The role of the church in supporting people

who are bereaved

A cross-cultural comparison between Norway and Kenya.

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Preface

This study is a result of a profound interest in and respect for the human life and an awe for the ways of God. I feel privileged having had the opportunity to spend a great amount of time learning more about life and death. It has not been easy, as most students doing a master's would recognize. However, it has been a great experience, and the road has been affordable due to great people surrounding me.

First, I would like to thank the many respondents who willingly shared their stories, even though the topic touched painful memories. The hosts in the churches under study, both in Norway and Kenya should also receive thanks, names not being mentioned due to anonymization of the respondents. Thank you for showing interest for my project, and for assisting me in the planning stage. I would also like to appreciate the congregation in Mathasia, Kenya who made me feel welcome when I came to their country. Even though I didn't end up doing my research in your church, you taught me a lot, and I truly appreciate your hospitality.

Hospitality was also shown by the many friends I made at St. Paul's University, Limuru, Kenya. Thank you for taking care of me, introducing me to your rich culture, and teaching me useful swahili phrases with patience. Even though many names could be mentioned, I would especially like to appreciate Milka Kabuu, Simon Khayala and Linet Tanui.

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Last, but not least I would like to thank my fellow students both in Norway and Kenya for encouraging me and challenging me, and supporting me in trivial everyday problems during the research period. My mom, dad and brother for patiently reading my thesis and giving me advise and corrections on my English, as well as plenty of encouragement. Sara Angelica Spilling for providing a photo for the front page of the thesis. I also send a special thanks to the great girls in Neuberggate!

Oslo, August 2011 Anna Spilling

Abstract

Grief is a universal reaction to a bereavement experience. Nevertheless, the universality does not imply that grief reactions are similar all over the world. Cultural, religious and personal variations result in grieving patterns that may coincide within one context, while at the same time norms of another culture may categorize such grieving as pathological. Individual differences also occur within one and the same culture. In accordance with the variations in grief reactions, the support needed will also vary. This study seeks to give a cross-cultural presentation of the church role in supporting people who are bereaved. It takes place within a specific church context in Norway and Kenya resepctively. The study examines cultural variations in grieving, main sources of support, the role of the church in supporting bereaved, and finally the diaconal justification of this support given by the church.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Through the first year of study in diakonia, the researcher was introduced to grief counselling as a ministry and was presented to a church where they had a strong emphasis on assisting bereaved people in their healing process. Not having much experience with it, the researcher found it interesting to learn more about this part of the diaconal work, especially through the time of practice during the second semester of the study.

In addition to this the researcher has long been interested in the cross-cultural relations between people both within Norway, but also across national boarders. This led to an exchange semester in Kenya, where the researcher had the opportunity to include one semester of Development Studies in the master's degree in Diakonia.

This combination of diakonia and international experience has been perfect, as the researcher wishes to focus on the diaconal work internationally. Therefore the master's thesis will cover a topic cutting across these fields. The study will explore how the church can be a support to people who are experiencing times of hardship, in this case the loss of a loved one. It will also examine how this support may be expressed differently depending on the context in question. On this foundation the following research title has been formulated:

The role of the church in supporting people who are bereaved: A cross-cultural comparison between Norway and Kenya.

1.2. Introduction of the topic

Death is a natural part of life, and so it follows that grief will be a part of the life of every person, to different extents. The hard reality may come as a shock, or it may be expected. Either way, "grief is the term applied to the primarily emotional (affective) reaction to the loss of a loved one through death. It is a normal, natural reaction to loss (...)"¹. The

¹ Stroebe, Margareth S., Robert O. Hansson, Henk Schut, and Wolfgang Stroebe, *Handbook of Bereavement Research and Practice: Advances in Theory and Intervention* (Washington DC: American Psychological Assosiation, 2008), 5.

grieving itself may have a variety of expressions, depending on the person, the circumstances etc. In brief, there are about as many ways of grieving as there are people grieving.²

From the perspective of the individual, a bereavement experience can affect the mental health of a person in various ways, and it will most likely turn the life of the bereaved up side down.³ Grief over losing a loved one can lead a person into depression, loss of meaning in life and a desire to give up. In such times, support from family and friends is important for the bereaved in order for him or her to go through a healthy grieving process.

From the perspective of the church we can say that assisting and counselling people in grief may be one of the ways in which the church cares for its members, and also reaches out to the surrounding community. As a part of the pastoral care of the church, grief work may have the function of empowering people through helping bereaved to find strength in times of hardship. Grief counselling deals with a fundamental part of being human, and through love, compassion and practical assistance the bereaved may be able to gain hope for the future. The emphasis on grief work and the church role in supporting people who are bereaved varies across denominations and cultures, and this is part of what this reseach intends to explore.

1.3. Research Problem

A number of churches in Norway have adopted a concept of grief counselling groups for people who are struggling with issues related to grief. The support system for bereaved is becoming increasingly structured, both in terms of counselling groups and individual counselling. The church is involved as a support in the grieving process, while the fellowship as such may not be remarkably strong. On the other hand, the researcher had the impression that in Kenyan churches the fellowship and the commitment to the community is strong, and that this gives an important support when tragic life events

² Dyregrov, "Myter om sorg" in *Dagens Medisin* 2002, Nr. 13, accessed through http://www.dagensmedisin.no/nyheter/2002/08/15/myter-om-sorg/index.xml, publ. 15.08.02, acc. 21.01.11.

³ As discussed in: Margareth Stroebe and Wolfgang Stoebe, *Bereavement and Health: The psychological and physical consequences of partner loss* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

occur. Specific routines for assisting in grief work however, are not a familiar concept.⁴ Through this study the researcher will examine two specific cases that highlight the cultural variety of ways to cope with and assist in grief, and critically analyse these practices in light of the theoretical framework.

The researcher believes that the traditions in the two cultures to be compared each possess something of great value when it comes to knowledge of grieving procedures, and also in the responsive action of the church community. It is important to acknowledge these strengths, and simultaneously be open as to what the two cultures can learn from each other.

1.4. Research Objectives and Questions of the Study

1.4.1. General Objective

To examine how two churches located in different cultural contexts relate to issues of grieving, and observe the role of their diaconal ministry in supporting the bereaved.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

- 1. To compare narratives of bereavement from the two contexts.
- 2. To examine the main sources of consolation for bereaved in the two cultures.
- 3. To compare how the respective churches relate to people who are bereaved.
- 4. To examine the diaconal self-understanding of the congregations in relation to the practice of support to bereaved.

1.4.3. General Research Question

What role may the church have in supporting people who are bereaved? A cross-cultural comparison between Norway and Kenya.

⁴ These are assumptions of the researcher, based on a conversation with the pastor in a Lutheran Church outside Nairobi.

1.4.4. Research Questions

- 1. What is the distinction in how the respondents from the two cultures describe their grief?
- 2. What are the main sources of consolation for bereaved in the cultures in question?
- 3. How do the respective churches relate to people who are bereaved?
- 4. How can one understand the diaconal self-understanding of the respective churches in light of the findings?

1.5. Justification and limitations

Cross-cultural challenges are important to consider in an increasingly globalized world, especially when it comes to pastoral care handling sensitive matters of life and death. Being a comparative study, this thesis is merely a contribution of description, in order to understand how cultural differences *may* manifest themselves in a specific area of life. It is not aimed at giving a representative outcome. However, it may serve to highlight some of the challenges one faces as a church worker in either Norway or Kenya in meeting bereaved individuals from different parts of the world.

Many studies have been carried out on the topic of grieving, also in a cross-cultural aspect. However, in this study the researcher is interested in pinpointing specific differences by studying cases in two separate cultures. In these cases an observation will be made on what role the church plays in assisting individuals who are bereaved. One important function of the church when someone dies is to organize funerals. In this study however, the focus is more on what involvement the church has *beyond* this, through other charitable services. The study would have benefitted from a larger sample cutting across several congregations in each culture, but limited time and resources did not permit such an extension of the scope.

Grief is a term that includes reactions to all types of loss. This research will only deal with grief that is related to the loss of a loved one through death. There are many factors that affect the practice of the churches in this regard, and the picture is complex. To meet the objectives this study will keep focus on the diaconal ministry of the church, as well as the cultural conceptions of grief and bereavement.

The researcher believes this study can serve as a foundation for further studies on the importance of church support in cases of bereavement, for instance by comparing the findings from this research to one on grief support outside the church, or examining the actual impact of the charitable services of the church on people's grieving processes. Conducting this same research in other cultural contxets would also make a good contribution.

1.6. Conceptual Framework

The central concepts are diakonia, grief and bereavement. The diaconal ministry of the church is presumed to have an impact on the well-being of the bereaved. The church fellowship, through its diaconal ministry, is the independent variable that is expected to influence the grieving process. The dependent variable, being the grieving process, will be assessed by a self-report on the well-being of the bereaved. Due to the limitations of this study, the researcher does not have the intention to measure or operationalize the church support or the grieving process.

1.6.1. Diakonia

The researcher chooses to use the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) declaration when defining diakonia as this is a common ground for the churches under study. According to LWF diakonia is an important dimension of being a church, together with proclamation of the Word and celebration. Diakonia is founded in the triune God, and is both expressed through the individual practice of diakonia, and through the organized ministry of the church.⁵

Diakonia is central to what it means to be the church. As a core component of the gospel, diakonia is not an option but an essential part of discipleship. Diakonia reaches out to all persons, who are created in God's image. While diakonia begins as unconditional service to the neighbor in need, it leads inevitably to social change that restores, reforms and transforms.⁶

⁵ LWF, *Diakonia in context* (Geneva, 2009), 29.

⁶ The Lutheran World Federation, "Diakonia", <u>http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/themes/diakonia</u>, (n.d.), acc. 14.06.11.

Diakonia is the service of individual Christians, or the church as a whole to those within and outside the Christian fellowship. It is part of the wholistic mission of the church, concerned with the spiritual, physical and mental welfare of individuals, based on the love of God.

In the churches under study, the extent of diaconal self-understanding varies. One intention is to examine whether there is an evident diaconal self-understanding and how (or whether) it is expressed in terms of grief counselling and support to bereaved.

1.6.2. Grief, mourning and bereavement

As previously mentioned grief is a natural response to loss, and it may take different expressions depending on the individual who has been bereaved, the culture and the circumstances as a whole. The visible expressions of the grief are also understood as *mourning.* Stroebe and Stroebe (1987) differentiate the terms bereavement, mourning and grief in the following way:

"Bereavement refers to the objective situation of an individual who has recently experienced the loss of someone significant through that person's death. Bereavement is the cause of both grief and mourning. *Grief* is the emotional (affective) response to loss, which includes a number of psychological and somatic reactions. It has been defined as an emotional syndrome (Averill, 1979; Lindemann, 1944), that is, a set of responses covarying in a systematic way. While some responses may be more symptomatic of grief than others, no single response is essential to the syndrome. *Mourning* refers to the acts expressive of grief. These acts are shared by the mourning practices of a given society or cultural group, which serve as guidelines for how bereaved persons are expected to behave."⁷

Kastenbaum (2008) brings about the significance of differentiating between the noun grief and the verb grieving, where the latter is more adequate to be used when reviewing bereavement research. The verb *grieving* compells us to preserve the connection between theory and lived experience.⁸

In this study the term *mourning* is not central, partly because there is no distinction in the Norwegian language for the terms grief and mourning, and partly because the

⁷ Margareth Stroebe and Wolfgang Stoebe, *Bereavement and Health*, 7.

⁸ Robert Kastenbaum "Grieving in Contemporary Society" in Stroebe et al., *Handbook of Bereavement Reseach* and Practice, 67-85 (Washington DC: American Psychological Assosiation, 2008), 72.

researcher is more focused on the long-term experience of grief, not mainly the first period following the bereavement. Still, mourning is part of the grief, and is therefore mentioned.

1.7. Methodology

In this study the researcher will compare how the church relates to bereaved individuals in their parishes in Norway and Kenya, mainly by taking the perspective of the bereaved themselves. By doing an empirical study the researcher wishes to achieve a better understanding of the factors that can vary in the church approach to people in grief in the two cultures. The aim is to explore the different cultural conceptions of grief, and also pinpoint patterns to cope with the grief, connecting it to the support given by the church. In order to make the comparison less complicated, the study will take place within one denomination, being the Lutheran. Even though the culture as a whole differs between Norway and Kenya, the confession of the Lutheran church in these places is somewhat the same.

The methodology for this research is based on qualitative in-depth interviews of a sample of bereaved. In addition to this, the researcher will gather information from pastors or other church leaders in the respective churches through interviews and informal conversations. The sum of these interviews, conversations and observations will serve as the basis for the analysis and comparison.

The main tool in the field, in addition to the researcher herself, is an interview guide that is tailored to the context in question. The researcher developed one interview guide in English and one in Norwegian, taking into account the cultural factors that may have an effect on a grief situation, such as the socio-economic status of a woman that has recently been widowed. In order to process accurate data, the researcher will record all interviews, and transcribe them shortly after the field work periods.

Being a study of descriptive and comparative character, the research will be conducted without a hypothesis. The research questions are sufficient in guiding the researcher to the right research method and design.

1.8. Literature

Handbook of Bereavement Research and Practice (2008) edited by Stroebe et al. has contributed with the main literature for this research. In this binding the editors have gathered articles that give guidance to research projects on grief related issues. They present several of the theories that relate to the topic and list general issues one might face in doing research on grief and bereavement. Margareth Stroebe et al. have also done interesting research on whether counselling and disclosure of emotions actually facilitate recovery from bereavement in the article "Does Disclosure of Emotions Facilitate Recovery From Bereavement?"⁹ Rosenblatt (2008) is one researcher who has addressed cross-cultural aspects on grief and bereavement. And Nwoye (2005) has contributed with theories of grieving in African cultures in specific.

For the methodology the researcher mainly used Kvale and Brinkman's *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju* and an article by Anne Ryen on "Cross-cultural Interviewing".

The aim of the research is to explore the church role in supporting bereaved in two distinct contexts. The topic will be approached empirically by the use of primary, indepth data gathered through interviews and some observation, as well as secondary data gathered from other studies on related topics. The empirical data collected in the field is to be analysed in light of theories from relevant literature.

1.9. Ethical Considerations

As the study handles a sensitive topic, the researcher had to be cautious when collecting and dealing with the data. All responses have been anonymized, avoiding names and other information that may identify the respondents.

When communicating with the respondents, the researcher was clear on the individual's right to withdraw from the research at any point of the study. The objectives and the methodology of the study was presented before starting the interviews, so that the respondents would be prepared for the study they were partaking in. This is what Kvale

⁹ Margareth S. Stroebe et al. "Does Disclosure of Emotions Facilitate Recovery From Bereavement? Evidence from Two Prospective Studies", *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* (The American Psychological Association, Inc., 2002).

and Brinkmann (2010) refer to as informed consent.¹⁰ The researcher was committed to NSD guidelines in collecting and handling data throughout the study.

When speaking of religious views, the researcher made an effort to be as objective and sensitive as possible. This concern was more important in the Norwegian context, where religious views are considered to be a private matter, as Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) points out.¹¹

As this is a cross-cultural study, where the researcher is part of one of the cultures described, it was a challenge to uphold as much of an objective perspective as possible, avoiding any form of ethnocentrism. The researcher sought to be neutral in the descriptive presentation of the two contexts, and have in mind the risk of being biased when analysing the data. Also in the field, considerations were taken with regard to cross-cultural differences. A great amount of time was spent by the researcher in Kenya, in order to become more conversant with the cultural codes, like non-verbal communication and etiquette.¹² This was also part of the effort to establish rapport amongst the respondents and the congregation where the study was conducted.¹³

In order to conduct research within the borders of Kenya, the researcher applied for a research permit at the National Council for Science and Technology (NSCT). The field work was initiated as soon as the authorization was obtained.

1.10. Structure of the thesis

In Chapter Two the researcher will present a theoretical framework for the study, handling theories of grief and bereavement in general terms as well as in a cross-cultural perspective. Theories of the role of religion in bereavement will also be presented. Following this section, in Chapter Three, there will be a presentation of the methodology used.

¹⁰ Steinar Kvale and Svend Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2010) 88-89. in Norwegian for informed concent is informert samtykke.

¹¹ Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste [Norwegian Social Science Data Services], <u>http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/begreper.html</u>, acc. 14.06.11.

