [ukuvalelisa uma uhamba]…ngoba ngesikhathi wakha ikhaya uqale ubike ukuthi sengithola lelinxiwa sengakha lendlu, yinto oyibikayo leyo. Ukukhuluma la ekhaya uma usuyiqedile indlu ngesikhathi usuyongena kuyona uzongena esibayeni usuthi ke nansi inkomo noma imbuzi uyibize ngokuthi yinkomo yenu[Yabalele] enginibikela ngayo lomuzi wenu hhayi owakho…ingani manjena inkolelo nje yethu yonke nokuphila kwethu kusekutheni bakhona ekhaya…phela ithuba alikho kuphela lapha uma kungasabuyeki uma sengithola ukuthi izihlobo zithi angakhe la ilapho ke engizothi uma ngakha laphaya ebesengifuna indlelana uma seyaphela impi ngize la enxiweni ngizothi baba nina nonke ekade ningibhekile kuleli khaya izitha zangikhipha la ngabaleka nazibona nani …futhi ngithi ngaphephiswa yinina ngoba nakhu ngisaphilile namhlanje ke sengiyonibikela la engigobe khona idlangala lomuzi wenu, ngizonilanda namhlanjenamanje ke ngizonithatha la senihluphekile ningangiboni kodwa phela beningibona ngoba ngangibalekele izitha. Sengiyitholile indawo yomuzi Bahlale benenkinga [abangawenzanga lowomcombi] inkinga yabo kuhamba	It is very important [to say goodbye] because when you build a home, you first inform them [the ancestors] that you are now building a home and where. That is very important. When you move into the house. You go into the kraal and allocate a cow to them [the living- dead], and tell them that this is the cow with which I invite you to your new home. <u>That is our belief and our way of life, we regard them as being in the home. What I mean is that if there is no chance for me to come back, if I am able to build a house, I must find a way after the war/violence to come back to the homestead, and tell the elders and those that are looking over me in this home, that the enemies have driven me out and you have kept me safe since I am still alive. I am here to tell you where your new home is; I am here to fetch you. You were weary because you could not see me- although you could see me because I was driven away by the enemy- I have prepared a home for you. Those who have not done this always have a problem</u>. Eventually they suffer and a traditional healer or a *sangoma* will tell them that there is nobody looking after them in their home. You are alone; your parents were left behind. You

kuhambe, uma beshayeka behlupheka ugcina uya ku mthandazi ayekokuhlolela noma isangoma siyokuhlolela sithi wena la ekhaya uzihlalele wedwa nje abazali bakho abekho basala emunva uqale phansi ubese wenza lomcimbi wokuyobalanda.	then need to go back and perform the ritual of bringing them to you.

Extract 31 emphasizes two important aspects of having a harmonious relationship with living dead. Firstly, the participant emphasizes that the home does not belong to the living, but the ancestors. Humans are guardians of the home and are responsible for taking care of it for those who has passed on. This shows an undeniable and unbreakable bond between the family and the living- dead of that family. Furthermore, this is the reason that these families cannot leave without telling the living-dead that they have left their previous home and are preparing a new home for the livingdead. If left undone, this results in ill health, poverty or general unwellness (Bojowoye, 2005; Ogbonnaya, 1994; Mayanja, 2004).

Secondly, there seems to be a sense of security that is associated with being with the people in your family that have passed away. This is especially so in terms of one's well-being and the the well-being of the family.In Extract 27, the the speaker argues that problems emanate from disconnection from the ancestors, which can be confirmed by consulting a spiritual medium (*isangoma*) or faith healer (*umthandazi*).Even though the living-dead may not perform miracles to remedy the need, humans experience a sense of psychological relief when they express their concerns before their seniors who are able to influence both worlds (Mbiti, 1969; Ogbannaya, 1994; Bojowoye, 2005).

Extract 32 below takes this understanding a step further. The participant gives a personal account of what happened when she left her home without telling the living-dead what had happened.

Extract 32: Individual interview with a middle-aged single mother

Isizulu	English
Mina ekhaya ngenza isiko lalayikhaya. Uma uhamba emzini kumele ngibatshele ukuthi ngiyaphi, ngizohlala isikhathi esingakanani. Manje indlela okwenzeka ngayo, wawungakwazi ukukwenza lokho. Kanjalo	When you leave your home, you must tell them [ancestors] where you are going, and for how long. But the way, in which things happened, you couldn't do that. Therefore, the elders in this home could not see us. They

ke <u>babengasiboni abalayikhaya. Uma befika, babengasifici.</u>Lokhu kwenza izinkinga [i]kakhulukazi empilweni yezingane. <u>Bayakufuna abasekhaya uma bengasakuboni nasegcekeni. Ngakho ke kwafanela ngenze isiko lokutshela abangasekho. Yingakho ke kwadingeka ukuthi ngibuyele ekhaya.</u>	<u>did not find us when they came. This caused</u> problems, especially in terms of the children's health. <u>The elders want to see you, especially when they no longer see you in the home. Therefore I had to come back home.</u>

Having spoken in the previous theme about re-establishing norms in the community, it was expected that *ihlambo* would allow people to come back to their homes to and to live life peacefully and without fear. The above-mentioned participant managed to come home when the process of peace in the community was being negotiated.

According to Mbiti (1969), the living-dead have a protective role in the family. Since they are still "people", they appear in the family from time to time and are guardians of family affairs, and may even warn of impending danger or rebuke those who have failed to follow instructions (Bujowoye, 2005; Ogbannaya, 1994; Obasi, 2002). It is said that they are the closest link between men and God, and therefore are able to intermediate between God and humans, and become channels of life and energy that come from God. (Mbiti, 1969; Mayanja, 2004). Mbiti (1969) goes on to say that although they may not perform extra-ordinary things to remedy the living's needs, a sense of the ancestors being with one is reassuring.

The sense of a struggle to get over, or move on from the violence is evident in these two extracts. We see that the main voice is that of coming together, or reconciling, not only as living people, but also for those who are dead. However, there is a contradiction that can be found in the following:

Extract 33: Focus group 4

IsiZulu	English
Umbuzo: Njengoba usishilo ukuthi abantu besifazane kunezizathu ezithile ukuthi kubekhona izinto abazenzayo kungabe iziphi lezozizathu?	Question: Since you have said that there are reasons that women should do certain things, what are those reasons?
Impendulo: Abantu besifazane ezintweni ezinjengezimpi <u>bayaye baqheliswe, izinto eziningi ezenziwayo ziyaphazamiseka uma kukhona abantu besifazane kuyaye kubulale amakhubalo asetshenziswayo</u> . Nakhona-ke la ekugezeni	*Response:* Women in things like war <u>are usually put aside</u>; many things get <u>disturbed if there are women</u>. It <u>destroys the medicine </u>that is used during these times. Even now when there is cleansing we do not need them so that nobody can turn around and say that the

abadingeki ukuvimbela ukuthi kungashiwo ukuthi akwenzakanga kahle ngoba kwakukhona abantu besifazane .Yebo bayobe bekhona babambe amanye amaqhaza abangawabamba. <u>Abantu besilisa bayobe bezenzela yonke into kodwa la sekunikezwa abantu ukudla ngamapuleti abantu besifazane sebengalibamba iqhaza.</u>	cleansing was not done properly because there were women around. Yes they will be there to do other tasks. <u>The men will do everything on their own, but when it is time to serve the food in plates, women can then play a role.</u>

The above extract detracts from the image of a unified community, working hand-in-hand, in order to restore peace. It points to the patriarchal nature of the community. While the men, especially those that fought, participate fully in the cleansing, women take on tasks like serving food, in the fear that they would contaminate the cleansing medicines. The author's is highly critical of the view expressed regarding women's role in the cleansing. This process seems to be undermining and unfair to women in the community, who have fought as hard, if not harder, to introduce peace to the community. Further, women had to bear the brunt of most of the violations in the past. These views lend themselves are biased against female participants, and therefore positioning men's experiences of the war as more important, or of deserving more attention, than females'.

However upon closer inspection, when one looks at the role of women in the African worldview, this situation becomes clearer. According to Ngubane (1977) women in this society are seen as people who are constantly in interaction with a mystical force because of their proactive and reproductive capability. This renders them prone to pollution since they have the important role of forming a bridge between the world of the living and the world of the deadand are therefore considered to be in marginal states. This ambiguous condition makes them dangerous because their presence generates doubt about normal and abnormal, and health and sickness (Ngubane, 1977). Although this is not fully explained by the participant, perhaps this is the reason that women are required to do tasks that seem to not be as important during the ritual.

Extract 34: Focus group 2

Yes they take the bile from the animals and talk to those dead people using incense. <u>They have to put bile in water and all people should wash their hands in the water: women, children and men, everybody will wash their hands to prove that there is peace in the family.</u>

As has been stated above, the respondents see themselves, not as individuals speaking solely about their own experiences, but as representatives of the community, speaking of things that happened to them and their families, their relatives, or neighbours, the chiefdoms in which they belong, etc. For them it is not a matter of what happened to individuals, rather what happened 'to us'. Therefore the individual interviews yielded more than personal accounts of surviving violence; it is the collective or shared experience that stood out.

4.5 *Ihlambo* as a healing process from a psychological perspective

According to Hay (1998; Bujowoye, 2005) rituals hold our lives together because they provide a space where we are linked to our past, contextualize our present, and show us the way to the future. Rituals are often a vehicle through which we (as individuals and communities) can express who we are as humans, helps us remember our story and express our belief about ourselves so that we can live with meaning, dignity and social cohesion. Hay (1998, p.137) goes on to say that rituals are sought to promote reconciliation and healing, and that it is rituals that can help "communities to mourn, heal, confront the past, exorcise the evil of the past, and celebrate forgiveness".

Psychological healing of human rights abuses would, in the context of these African communities involve the restoration of the harmony that used to exist before the violence. Healing occurs as a result of the restoration of the interconnection with each other, with the ancestors and with God (Eagle, 2004; Nyowe; 2006; Mbiti, 1969; Ogbannaya,; Phillips, 1990; Schmidt, 1997; Wessels and Monteiro, 2006). According to Ngubane (1977:27, as well as Bujowoye, 2005), good health means the harmonious working and coordination of man's universe, and does not manifest itself as a healthy body only, but as "a healthy situation of everything that concerns" the Zulu.

4.4.1 Symbolism

We turn to look at the psychological aspect of *ihlambo* and the hypothesis is that *ihlambo* carries, in its symbolism, psychological healing. The data gave a rich source of symbolism and is

important to look into it as it is part of *ihlambo*. Some of the symbolic gestures are, in no particular order slaughtering an animal, sprinkling of bile, burning of incense, and shaking of hands.

Extract 35:Focus Group 2

Yes they take the bile from the animals and talk to those dead people using incense. They have to put bile in water and all people should wash their hands in the water: women, children and men, everybody will wash their hands to prove that there is peace in the family.

And then there will be an animal like a goat, that meat that comes from this goat is called meat from isithebe since the family members were eating on different dishes but now because of the goat they eat on one dish (isithebe). They will eat together in every function because they have forgiven one another and have become one big family.

Extract 36: Individual interview with Nazareth Baptist Church (Shembe) priest

Isizulu	English
Sekuzothi uma lento senivumelene ngayo [uxolo] seniphumela ngaphandle sekumbiwa umgodi. Umgodi nje ozoshonaphansi. Sengibeka indishi la yamanzi ngifake noma ke lomlotha nempepho.	Once you have agreed [to make peace], you will then go outside, and dig a hole. This hole needs to be deep. You then place a container of water and add incense.
Umlotha uwuthatha eziko langaphakathi, nowangaphandle la ekuchithwa khona yila abahlanganela khona uma beza layikhaya, abangeni. <u>Ukuxabana nje kubenza ukuthi bangasakwazi ukukhululeka ukuthi bangene layikhaya.ngakho ke baye bahlale la ekuchithwa khona ezaleni.</u>	You get the ash from the fireplace that is inside the house and that from outside the house, where you throw away old ash-that is where they are gathered [the elders]. <u>Chaos/discord makes them unable to enter the house, and therefore they settle where one throws away rubbish.</u>
Ngakho ke ngenkathi nilanda wona-ke senibuye nithathe lo okuphekwe ngawo ngaphakathi nizowuhlanganisa niwufaka la endishini.	Therefore, when you fetch ash from the house, you must also get ash from your dumping ground and add it into the container.
Ebesekuthi lake emgodini senithathe lomlotha <u>lakuchithwa khona langaphandle nawuhlanganisa nalo wasendlini senifaka kule ndishi. Ngenkathi seniqeda ukugeza izandla, lo ophakathi kwenu useyanipha umlotha lo oyimpumphu kancane. Niyawukhotha niphimise nithi "ububi ebesiyibona namhlanje sesiyabuyeka". Usuthela emgodini.</u>	Then in the hole, <u>after mixing the two ashes to each other, after washing your hands,</u> the facilitator gives you a little powder ash. You then <u>lick the ash and say "the evil that we had become, we are leaving it today". You will then throw this in the hole.</u>

4.5.2 Slaughtering an animal
Extract 37:Focus group 1

If I understand it clearly if we are trying to make peace and there are those people that had fights before and killed one <u>another they need to slaughter an animal</u> and sprinkle each other with bile and shake hands.

The slaughtering of an animal is the first symbol that we encounter when we look at the *ihlambo* ceremony. According to Sigogo and Modipa (2004, in Hook, 2004), there is a significance in slaughtering an animal because it is believed that when a person dies, they are going on a long journey to another world and they need to carry food for themselves and for those people ahead of the deceased.