¹² Kvale and Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 156.

¹³ Anne Ryen, "Cross-Cultural Interviewing", in *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, ed. by Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein, 335-354 (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2001), 337.

Chapter Four gives a brief overview of the contexts in which the field work was conducted, before the findings are presented in Chapter Five. Finally, two chapters are set aside for discussion (Chapter Six) and conclusions/recommendations (Chapter Seven).

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Grief in Light of the Attachment Theory

With his attachment theory, Bowlby is known for interpreting grief in evolutionary terms. His theories have long been acknowledged in the research field. The attachment theory holds as a central principle that there exists an inborn system within all human beings, driving them to establish relationship to significant others, and seeking proximity to these attachment figures in times of need. This is termed *the attachment behavioral system*, and serves as a protection against threats.¹⁴ Initially, Bowlby's focus was on the early years of human life. However, he also claimed that age was not a hinder to the forming of attachment bonds, and especially emphasized the role of a spouse in relation to attachment in adulthood. An attachment figure is, regardless of age, a person that offers support, love, protection and security to the other part. A broken bond induces a feeling of pain and despair on the one left behind.

Bowlby claimed that there was a pattern of three stages in children's reaction to the loss of a primary care giver: protest, despair and detachment. In later studies, he observed that adults go through the same stages in the case of a partner loss, with a slight variation in the last stage of *detachment*, which for adults was termed *reorganization*. This reorganization was considered the ideal outcome of a grieving process, with *hyperactivation* and *deactivation*, two central terms in the attachment theory. It involves an acceptance of the death, a re-entry into daily activities and forming new attachment bonds (deactivation) as well as it simultaneously seeks to maintain a symbolic attachment to the attachment figure lost (hyperactivation).¹⁵

¹⁴ Mario Mikulincer and Philip R. Shaver, "An Attachment Perspective on bereavement", in *Handbook of Bereavement Research and Practice: Advances in Theory and Intervention*, ed. by Margareth S. Stroebe, Robert O. Hansson and Wolfgang Stroebe, 87-112 (Washinton DC: American Psychological Assosiation, 2008), 89.

¹⁵ Mikulincer and Shaver, "An Attachment Perspective on bereavement", 94.

2.2. The Dual-process Model

Critiques have risen to this view on grief, claiming that grief is a lifelong, continuous process, not merely a process of predictable stages. Shuchter and Zisook (1993) emphazise the individuality in grieving. They argue that the grief theories have been overly simplified in the past, dividing the process of grieving into certain stages that are expected to follow each other chronologically, or certain patterns of reactions that are viewed as a norm. As we have seen, Bowlby is one of the spokesmen for such a theory.¹⁶

One model that advocates for an alternative theory is the dual-process model (DPM), presented by Stroebe and Schut (1999). It states that grief work is a process, consisting of two individual "sub-processes" occurring simultaneously. Both the loss-oriented and the restoration-oriented coping are equal parts of the everyday life of the bereaved. Children are typical examples of how the bereaved can oscillate between different reactions, one moment expressing the grief clearly, and the next moment playing in the field, apparently unaffected.¹⁷

When presenting this theory, Stroebe and Shut wanted to avoid a unilateral emphasis on grief work or cognitive restructuring¹⁸, because they held the opinion that cognitive restructuring is only one of two different ways to cope with bereavement, namely the *loss oriented.* The other way of coping with grief is the one that focuses on *restoration*, and turns the focus away from the loss itself.¹⁹ Archer further explains:

These are not merely alternative coping styles that different people use, although there are individual differences; they also occur within the same person as alternating (or oscillating) processes. Both are important for the eventual resolution of grief. Avoidance and mitigation allow the individual to operate in the world and to rebuild his or her life, whereas confronting the loss internally allows restructuring of the mental representations of the lost relationship.²⁰

¹⁶ Stephen R. Schuchter and Sidney Zisook, "The Course of Normal Grief" in *Handbook of Bereavement: Theory, Research and Intervention,* ed. by Margareth S. Stroebe, Wolfgang Stroebe, and Robert O. Hansson, 22-

^{43 (}Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993).

¹⁷ Sroebe and Schut, presented in a lecture at MF Norwegian School of Theology 13.11.09.

¹⁸ Cognitive restructuring is a term used to describe the process of replacing "irrational, counter-factual beliefs with more accurate and beneficial ones". Retrieved at Wikipedia, The free encyclopedia, <u>http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cognitive_restructuring</u>, publ. 05.03.11, acc. 15.06.11.

¹⁹ John Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", in *Handbook of Bereavement Research and Practice: Advances in Theory and Intervention*, ed. by Margareth S. Stroebe, Robert O. Hansson and Wolfgang Stroebe, 45-65, (Washinton DC: American Psychological Assosiation, 2008), 59.

²⁰ Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", 59.

Although Mikulincer and Shaver (2008)²¹ claim a match between Bowlby's attachment theory and the dual-process model (comparing hyperactivation and deactivation as conceptually similar to loss orientation and restoration orientation), the dual-process model is more precise in describing grief as a life-long process, versus a rigid set of stages. DPM is an adequate theory to describe how a person can reduce levels of distress caused by bereavement, although it is not yet comprehensively tested, as Archer points out.²²

2.3. Grief and Grief Work

In the Western world, represented by Norway in this study, the generally accepted notion is that the experience of bereavement requires some kind of *grief work* for a person to recover from the the loss of a loved one. Theories about this were brought about by Sigmund Freud in 1957 (originally 1917), and have been influencing grief and bereavement theories in the following decades.²³ In the field of counselling, it is included as an important subject, as Stroebe et al. express:

...it is widely accepted by both lay persons and bereavement professionals that the bereaved must do their "grief work." Failure to confront the intense emotions that accompany the loss is considered maladaptive.²⁴

According to Freud the bereaved must separate their thoughts and feelings from the deceased person in order to move on in their life. Only through such active process of detachment may the bereaved finally experience improvement in their health condition.²⁵

However, when crossing cultural borders it is evident that grief work is not necessarily universal thinking. Stroebe (1992/93) questions whether the Grief Work Hypothesis can be applied independent of culture and context, and documents that there are a number of alternative patterns to cope with grief apart from disclosure of emotions and

²¹ Mikulincer and Shaver: "An Attachment Perspective on bereavement", 96.

²² Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", 58.

²³ Margareth Stroebe et al., "Does Disclosure of Emotions Facilitate Recovery From Bereavement?", 1.

²⁴ Stroebe et al. "Does Disclosure of Emotions Facilitate Recovery From Bereavement?", 1.

²⁵ Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", 45.

confrontation of painful feelings. The author also counters the generally accepted notion that grief work is required in order to avoid pathological grief.²⁶

Schut et al. (2001)²⁷ have done studies proving that bereavement interventions were only remarkably effective for those who sought professional help themselves, the majority of these people suffering from complicated grief. Complicated grief is a term used to describe those cases that do not concur with the norm in terms of duration or intensity of symptoms of grief. Summarizing one of their studies, Schut et al. suggest that in "cases of uncomplicated bereavement the bereaved have to cope with their loss in their own time and their own way. Although social sharing and emotional disclosure can be regarded as helpful, they do not seem to accelerate the grieving process."²⁸ Again, one is reminded of the individuality of grief.

According to Archer (2008) "there seems to be little evidence that disclosure of emotions to others lead to better adjustment following bereavement."²⁹ Meanwhile, subsequent health benefits seem to be related with whether the bereaved have been able to change their thinking patterns and increase their level of insight. Archer refers to Pennebaker, Mayne, and Francis (1997) who in their study assessed thinking patterns by the level of insight or the use of causal words, and found that a change in thinking patterns contributed to subsequent improvement in health. Further, they examined whether expressing negative emotions had a positive effect on the grieving process and found that this was not the case. In fact they observed a connection between expression of negative emotions and detriment in health. According to Pennebaker et al. cognitive reframing of a tragic incident is crucial if disclosure is to affect the psychological regulation and health. Finding a way to ascribe meaning to a bereavement experience is therefore critical for the post-bereavement health outcome.³⁰

²⁶ Margareth Stroebe, "Coping with bereavement: A review of the Grief Work Hypothesis", *Journal of Death and Dying* (Vol 26, No 1, 1992/93).

²⁷ Referred to in Stroebe et al. "Does Disclosure of Emotions Facilitate Recovery From Bereavement?", 8.

²⁸ Stroebe et al. "Does Disclosure of Emotions Facilitate Recovery From Bereavement?", 8.

²⁹ Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", 55.

³⁰ Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", 55.

With this in mind Archer suggests that "rather than holding the view that people must necessarily engage in grief work, practitioners could offer instead a range of interventions tailored to individual characteristics and circumstances."³¹

2.4. The Role of Religion in Bereavement

As mentioned, making meaning out of a negative life event is helpful in the healing process of grief. The fact that most religions provide a framework for such interpretation of life leaves religion, with its many aspects as an important assistance in coping with bereavement. Wuthnow, Christiano, and Kuzlowski (in Hays and Hendrix, 1980), have presented a conceptual framework for religion and bereavement, where they claim religion to be

...particularly salient for coping with bereavement by virtue of its emphasis on assigning meaning to life events, both in codified belief and ethical systems and in interpretations of peak experiences. Furthermore, they noted that coping with bereavement was directly related to religious "belonging", that is, participation in congregational worship; vicarious participation via religious radio, television, and private devotions; charitable service; and funerary rituals.³²

Following the work of Wuthnow et al. Pargament et al. focused on the individual's capacity to face stressful life events, observing that religious individuals tended to include religion in their cognitive constructions of the bereavement experience, particularly when they realized their own shortcomings in managing the challenges of the situation. Furthermore, people who search for meaning through religion, often have religion as both an end and a means in their adjustment process following a bereavement.³³ There is no uniform mourning practice or guidelines for meaning making within Christianity, it all depends on context and cultural traditions of the bereaved. The coping strategies of an individual are influenced by theological, liturgical and social factors.³⁴

³¹ Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", 61.

³² Judith C. Hays and Christina Hendrix, "The Role of Religion in Bereavement", in *Handbook of Bereavement Research and Practice: Advances in Theory and Intervention*, ed. by Margareth S. Stroebe, Robert O. Hansson and Wolfgang Stroebe, 45-65, (Washinton DC: American Psychological Assosiation, 2008), 329.

³³ Hays and Hendrix, "The Role of Religion in Bereavement", 329.

³⁴ Engelhardt & Iltis in Hays and Hendrix, "The Role of Religion in Bereavement", 331. The factors are: (a) whether the role of religion in their lives is metaphysical or cultural, (b) whether they are individually more or less religiously observant, (c) whether their preferred worship is more or less ceremonial, (d) whether they believe that moral tenets are more fixed or evolving, and (e) whether their families and social networks are more or less religiously coherent (Engelhardt & Iltis, 2005).

When measuring the impact of religion on people's grieving process, various outcome categories may be used. Hays and Hendrix (2008) mention physical well-being, psychological well-being, meaning-making and adjustment as common categories.³⁵ They also refer to Pargament and Park and their five strategies of religious coping, which include seeking comfort versus expressing alienation from God (spiritual support vs. discontent) and seeking comfort versus expressing alienation from congregation members or clergy (congregational support vs. discontent), among others.³⁶

Organized faith, understood as the fellowship of Christians, serves as a source of comfort and support to many. Rituals also play a significant role in the healing process of bereaved. These rituals are unique depending on culture, religion, etc.³⁷

As we have seen, religion has many facets that may influence how a person adjusts to the loss of a loved one. Religion in itself often provides a framework for meaningmaking, and in the church congregation people establish a social network. Religion also provides rituals, practical assistance through charitable services in the church and creates arenas for disclosure of emotions.

2.5. Grieving Across Cultures

This study presumes that grief is universal, though there may be some variations due to culture, personality etc. Stroebe and Stroebe (1987) state that definitions of what is normal and pathologial grief may vary from culture to culture. The very same expression may be classified as normal in one culture and pathological in another.³⁸ Being aware of this calls for sensitivity when examining grief practices across cultures.

Rosenblatt gives a cautionary advice: "In fact, any simple statement about how people in a given culture grieve is probably so simplistic as to be unhelpful to a person trying to

³⁵ Hays and Hendrix, "The Role of Religion in Bereavement", 336-342.

³⁶ Pargament and Park in Hays and Hendrix, "The Role of Religion in Bereavement", 329.

³⁷ Shuchter and Zisook, "The course of normal grief", 32, 35.

³⁸ Stroebe and Stroebe, *Bereavement and Health*, 35, 4.

help or support someone from that culture who is grieving (Rosenblatt 1993, 1997)."³⁹ Following this statement the author further referrs to Shapiro (1996) and explains the importance of taking into account the fit between how a person is grieving and the existing cultural expectations as to how someone should be grieving, in order to evaluate how a person is functioning in the greiving process.⁴⁰

The aforementioned dual-process model of grief is applicable across cultures. Stroebe and Schut argue that grief is universal, and the theory does not imply one certain grief expression. It rather opens for the possibility that there are various expressions of the loss-oriented and restoration-oriented part of the grief depending on the context to which the bereaved belongs.

The conceptions of grief in the Norwegian context may be understood from a religious perspective. The Christian faith has had its impact on the understanding of grief among Norwegians, leaving many people with a hope for a life after death. This is a generally accepted belief even among people who might not adhere to Christianity as such. Even though religion has lost its firm authority in society, people still turn to the structured rituals of the church for the funerary services in 95 per cent of death incidents.⁴¹

To understand grief in the Kenyan context, it is helpful to look at grief in an African perspective as a whole. In the article "Memory Healing Processes and Community Intervention in Grief Work in Africa", Augustine Nwoye states that "the phenomenon of pathological mourning... is rare in Africa because of the presence of coherent and transformative rituals of mourning".⁴² This, he writes is opposed to the Western part of the world, where such pathological mourning is observed more frequently. He expresses the need to study the culture and community as important sources of support to people in mourning. He claims that the African communities make an important contribution to facilitate healing in the bereaved. In the article Mwoye emphasizes the practice of the

³⁹ Paul C. Rosenblatt, "Grief Across Cultures: A Review and Research Agenda", in *Handbook of Bereavement Research and Practice: Advances in Theory and Intervention*, ed. by Margareth S. Stroebe, Robert O. Hansson and Wolfgang Stroebe, 207-222 (Washington D: American Psychological Assosiation, 2008), 209.

⁴⁰ Rosenblatt, "Grief Across Cultures", 209.

⁴¹ Cora Alexa Døving, "Døden praksis: Et religiøst rituale i en sekularisert samtid", in *CHAOS* (Nr. 28, 1997), 115.

⁴² Augustine Nwoye, "Memory Healing Processes and Community Intervention in Grief Work in Africa", in *The Australian & New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy* (Vol 26, No 3), 147.

indigenous community itself, and not primarily on the contribution of professionals. Furthermore, he defines African grief work as

the patterned ways invented in traditional communities for the successful healing of the psychological wounds and pain of bereaved persons. It is a healing system grounded in 'ecologically sound rituals and ceremonies that facilitate experiential healing' (Sisodia, 1997) and its target clients are any members of the community burdened by the painful loss of a loved one.⁴³

According to Mwoye the main goal of the African grief work is to prevent chronic negativity in the bereaved, and rather let the deep sorrow have its place in its time. The healing emphasis is not so much medical and analytic, as it tends to be in the West, but it is carefully designed, creative and proactive. Rituals and traditions are important instruments in reaching this goal of supporting people. The intention is to promote a "positive cognitive adaption in bereaved persons". Through speeches, music and dancing a healing of the person's event memory may take place.⁴⁴

Even though there are great cross-cultural variations in expressions of grief and traditions in relation with bereavement, the loss of a loved one evokes profound sorrow and pain, regardless of context. Stroebe and Stroebe attest that this is the case through their study of partner loss across the world.⁴⁵

The researcher acknowledges the dual-process model, and is influenced by this theory when doing the analysis of the data. The study will emphasize the role of the church in shaping individual's patterns of grief, as well as explore the impact of the church ministry on the healing processes and the general well-being of the bereaved in their parish.

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Research Design

The approach of the study is of a qualitative character, where semi-structured interviews were used on a small sample of bereaved in addition to complementing

 ⁴³ Nwoye, "Memory Healing Processes and Community Intervention in Grief Work in Africa", 147.
 ⁴⁴ Nwoye, "Memory Healing Processes and Community Intervention in Grief Work in Africa", 147-149.