The blood from the animal also serves to connect the living with the dead. According to Ngubane (1977) blood from the sacrificial animal is referred to as *inxeba* (wound) and it is through this wound that important contact between the living and the dead is possible. It is the wound that takes animal life to give life to the sacrificing group (Ngubane, 1977).

According to Ngubane (1977) there are three parts of the sacrificial animal (which could be a goat or an ox) that are considered important. These are bile (*inyongo*), chyme (*umswani*) and the third stomach (*inanzi* or *incekwa*). According to Berglund (1976, p.129) "Sometimes it is the gall only that calls for the slaughtering. Again there is the chyme…sometimes it is this thing (the chyme) that is required most of all."

The chyme in the first stomach is considered to be a life giving element in the animal and is considered to get back life that has been threatened by *umnyama* or pollution. In as much as the sacrifice is done to contact the spirits, in cleansing killings the primary purpose is to rid the people of pollution (Ngubane, 1977; Burgland, 1976). This is the role of the chyme. This is also the part of the animal that is seen as a symbol of transformation. It is considered to be the colour of the shades/ancestors, being white, and is considered to washor cleanse one, so that they are like the ancestors (Burgland, 1976).

The third stomach (caecum) is where food enters as clean, but it is excreted as dirt. In a cow or goat that is to be slaughtered, this part of the body represents a space where what had been good (food) is transformed to what is rejected as waste matter. However we must regard it as food nonetheless, even though it has overtones of dirt (Ngubane, 1977). The caecum is said to be saturated with the ancestral presence as it has a longer contact with the spirits. Therefore it can only be consumed by the oldest woman in the family.

The bile is said to have "white" attributes, and therefore stands for all that is good, therefore when the participants sprinkle each other with it, they expect that it will bring light and good fortune (*ukukhanya nezinhlanhla*) (Ngubane, 1977). Furthermore the spirits of the ancestors are said to like the taste of the bile, and therefore will be in contact with those who have been sprinkled with it, or in this case, washing hands in water that has bile in it.

Extract 38: Focus Group 1

If people had a fight and they can't make peace with each other they need to <u>use a goat so that they can use the goat bile washing each other.</u> They have to <u>slaughter an animal, take out the bile and put it in a big basin full of water and wash their hands on that water that is the way to make peace, if they meet each other there will be no revenge between them.</u>

Extract 39:Focus group 2

<u>They have to put bile in water and all people should wash their hands in the water: women, children and men, everybody will wash their hands to prove that there is peace in the family.</u>

It is also important to note that everybody is required to wash their hands in bile. This shows the communal nature of the process. Furthermore there is an assumption that when the ancestors (who are now in contact with the people) are with them, the relationship is restored, and there should be harmony.

According to Bujowoye (2005) there are parts of the animal that is slaughtered that are separated for the ancestors, and the remaining parts are cooked for all to eat. Those who partake in the process find that they are feel personal empowerment, social isolation is broken, and a degree of identity through common observance is felt (Bujowoye, 2005).

In conclusion, it is important to note the significance of slaughtering animal as one of the most important aspects of *ihlambo*. This is not just done so that there is meat to eat, as has been explained. The biggest and most important task of the animal is the bile and the chime, which together are symbolic for cleansing and allow the ancestors to stay with the sacrificing group. Furthermore the *inxeba* (wound) serve to connect the living to the living-dead. This is a vital connection as it presupposes that good fortune as well as harmony will follow.

4.5.3 Burning incense
Extract 40:Focus group 2

"Yes they <u>take the bile from the animals and talk to those dead people using incense</u>."

The above participant speaks of incense as a means to communicate to those who are deceased. Communication with the deceased is important because it demonstrates that the living and they are still in contact with each other. According to Mkhize (2004), it is possible to enter into dialogue with ancestors using *impepho* According to Brugland (1976) *impepho* and the ancestors are said to be alike in that they do not wither away. It is also said to give clarity, and once one smells *impepho*, they do not easily forget.

4.5.4 Washing and Shaking of hands
According to Nolte-Schamm (2006), the shaking of hands signifies that the conflicting parties are now fused into 'oneness' – which is the symbol of return from 'separateness 'to 'communal' state of life. It is the expression of Humanness (*uBuntu*)that cements all fabrics of humanity together: individual, families, and communities.

According to Mosue (2000), washing after confessions is a symbol of washing off the debt *(icala)*. She (Mosue, 2000) perceives the cleansing after confessions as the representation of the

desire that the participants have to be reunited with their ancestors and to improving and maintaining better relationships among themselves. She goes on to say that this cleansing can be interpreted as a symbol of mutual acceptance and interdependence (Mosue, 2000). Other symbolic gestures involve doing something together again, for example, communal eating and shaking hands. According to Bujowoye (2005) this allows the people to share each other's burdens, and communalise their grief, thus finding outlets for their anxiety and ridding themselves of problems.

According Bojuwoye (2005, p. 63) psychological health or emotional health refers to a person who "integrates in, and contribute to, the community and continues to work at maintaining the balance, renewing order, and re-creating new forms of harmony". In other word when one is psychologically healthy, they are striving to be in harmony with the forces of nature interrupting them. The symbolism of *ihlambo*, from the slaughtering of an animal, to communicating to the ancestors through burning incense to washing and shaking of hands are all parts of the process of regaining psychological health, or harmonious relationships. Therefore this is what constitutes the psychological value of *ihlambo* as a cleansing ceremony.

4.6 Conclusion

What we have seen in the above story of the *ihlambo* cleansing ceremony are participants' perceptions of what the ceremonies meant the impact of the ceremonies and the critical symbolic gestures. This is an adaptation of a customary conflict-resolution process, previously used for households, being adapted to address a macro conflict with and across communities.

The project is aimed at exploring the psychological value of *ihlambo* for the survivors of violence KwaZulu-Natal. The aim was to bridge the gap between methods of peace and reconciliation and healing for survivors of violence that had already been tried such as the TRC, and indigenous cleansing ceremonies that the people seem to be more familiar with. The assumption was that the survivors of violence in Mbumbulu and Richmond would find meaning and healing in *ihlambo* that had been done for this purpose.

The results show that *ihlambo* is perceived as a method of reconciliation that is unique in that it shows itself to include a wide spectrum of actions that bring harmony to the community. Thus the participants give meanings of *ihlambo* that include *ihlambo* as a method of reconciliation (*ukuthelelana amanzi*), *ihlambo* as a means to remove war from the heart (*kungabikhona ukubukana ngeziqu zamehlo*), *ihlambo* as a means to gaining a new spirit (*Sibe nomoya omusha*), *ihlamb*o as a means to bring peace for those who are sleeping (the deceased), and *ihlambo* as a means to bring about economic development in the community (*ukungena kosomabizinisi*).