⁴⁵ Stroebe and Stroebe, *Bereavement and Health*.

interviews with selected church workers. The reseach design is comparative. Two separate contexts were studied, and the data collected was descriptive material that gave a starting point for an analytical comparison. The answers to the research questions were sought through the semi-structured interviews and informal interviews with some of the church workers, as well as through observation. In the semi-structured interviews the researcher was able to direct the conversation towards the answers needed by having prepared certain topics, while still being flexible to shift focus when needed. The structure of the interviews unfolded itself as they were conducted. Using this approach, the researcher wished to obtain in-depth stories that would highlight the research topic from different angles. Primarily, the researcher wanted to understand grief from the perspective of the respondents.⁴⁶ Research questions one and two, which asks for individual reflections around the experiences of the bereaved, required in-depth descriptions of the respondents lifeworld. Thus, the researcher considered it beneficial to use a qualitative approach.

Qualitative research is especially valuable in generating theory where little good theory exists; in revealing how people make meaning of events; and in moving toward a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon, rather than a nomothetic set of casual inferences presumed to generalize across different cultures and settings.⁴⁷

The researcher also considered the semi-stuctured in-depth interviews as salient in order to have direct contact with the respondents. The interviews allowed for the researcher to analyse the responses thoroughly, in light of both verbal and non-verbal responses.

In research question three the information wanted is how the church relates to the bereaved. This information was obtained through central church workers and information published on internet about the church, focus being on what was practiced at the time of the study.

⁴⁶ Kvale and Brinkman, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 47.

⁴⁷ Robert A. Neimeyer, Nancy Hogan, and Anna Laurie, "The measurement of Grief: Psychometric Considerations in the Assessment of Reactions to Bereavement", in *Handbook of Bereavement Research and Practice: Advances in Theory and Intervention*, (Washington DC: American Psychological Assosiation, 2008), 154.

Question four required interviews and conversations with the church leadership, represented by pastor or deacon. The aim was to examine what the church communicates to bereaved individuals in the parish with regard to consolation and support, and to compare the findings. Communication here refers to both spoken or written words (through individual counselling, preaching etc.) as well as action (such as pracical assistance to widows, rituals or support groups). The interviews were complemented by observation.

The justification for doing an empirical study is the desire to illustrate with specific examples. It would be possible to do a study on the theological or cultural justification of grief counselling in Norway. But not much has been written on the subject from a Kenyan perspective. Nor was it the main interest of the researcher. The researcher aims at collecting first hand information from people with personal experience and competence in the field, believing this to make a contribution to the broad topic of grief counselling.

The study of the bereaved is mainly retrospective, asking respondents to look back and describe their experience as they remember it. Still the study holds the opinion that grief is a lifelong process that has no definite end. Considering this, the respondents were also responding in a situation where grief if still a part of their lives.

This study can be defined as what Kvale and Brinkmann call an instrumental case study that seeks to understand a specific case, but also provide a better understanding for general problem statements.⁴⁸ The comparison between to individual contexts gives an additional dimension.

The researcher will as far as possible give a transparent description of the methodology of the research, both the planning and the implementation of the project, so that others may evaluate the validity of the research. This creates the foundation for an analytic generalization. The researcher believes that the results may serve as indicators of certain factual trends. Based on the findings, the researcher will draw certain

⁴⁸ Kvale and Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 265.

generalizable conclusions. The preseantation of method and argumentation will give the reader a chance to draw his or her own conclusions. ⁴⁹

3.2. Identification of Population and Sample

A sample of five was the aim in both contexts. However, due to various factors, the sample size in Kenya was reduced to four. The respondents were between 30 and 80 years. All but one had lost a spouse. In addition they had a variety of bereavement experiences e.g. loss of child or loss of parent. The respondents were all members of the church, but with different degrees of participation.

The sample was elected by talking to pastor, deacon or others who were involved in counselling in the church or parish. Through these contacts the researcher was connected to individuals who fit the sample description.

In order to obtain information on how the church relates to the topic, the researcher revised strategy documents and plans of the church where such documents were available. Church workers were also interviewed.

3.3. Field Research Instruments

As this is a qualitative study, the researcher has been the main instrument in collecting data. For the semi-structured interviews in Kenya a local person assisted when necessary, to translate and assist the researcher in understanding cultural codes in the given area. The interviews were conducted in the church compound according to the preferences of the respondents, and were recorded using a tape recorder. Transcription was done shortly after each interview took place.

Doing semi-structured interviews, the researcher went with a set of topics to be covered, and also with a number of formulated questions that were meant to assist in case the conversation needed a push. The interview guide was not binding and the researcher sought to keep the conversations as flexible as possible. The respondents were encouraged to give a narrative on their experience and were given a chance to

⁴⁹ Kvale and Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 264.

speak freely, while the researcher followed their line as long as it was relevant for the study. This would bring about information that was important in the eyes of the respondents, providing their own description of their *lifeworld*, which was the interest of the researcher.

3.4. Data Analysis and Presentation

As this is a qualitative study the data was analysed continously while still in the field. After ended field work the researcher did a content analysis of the responses from the semi-structured interviews. The data from the two study cases was handled separately, coding the answers in the interviews and categorizing them into suitable topics, such as consolation and support, importance of the faith, grief work and the church role, among others. In round two, the findings from the two contexts were compared against eachother.

Measurement of grief is a difficult and complex undertaking, and also in this regard this study has limitations. Some of the challenges to take into account when researching on the role of religion in bereavement are measurement of grief and coping, determining the relationship between the bereaved and the decedent and considering the fact that there is a variety of religious traditions.⁵⁰ There are also a number of individual variations in the grieving patterns of bereaved that make it difficult to examine and evaluate outcome of interventions in the greiving process in general.⁵¹ However, the aim of this study was not primarily to evaluate the outcome of the church support, but rather describe the practice.

The researcher considers it adequate to present the results of the complete study in a thematical presentation. Through this, in-depth perspectives of the respondents come to their right.

 ⁵⁰ Hays and Hendrix, "The Role of Religion in Bereavement", 329.
 ⁵¹ Robert Kastenbaum, "Grieving in Contemporary Society", 71.

3.5. Retrospective Reflections on the Field Work

3.5.1. Norway

The sample for the first period of field work consisted of five bereaved individuals of various ages and both sexes. The respondents were all members of the same church, belonging to a diocese in the West of Norway. All arrangements were made before the researcher arrived at the location for the field work. In accordance with the preferences of the respondents all interviews were held in the church building, either in a conference room or in the vestry. It was arranged so that the interviews would not be disturbed. However, one of the times a pastor had to enter the vestry to collect his cassock.

The interviews were conducted within a time frame of one hour. The researcher considered this enough time to cover the subjects of interest, while having sufficient time to go in depth, and still being realistic with regard to the capacity for analysing the material after ended field work.

The preparation for field work consisted of familiarizing with relevant literature. The researcher also conducted a pilot interview with a fellow student, in order to get a feeling of the role as an interviewer, especially considering that the interviews would possibly bring about strong feelings in both interviewer and respondent. The situation of doing interviews for research purposes was new to the researcher. As was the situation of talking with people to whom there was no personal relation, about their bereavement experiences. Therefore, the researcher was somewhat anxious about her own reaction to being in such a situation. Reflecting on this together with friends and fellow students beforehand was part of the preparation, in addition to the revision of literature.

One of the challenges the researcher prepared for when working on the interview guide in advance was the challenge of getting honest responses. After making arrangements and having talked to each of the respondents by phone, the impression was that most of the respondents held a strong loyalty towards the church. The researcher was worried that this loyalty would restrain the respondents from being fully honest about possible negative factors. Therefore, the researcher focused on giving clear information on the objectives of the interviews, and also encourage the respondents to be as honest as possible, for the benefit of the study. As it turned out, not all of the respondents were as strongly connected to the church as was first assumed. The willingness to speak openly was also evident, as the respondents freely mentioned critical reflections they had about the church role in their time of grieving. The fact that the researcher stressed the anonymization of all responses probably contributed to a sense of freedom as to what the interviewees felt they could say.

Another of the challenges the researcher faced doing the interviews, was to acknowledge the interviews as what they were: namely qualitative research interviews, and not fall for the temptation to practice counselling or therapy. Being a profound and important subject, there were times where comfort and consolation seemed like a natural response, and the researcher felt like a cynic if continuing the interviews. However, as much as it is important to show empathy, it was important to consider to what extent it was the right thing to do in the specific situation. This was not so much an issue of comforting or not, rather a question of whether or not the researcher should ask examining questions that were considered to be helpful and clarifying for the bereaved in question, if the matter was not of interest for the study. There were times when the researcher was tempted to discover and challenge the respondent on important matters that were brought up. However, due to the fact that these matters were often beyond the focus of the research title, the subjects had to pass undiscovered.⁵²

One of the personal strengths of the researcher in the situation as a researcher and interviewer, was the ability to establish a relationship of trust to the interviewee. However, this strength is not necessarily conflict free. The researcher had to be aware of the risk of exploiting this trust to obtain information that the respondents on second thought would rather keep unmentioned. As mentioned by Duncombe and Jessop the trust gained by a researcher may serve as a Trojan Horse, simulating friendship and ignoring ethical considerations, in order to obtain information.⁵³ The researcher did not experience this as a problem after completing the interview, but it was part of the reflection in advance and while conducting the interviews.

⁵² Kvale and Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 59-65.

⁵³ Referred to in Brinkmann and Kvale, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 93.

All in all, the researcher had to be clear of the role as an interviewer and researcher, and not as a counsellor. Staying in balance on this matter was challenging. The nature of semi-structured interviews give opportunities of exploring subjects that are not planned in advance and that may appear to have relevance for the research as a whole.⁵⁴ However, in order to promote efficiency and a good analysis of the material after ended field work, it was crucial for the researcher to be focused at all times. The time frame for each interview was one hour, and this also called for limitation of information.

Where consolation and comfort was needed, the response of the researcher was to listen, keep eye contact and also confirm the person's experience of the situation he or she described. The researcher did not speak many comforting words. Not only because the interview situation did not call for it, but also because the researcher believes that comfort does not necessarily lie within words.

In general, the interviews turned out to be a good experience. The respondents were welcoming and positive towards the researcher interviewing them, and there was a development of trust during the one hour the interview lasted. This of course, is a highly subjective reflection. However, feedback from some of the respondents indicate that this was a shared experience. The respondents were also happy to speak about what had happened. Even though they all had tragic experiences, they were open about their experience and their feelings attached to it. The information came easily, and most of the respondents covered the subjects that were listed in the interview guide, without the researcher asking many supplementing questions.

3.5.2. Kenya

Five weeks were set aside for the field work in Kenya, whereof the first weeks were intended for the researcher to familiarize with the culture, and also obtain and work with context specific literature, such as master dissertations on related topics produced within Kenya. Having been an exchange student in the same location the preceding semester the researcher had several advantages in terms of certain knowledge and an understanding of the culture, as well as contacts to assist in practical issues.

⁵⁴ Kvale and Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 138.

In order to establish good relationships to the congregants and the church leadership, the researcher made an effort to attend church services before the actual field work started. Even though the services were in Swahili and the researcher did not have an interpreter at all times, it was an important part of developing trust to the congregants and familiarizing with the location.⁵⁵ A brief and informal meeting was held at an early stage with the respondents that the pastor had provided from the congregation, and arrangements were made for further interviews. The respondents that had been obtained beforehand were widows who were all part of a support group for widows in the respective church. These contacts further assisted the researcher in finding more respondents who fit with the sample criteria for this study.

The original plan was to have a sample the same size as in Norway, meaning five respondents for in-depth interviews, in addition to a pastor. Some arrangements were made by mail with the pastor before arriving at the place for the study. This had some limitations, and the researcher could not contact and inform the individual respondents directly. Some changes in the sample had to be made, and the researcher ended up doing six interviews, whereby only four of them directly met the sample specifications. The two remaining were useful as informative contributions on what the church did for the bereaved. However the desired narratives were not obtained, as one of them was an orphan since birth thus not relevant for the study, and the other respondent was a widow, but preferred to talk about the grief counselling groups she was in charge of, rather than her personal experience of losing her husband.

It was a challenge to arrange time and location for the interviews, considering that most of the respondents were working, thus were not available during weekdays, and the researcher had to commute a distance. The researcher faced some methodological challenges being in such a situation. For instance, failure in communication resulted in some of the interviews being shorter than the researcher had planned because the respondents were busy. This was unfortunate, considering that the methodology of this study is based on in-depth interviews. However, the researcher had to accept the situation, and make the best out of it. Some changes were made in the interview guide, and the researcher took a more active part than what had been done in the other

⁵⁵ Anne Ryen, "Cross-Cultural Interviewing", 337.

interviews, in order to be more efficient. This reduced the narrative part of the answers, but the researcher was satisfied with the answers that were given, still meeting the objectives of the study.

Due to the fact that the researcher had another cultural background than the respondents, she had decided to bring along a fellow student for the interviews as a cultural observer. This person had done a study on widows in a Kenyan church for her undergraduate. Being a Kenyan herself this student could assist the researcher in understanding the cultural codes and the referrals unfamiliar to the researcher that might come up during the interview. She would also be able to assist in case of any communicative or linguistic challenges. The researcher and the assistant arranged a pilot interviue to prepare for the challenges that might come in the interview situation. When implementing the real interview, the researcher wanted the assistant to be an observant third party in the interview, taking notes, and assisting the researcher in understanding the responses after the interview.

Kvale and Brinkmann do not recommend to use friends or relatives as interpreters⁵⁶, and even if the assistant was ascribed role as observer and not interpreter the researcher experienced some difficulties keeping the division of roles clear. Perhaps the researcher had not been clear when explaining the intended role for this person. The outcome was that she took a more active role than what was planned and was at times leading the interview, communicating more with the respondent than the researcher did. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic, the researcher did not want to interrupt the interview to clarify the role of this person, as it might have interfered the confidence between researcher and respondent. The interview therefore went on like that. This situation made it problematic for the interviewer to concentrate, and the role as an interviewer was slightly reduced. However, the issue was clarified before the next interview. The researcher chose to go through with the remaining interviews alone.

Another of the interviews was conducted together with an interpreter, as the interviewee was not fluent in English. The choice of interpreter was made on background of his ability to create a safe environment for the interviewee, as he was

⁵⁶ Kvale and Brinkmann, *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju*, 156.

assigned to assist the respondent on a regular basis. However, since the interpreter was not professional but a friend of the interviewee, the researcher suspects that he was biased when translating some of the answers. A few times he also happened to respond directly to the researcher, without checking the answer with the interviewee.

The focus of the researcher was all along to establish rapport with the respondents, so that it would be possible to get beyond the polite conversation when doing interviews.⁵⁷ Attending services regularly, staying for church tea and being open towards people were important steps in this. The researcher also talked to fellow students and other locals while in Kenya, to get contextual inputs on the interview topics.

4. The Contextual Framework

Both the Kenya Evangelical Lutheran Church (KELC) and the Church of Norway are Lutheran churches, and they are also members of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). The mission statement of LWF may serve as a guide to grasp the main features of the confession of KELC and Church of Norway and the theological foundation they are built upon. LWF has also made a clear statement and developed a document on diakonia. Thus the researcher considers this a suitable platform for this comparative study.

LWF was founded in Lund, Sweden in 1947 and is a global fellowship of Lutheran churches. Per 2011 the communion has 145 member churches, divided by 79 countries, which represents over 70 million Christians. The doctrine of the foundation is based on the Bible, the three Ecumenical Creeds and the confessions of the Lutheran Church. Further "LWF member churches confess the triune God, agree in the proclamation of the Word of God, and are united in pulpit and altar fellowship. The LWF confesses one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church and is resolved to serve Christian unity throughout the world."58

 ⁵⁷ Anne Ryen, "Cross-Cultural Interviewing", 337.
 ⁵⁸ The Lutheran World Federation, "Who we are", <u>http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/who-we-are</u>, (n.d.), acc. 25.01.11.