There are also intra individual, relational/interpersonal, familial and community benefits that the participant sees in *ihlambo*. These include i) restoration of the social fabric of the community, psychological benefits, restoration of interpersonal relationships through the ability to forgive on another, the reduction of taxi violence, the fact that youth are now able to attend any school that they wish to attend, and lastly, a sense of restored communal life.

The reconnection to one's family, community, and to one's cultural practices has also been noted as a major benefit for community members. In addition to this, *ihlambo* was also seen to contribute to psychological healing as well. This is because the symbols that are present in the whole affair embodies many psychologically significant aspects that speak to the survivors of violence in this context. This is done through the symbols of slaughtering animals, burning incense and the washing and Shaking of hands.

The conglomeration of these parts of *ihlambo* convey asense of not just a physical cleansing, but spiritual as well, which includes the living, the dead, and all that is important for African existence.

According to Edwards (no date), the core themes to consider in psychological in indigenous communities are those of ancestral consciousness, beliefs and practices, local views on illness and health, the role of cultural factors in illness and health and the role of rituals. He goes on to say that to heal in essence means to make whole and embraces both physical and spiritual aspects of humanity and involves some transformation from illness to health (Edwards, no date). *Ihlambo* does this through the process of the ritual, and has distinct ways of doing so. For example, the living and the dead are in communion through the blood of the animal that is

slaughtered and through the burning of incense. There is connection with other living people who are present at the ritual, and who are required to also be washed in the water that has bile in it, both to make sure that they are cleansed and for the ancestor to be with them. There is also shaking of hands which is a sign that those the community is committed to peace and are letting go of grudges.

Shortcomings of other conflict resolution strategies:

As has been stated by the literature, fundamental to any intervention regarding psychological healing and peace and reconciliation in the African context must be the centrality of the community rather than the individual, respect for tradition, a high level of spirituality and ethical concern, harmony with nature, the sociality of selfhood, veneration of ancestors, and the unity of being. The spiritual cosmology of African people means that they conceptualise any misfortune as a sign that there are spiritual stressor that are causing disharmony (Schmidt, 1997). This is not considered in models based on TRC, nor do systematic peace building model take this into consideration. However *ihlambo* at it very core considers this

As has been seen within the results and the discussion thereof, reinstates the unstable communities and families. It has also given the two communities the sense that relations among people can, and have been restored which is critical for these communities as they see life in an interdependent manner.

The TRC was not able to meet some critical needs of communities. Firstly it had limited support for survivors of violence especially those needing psychological assistance (Hamber, 1996). *Ihlambo* has bridged this gap by allowing groups of people to help each other. For example the symptoms of PTSD experienced by some have been reduced due to support from other community members. This also facilitates reintegration into ones community.

Secondly, the time constraints that are caused the TRC to hasten the peace process, meant that survivors of violence were unable to truly face the truth of what happened and to deal with it, and to reconcile (Hamber, 2006). *Ihlambo* on the other hand is an ongoing process. For example peace talks are held way before the sealing of the peace through *ihlambo*, which gives survivors time to heal.

Thirdly, there was a lack of justice when it came to the TRCespecially in KZN as political parties were not willing to accept blame for any of the atrocities. According to Hamber (1996) healing involves the admission of guilt and responsibility, in essence the truth about the event, before one can be forgiven. This was not the case. Although the mass *ihlambo* that was done for communities did not have people individually apologising and paying reparations for the damage they have caused, there is space for it and some of the participants said that they had done this with perpetrators of violence against them. Therefore there is a feeling of justice being served when *ihlambo* is performed.

The above understanding of *ihlambo* assists us to deal with problems that Western conceived trauma approaches are not designed to handle, which are probably better addressed by the conduct of purification rituals by local healers to get rid of bad spirits (Honwana, 2006; Nolte-Schamm, 2006; Schmidt, 1997; Wessels & Monteiro, 2006; Reynolds, 1990). Moreover, Wessels and Monteiro (2006) note that trauma approaches tend to view emotional problems as individual and as indicating a need for individualised treatment, which *ihlambo* does not do. It is preffered that individuals are treated within the family unit or the community (Bujowoye, 2005). This is not just a preference but a necessity according to Ogbannaya (1994). The communitarian process of healing means that one cannot be healed individually but communally.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This research was aimed at exploring the therapeutic value of *ihlambo* from the perspectives of community members, with the focus being survivors of violence from Mbumbulu and Richmond. Moreover, the study was aimed at demonstratinghow rituals such as traditional cleansing, results in the cycle of peace being complete. Therefore the study of *ihlambo* was not aimed at casting away current western perspectives, but at enriching them and our understanding of how these two paradigm's can assist each other in our attempt to facilitate healing for the survivors of violence.

To conclude the findings have shown that survivors have the following perceptions about *ihlambo*. The role of cleansing is important because the physical washing affects the emotional and spiritual parts of the self and one is holistically cleansed. It has been established in this research that the importance of African cleansing for African people is the basis for their existence. This is because of the holistic nature of the cleansing rituals. Besides uniting the living and the dead, rituals such as *ihlambo* are instrumental in bringing people of the community or family together. In many ways, it mediates relationships between, and has a strong influence on, the way individuals and families and communities treat each other.

Central to traditional healing, as was seen above, is reconnection through rituals. Healing works to connect the living with their ancestors, it connects communities together and it connects people to their land.*Ihlambo*re-establishes equilibrium and harmony, through re-establishing social relation, and re-integration of people in their communities. These factors are the basis for the healing for the survivors of violence. Therefore it can be concluded that the perceived meaning of African healing relies on the African belief of the connectedness of all things.

What this intervention has done is to promote discussion and active collaboration within the community, thus strengthening existing social ties, and a sense of unity as well as their capacity to work together (Lipsedge & Tanya, 2004).

5.2. Limitations

There are many aspects that could have benefited this research. Some of these were observed during the course of the research and recognition of some areas that could have been managed. Concerning the theoretical part of the process of *ihlambo,* experts more on the field could have been contacted to give expert points of view.

Interviewing the older generation who were involved in the violence was fruitful, but if the younger generation is also included, perhaps their understanding of *ihlambo* will give an indication of how they survived the violence as young children. Furthermore the inclusion of the youth could give us a sense of their understanding of the value of traditional systems epecially in the context of so much western influence.

For ease of understanding, this research has had to be presented in English. This causes loss of meaning in some instances and lack of proper discussion of concepts in other instances. It is my belief that it would have been best if at least the results and discussion were in IsiZulu as it is critical to understand this section completely to fully appreciate this work.

5.3. Implications for further research

Studies that pertain to African rituals enable psychological thought yet another view into the psyche of the African person, as well as giving an objective view to the spiritual realm of the person. This will aid in the integration of different approaches to mental health care. According to Higson-Smith (1999) as long as our thinking continues to be dominated by outdated (and often western) conceptual frameworks and models, prescription will not be enough to change the way we work. We need to find new ways of understanding the effects of war and disaster, otherwise we are unlikely to change the way in which we respond to these.

This study also helps us to gain a wider perspective of the context of Africa where war is rife and such conflict has led to widespread disharmony. Therefore such a study needs to be undertaken throughout Africa, but requires a lot of time. Therefore, the researchers must be prepared to take all the time needed to do justice to the project.

This study also helps us to gain a wider perspective of the context of Africa where war is rife and such conflict has led to widespread disharmony. Therefore it would be helpful to undertake comparative studies in other African countries where there has been war. This will take us another step closer to psychological healing in the contect of war in Africa.

5.4 Implications for theory

Ihlambo gives us a new way of thinking about and understanding African people in their context and their understanding of healing, peace and reconciliation. This is an alternative to mainstream psychology and needs to be taken into cognisance as it adds to the existing body of knowledge in psychology. The power that the community members ascribe to *ihlambo* shows without a doubt that the kinds of interventions that have been utilised so far are futile in the task of healing their trauma. This means that the Eurocentric means as well as Afrocentric ideas need to be given level ground to negotiate and dialogue from regarding the best practice for African people.

5.5 Implications for practice

Flint and Parle (2008, p. 312) assert that there is a need for practice of traditional health practitioners based on traditional philosophy defined as "indigenous African techniques, principles, theories, ideologies, beliefs, opinions and customs and uses of traditional medicine". There is a need for innovative treatments within broader patterns of longstanding therapeutic psychological afflictions such as *iqunga*. This is a particular for of madness which is a result of failing to carry out the necessary purification rituals after killing another person (Flint and Parle, 2008). Moreover there is a need psychologists and other mental health workers to understand and familiarise themselves with the realities of these kinds of afflictions if they are to work with African people.

5.6 Implications for Policy

The stance that has been taken by the government regarding psychological healing for the people of South Africa has been one of complaisance, irrespective of the fact that there was not even one person who was not affected by violence in south Africa in the 80's and 90's. This is worrying as people are still living with the trauma. The results from this research suggest that

there needs to be more collaboration with experts in African cleansing ceremonies to heal the nation. Otherwise the country is stuck in a state of disharmony, which leads to the continuation of current problems of crime, violence, underdevelopment and corruption.

5.7 Concluding remarks

In South Africa there is a need for healing the trauma of war and for people to be reconciled because of the devastating effects of violence that have been experienced. In order for this to happen approaches that are essentially spiritual and communal in nature, especially those that incoporate not just the living but the living-dead, and restore the harmony within these systems are essential. *Ihlambo* is one of these rituals. We have found it to have psychological value in its symbolism, and as a means to truly reconcile those who practice it.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Map of key political violence flashpoints in KwaZulu Natal
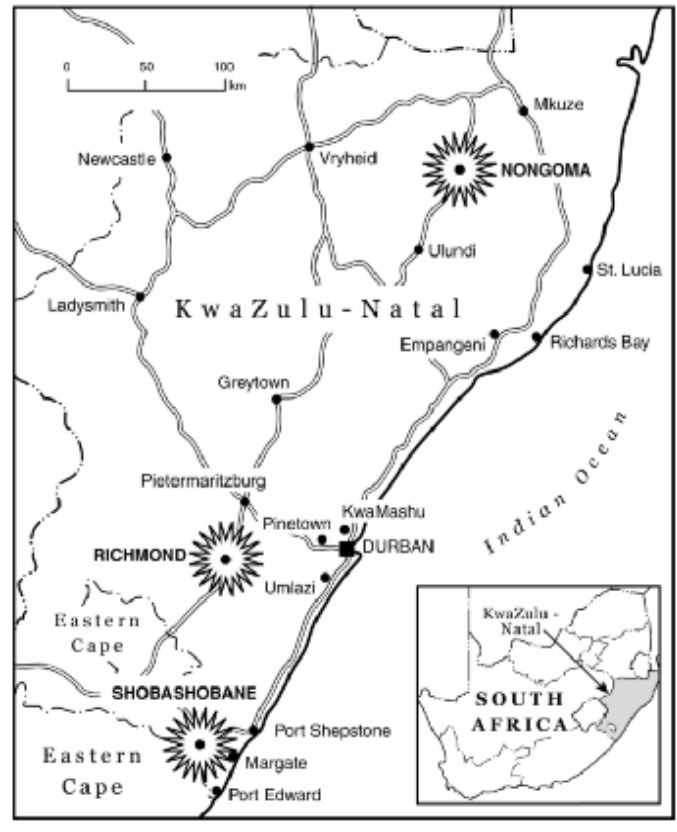
Map 1: Key political violence "flashpoints in KwaZulu-Natal. Adopted from Taylor (2002)

Appendix 2 Process of *ihlambo*

Retrieved from personal account of Mfundisi Maphumulo from the Shembe Church in *Mbumbulu.*

Firstly I would like to say that inhlambuluko (forgiveness) is for all people because people don't always see eye to eye. Even in our families, for instance my family as the Maphumulo family, sometimes my brothers and eye will not agree on certain things and that may result in a fight. Perhaps we may go to court or to an induna. Thereafter we may sense that we should not have fought like that, as brothers. When we realise that we are not what we should be, this is not right. People will see this, then try to destroy us and we will each suspect the other. When people see that we are not integrated, we do not agree, if someone beats you up at night, you will suspect me. So to stop that, lets us forgive each other sibuyisane. That is ukuhlambuluka. If the other person understands this and agrees, then we will forgive (sizothelelana amanzi) because we disagreed to the point that intervention was needed at court. Even our fathers who are no longer alive were worried when we were not on good terms. For them to see that we have forgiven, and are together, you must buy a goat, and I the same. Thereafter if you agree, then you burn incest, and while doing that, you tell them (fathers no longer living) that we have are forgiving each other for what has happened.

Sometimes the goats are switched, where the goat that I have sacrificed will go to my brother and his will come to me. That way we are reintegrating our family. In some cases people would not have been visiting each other even if there is *umsebenzi* that is, ritual ceremonies, because of the misunderstanding or fight. This makes right such situations.