4.1. Norway

Ever since Christianity was brought to Norway during the 11th century, the religion has had a strong impact on Norwegian society. However, the ripple effect of the modernization has caused Norwegian culture to become increasingly secularized. Christian doctrine and practice has gradually lost its impact force in the population.⁵⁹ One consequence of this is that many Norwegians are members of the church by tradition, without necessarily considering the church as a significant actor in their lives. However, though there has been an evident decrease in participation in religious activities, people are not necessarily less religious. Some will adhere to spirituality, seeking a deeper meaning in life, but renounce religion.⁶⁰

Being a modern western society, the ideology of individualism has a strong influence on the mentality of the people. Each person is the master of his or her own life, and although fellowships are valued, there is not the strong sense of commitment as may be found in more collectivistic cultures. In stead of giving priority to the needs of the community as is the case in collective ideologies, the emphasis of individualism is on the individual and his or her close relationships.⁶¹ Building networks in a context like this gives "instrumental assosiations" with regard to relations. Other people are instruments in order to achieve welfare, and are only considered subjects if they hold the same intentions as oneself.⁶²

In this individualistic and religiously pluralistic society, we find the Church of Norway, a state church, with the king as its supreme representative. The church has a degree of autonomy to administer the economy and appoint church leaders, while the Norwegian government is in charge of appointing the bishops.⁶³ Despite the postmodern trends of

⁵⁹ Pål Repstad, "Fra lov til lønnkammer?", in *Det norske samfunn*, ed. by Ivar Frønes and Lise Kjølsrød, 6th ed. (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2010), 387.

⁶⁰ Repstad, "Fra lov til lønnkammer?", 388.

⁶¹ Hilde Eileen Nafstad, Rolv Mikkel Blakar and Kim Rand-Hendriksen, "Individualisme og fellesskapsverdier i dagens norske samfunn", in *Fellesskap og individualisme*, ed. by Hilde Eileen Nafstad and Rolv Mikkel Blakar, 1st ed. (Oslo: Gyldendal, 2009), 149.

 ⁶² Nafstad, Blakar and Rand-Hendriksen, "Individualisme og fellesskapsverdier i dagens norske samfunn", 158.
 ⁶³ Church of Norway, "A short presentation of the Church of Norway",

http://www.kirken.no/english/engelsk.cfm?artid=11943, (n.d.), acc. 10.06.11.

society in the 21st century, the Church of Norway still holds 79,2 percent of the Norwegian population as it's members (per 01.01.10).⁶⁴

In 2007 the Church of Norway general Synod adopted a plan for the diaconal ministry, called Plan for Diakonia. In this plan the following vision is presented: "The love of God for all people and the whole of creation revealed through our life and service."⁶⁵ In the diaconal ministry, the practice of showing love and compassion towards people who are in grief is expressed as an important responsibility for the individual Christian as well as the church as a whole. In some congregations particular groups are established for bereaved, as a part of creating inclusive communities. These groups are considered a support for the healing process, as well as a help to strengthen families and forge new friendships.⁶⁶

Of the 85 percent who are nominal members of the Church of Norway, a low number are active participants of the church activities. However, the church is still viewed by many as an important actor in certain stages of life, such as when a death occurs. To many, the church is considered an institution with competence on greif and other life-related issues. "Through the ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, marriage and burial, church workers come into contact with a majority of the population, and with a large number of life stories that call for diaconal presence and involvement."⁶⁷

For this study, the researcher has chosen a church in the western part of Norway, located in what some informally call the "Bible Belt" due to the strong impact of Christianity in the years of the pietism movement. The church in question built a new church building in 1999, in modern architecture with rooms for the various church activities. They have developed a plan for the diaconal ministry, with defined goals and strategies on how to practice diakonia. Included in this diaconal ministry is the care for bereaved, through individual counselling as well as support groups.

⁶⁴ Church of Norway, "Medlemskap i den Norske kirke", [Membership in the Church of Norway], <u>http://www.kirken.no/?event=doLink&famID=230</u>, (n.d.), acc. 09.05.11.

⁶⁵ Church of Norway Council, *Plan for Diakonia*, 4.

⁶⁶ Church of Norway Council, *Plan for Diakonia*, 14.

⁶⁷ Church of Norway Council, *Plan for Diakonia*, 11.

4.2. Kenya

Being a country consisting of over 42 tribes,⁶⁸ it is difficult to define the typical Kenyan culture. However, certain trademarks of a traditional African society are applicable in Kenya and Tanzania, thus to the context in which this study takes place. The main feature that stands in contrast to the modern individualistic society of Norway, is that Kenya is more influenced by collectivism, with emphasis on the family bonds and community, rather than the rights and interests of the individual. Collectivism "pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are intergrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty."⁶⁹ Such loyalty to the community is viewed in most Kenyan tribes. According to Hofstede (1991) individualism is linked to whether a society is industrialized, wealthy, and urbanized, while collectivism is mainly the trend in traditional, poorer, and rural societies.⁷⁰ Even though this view has been questioned in later research, the researcher in this study holds this as a basic guideline for the analysis. Nevertheless it is taken into account that variations do occur within the same culture. In Nairobi various traditions and cultures melt together, and the people are also more influenced by the "western" way of living.⁷¹ Since the congregation in this study is located in Nairobi, we may expect that the respondents are more urbanized and influenced by ideologies such as individualism, than what is the case in the rural areas of Kenya.

Kenya gained independence from British colonization in 1963. Still in development, poverty is a great challenge for the nation. About 50 per cent of the population live below the poverty line (2000 est.) and the unemployment rate is at 40 per cent (2008 est.).⁷² These are merely two of many indicators that illustrate the situation. Poverty is particularly a challenge in woman-headed households, partly due to a pattern brought

⁶⁸ The Republic of Kenya, "People and Language", <u>http://www.republicofkenya.org/culture/peopleandlanguage/</u>, (n.d.), acc. 10.06.11.

⁶⁹ Hofstede (1991) in Jüri Allik and Anu Realo, "Individualism-Collectivism and Social Capital", in *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (Vol. 35, No. 1, 2004) 32.

⁷⁰ Allik and Realo, "Individualism-Collectivism and Social Capital", 32.

⁷¹ Republic of Kenya, "People and Language", <u>http://www.republicofkenya.org/culture/peopleandlanguage/</u>, (n.d.), acc. 11.06.11.

⁷² Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), The World Factbook, <u>https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ke.html</u>, updated 26.05,11, acc. 14.06.11.

about in the colonial times, giving men more access to education and employment than women.⁷³ Even four decades later this pattern seems hard to break.

The church under study is member of the Kenya Evangelical Lutheran Church (KELC). Being a Lutheran congregation it confesses the same faith as the Church of Norway. Until 1989 the KELC was known as the Kenya Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT). It is currently in partnership with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, two Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Germany and with the ELCT.⁷⁴ According to the website of The World Council of Churches KELC has 30,000 members, 18 pastors, 17 evangelists and three deacons divided by eight parishes. The congregation is located in Nairobi, and the church members are spread around the district. It is not a local church, but more a central congregation uniting people from various places.

Even though the congregation is located in Kenya, the majority of the congregants are Tanzanians. This is due to the fact that the Lutheran church is strong in Tanzania, while the main protestant denomination in Kenya is the Anglican church. Thus, most of the church members are either Tanzanians themselves, or are married to a Tanzanian. Still in this study the congregation will be referred to as Kenyan, of mer practical reasons.

As a member of LWF the KELC has also committed itself to the LWF declaration of diakonia.

5. Presentation of the data

In this chapter the researcher will give an analytical presentation of the findings from the two periods of field work in Norway and Kenya respectively. The responses from the interviews in Norway have been cathegorized into five topics, namely grief, grief work, consolation and support, the church role and significance of the faith, as these are considered to be appropriate according to the main objectives for this study. The

⁷³ Mari H. Clark, "Woman-Headed Households and Poverty: Insights from Kenya", in *Chicago Journals* (winter 1984, Vol. 10, No. 2), 342.

⁷⁴ <u>http://www.oikoumene.org/gr/member-churches/regions/africa/kenya/kenya-evangelical-lutheran-church.html</u>, acc. 15.06.11.

Kenyan responses have been cathegorized similarly, with only a few variations in the sub-headings. In addition to these topics there is also one paragraph dedicated to the church perspective, where information gathered through informal conversations with the deacon and through the church websites will be presented to add to what the indepth respondents have said about the church role. In Kenya this information is obtained through interviews with pastor and two other church workers.

5.1. Norway

5.1.1. Presentation of the respondents

Else is a widow in her 50s. She had three children together with her late husband, the husband also had two from another marriage. He was diagnosed with cancer the winter of 2009, and died later on the same year. Else has not attended greif counselling groups.

Maria is in her 30s, she is married without children. She lost her father in 2009, and has also lost nine members of the extended family the past seven years. Maria attended a grief counselling group after the loss of her father.

John is a widower in his 50s. He lost his wife to cancer in 2008 after 6 months of illness. They had been married nearly 30 years. He has five kids. John also lost his father when he was in his 20s. He attended a grief counselling group after the loss of his wife.

Tom is in his 80s. He has been a widower for eight years when this study takes place, and he also lost his son while his wife was on her deathbed. Tom has not attended any grief counselling group.

Nina is in her 50s, she lost her husband when she was in her 40s. She also lost her son in 2009. She has two other children. Nina has had several engagements in the church, and she attended a grief counselling group both when her husband died and when her son died.

5.1.2. Grief

Through listening to their narratives, the researcher sought to interpret how the respondents experienced their process of grieving, mainly in terms of emotional reactions and the evolvement of the grieving process.

When the Norwegian respondents were asked to describe their grief, their responses supported the notion that grief is highly individual. All the respondents had their own way of describing their process, and none of them felt that they had been expected to grieve in a certain "normal" way by the surrounding environment. The researcher asked whether they felt free to grieve according to their personal preferences, and they all confirmed to this. Nevertheless, Nina said she had this freedom because she did not allow anyone to intrude with their expectations in her emotional life, which indicates that she had an awareness about the individuality of grief, and was strong enough to claim her right to express her grief in the way that was natural to her. The researcher noted that Nina has been a leader for several grief counselling groups, which is a task that requires certain knowledge on the subject.

Two of the respondents emphasized that grief is not timebound. Another of the respondents, Tom, said that he had actually finished grieving, but that the sense of loss followed him as the days and years went by. For him grieving still appeared on special occations, but the sense of loss was more frequent. However, he did not specify how he differentiated the two terms grieving and loss, so *loss* to him may be what the other respondents describe as grief. John also mentioned the sense of loss specifically as a dominant feeling in his time of grieving.

Maria said that she started to distance herself from her father's death after two years. John felt a distance to the death of his spouse already a few months after the bereavement, but he pointed out that the grieving process continued although it decreased after a while. John described his grieving process as light compared to what he had expected. This was not to say that he did not face challenges, but he claimed he had been fine *despite* the circumstances. Finding a new partner had helped him to move on in life after the death of his wife. In the interview he described his life as good, and the new changes occupied his mind so that he didn't lose himself to grieving. The

respondent had lost his father in his twenties, and he recalls enduring a tougher grief that time than he did when his wife passed away. John also mentioned that his wife had lost her father as a child, and that she had talked about the pain of that loss until her last day. In addition to this, John mentioned that his new partner still struggles with the death of her late husband after eight years. With these experiences, John highlighted that grief is indeed a lifelong process, and not merely a set of stages one goes through.

Other emotional reactions that were described by the respondents in this study were sadness, feeling sorry for oneself, a feeling of being treated unfair and grief over everything the deceased would be missing out on. Maria who had been struggling with illness for a longer period, said that her bereavement experiences sent her "to the basement". Both Maria and two other of the respondents mentioned that they had taken a leave from work after the loss, some for a longer period than others.

Several of the respondents mentioned anger as one of the emotional reactions to their loss. Nina said she felt strong anger in the period when she had lost her husband, both towards God, towards the surrounding people, and also towards the deceased himself, who had left her behind with the responsibility of three children. At times she had also been thinking that her son who had lived a rough and experimental life before he died was not worth her tears. But she added: "But he was". The fact that the respondent was willing to share these thoughts in the interview situation indicated to the researcher that she had processed her feelings and that she had met understanding from others for the way she felt. It did not seem as if she had surpressed these uncomfortable emotions.

Although she had a strong appearance, and spoke about the bereavement experience in a controlled way, Ingrid confessed that some days she was tempted to give up on everything. What kept her going was the responsibility she had for the people around her. She still wanted to be there for the people she loved. She pointed out how all bereaved have a right to grieve. However, she did not think that they have the right to let the grief carry them away, as they still have a responsibility for other people surrounding them, in her case their children. The decision-making regarding their children was an extra burden for Ingrid after her husband died, having to make them on her own. Tom mentioned how the responsibility for others caused him to surpress or delay his grieving, explaining that he had postponed the grief over his son's death because he had to be strong for his wife who was admitted in the hospital at the time the son passed away. In his case, he said that the reaction came several years later when he went to the deacon to receive counselling on the matter. That time he couldn't stop crying and he says he felt bad in the entire body. As he says: "...it was like I had something in my chest that I couldn't get away. I was not hurting, just uneasy."⁷⁵ Tom believes that this strong reaction came delayed because he didn't have the chance to mourn when the son actually died.

The respondents seemed conversant with talking about their emotions and managed to give a complementary description of their grief. The reseacher was surprised by how restrained and calm they were during the interviews. The challenges that were described by the respondents were mainly emotional, but the widow(er)s also mentioned practical challenges that followed the death of their spouse, for the most part related to the raising of children as a single parent. Examples were given on how responsibility for others compelled them to control their grief and "be strong".

5.1.3. Grief Work

In the following section the researcher will present the findings on how the respondents coped with their situation of bereavement, and how they processed their grief.

Three of the respondents mentioned the importance of having a grave site to visit. Tom would sometimes go to the grave site late at night, when the sense of loss became too strong. One of the families had also designed the gravestone themselves, and saw this in itself as a part of the healing process. Another of the respondents found comfort in lighting candles by the gravesite at special occations, as birthdays etc. In this way he felt that the late wife was still with them. This is an example of an action to maintain a symbolic attachment to the deceased (see pt. 2.1.).

⁷⁵ "Sånn som jeg hadde det så var det liksom at jeg hadde noe i brystet som jeg ikke fikk bort. Jeg har ikke verk, men bare urolig..." (Tom)

Three of the respondents mentioned listening to music as an important way of remembering and letting out feelings, and as a source of comfort through the hard times. One of them used to listen to sentimental music to think back on good times and let out the tears. It seemed that the music was used purposively to call on the memories and the sadness in order to react freely and in private. Furthermore, crying was mentioned by both the male and the female respondents, two of the female more explicitly claiming the importance of it. However, they all seemed to be reluctant to cry in front of their children, whereto the researcher made an assumption that this was because it could make them seem weak when they were the ones who were supposed to have control.

Talking to others about their experience was mentioned by all the respondents as an important part of processing the grief, whereof three mentioned it explicitly. Tom called talking his *medicine*, and was very clear on the significance it had to him talking with other people. This will be further described in the section of "the Church Role" (pt. 5.1.5.), as the deacon was one of his main interlocutors. Whether it was through conversations with good friends or church workers, or expressing emotions in a counselling group, the talking in itself had a healing effect to all the respondents, it compelled them to put words to their feelings.

Ingrid said that engaging in practical work in their garden was part of her grief work, as she completed various projects that she and her husband had planned together before he died. However, now she said that the grief had come in return for her. She also mentioned the importance of being open towards other people, in order for them to understand that she needed help. As she says, openness calls on boldness in the people one meets: *"I believe that openness is the best way to be human... So that is a major part of the grief work we are going through."* (Ingrid)⁷⁶

When Maria was asked how she managed to get through the hard times, she could not give a specific answer. She did not quite know how she had coped with it, but seemed to adhere to a religious meaning-making of life, and gave God the honour for the fact she

⁷⁶ "... jeg har da den troen på at åpenhet, det er den beste måten å være menneske på.... Så det er en stor del av det sorgarbeidet vi går gjennom." (Ingrid)

had been able to make it through. According to her, God was the one who had given her strength.

"I guess God is the one behind it. I think so. Because I couldn't have done anything by myself. I don't feel like I have the strength each day. But I know it's there anyway. With everything I have been through I don't think a normal person can make it through all that. I must have been lifted somehow." (Maria)⁷⁷

Other than that, Maria said that she tried to leave something out, and put on a sieve so that she could take in bits of the grief at a time. She appeared to be seeking control over the grief, instead of letting it control her.