Then there is *ukukhumelana umlotha*. If you are living in the same homestead, you take ashes from the fireplace because those who have passed on in the family live there (in the ashes). There must be a third person to facilitate the process. This person listens and if you agree, you are then led outside and a hole is dug. The hole should be the size of a bunch of bananas. While you are talking about this situation that you are in, you are preparing a dish of water. In this water there should be the ashes and the incense that was used to speak to the elders. You then mix in the water ashes from inside the house and ashes from outside. This is because when there are misunderstandings the elders move out of the house and to the outside ashes and hover around there, they meet there if they wish to visit us. They can no longer come inside and be free because of the fighting in the family. Therefore they stay outside where old

ashes are thrown out. So you take those ashes and those from inside the house, mix it in the dish. The third person listens to your nhlambuluko and you wash each others hands in the dish. There is a little left over ash that is not in the dish. This ash is ***ungafakiwe la kusho ukuthi lo oyimpuphu umlotha ngesikhathi seniqeda ukugeza izandla la eseyanathunga lo kancane ya ngesikhathi ethela la kuwena.*** You then spit out and say that the evil that we were, we spit into this hole. The other person does the same and says that the evil that had caused us to fight must end. You may then slaughter your goats.You then say that with this goat, my brother, we are sealing our forgiveness. The exchange of goats means that you are ***ukuhlanganisa.*** You then wash your hands over this hole and if the "facilitator" can pray, he prays the Zulu prayer he does so or otherwise just speaks to the elders. As he does so he fills the hole with earth, thus burying the evil that had caused you to fight.
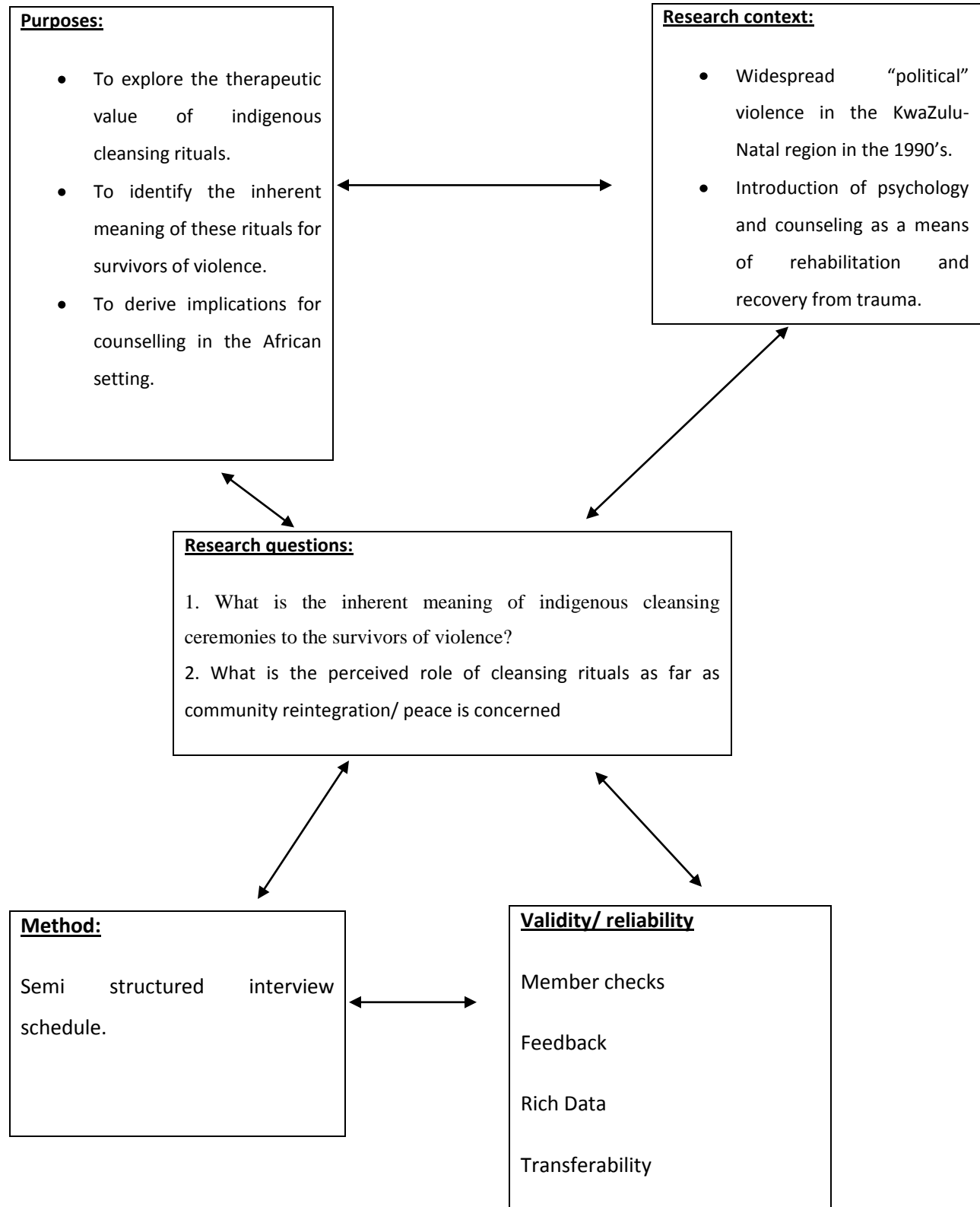
This is now a seal that you have forgiven each other for what has happened and the elders are now aware of that. It is important for the elders to know that you have reconciled because the next time you have a ceremony for them, they cannot attend because of the disharmony in the family.

In terms of people in a community fighting and there being disunity in the community, the chief is held responsible for that because the chief should be able to control his people. That is why if some people are fighting agsinst others, the chief has to be the one to intervene. This is because people will fight and kill each other if they do not respect the chief. That is why the chiefs of Mbumbulu had to be the ones in the nhlambuluko. With the power invested upon them by their people, they had to be the ones that represent their people in inhambuluko. That is why they had to buy cows for the cleansing ceremony. Even though Sinani[4] had invested a lot of money in the ceremony itself, the chiefs had to be the ones to buy the cows as a sacrifice otherwise the ceremony would have been useless.

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[4] NGO working in Mbumbulu as initiators of the peace process

Appendix 3: Conceptualization of study

Purposes:

- To explore the therapeutic value of indigenous cleansing rituals.
- To identify the inherent meaning of these rituals for survivors of violence.
- To derive implications for counselling in the African setting.

Research context:

- Widespread "political" violence in the KwaZulu-Natal region in the 1990's.
- Introduction of psychology and counseling as a means of rehabilitation and recovery from trauma.

Research questions:

1. What is the inherent meaning of indigenous cleansing ceremonies to the survivors of violence?
2. What is the perceived role of cleansing rituals as far as community reintegration/ peace is concerned

Method:

Semi structured interview schedule.

Validity/ reliability

Member checks

Feedback

Rich Data

Transferability

Appendix 4 Interview Schedule for individual interviews

The following questions will be used as the guide for the individual interviews

1. Wake waba omunye obandakanyekayo ekuhlukumezeni abanye ngodlame noma wake wahlukumezeka odlameni obelukhona emphakathini?

(Have you ever been a victim or a perpetrator of violence?)

2. Lokhu kwakuphatha kanjani wena, umndeni wakho nomphakathi wakho?

How did this affect you, your family and your community?