When describing their grief work and how they had coped with their grief the respondents mentioned music, visiting the grave site, engaging in practical work, talking to others, crying, and trying to control how much of the grief they let in. The most frequent response was that talking was essential in assisting the respondents to process their grief.

5.1.4. Consolation and Support

To be able to understand the role of the church in the grieving process of the bereaved, the researcher also asked generally about what the respondents considered to be the main sources of consolation in their time of grieving, and where they found support.

In the time following the death of her husband, Nina said that the fact that people stopped by to help her with the daily chores was what she appreciated the most. Due to the difficult circumstances when her son died, Nina experienced a complicated grief. To her it was valuable when people shared with her the good memories they had together with her son, and also for her to hear that they remembered the good qualities of her son and not only the sides of his personality he struggled with. She was also happy when

⁷⁷ "Det er nok Gud som står bak, tenker jeg... Jeg tror det. For i meg selv hadde jeg ikke klart noenting. Selv om jeg føler jo ikke hver dag at jeg har styrken. Men jeg vet den er der likevel. Mhm. Nei, for med alt det jeg har vært gjennom så tenker jeg at et vanlig menneske klarer ikke det. En må, jeg må ha blitt løftet opp på et eller annet vis." (Maria)

people asked questions or commented on photos of the deceased they would see when visiting her home. This gave her an oppotunity to talk about her son or husband and about her experience.

All of the respondents mentioned *people* as the most important factor that kept them going when times were tough. John put it this way: One of the reasons he was okay despite the circumstances, was that he had friends and family present, supporting him all through. This is the same respondent who previously mentioned that he was surprised by the lightness of his grieving process, compared to what he had expected. Maria had the reversed experience: the bereavement had been extra difficult for her because people were *not* there. She did not have a strong social network surrounding her when her father passed away, a phenomena that she ascribed the fact that she had been ill and withdrawn from the network for a longer period. The result had been that she did not have the energy to seek fellowship with others. The family relations were also less supportive than what the respondent had wished for.

Ingrid believed that fellowship with other people is an essential part of being human. To her, having a good social network was more important than having fellowship with God. She did not believe people could survive with God alone, if they did not have other people around them.

As mentioned earlier John found a new partner after his wife passed away, and to him this has been an important source of comfort. His new partner also lost her spouse to death, so they had a common reference helping them to support each other.

The grief counselling gropus were not mentioned by the respondents on their own initiative, but when asked, they would say it was a good experience. The responses related to grief counselling groups will be further presented under the heading "Grief Counselling Groups" (pt. 5.1.5.). The spiritual aspect was not remarkable as to what people considered to be a source of comfort or consolation. This will be commented in the section "Significance of the Faith" (pt. 5.1.6.).

A main feature in the aspect of comfort and consolation is that the presence of *people* is essential in times of bereavement. This was a shared experience by all the respondents, however one of the experiences were negative: the grieving was extra difficult to Maria because people were *not* there for her. The quality of the social network seemed to be crucial in determining how people experienced their process of grieving.

5.1.5. The Church Role

The Church as a Whole

When asked about the importance of the church in their grief work, the responses varied. One of the male respondents was very grateful towards the church, and had found great help in talking with the deacon through counselling. When his doctor had prescribed him medication for his depression and nervousness, the respondent would rather make an appointment with the deacon than take the medication. He said that the opportunity to talk was important in order for him to process the loss of his wife and son. In addition to this counselling, "the church as a whole" had been a great support to him. He did not specify what he meant by "the church as a whole", but considering the statement in light of the complete interview, the researcher presumes he meant factors such as the fellowship with the people, the Sunday services, the church coffee hour as well as the preaching of the gospel.

The supportive people that were mentioned by the respondents were not necessarily members of the church. As Nina pointed out when asked whether the congregation had been there for her: "people are people". Friends outside the church played a more significant role than the church members in this matter. The relationship between the respondent and the person in question was the determining factor rather than the degree of connection with the church. The church fellowship as such did not play a significant part in caring for her. She was rather disappointed when a number of the congregants she expected would be there for her did not actually show up when she was mourning. She had also observed the behaviour of the congregation after there had been a sermon on loving one's neighbour and caring for others. Surprisingly few had come to care for her after the service, even though she was sure many knew of her situation as a widow.

Maria also expressed disappointment in lack of support from the church members. However, she was aware that she had not been an active church member because of her health situation, thus people were not much acquainted with her:

"I guess I have never had a proper church network surrounding me either. And I have experienced that non-christians have been there for me to a greater extent than the Christians, I'm sorry to say. And that goes for both the period I was sick and when I was bereaved." (Maria)⁷⁸

Even though he has never attended church regularly, John was grateful towards the church for the way they had met him when he lost his wife. He was followed up closely by the deacon and by the pastor who conducted the funeral. If the church had not met him like that, he said he would have felt very lonely. The same experience is shared by Tom, the other widower. The deacon had given him a call immediately after his wife died, telling him that he could come whenever he needed anything. He has been to counselling regularly since his son died, about eight years before this study took place. He is grateful for the support he has been given, and he says he is still supported by the church, in emotional and social terms.

Several of the respondents also mentioned the All Saints Day in the church as a significant measure of consolation in their period of mourning: "...I was at least here for All Saints Day. And I felt that I had such peace, it was nice and safe. It was like. I don't know how to explain it, but the environment was safe." (John)⁷⁹

Maria also had a good experience attending an All Saints service one year after her father passed away. It had been comforting to her family. However, one of the female respondents was not very satisfied with the way the All Saints Day was arranged in this church:

 ⁷⁸ "Jeg har vel aldri hatt et ordentlig menighetsnettverk, heller, rundt meg. Og jeg har nok også opplevd at ikkekristne har stilt mer opp en de kristne, dessverre. Og det gjelder både sykdomshistorien og dødsfall." (Maria)
 ⁷⁹ "...på Allehelgens dag var jeg her i hvert fall. Og jeg følte jeg fikk en sånn trygghet, altså det var så trygt og

godt. Det var liksom. Jeg vet ikke hvordan jeg skal forklare det, men det var trygt miljø." (John)

"And I think the All Saints Day is a bit pitiful here. To me there's too much talk about "heaven"... But I was prepared, so I knew what I was in for. We are invited to All Saints Sunday. The ones who have passed away the previous year are mentioned by name, and some words are said. But then there are too many 'Heaven-longing-psalms'." (Nina)⁸⁰

Preaching of the Gospel

The researcher finally asked about the preaching of the church to see whether this brought about some elements of consolation. Only two of the respondents had remarkable comments on the matter. Nina thought there was too much preaching about heaven to those who were bereaved, as mentioned in the quote above. To her this had become a "shortcut to consolation" that she was not comfortable with. The other respondent who commented on the preaching was very much satisfied. He said he trusted whatever was said from the pulpit. To him the preacing was comforting.

Grief Counselling Groups

Three of the respondents attended grief counselling groups in their period of bereavement. Nina attended a group both when her husband passed away and when she lost her son several years later. The first time, she said she was not ready to join a group until a year had gone by, because it would be burdensome listening to all the tragic stories when she was already in a lot of pain herself. When she lost her son, that was when the group was more important to her. She was familiar with the concept of counselling groups by then and she felt she could share and talk about anything without worrying that she was taking up someone's time.

Even though the counselling group was a great support to Nina, she also brought up the composition of the group as a drawback. All members were widows at approximately the same age, however Nina was the only one who still had small children. Thus she faced different challenges in her widowhood than the others, and there were so many facets of her grief that were linked up to her kids. Nina therefore says she would have

⁸⁰ "Og så syns jeg at den der Allehelgensgreia er litt skral her. For det blir for mye himmel for meg... Men jeg var jo forberedt på det, så jeg visste jo hva jeg gikk til. Vi blir invitert til Allehelgenssøndag. De blir lest opp de som har dødd det siste året, og det ble sagt noe der og da. Men så er det altfor mye sånne 'himmel-lengt-salmer' altså." (Nina)

preferred to be in a more homogenous group, where she could share her concerns about raising the small children. This illustrates the importance of having access to a fellowship of people who are in the same situation as oneself, in order to have a feeling of being understood.

Maria also pointed out the grief counselling group as a place where one can meet people who are in the same situation as oneself. In the group she felt free to talk about things that she did not discuss with friends or family. Since she did not have the support she longed for in her surrounding people, Maria was happy to have the group.

The responses from all three interviewees reflected the importance of being able to talk about death, and to see that there are many ways of reacting to a loss. They appreciated knowing that there were others who shared their experience to some extent. They also expressed a need to share their thoughts with others undisturbed, to which the grief counselling groups were a good arena.

John refers to the phone call he got from the deacon about the grief counselling groups as something good. He was also happy about the way the deacon had contacted his children to check whether they would like to join a group as well. From the group sessions he recalls feeling sorry for the other group members. As mentioned earlier John says he had a rather light grieving process. He felt uncomfortable saying this in front of the group, considering that the other members seemed very much affected by their grief. Also when he found a new partner, he did not know whether he should tell the group, because it was still close up to the death of his wife. But when he told the news, he learned that there was another of the members who had also found a new partner. This seems to have comforted John, knowing that he was not the only one "moving on" in terms of finding a new partner.

Ingrid had not been in a group herself, but her daughter was in a grief counselling group for youth. Tom was satisfied with the help he got from the conversations with the deacon and did not wish to join a counselling group. The significance of the grief counselling groups were mainly linked to the aspect of fellowship, that people could share experiences, talk openly and uninterrupted without tiring the listener, and be reminded that they were not alone in their situation. The bonds to the other members were not close, they just came together at the group meetings.

5.1.6. Faith

Religious reflections were not the main topic of the interviews, but the respondents did share some thoughts about the significance of their faith in their time of grieving when the researcher asked.

Maria was the one who most clearly referred to God as a main source of comfort. Being able to trust that there is a life after death had helped her. As she said herself, it was comforting to know where her father went when he died, and that he himself knew where he was going. As mentioned before, Maria ascribed her getting throught the grief, to the power of God. Ingrid, on the other hand, said she could not say that God was the one who comforted her. She had faith in God, and counted on his support if she was to seek him. However, she did not consider God as a significant actor in helping her through the grieving. Whether the network around her claimed a certain faith or not, was also irrelevant to her. The most important thing was to have a social network at all. She did not discuss issues of faith with the ones who came to comfort her. She had not felt the need to let God comfort her, but also admitted that she probably would have turned to God if she didn't have the strong network around her.

John did not mention the religious aspect, while Tom said that he found comfort in reading in a devotional book that his wife always carried when they travelled. He did not specify whether this was because it was a dear belonging to his wife, or if it was because it contained readings from the Bible. Nina cited the Norwegian hymn "Fylt av glede", that had been comforting her in her grieving. The stanza that stuck with her was "The light of the christening remains when life fades out"⁸¹. With its religious connotations, this stanza reflected a bit of the spirituality of the respondent.

⁸¹ Norwegian words: Dåpens lys forblir når livet slukner, stanza from "Fylt av glede over livets under", Hymn nr. 618 in Norsk Salmebok.

Faith in God did not stand out as a crucial factor in supporting the respondents through their grief. However, when the researcher asked for comments on the subject, all apart from one had reflections on the role of their personal faith in the time of bereavement.

5.1.7. Perspectives from the Church

In this paragraph the researcher will share perspectives of the church on what they view as their role in relation to the bereaved in their community. The findings are gathered from informal conversions with the deacon, and through reading the information posted on the website of the church.

The deacon of the church under study is ascribed the responsibility of following up the bereaved in the local community. In the Plan for Diakonia for this specific church, this ministry is described as an important part of loving one's neighbour, which according to the general Plan for Diakonia of the Church of Norway is one of the four pillars of diakonia. The target group is the whole of the local community. The aim is to "show care and support for each one to live with the grief"⁸². The grief counselling groups are also mentioned as a part of creating an inclusive community, yet another of the four pillars of diakonia. Although the aim of the group is not to create lasting relationships, people with the same experiences may interact and be of support to each other within the time frame of the groups.

The church also arranges one-evening seminars on grief for those who are interested. The target group are people who are bereaved, and the aim is to establish contact with people who are bereaved and recruit to the grief counselling groups. These seminars are also part of the work description of the deacon. Apart from these measures the church offers counselling for anyone who is interested and this is done by the deacon or pastor, or other church workers.

The ministry of grief counselling in the Norwegian church under study is aimed at the whole of the local community. One does not have to be a regular church member to

⁸² Individual Plan for Diakonia for the church under study.

attend a grief counselling group, or to ask for counselling from the pastor or deacon. The deacon in the church under study offers counselling and follow-up in all situations where children and youth are bereaved. She is in close contact with the local nurse who frequently refers people to the church if she thinks they are in need of someone to talk to. When taking contact with a person who is newly bereaved, the deacon makes arrangements that she will contact them regularly, in order to make the burden for the bereaved as light as possible, as she is aware that contacting the church may be a large step for many.⁸³

In this chapter the researcher has summarized the main features of the interviews from the Norwegian congregation. The findings have been cathegorized into five topics. In addition to this the church perspective on the matter has been presented. The topics will be further presented in a comparison to the findings from the Kenyan context, and will also be discussed in an own chapter.

5.2. Kenya

5.2.1. Presentation of the Respondents

Sarah is a widow with children. Both she and her late husband were Tanzanians. They were married for nine years before the husband died of tyfoid in 1995. He was the sole bread winner of the house.

Ester is a widow with three kids. She herself is a Tanzanian, but her husband was a Kenyan luo with a Tanzanian mother. Ester lost her husband to esophagus cancer. About a year after her husband passed away she got a job in the UN, managing to provide for her family.

Eric is in his late 50's and serves as a church elder, apart from working as an engineer. His wife died in December 2010, after 30 years of marriage. They had three kids together.

⁸³ Anna Spilling, *Praksisrapport* (Oslo: Det teologiske menighetsfakultet, 2010).

Charity is a widow with six children. Her husband died of diabetes in 1993. Charity now works in the church. The interview was done through an interpreter.

The other respondents were a pastor, the chair person of the widow's group and a youth leader.

5.2.2. Grief

The responses concerning the grief reactions were not as comprehensive among the Kenyan respondents as among the Norwegians. Description of emotions and feelings were mostly mentioned when the researcher asked specifically for it.

Sarah was the one respondent who on her own initiative used terminology referring to her inner thoughts. Immidiately after the death of her husband she could not cry. She describes a state of shock. And when the husband was to be brought to the mortuary Sarah would not let anyone take him, and reacted strongly when they made an attempt. The men who had come to help her held her down, and had to tell her repeatedly that her husband was gone, until she finally realized that her husband was actually dead. Reality hit her only when she got back to her own house. Looking back, the respondent can see that she was in total denial in the time after the loss. She could not grasp the reality, and needed help to come out of the shock.

Sarah was encouraged by her sister that she go see a counsellor, and she recalls feeling very sick when she went to see him three weeks after the burial. In the interview Sarah mentions crying and a feeling of bitterness when referring to the grief she went through. She also described a feeling of being sick, and that she could not quite place the pain: *"When I went* (to the consellor, ed. note) *I was so sick, I didn't know what was paining me. I thought everything was bad..."* (Sarah)

A year after is when Sarah started to recover from the grieving. That is also the time she started to talk about what had happened. Until she reached that point she was not able to enter a hospital, fearing that she would die like her husband had died. Her grief had the expression of fear and angst that she would suffer the same fate as her husband. However, even though she says she recovered from the grief after a year, the sense of loss is still strong. At the time of this study, 16 years after the loss, there are times when the absence of her husband brings pain upon her. The thing that comforts her in those moments is to turn on music and look through photographs that bring out memories. Some nights are spent crying and praying, leaving her to feel better the following morning.

Ester describes the loss of her husband as losing an umbrella which had been covering her from rain. She felt like she was left in the wilderness and did not know where to go. People surrounding her expected that her life would return to the same after a while, however this was not the case for the respondent. The grief did not pass easily, and the challenges were many.

Eric described his grief reaction as a rational and scientific search for answers. He tried to rationally interpret what had happened to his wife, knowing that his wife suffered from high blood pressure. He asked himself whether God had left him, not understanding how something of such magnitude could happen to his family. At times he was not able to sleep because his thoughts drifted away to his wife. In order to control his thoughts he would call his kids to sit with him, and they would watch a video or see some pictures of the late wife, to reminisce on the days they had together with her.