3. Yiziphi izinyathelo ezaezathathwa uwe, umndeni weakho nomphakathi wakho ukuze uthole ukulapheka?

What steps did you, your family and the community take towards the healing process?

4.Lokhu kwakusiza kanjani? How did this help?

5.Ichaza ukuthini inhlambuluko kuwena ngokomoya noma ngokwempilo yakho yomphefumulo? What does inhlambuluko mean to your emotionally or spiritually?

6. Uke eyenzelwe inhlambuluko? Have you ever participated in inhlambuluko?

7. Isho ukuthi isho ukuthini inhlambuluko kuwe nasemphakathini ophila kuwo.

  What is the meaning of inhlambuluko to you and your community?

8. Mawucabanga uma kwenziwa umcimbi wenhlambulukop, bangalapheka abantu ababethinteka odlameni alwalukhona? Kanjani?

Do you think that inhlambuluko has an effect on you and your community in terms of healing people who have been affected by violence and how?

9. Abantu ababethinteka ekuhlekumezeni abanye ngezikhathi zodlame, bangabuyiseleka emphakathini ngokuthi bahlambuluke?

Is it possible to intergrate perpertrators of violence back into their communities through the use of inhlambuluko?

10.Ngaphandle kokuthi umphakathi uhlanjululwe, zikhona ezinye izindlela ocabanga ukuthi umphakathi uwonke ungathola ukulapheka ngazo?

How else could the community be reintegrated so that peace and acceptance is restored?

11. Lukhona olunye ulwazi onganginika lona mayelana nokuhlanjululwa kwemiphakathi eyayithinteka odlameni ngaphambilini?

Is there any other information about how inhlambuluko is beneficial to communities that have been that you would like to share?

Appendix 5 Interview schedule for focus group interviews

Focus group 1 discussion guide

1. What did the cleansing ceremony mean to each one of you?

2. What changes have you noticed since the ceremony?

3. What did you enjoy about the day of the ceremony?

4. Are there any changes in the community that you expected but did not get?

5. What are other people in the community saying about the ceremony?

Focus group 2 discussion guide

IsiZulu
1. Umbuzo wokuqala uphathelene ngokwenzekayo ngosuku lomcimbi wokuthelelana amanzi noma ukukhumelana umlotha.
2. Kuzokwenzakalani emva kwalomcimbi noma izimpawu ezilandela emva kwalomcimbi.

3. USinani uma esiza umphakathi yiziphi izinto okumele aziqaphele.

<u>English</u>

1. The first category is about what takes place on the day of the actual event (cleansing ceremony)
2. The second category is about what will happen after the ceremony and what will be implications thereafter.
3. The third category is about what precautions Sinani should take when engaged in similar processes in the future.

Focus group 3 discussion guide

1. What does the cleansing ceremony mean to all of you, each and everyone one of you has a right to say what is on their mind about the cleansing ceremony, especially because we all witnessed it happening?"

2. What did you like about it, what did you not like about it?

3. What does it mean, how did it help you?

Focus group 4 discussion guide

<u>IsiZulu</u>

4. Umbuzo wokuqala uphathelene ngokwenzekayo ngosuku lomcimbi wokuthelelana amanzi noma ukukhumelana umlotha.
5. Kuzokwenzakalani emva kwalomcimbi noma izimpawu ezilandela emva kwalomcimbi.
6. USinani uma esiza umphakathi yiziphi izinto okumele aziqaphele.

<u>English</u>

4. The first category is about what takes place on the day of the actual event (cleansing ceremony)

5. The second category is about what will happen after the ceremony and what will be implications thereafter.

6. The third category is about what precautions Sinani should take when engaged in similar processes in the future.

Appendix 6 Informed consent forms (English and IsiZulu)

Ifomu lesivumelwano phezu kolwazi

Lapha uyacelwa ukuba ube yinxenye yocwaningo ngenhloso yokuthola ngokubaluleka ngokwezengqondo kwamasiko okuhlanza esintu kulabo abenza udlame nalabo abayizinkubela zokuhlukumezeka ezingqondweni.Lokhu kuzosisiza sikwazi ukweluleka nokushintsha izimpilo zalaboabenza udlame nalabo abayizunkubela zalo ezwenikazi i-Africa.Lesisifundo siphinde sihlose ukuthola izinga lokubaluleka kwamasiko esintu okuhlanza ekwenzeni labo abenza udlame ukuthi baphinde bamukeleke emiphakathini yangakubo.

Inqubo-mgomo

Uyacelwa ukuba uphendule imibuzo embalwa ezoqoshwa, ngemvume yakho.

Umcwaningi uzobe futhi ekubhala phansi lokho ozokusho, yikhona ezothola lokho okushoyo njengoba kunjalo.Ngemva kwalokho-ke imibono yakho naleyo yabanye ababe` yinxenye yaloluocwaningo izosetshenziswa ekuthatheni isinqumo ngokubaluleka ngokwezengqondo kwamasiko okuhlanza esintu.

Ubucayi nezindlela zokubunciphisa:

Ukuba yinxenye yaloluocwaningo kungaba nalobubucayi nokubambezeleka okulandelayo:

- Kungathatha imizuzu engama-45 kuya ehoreni elilodwa lesikhathi sakho.
- Kungenzeka uzwe sengathi ubuzwa imibuzo eminingi ongeke uthande ukuyiphendula. Khumbula ukuthi umcwaningi uzama ukuqondisisa kahlengemikhuba yesintu.Kodwa-ke ungazizwa uphoqelekile ukuphendula noma yimuphi walemibuzo.
- Kungenzeka uzwe kuthi ungaqhubeki nalolucwaningo ngenxa yokubuya kwemizwa yokuhlukumezeka eyake yaba sempilweni yakho, khululeka ngokuthi umazise umcwaningi. Awuphoqelekile neze ukuthi uqhubeke nocwaningo.

Imihlomulo nezindlela zokuyandisa:

Ukuba yinxenye yaloluocwaningo akunamihlomulo kodwa ulwazi olunikezayo lungasetshenziselwa ucwaningo lekusasa.Kodwa-ke uma – ngenxa yaloluocwaningo – udinga usizo lokululekwa ngokwengqondo, uzothunyelwa ku – FAMSA ukuze ukhulume nabo ngokuhlumezeka ozobe uhlangabezane nakho.

Ukubhekana nezezimali:

Uzokhokhelwa ngesikhathi sakho nezindleko zokugibela.

Inani labazoba yinxenye:

Sethemba ukuthi bazoba yisi-8 kuya e-10 abantu abazoba yinxenye yalolucwaningo.

Indawo:

Ucwaningo luzokwenziwa e-Mbumbulu

Ubumfihlo/ ungungaziswa:

Uzonikezwa inombolo, futhi zonke izimpendulo zakho azizukwaziswa muntu.

Alikho igama lomuntu noma imininingwane yakhe ezosetshenziswa ngesikhathi semibuzo.

Uma ucwaningo lushicilelwa emabhukwini igama lakho angeke lisethsenziswe futhi angeke waziwe.

Lonke ulwazi, nalolo oluqoshiwe luzogcinwa ngokuphephile futhi yiqembu labacwaningi kuphela elizofinyelela kulololwazi.

Inqubo-mgomo yokuvuma:

Uma usufundile waqonda konke okukuleli-fomu, thatha isikhathi ukubuza umcwaningi imibuzo mayalana nokuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo.Uma usuwazi ukuthi kulindelekeni kuwena, ungenza isinqumo sokuqhubeka noma ungaqhubeki nokuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo.

Uyazikhethela ukuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo.Ukhululekile ukuzikhethela ukuthi uyathanda noma awuthandi yini ukuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo.Ungakhetha ukuba yinxenye uma uthanda.Ungaluyeka futhi ucwaningo noma yinini, emva kokuzibandakanya, uma ungasafuni ukuqhubeka. Uma ungazibandakanyi, noma ukhetha ukushiya,angeke ulahlekelwe umhlomulo obungawuthola.

Uma ukhetha ukuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo, uzocelwa ukuba usayinde leli-fomu lukuvuma ukuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo.Uzophinda ucelwe ukusayinda elinye i-fomu lokunikeza imvume ukuba kuqoshwe izimpendulo zakho.Uma ungafuni izimpendulo zakho ziqoshwe, umcwaningi uzozibhala phansi.

Imvume:

A. Ukuvuma uzibandakanya nocwaningo:

Ngilifundile leli-fomu ngakhetha ukuthi mina,(igama lakho)...................…..………., ngizoba yinxenye kulomsebenzi (ucwaningo) ochazwe phambilini.

Ngiyavuma ukuthi umcwaningi,(igama lomcwaningi).., ungazisile ngenhloso-jikelele yalolucwaningo, inqubo, okungase kuhlonyulwe, ukubambezeleka kanye nobucayi obungaba khona. Ukusayina kwami kukhombisa ukuthi lolulwazi luchazwe ngokwenelisayo kimina, nanokuthi ngiyakuqonda okuqukethwe kuleli-fomu

Ngiyaqaphela ukuthi ngingahoxa noma yinini nangaphandle kwemiphumela engemihle.

Ngaphezulu kwalokhu, ukusayina kwami kukhombisa ukuthi ngilamukelile leli-fomu lokuvuma.

Sayina:………………………. Usuku:……………………

Ongakwazi ukubhala:

Khombisa ngo "X"……………………………………… Usuku:…………………………………….

Ufakazi ongachemile (sayina):………………… Usuku:…………………………………

Isihloko negama likafakazi ongachemile: …………………………………

Inombolo yocingo kafakazi ongachemile: …………………………………

B: Imvume yokuqoshwa:

Ngaphezulu kwalokho ngiyavuma ukuba kuqoshwe lemibuzo nezimpendulo.

Sayina:………………………. Usuku:……………………

Ongakwazi ukubhala:

Khombisa ngo "X"…………………… Usuku:……………………

Ufakazi ongachemile (sayina): Usuku:……………………

Isihloko negama likafakazi ongachemile: …………………………………

Inombolo yocingo kafakazi ongachemile: …………………………………

…………………………………. ……………………

Ukusayina komcwaningi othola imvume Usuku

Informed Consent Form (English)

You are being asked to take part in a study that seeks to explore the psychological value of indigenous cleansing rituals for both perpetrators and victims of trauma. This will help us to derive implications for counseling, and rehabilitation of perpetrators and victims of violence in the African setting. This study also seeks to determine the extent to which cultural/indigenous cleansing ceremonies may be a useful instrument in integrating perpetrators of violence back into their communities.

Procedure:

You will be asked to tell your answer a few questions through a self report which will be tape recorded if you agree. The researcher will also take notes while you are speaking, so that s/he is able to correctly capture what you are saying. Thereafter your views, together with those of other participants will be used to conclude whether there is psychological value in indigenous cleansing ceremonies.

Potential risk and risk minimization:

If you take part in this research, the following risks and inconveniences are possible:

- The research may take up 45 min-1hour of your time.
- You may feel that the researcher is asking too many questions that you may not want to answer. Remember that the researcher is only trying to find a rich understanding of indigenous practices. However do not feel obliged to answer any of the questions.
- You may feel that you do not want to carry on with the research because you feel that you are reliving the trauma. Feel free to let the researcher know. You are not obliged, in any way, to carry on with the research.

Potential benefits and benefit maximization:

Participation in this research will not benefit you directly but your data may be used for future research. However if, as a result of you the study, you need counseling will be referred to SINANI.

Economic considerations:

You will be reimbursed for your time and travel expenses.

Recruitment:

We hope that approximately 8-10 volunteers will participate in this research.

Location:

The research will be conducted in Umbumbulu.

Confidentiality/ anonymity:

You will be assigned a code, and all your responses to the questions will remain anonymous. No names or identifying details will be used during the interview.

If the research is published your name will not be used and you will not be identifiable.

All data, including tapes of recorded interviews and transcripts will be securely stored and only the research team will have access to the data.

Consent procedures:

Once you have read and understood the information in this form, you should take time to ask the researcher any questions about participating in the research. Once you know what is expected of you, you can decide whether on not to take part.

Participation in this research is voluntary. You are free to decide whether you would like to take part in the research or not. You may decide to take part if you wish. You may also leave the research at any time, after enrolling, if you do not want to continue. If you do not enroll, or if you decide to leave, you will not lose any benefits would normally have gotten.

If you decide to take part in this research, you will be asked to sign this formal consent form.

You will also be asked to sign a separate consent to tape recording of your responses. If you do not want your response to be tape recorded, the interviewer will make notes of you response.

Authorization:

A. Study consent:

I have read this form and decided that I, …………………………, will participate in the project previously described.   (name of participant)

I acknowledge that the researcher, ……………………….., has informed me of its

(name of researcher)

general purposes, procedures, possible benefits, inconveniences and possible risks.

My signature indicates that this information has been explained to my satisfaction and that I understand the contents of this form.

I am aware that I may withdraw at any time without adverse consequences.

In addition, my signature indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form.

Signature:……………………….   Date:……………………

For illiterate subject:

Mark with an "X"……………………   Date:……………………

Independent witness (signature):   Date:……………………

Title and name of independent witness: …………………………………

Telephone number of independent witness: …………………………………

B: Tape recording consent:

In addition I consent to the tape recording of this interview.

Signature:……………………….   Date:……………………

For illiterate subjects:

Mark with an "X"……………………   Date:……………………

Independent witness (signature):   Date:……………………

Title and name of independent witness: …………………………………

Telephone number of independent witness: ……………………………….

…………………………………….   ……………………

Signature of researcher obtaining consent   Date