For Charity times were really tough after she became a widow. She had no job, but she had six children who depended on her. She started coping with the challenge by selling second hand clothes. When the researcher asked about the emotional part of the grieving the reply was that the respondent did have a problem grieving at first. However after attending the group of widows and participating in church activities, the emotional part "went away". She says it took about a year for her to move on.

Sarah and Eric both describe the sense of loss that came with losing their companion. To Sarah, the pain is still strong even 16 years after the death. Regarding time, both Sarah and Charity said that they had spent about a year recovering from the grief. Eric was still in an early phase and Ester did not mention time. What helped Sarah move on in her life was the recognition of her daughter and the dependency she had on the mother. The counsellor was the one to remind Sarah of this responsibility.

5.2.2.1. Challenges Related to the Bereavement

When the respondents were asked to describe their grief, they naturally mentioned several challenges that were linked to their bereavement experience. Three responses stood out. The first and more evident was the one of financial and practical challenges. The widows mainly pointed out financial challenges as they were in the situation of losing the sole bread winner of the family. Sarah had a hard time taking up her husband's business when he died, as she was not trained to handle his job. When her husband passed away Sarah faced a great challenge in caring for her children and herself, this including school fees, food, clothing, etc. The challenge Eric brought up was more of a practical character, being in the situation of not knowing how to handle the different houses he owned, now that he was on his own. He also informed that he could not remarry while still living in the same house as he and his wife used to. All the respondents had children, and raising these kids after their life companion passed away would keep them awake at night, never knowing how to pay the shool fees, where to get clothing, whether they would get married, etc.

Secondly several of the respondents mentioned the issue of prejudices from other people. Sarah and Ester found it painful when people set out rumours about the death of their husbands, whether it had to do with HIV/AIDS, accusations from the in-laws concerning witchcraft or people questioning the cause of death of the husband, implying that the wife had killed him. The female respondents shared experiences about how they were victims of people's talk. Being a widow also resulted in a distrust from other women in the church congregation. Both Ester and Sarah had undergone situations where they were kept from talking to other women's husbands, realizing this was out of the other women's fear that the widow would steal their husband.

Thirdly, the respondents mentioned the pain of being rejected by friends or family. All three of the widows had also experienced being pushed away from the family of the late husband, their own in-laws, after the death. When the husband was alive, Sarah recalled being treated as a queen at his home place. However, after the husband passed away, his

family would hardly talk to her. Sarah remembers with pain how people would shun her, without her knowing why. Ester had the same experience, witnessing that some of her friends would no longer be with her after she lost her husband.

In addition to these three challenges, the following were also mentioned.

All the respondents were Tanzanians living in Kenya. Ester was the one to mention this as a challenge, telling that it was hard being far away from home and living as a foreigner in another country, a burden adding up to the one of her husband's death. The widows also had the experience of being stigmatized in the society, not being acknowledged for their skills or their personality, but having to live up to the expectation of the society that they would mourn forever. Fortunately, none of the respondents had faced a challenge with the wife inheritance tradition that is still strong in a number of tribes in Kenya and Tanzania. They were thankful for this.

As we have seen, the respondents were not remarkably expressive when describing the emotional part of the grief. However they had many contributions regarding challenges that came with the loss. The three responses that stood out were the practical/financial issues, the prejudices and the pain of other people's lack of care and support. When the researcher asked them to describe their emotional reaction to the loss of their loved one, the immediate response was rather to describe the many challenges they faced in daily life in the time following the bereavement, emphasizing the practical and financial difficulties. The researcher did not clearly understand if this was due to a cultural attitude that feelings and emotions are private. Or if the emotions simply were not their primary concern.

5.2.3. Grief Work

Two of the respondents, Sarah and Eric, mentioned music as a part of their grief work. When they felt depressed they would put on music that reminded them of their deceased loved one, which gave them a chance to reminisce on the times they had together. Watching pictures also had an effect of preserving the memory of the deceased. Apparently, they acknowledged the importance of creating space for the grief instead of suppressing it. As mentioned Sarah went to a counsellor, and to her this was an arena where she was free to talk about what she was going through and a place where she was assisted in realizing how the grief was affecting her. The counselling sessions helped her to process the grief. Crying was an important way for Sarah to tackle and acknowlegdge the grief. She described a feeling that crying "opened up" leaving her to feel better.

Sarah expressed that it was important for her to see the body of her husband after he had died. When they tried to take her out, she protested. After it hit her what had happened, she did not want to see anything that reminded her of him, or that looked like him. Seeing the body may have helped her to grasp the reality. And again, the fact that she did not want to be reminded of the husband in retrospect, was probably an attempt to control the pain she was feeling, and try to divide it out into affordable measures.

When the widows shared their experiences from the widow's group, it reflected that they did feel a need to talk about their problems and challenges with someone likeminded, and that meeting someone in the same situation and to do something together was helpful in order to find strength to move on. As will be described under the topic of "Support Groups" (pt. 5.2.6.) this was an important function of the group, in addition to the financial and practical support it provided.

Charity was grateful to the church for the support she was offered there. What helped her to "move out of the emotional part of grieving" was meeting the widow's group, singing in choir and also being in church in general. To her it was also important to be able to help other widows in their grief, sharing her experience.

When the respondents were asked to describe how they had coped with their grief, there were few coinciding responses. One mentioned the church specifically (as will be presented later the church played a central role to several of the other respondents as well), two of them mentioned music and pictures, and then there was one respondent who mentioned prayers, the talking with other people and going to counselling as important ways for her to process the grief of her husband's death. Sarah summarized her healing process in two words: *prayer* and *time*.

5.2.5. Consolation and Support

In order to obtain an understanding of the role of the church in the healing process of the respondents, the researcher asked them to describe in general where they found comfort.

The church was mentioned as an important source of comfort by nearly all the respondents. Ester is the one who did not experience much support or consolation in the Lutheran Church. However, what she sought for was found in another church, and that is where she arranged the burial for her husband.

To Sarah, the counselling she got outside the church was important. During the sessions the counsellor would ask questions and allow Sarah to tell her story. She would let her tears out, and the counsellor would listen carefully before he threw some new questions. Sarah remembers that when she came out of the office, she managed even to smile, something she had not done since her husband passed away. The counsellor assured her that what she was going through was a normal process of grief, and it seems this in itself had a comforting effect on Sarah.

There was especially one person who was important to Sarah in the time following her husband's death, namely her sister. What made her presence crucial was that she would pray and sing together with Sarah, she would force her to go to counselling, and she would make sure that Sarah ate, slept and was not left alone. The sister knew how to show her love and care in the time when she needed it the most.

His strong relationship to the church, helped Eric in his bereavement. When he was asked to describe the support the church had given him, this was the response:

"They support me on one thing like this. When you are in a place like that, if you see church members, including your pastor coming to your place, you feel as if you are not out of the church, you are together with them. In the time of happiness and grief. So that's one thing. Another thing, they contribute." (Eric) When saying that the church contributed, Eric aimed at the financial support. And in addition to that it seems the church prevented him from feeling lonely. Here is a strong element of religious "belonging", as Wuthnow et al. (1980) refer to as a salient factor in coping with grief.

According to both Eric and Sarah trusting in God was the key to move on in life. Eric was also happy to tell that the church had been there for him when he needed them. The same experience was shared by Sarah and Charity. On the other hand there was Ester, who was disappointed that the church had not supported her in the way she felt she needed. Nevertheless, Ester had supportive parents, who protected her from being part of the tradition of wife inheritance⁸⁴. The researcher understood this as an important and valuable support, considering that some widows of the church earlier, in an informal conversation, had described the wife inheritance as one of the most severe challenges of widowhood.

The widow's group was mentioned by Charity as a place where she found moral support, financial support and became a part of a fellowship that worked together.

The church was apparently the most important place where the respondents found comfort in their grief. This being said, it must be taken into account that all the respondents were regular church attendants, thus naturally having their social network within the church. One of the respondents did not have a good experience with the Lutheran church, however she did find the support she needed in another church fellowship. In addition to the church, the respondents mentioned individuals such as the one mentioning her sister and another one appreciating her parents. The fellowship of the widow's group was also mentioned specifically.

5.2.6. The Church Role

In light of the former responses it is now appropriate to present more clearly the role of the church in supporting and comforting the respondents in their bereavement. This will

⁸⁴ The wife inheritance law states that a widow is the property of the late husband's brother.

be done by presenting sub-themes related to the church role, namely *preaching of the gospel* and *support groups*, starting with a general approach.

The Church as a Whole

As already mentioned the church seemed to have a strong role in giving support to the Kenyan respondents in this study. There was one widow who was not satisfied with the church support when her husband died. Other than that, the general response was that the church had a significant role in supporting and consolating the bereaved. The widows in particular had experienced the church supporting them financially. As the governmental system does not offer any support for the widows in Kenya, losing a husband creates a complex situation of financial and practical challenges, adding to the grief itself of losing a husband.

The researcher observed that the respondents held a strong loyalty towards the church in general. Church attendance was a regular activity and all four respondents had some kind of commitment in the church, compelling them to spend a certain amount of time with fellow congregants. The church seemed to be an important arena for their socialising, and appeared to be place where they all had established a supportive social network. These observations coincide with the strong emphasis on the church as a support in difficult times.

Ester is the one who did not involve the church much in her bereavement. When her husband fell ill she was living with her husband in Mombasa, a city by the coast of Kenya, several miles from Nairobi. The husband had to be transfered to a hospital in Nairobi, which is where he died. This moving may be the reason why the church appeared absent to Ester, as the Lutheran Church in Nairobi was not familiar with her and her family. Ester tells with bitterness how the people in church arranged a big burial seremony, serving great amounts of food, while at the same time nobody seemed to care whether she and her children had eaten. Ester finally decided to arrange the burial in another church, where she felt like she was taken care of. Her story tells of a church who was not there for her, she received no practical or moral support.

Preaching of the Gospel

Only one of the respondents had a direct comment on the preaching of the church, in relation to the grief. Charity recalled especially one sermon that had helped her to look forward in life. The preacher had stressed the importance of moving on, and not to continue grieving in one place.

Ester also mentioned the value of preaching, however she did not link it up to her grief in specific. Her approach was more general, pointing out how the preaching in a certain church helped her to know God more. The preaching she talked about was not in the church under study.

Support Groups

There is one support group targeting bereaved in the church under study, namely the widow's support group. They mainly focus on supporting the widows financially, but it is also a place where widows share experiences and support one another emotionally. Up to the time this study was conducted they had a project of rearing rabbits in order to generate income for the members. In addition to this project the group had a practice of giving small loans to widows who needed assistance in starting a business. The group offered economic support, as well as moral support and prayer fellowship. It brought women together and assisted them in helping themselves, giving loans and grants.

All three of the female respondents were part of the widow's group and expressed satisfaction with the assistance they had received from the group, even if the group had faced some organisatory challenges. They were happy to have a place where they could meet other women who were going through challenges of the same kind as themselves. And as already mentioned, Charity found meaning in sharing her experiences as a widow to the other bereaved women in the church.

The tendency among the Kenyan respondents was that the church played a significant role as comforter in their grief. Both the church as a fellowship and the specific support groups for widows seemed to be important to the bereaved. Two of the respondents also mentioned the preaching of the gospel as a source of consolation. This being said, it must be taken into account that all the respondents were regular church attendants, and held most of their social network within the congregation.

5.2.8. Faith

Knowing that religion is a common frame for interpretation of life in many African cultures, the researcher expected the Kenyan respondents to mention God in their reflections on the bereavement. This was also the case. Faith was mentioned as an important source of comfort and consolation by all the respondents. Interpretation of the happenings as God's will was evident in all four narratives.

The following statement from one of the female respondents can serve as a representative example:

"I just tell God: 'God, you gave me a husband who treated me so well and you decided to take him away. God you know what you are going to do with me. Here I am! You're my husband now, I have nobody else.' Up to now, that's what I do. When I'm in terrible hardship, I would just go down, I would kneel down, I would tell God all my problems. And miraculously some ways open for me and I wonder. So I trust, when things are hard, you just turn to God. Me, I believe prayers do wonders. And belief. Because I never knew it would happen to me, I thought life was going to be so nice throughout. But after that. It tought me a lesson. To be closer to God. Yes. And even to church.' (Sarah)

Ester accepted Christ together with her husband while he was still sick in the hospital, and the faith has been an important source of comfort to her in her time of grieving. Charity confesses that her faith was shaken a bit when her husband died. She doubted whether God was really with her. However, after spending time in the church, she was again convinced God was with her. She now sees God as her companion. Sarah says her relationship to God was strengthened through what happened, and Eric also noticed that his faith only increased after he lost his wife. However, immediately after he got the bad news, he did wonder if God had left him. The respondents were clear on the significance of their faith. The reseacher was not surprised by this, knowing that a religious interpretation of life is common in most African cultures.

5.2.9. Perspectives from the Church

In this section the researcher will give a presentation of the church approach to issues of grieving among the congregants, based on interviews with the pastor, a youth worker and the chair person of the widow's group.

The church under study values the ministry of supporting people who are bereaved. However, this support is mainy given the first week, until the burial has been held. That is when the church is strongly present for the family. From there, the extended family and the community as a whole take over the responsibility unless the bereaved themselves ask for more support from the church, financially, emotionally or in other ways.

The pastor could inform that the church supports the bereaved through prayers, encouragement with passages from the Sciptures, and if needed they give financial assistance. When one of the congregants or a family member of a congregant dies, a group from church will visit the family of the deceased. They go to the family with the church choir to pray and sing. The pastor is also with them. During the burial a few people are assigned to join the family to comfort them.

The researcher asked whether it was difficult to raise the necessary funds for the financial support, or if people were willing to give. To this the pastor answered that it had never been difficult, at least if the deceased was a member of the church. As soon as people get the information that a church member is dead, they will start contributing. If the person was not a member of the church, it becomes difficult for the family, as they miss out on the supportive network within the church fellowship. For members of the church this support is automatic, according to the pastor.

"Yes, but now you see in Africa it might be different from your setup, because you see when such thing happens (death, ed.'s note), it belongs to the extended family, so these people will automatically come and assist. So within a short time it just goes. Yeah, you accept the reality." (Pastor)

When it comes to emotional support or counselling in the time following the burial, the pastor openly shares that they do not see this as a part of the church ministry. During three to four days before the burial the church will be there. Supporting with food, prayers and collections for the burial expense. They will be visiting both day and night, spending time, singing, reading the Scripture. After the burial the church withdraws, and the extended family of the bereaved are the ones who take over the responsibility. The extended family will have meetings to assess the needs of the one who is left behind, and they will divide the responsibility between one another. This is a common practice in many African cultures, according to the pastor. However, as presented earlier, stories from the widows indicate that the automatic nature of this family support often fails.

The church focus is on the first days after the bereavement. According to the pastor, these days are the most crucial. From there the bereaved will recover automatically, with time. If needed, the emotional comfort is to be found within the extended family. Whether the church gives counselling depends on the person concerned. If a person expresses the need for that kind of assistance, the church wishes to be there. If someone needs to talk, they will come to the pastor's office, but this rarely happens.

Even though the church does not have specific routines for following up bereaved beyond the first week of mourning, the pastor claims that the church has a crucial role in this by virtue of being a family-like fellowship of Christians.

"... grown-ups nowadays we are used to these kind of things happening. It will affect you for some time, and then it goes. Because now the church becomes the home, it is the center of comfort to this family. And as long as you come to church you are comforted, in a way." (Pastor)

The diaconal focus of the church is strong, and they value it as an important ministry. They have provision for diaconal measures in their budget. When speaking of diakonia, the pastor mainly mentions financial support to widows and aged women living alone who face many challenges in society, especially in financial terms.

The support goes to people who belong to the church. Previously there was also a support system aimed at people from surrounding areas, but resources were limited, and the board had to realize that the church did not hold the capacity to cater for everyone.

When it comes to preaching to the bereaved, the pastor explains that they use various texts from the Scriptures as comforting words. They also use the opportunity of the burial to address the people who are still alive, so that they can keep their faith. This shows a focus that is beyond merely comforting the bereaved. There is also the agenda of nurturing the faith of those present.

The chair person of the widow's group can inform that there has only been a recognition of the widows in the congregation since 2002. She herself was the one to fight it through as she sat in the governing council at the time. The year after, she established the widows group. She illustrates the function of the group in the following statement:

"So the most important thing is that we made people wake up. The group actually made people realize themselves... And by encouraging them to push on and do something with the talent they have – some of them, I must say, have really managed to come out of their cocoon, managed to have some self-employment and that is something!" (Chair person)

The most important function of this widow's group is to assist widows so that they can help themselves. It also serves the function of bringing the widows together so that they can encourage each other. The widow's group is also a channel to pass on information about those of the widows who have certain niches, so that they can sell their products or services to people in church. The leaders make an effort to spot those who are really in need, and as a tool in this all widows have to fill in a form with information of their situation before becoming a part of the group. In this regard it is an exclusive group. Through interviews and informal conversations with church workers, the researcher was able to analyse the church approach to issues of grief among the congregants. The pastor communicated an awareness about the importance of being a present church when congregants were bereaved. However, the general support was limited to the first week after the bereavement, beyond this it was the responsibility of the extended family to cater for the one grieving. The support of the church was aimed at church congregants only, due to limited resources. A family who had not been regular church attendants would most likely not experience the support noticeably. The widow's group is an example of how the church gives extended support to a group of people who experience grief. The group is acknowledged by the church board, but is self-driven by widows themselves.

5.3. Comparison of the findings

The topics in the analytical presentation create the foundation to compare the church role as a support to people who are bereaved in the respective contexts.

5.3.1. Grief and Grief Work

The responses on the subject of grief did not coincide internally in the given contexts, yet the researcher observed a rough distinction between the Norwegian congregation and the Kenyan congregation, which made it possible to draw a line between them. In the Norwegian congregation, the immidiate response to the researcher's invitation to describe their grief, was to focus on emotional aspects. Within the emotional category there were a range of different feelings. In Kenya on the other hand, the primary concern was more practically oriented, namely how to cater for the family now that the spouse was gone.⁸⁵ The respondents did not exclude the emotional descriptions completely (Sarah, for instance went to counselling because she was feeling depressed), but they seemed to tone them down, compared to the practical challenges they faced.

The respondents also mentioned issues of prejudice from surrounding people and rejection by friends and family. In the Norwegian congregation challenges of this nature were not mentioned. However, two respondents *did* mention that they were

⁸⁵ Comment: The study in Kenya only included widow(er)s, thus the researcher is not able to present other perspectives from the Kenyan context.

disappointed with people who did not turn up to support them in their period of mourning.

In terms of personal grief work, there did not seem to be any clear distinction. Listening to music, going through pictures and talking to people were personal coping strategies that were mentioned in both contexts. The tendency to mention God, faith and prayers as crucial in the healing process was more evident in Kenya.

The researcher observed a rough line between the Norwegian and the Kenyan respondents as to how they described their grief, namely a distinction between emotional focus and focus on practical issues. Regarding how they coped with their grief, there did not seem to be a similar distinction. In the following chapter we will se how the church support can be compared.

5.3.2. The Church Support

The comparative presentation of the church support is based on responses from the church leadership, complemented by observations made by the researcher and viewed in light of the responses from the bereaved.

In accordance with the tendency of emotional focus in grief among the Norwegian respondents, the Norwegian church under study supports the bereaved mostly in emotional terms. It has a clear role of facilitating and organizing forums where bereaved may receive comfort and consolation, beyond merely being an arena for social network. The church leaders also offer individual counselling and follow-up. The congregation has a deacon who is ascribed the responsibility of this ministry, which is mentioned in the Plan for Diakonia and is considered to be an essential part of the diaconal calling of the church. The ministry is also extended to non-members of the church, as the church board views diakonia as a hand streched out to one's neighbour, not merely to fellow Christians. According to the pastor of the Kenyan congregation this is an ideal even to them. However, due to limited resources it is not feasible. Only church members can therefore count on the church as a support in their bereavement.

The Norwegian church in this study did not seem to have a dominant function in terms of offering practical support. It did, however have a role in offering a social network where people could find support. The church facilitates and organizes grief support groups in partnership with deacons from surrounding churches, where the intention is that people share experiences and receive emotional support. The church also has a role in providing rituals or tools for religious meaning-making, such as facilitating grave sites for the greiving to visit and arranging an All-Saints mass for bereaved annually.

The Norwegian church valued continuous follow-up of people who were grieving, acknowledging that the wounds could feel fresh even years after the loss. In Kenya, the outreaching support of the church was limited to the first week of bereavement, according to the pastor. In the Kenyan church, the emotional support appeared to be a question only if the situation was severe. The pastor said he rarely received inquiries of the sort in his office. The urgent need seemed to be financial and practical support, which the church offered during the first period of mourning. For this financial assistance they had a provision in the budget. The pastor also confirmed that Kenyans and Tanzanians have a strong tradition for raising funds when someone needs support (pt. 5.2.9.). Thus, when someone in the congregation dies, it is not difficult to raise the necessary financial support among the congregants.

In summary, the church support in Norway was more organized and long-term than the one in Kenya. The focus was also more on emotional support. The Kenyan congregation under study relied more on the family's capacity and willingness to care for their own. In addition to this the family-feeling in the congregation served as a support in itself, without having to be organized. The grief support in Kenya was more of an economic character, while in Norway the grief counselling groups and individual counselling were more relevant responses from the church when someone lost a loved one.

5.3.3. The diaconal self-understanding

The Norwegian congregation upholds strong emphasis on the diaconal ministry of the church. They have a church worker assigned to this specific ministry, namely the deacon. They have also developed a Plan for Diakonia, individually for this particular congregation, in accordance with the Church of Norway Plan for Diakonia. The diaconal

ministry is thoroughly organized, whereas support and counselling of bereaved is considered a central part. Consolation seems to be the aim of this ministry, giving relief to someone's burden of grief by showing God's love to them in practice and including them in the church fellowship.

In the Kenyan congregation they also emphasize diakonia, but the approach is slightly different. They have a provision in the budget for cases of diaconal nature, and these resources mainly go to people who are ill, bereaved or are in other types of hardship, in terms of direct financial support. The congregation holds a grief support group, which provides general support. The respondents were clear on the role of this group as a fellowship of likeminded, supporting each other in sharing experiences. A comparison may be drawn to the Norwegian congregation in this regard, where they have a grief counselling group which mainly focuses on emotional counselling and support, assisting the members in disclosure of feelings and cognitive restructuring of the death. However, the more prominent function of the group in the Kenyan congregation was the financial support.

The individual calling to diakonia seemed to be more evident in the Kenyan congregation, where the leadership encouraged church members to care for each other. The fellowship as a whole held the responsibility while the individual members developed diaconal activities in line with observed needs, instead of the church as such taking a clear organisatory role. In comparison, the Norwegian congregation under study had a clear diaconal self-understanding at a congregational level. The calling to practice diakonia as a fellowship was the most evident expression, even though the responsibility of the individual to care for his or her neighbour was also emphasized.

6. Discussion

The field work of this study has resulted in examples of what role the church may take in supporting bereaved in two specific contexts, and has sought to draw a comparing line between a congregation in Norway and one in Kenya. In this chapter the researcher will discuss the findings and present some answers to the research questions, in light of relevant theories. The researcher will emphasize the cultural rationale behind the differences.

6.1. The impact of the grief on the bereaved

The first research question asks for the distinction in how the respondents from the two cultures describe their grief. As mentioned, the researcher drew a rough line between the grief descriptions in the Norwegian context and those of the Kenyan context, whereas respondents in Norway tended to give descriptions of a more emotional character than what they did in Kenya.

The most evident rationale behind this seems to be the issue of poverty and/or low level of support in the Kenyan society as a whole. Even though the Kenyan respondents in this study seemed to be relatively wealthy in their culture, they tended to emphasize the practical and financial challenges of losing a loved one. Considering that the hardship of losing a spouse is more complex to a person who is living without a welfare safety net, this tendency is not surprising. Clearly it does not mean that the Kenyan respondents were not affected emotionally, responses indicate that they did. However, the circumstances forced them to keep an eye on how to manage financally.

In the Norwegian context, the pain was described in terms of a sense of loss, while in Kenya the pain was also linked to the hardship of managing a family by oneself. The researcher is aware that this does not exclude the fact that the Norwegian respondents also were affected by the burden of losing a co-worker in the home, or a provider (e.g. if the deceased was a parent). However, it was not brought about as a subject by the respondents to the same extent as in the Kenyan interviews. The sense of loss was also evident among the Kenyan respondents, especially in the cases where the deceased and the bereaved had a good relationship. However, a distinction is drawn due to the way the respondents seemed to range the significance.

As referred to in pt. 2.5. Nwoye points out the differences between grief work in African contexts compared to in the Western world. He claims that the African approach is less analytical. In African cultures, the aim of grief work is to prevent negative thougts in the bereaved. The fact that all the Kenyan respondents focused on the death as the will of

God, even though it was painful, indicates that they tendend to replace negative thoughts with thoughts of comfort. The pastor also shared that this was his focus in grief counselling: helping the bereaved to see and accept the will of God.

In summary, the distinction between the emotional focus and the focus on financial challenges in Norway and Kenya respectively may be explained by the economic situation and the welfare system in the society as a whole. In Kenya, which is a country under development still lacking a strong welfare system, the loss of a spouse may cause severe challenges for the bereaved. How to survive and manage without the spouse becomes the primary concern, even though this does not exclude the fact that the emotional pain may feel unbearable.

6.2. Sources of consolation

The second research question sought to discover a pattern with regard to the main sources of consolation for bereaved in the cultures in question. In light of what has been presented on the grief reactions, one might think that the responses with regard to the sources of consolation would cohere, thus be distinct in the two contexts. However, this did not appear to be the case.

Both the respondents in Norway and in Kenya mentioned good relationships and disclosure of feelings as important sources of consolation, in addition to personal ways to cope, like looking at pictures of the deceased and listening to music to call on memories. In Kenya the responses regarding religion were more frequent. Coming to church and taking part in church activities, such as choir, Sunday service, support groups etc., were also mentioned by all four respondents as support they appreciated.

One thing that stood out, was that in Kenya the respondents found comfort in the mere action of going to church. While in Norway, the respondents might have gone to church and still felt alone in their grief, if they were not directly addressed by fellow congregants or clearly experienced the care and love of others in words and action. One of the important functions of religion as a support in bereavement, is that it is a source of belonging.⁸⁶ Through the observations made, the researcher realized that this role of religion applies to both contexts, but it has different expressions. As previously mentioned the sense of belonging to a fellowship may be weaker in the western culture than in an African, due to a difference in how one views a community and what is considered important in a fellowship. In individualistic cultures, the interests of the individual and his or her significant others are set before interests of the community.⁸⁷ When the sense of belonging is week, it may also have implications for the outcome of the grieving process. In Kenya, as a collectivistic culture, the community is a support in itself, members of the community seem to feel the support of others as long as they are together. While in Norway where people in general are more influenced by individualism, they seem to rely more on a direct inquiry from others, showing their support, in order to feel that they have been met.

Explicitly, the meaning-making of deaths seemed to be stronger in the Kenyan context. The respondents were not reluctant to ascribe an incident to the will of God. In fact, the impression was that this actually gave them comfort. According to Scuchter and Zisook faith and belief in God is "one of the most frequently used and effective means of coping with death" for those left behind.⁸⁸ It may give the bereaved a greater perspective on the happenings, in terms of understanding occurring events as God's will. Bereaved may find consolation in the belief that there exists someone or some power that knows everything, and who is able to help in the situation and give strength to the difficult days that lie ahead. This shows the importance of organized faith and rituals, as mentioned in Chapter 2.4.

In the Norwegian society, even in church set-ups, such religious meaning-making of a tragic event is a theologically controversial conception. To explain a death as God's will does not have the same comforting effect or positive connotations in a secularist culture. It may even be viewed as a violation of someone's personal life, or as destructive to their image of God. Accordingly, the Norwegian congregation in this study seems to be reluctant to make meaning out of deaths. The researcher believes this may be due to the relativistic attitude towards life that dominates in postmodern societies. No one has the

 ⁸⁶ Hays and Hendrix, "The Role of Religion in Bereavement", 329.
 ⁸⁷ Nafstad, Blakar and Rand-Hendriksen, "Individualisme og fellesskapsverdier i dagens norske samfunn", 149.

⁸⁸ Shuchter and Zisook, "The course of normal grief", 32.

right to ascribe meaning to events in someone else's life. Everything is relative. Someone's meaning making of an event is real to this person alone, and it is not considered a comfort if someone else has an explanation that the bereaved him-/herself cannot adhere to.

The sources of consolation seemed to be the same in the two contexts, apart from the religious meaning-making of events that occured more frequently among the Kenyan respondents. The importance of the church fellowship also seemed to have different expressions in the two contexts. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

6.3. The role of the church as a support

Research question three asked how the respective churches relate to people who are bereaved, in order to reveal some differences.

Even though the church in the Norwegian context has a strongly established practice of offering counselling and pastoral care to bereaved, it does not seem that personal religion as such is a compulsory content of the support, and the recipient of the support is not obliged to confess the Christian faith. As the Plan for Diakonia points out, the church meets people at important events in life. The church as an institution holds competence and experience on death related issues, and has competence in consoling bereaved, regardless of faith. A central diaconal measure is loving one's neighbour, even those who are not Christians.⁸⁹ Each person holds the freedom to interpret life in a religious or non-religious light, even though one is a member of the church. As we have seen, the respondents in the Kenyan contexts to a large extent relied on religious meaning-making of tragic incidents such as deaths.

The findings of this study indicated that the support to bereaved was organized differently in the two contexts. In Norway, there appeared to be a need to organize the support for bereaved, as routines for this are not strongly rooted in the individualistic culture. This did not seem to be the case in the Kenyan congregation under study. When a person dies, a system lies within the collectivistic culture, which drives people to show up with support to the bereaved (cf. The response from the pastor in pt. 5.2.9.). The

⁸⁹ Church of Norway, *Plan for diakonia*, 14.

church choir would go to the house of those mourning and sing both day and night. Pastor and other church workers would also be present to share readings from the Scipture and lead prayer. Also the fact that people in Kenya seemed to find comfort in the mere action of being present in the church congregation (pt. 6.2.) shows that the church support may work at another level in this culture. However, the effect of this intrinsic response to a tragic event was not solely positive, according to Esther. When her husband died, she had people coming to her home, yet she did not feel the comfort of these actions.

The grief counselling groups seemed to have a positive effect on the healing processes of the Norwegian respondents. In the framework presented by Pennebaker et al. (1997)⁹⁰, we may find an explanation as to why the groups were considered helpful:

"...social constraints inhibit someone talking about his or her loss, thus interfering with cognitive processing of the loss and preventing effective cognitive restructuring, leading to higher levels of depression. However, sharing thoughts and feelings about the loss to sympathetic others could foster new and supportive relationships, which in turn generate a greater sense of well-being. In contrast, unhappy thoughts kept to oneself generate a sense of isolation."91

Support groups provide a network of "sympathetic others", even though the relationships are reserved for the group setting. Social contstraints may not occur more frequently in the Norwegian culture, however the constraints may be at a level that affect the grief support to a greater extent than in Kenya, regarding that people are cautious not to intrude in the private sphere of others. The counselling groups may in such cases prevent that unhappy thoughts are kept inside (referring to the quote above). Responses from several of the respondents show that this was a real concern. Both Nina and Maria were happy to have a forum where they could let out their feelings uncensored, instead of "bothering" friends and family.

Furthermore, Live Fyrand points out that a person who has lost a loved one may benefit from support groups even if he or she has a strong social network, as the network does not necessarily include other people who share the same experience of grief.⁹²

 ⁹⁰ As presented in Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", 56.
 ⁹¹ Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", 56.

⁹² Live Fyrand, Sosialt nettverk: Teori og praksis, 4th ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2001), 300.

One of the respondents in the congregation in Kenya (Charity) pointed out the significance of her helping others in their grief. The charitable services of the church also permitted her to find meaning in the event through sharing her experiences with others, encouraging them to move on. This is mentioned by Wuthnow, Christiano and Kuzlowski. They put forward the following hypothesis:

The greater the frequency of participation (formal and informal) in religious activities, the greater the likelihood of being able to *provide* charitable services to others, which in turn provide meaning and purpose.⁹³

In Norway the grief support of the church seemed to be more general, and even though it was justified by a Christian calling to diakonia, personal religion was not a requirement in order to benefit from the charitable services. In Kenya personal religion seemed to play a more important part in the grief support. Support groups for bereaved were found in both contexts, although they were organized differently. In both cases these groups served as arenas where one could meet what Pennebaker refers to as sympathetic others, and disclose feelings in a safe environment.

6.4. The diaconal ministry and the diaconal self-understanding of the churches.

The last research question was directed towards the diaconal self-understanding of the respective congregations. The researcher gathered information on how the diaconal ministry of the church was organized with regard to grief counselling and support for bereaved, and sought to examine the diaconal identity.

One clear distinction in organizational terms was the target groups of the charitable services of the church. In Norway grief counselling was open to both members and nonmembers of the congregation. Church attendance was not a requirement. In Kenya, on the other hand, the services were only for members of the church, or people who had a connection to the congregation.

⁹³ Robert Wuthnow, Kevin Christiano and John Kuzlowski, "Religion and Bereavement: A Conceptual Framework", in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (1980, 4, Nr. 19), 418.

In Norway the congregation seemed to have a strong diaconal identity as a church. The Plan for Diakonia and the fact that they had a deacon who was in charge of this specific ministry bore witness of this. In Kenya the congregation adheres to biblical principles on diakonia. These principles are interpreted in a practical direction, as this seems to be the most urgent need of the bereaved, especially widows. The church offers more than psychological or emotional help. For instance, the support of bereaved also has an element of fighting poverty, one of the major issues of diakonia, as expressed by LWF.⁹⁴ While in Norway, support of people who are grieving is more an issue of showing love and care in itself. Poverty is not an urgent problem in the Norwegian context, even though it occurs.

The researcher also reflected upon whether there was a distincitveness in focus on individual diakonia and organized expressions of diakonia. LWF has a good description of the theological distinction between these two terms:

"All Christians are called through baptism to live out diakonia through what they do and how they live in their daily life in the world. This is the first and most fundamental expression of diakonia. More organized expressions of diakonia occur at the congregational level, as well as through those who are specifically set apart for diaconal ministry. More specialized forms of diaconal work are organized to carry out what individuals or congregations are unable to do on their own."⁹⁵

In Norway the diakonia was thoroughly organized. The researcher ascribes this tendency to the fact that it is a culture impacted by individualism, in that there is a need for organizing where there is a distance between people. The Plan for Diakonia also states that: "Often special skills and organising will be necessary in addition to what we can do spontaneously as individuals."⁹⁶ As people strive to be independent, and have filled-up calendars in their daily life, they more easily become a part of a fellowship if it is facilitated by others. The free benefits of being part of a community, as may be found in collectivistic cultures, are not evident here. In the collectivistic cultures, such as the church fellowship in Kenya, bereaved may experience a strong support by merely being

⁹⁴ The Lutheran World Federation, "Diakonia", <u>http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/themes/diakonia</u>, (n.d.), acc 31.05.11.

⁹⁵ The Lutheran World Federation, "Diakonia", <u>http://www.lutheranworld.org/lwf/index.php/themes/diakonia</u>, (n.d.), acc 31.05.11.

⁹⁶ Church of Norway, *Plan for Diakonia*, 14.

a part of the congregation. The common interaction, and taking part in the church fellowship seem to assist the bereaved in meaning-making and healing.

Where the bonds between people in a community are strong, it may be more natural that the individual diakonia is given priority. Organized services may not hit the target. As in individualistic cultures, there is a need to create arenas where people can gather around their common challenges. Organized diaconal work may meet needs that the individual is not capable of handling alone.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

In this project the researcher has approached the topic of cross-cultural grief by interviewing several respondents in churches in two individual contexts. In Chapter One in the thesis, research problem and research objectives and questions were presented, together with a brief overview of the literature and methodology to be used. Ethical considerations were also introduced, as was a justification of the study, and a presentation of its limitations.

Chapter Two included a presentation of the theories that the researcher considered to be appropriate as a theoretical framework for the study. Bowlby's attachment theory and the dual-process of Stroebe and Schut were presented for a better understanding of grief as a reaction to loss by death. Based on this, the researcher gave an outline of some theoretical approaches to the concept of grief work. Cross-cultural aspects of grief and theories on the role of religion in bereavement were also introduced.

Chapter Three gave room for a more detailed explanation of the methodology used in the research, such as research design, sample size, data analysis method etc. Reflections upon the field work were also included. In Chapter Four the researcher gave a brief presentation of the contexts in which the churches under study are located. The chapter included information about the church structures, an overview of the ideological trends in the respective societies, in addition to a short description of the individual congregations. Chapter Five contains a thematical presentation of the data collected in the study, which gives way for the discussion in Chapter Six, where evident tendencies are discussed in light of the theoretical framework and diaconal standpoint of the researcher.

Based on this, the researcher will now give a brief conclusion of the study and some recommendations as to what may be done in the field of bereavement counselling and support in churches, mainly in Norway, as this is the context with which the researcher is most conversant.

The tendency that stood out most clearly in this study was the distinction in what people focus on in their time of grief in the two cultures. In accordance with this there was a distinction in how the church support was organized, both in what terms the support was given, and in how diakonia was expressed.

As the Norwegian society is very much affected by individualism and postmodernism, the church faces challenges on how to involve and engage all of the members in church activities. It is also a challenge to be supportive towards people in time of grieving, as many have the attitude that they prefer to handle problems on their own. Such challenges call for a structured church, which manages to organize and promote the offers of counselling etc. that exist so that people may benefit from them. However, whether the church manages to inspire and encourage the congregants to diaconal action, in this case in relation to caring for the bereaved, may be just as crucial as providing specific charitable services, such as support groups. All respondents in this study mentioned the importance of receiving support from people surrounding them, in the time of grief. Encouraging the individual church member to be aware of the needs of fellow congregants, and to practice diakonia in their daily life, the church is likely to see results in the supportive function of the church fellowship towards people who are having a hard time.

The churches in both contexts assist bereaved in changing their thinking patterns and increasing their insight. In Kenya this role of the church was particularly evident. The church is a place where people are challenged to interpret incidents of death as the will of God. According to Pennebaker et al. a change in thinking pattern is more crucial than disclosure of feelings in order to prevent unfortunate subsequent health outcomes

(referred to in pt. 2.3.). They conclude that finding meaning in the death of a person is crucial in order to recover from grief.⁹⁷ In Norway on the other hand, the disclosure of feelings seems to be the main agenda of the grief counselling groups and the individual counselling. There is a general scepticism towards an exaggerated meaning-making of events, at least in religious terms. Being influenced by the same theology and societal trends as the Norwegian church under study, the researcher does believe that it is important to be sensitive towards people's image of God and their vulnerable situation when handling issues of death and bereavement. Imposing a certain belief upon people who come for counselling is not beneficial nor recommendable. Even though the Kenyan respondents in this study express a comfort in having their faith, and knowing that God has a way for everyone, and a time for everyone, this must be understood in light of the culture as a whole. Such comfort may not be transferable across cultures. God's love and compassion is transferrable, thus the love and support is also transferable, however, it must adapt to adequate cultural expressions.

As Plan for Diakonia points out "It is not always possible to transform difficult life situations. In some cases the deacon's task is to be present, to help a person in need to live with his or her hardship, to be able to bear the other's suffering and to walk a part of the road with him or her."⁹⁸ This must be the aim in all support given by the church to people who are bereaved. And such a vision may take various expressions. Either way, the church has a responsibility to care for its congregants in any life situation. Ministry that seeks to reach out with love to the surrounding community should be a priority, and in some contexts support of bereaved may serve such a function, in addition to that it holds a value in itself.

This study has not examined to what extent the church support has actually had an impact on the healing process of bereaved, it has merely described how the experience of the bereaved has been with regard to the church assistance in their grief. Evaluations of what kind of support has the better effect within the church setting are left to other studies.

⁹⁷ Refered to in Archer, "Theories of Grief: Past, Present and Future Perspectives", 55.

⁹⁸ Church of Norway, *Plan for Diakonia*, 14.

Both in Kenya and in Norway, it seems that the church is in a unique position to care for those who are in grief, through the organized diakonia and by the fact that the fellowship provides a sense of belonging and caring relationships. The church should seek to hold competence in the field of bereavement and grief so that the organized support may meet actual needs, whether they are emotional, financial or existential.

As the researcher concludes this thesis, it seems appropriate to remind the reader of the words of Rosenblatt: "...any simple statement about how people in a given culture grieve is probably so simplistic as to be unhelpful to a person trying to help or support someone from that culture who is grieving (Rosenblatt 1993, 1997)."⁹⁹ Being aware of cultural differences is important in order to understand a person in his or her grief. However, individual differences and variations in circumstances around a death makes it impossible to categorize. The aim of any charitable services targeting people who are grieving must be to listen to their own subjective interpretation of the tragedy that has struck them, and assist them in regaining meaning in their life in their own time and their own way. This challenges the diaconal ministry of the church to be present even though there is no simple answer as to how things should be done. Responses from the interviewees in this study indicate that people who experience grief need to feel the presence of other people, first and foremost. There is comfort in people who dare to face the grief and show love even though they don't know how.

⁹⁹ Paul C. Rosenblatt, "Grief Across Cultures", 209.

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Note:

In addition to the mentioned references, the researcher has also accessed and gathered data from the website of the Norwegian congregation in this study. However due to the policy of anonymization, this reference is withheld.

ANNEXES

1. Norwegian interview guide

Bakgrunnsinformasjon:

Alder, kjønn, yrke, sivil status og lignende.

<u>Dødsfallet</u>:

Grunnen til at jeg har valgt å intervjue deg, er som sagt at du har opplevd hvordan det er å miste noen du står nær. Kan du fortelle litt om det?

Relasjon til den døde

Bakgrunn for dødsfallet (sykdom, ulykke osv.)

Om sorgen:

Hvordan vil du beskrive din sorgreaksjon?

Hvordan opplevde du responsen fra mennesker rundt?

Tror du folk generelt har en formening om at det finnes en "normal" måte å sørge på?

Og i så fall, hvordan opplevdes dette når du selv var den som sørget?

Hvordan vil du si at sorgen har preget deg?

Forhold til kirken:

Hvordan vil du beskrive ditt forhold til kirken/menigheten? Hvordan var ditt forhold til kirken i forbindelse med dødsfallet? Hva har kirken betydd for deg i sørgeperioden din?

Sorgrrupper:

Deltok du i sorggruppe? Hvis ja, fortell litt om dette. Hva har sorggruppen betydd for deg?

Hvordan har den hjulpet deg? Evt. ikke vært til nytte?

Sosialt nettverk

Hvordan vil du beskrive ditt sosiale nettverk?

Hva har det sosiale nettverket betydd for deg i perioder med sorg?

Hvordan opplevdes støtte eller evt. mangel på støtte fra ditt sosiale nettverk utenom kirken?

<u>Tro:</u>

Hva er ditt forhold til kristen tro?

Hvis troende: Hvilken betydning har troen hatt for deg i sorgprosessen din?

Evt. sluttkommentar.

2. Kenyan interview guide

Background Information

Age, occupation, general information about the family (how many kids, married or not etc.)

The bereavement

Please describe your bereavement experience.

How was your relationship to the deceased?

When was the time of the bereavement?

What was the cause of the death?

Was the death expected?

Have you experienced bereavement at other times in life?

Coping with the grief

For how long did you mourn, approxomately?

How did you express your grief?

What has been your major source of consolation in the time of grief?

What helped you cope with your grief?

How would you characterize the common notion on what is *normal* in terms of grieving? (*Note that you are to describe the notion you <u>think</u> other people have, there are no "correct" answers)*

Do you think you would fit in this decription of normal? If no, please describe.

What was most challenging for you in the time following the bereavement?

The church role

Have you attended any grief support activities in church, such as personal counselling, support groups etc.? If yes, please mention what activities.

Have you attended any grief support activities elsewhere in your local community? If yes, please mention the activities.

Has the church supported you in any practical ways during the time of grieving? If yes, please describe.

What significance did the rituals of the church have for your mourning?

Support from family and friends

Please describe how your family and extended family related to you in the time of your grieving (support/no support).

Please describe how your friends related to you.

What impact has this support/lack of support had on your grieving?

<u>Faith</u>

What is your relationship to the Christian faith?

What significance did your faith have for you in the time of mourning/grieving?

Additional comments.

3. Informative letter to the Norwegian respondents

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| | |

Til.....

Menigheten vår har mange begravelser årlig, og også oppfølging av etterlatte i etterkant av begravelsen. Dette er noe vi opplever som betydningsfullt, og vil veldig gjerne møte alle på en god måte.

I fjor hadde vi to diakonistudenter hos oss. Anna Spilling, den ene av studentene, skal nå skrive masteroppgaven sin om kirkens rolle i forhold til mennesker i sorg. Tanken er å finne ut litt mer om hvilken betydning kirken kan ha, og hvordan det oppleves for den som er etterlatt. I forbindelse med dette trenger hun å ha samtaler/intervjuer med noen som har opplevd nettopp dette.

Vi vet at det å være i sorg er en sårbar situasjon, og vi vil ikke utsette deg for noe som kan gjøre situasjonen verre. Ut fra slik vi allerede kjenner Anna vil møte med henne og samtalen kunne bli en god opplevelse, selv om det er et sårbart og vanskelig tema som tas opp. Samtalen vil være taushetsbelagt, og alt informasjon som gis vil selvfølgelig bli anonymisert i oppgaven.

Anna vil være her i uke 6 og gjøre de intervjuene hun trenger til oppgaven sin, og kontakte alle i forkant per telefon for å gjøre avtaler.

Vi i menigheten har gitt klarsignal til at hun kan få kontakte noen fra **serve**, og i denne forbindelse sender vi ut dette brevet til deg.

Før vi gir noe informasjon videre til henne ønsker vi en tilbakemelding fra deg om dette er noe du kan tenke deg å være med på.

For at vi i kirken skal kunne utføre denne oppgaven på best mulig måte trenger vi at det blir jobbet med denne type problemstillinger. Vi håper derfor at dette er noe du kan tenke deg å være med på. Vi ber om tilbakemelding på e-post, telefon eller sms til innen søndag 16.1.

Hvis vi ikke har fått tilbakemelding, kontakter vi deg i begynnelsen av neste uke for en avklaring.

På forhånd takk!

Mvh

Diakon

Sokneprest

4. Application form to Norwegian Social Science Data Services





MELDESKJEMA

Meldeskjema for forsknings- og studentprosjekt som medfører meldeplikt eller konsesjonsplikt (jf. personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter)

| 1. Prosjekttittel | | |
|---|--|---|
| Tittel | The impact of Church fellowships in Kenya and Norway on the grieving processes of its members: A cross-cultural comparison. | |
| 2. Behandlingsansva | urlig institusjon | |
| Institusjon Avdeling/Fakultet Institutt | Det teologiske menighetsfakultet | Velg den institusjonen du er tilknyttet. Alle nivå må oppgis. Ved studentprosjekt er det studentens tilknytning som er avgjørende. Dersom din institusjon ikke finnes på listen, ta kontakt med personvernombudet. |
| 3. Daglig ansvarlig (f | orsker, veileder) | |
| Fornavn Etternavn Akademisk grad Stilling Arbeidssted Adresse (arb.sted) Postnr/sted (arb.sted) Telefon/mobil (arb.sted) E-post | Gunnar Harald Heiene Doktorgrad Professor Det teologiske Menighetsfakultet Gydas vei 4, Postboks 5144 Majorstuen 0302 Oslo 22590617 Gunnar.Heiene@mf.no | Før opp navn på den som har det daglige ansvaret for prosjektet. For studentprosjekt er daglig ansvarlig vanligvis veileder. Veileder og student må være tilknyttet samme institusjon. Dersom studenten har ekstern veileder, kan biveileder eller fagansvarlig stå som daglig ansvarlig. Arbeidssted må være i tilknytning til behandlingsansvarlig institusjon, f.eks. underavdeling, institutt etc. NBI All korrespondanse går via e-post. Det er derfor viktig at du oppgir korrekt e-postadresse. Det bør være en adresse som du bruker aktivt over tid. Husk å gi beskjed dersom den endres. |
| 4. Student Studentprosjekt Fornavn Etternavn Akademisk grad Privatadresse Postnr/sted Telefon/mobil E-post | Ja ● Nei ○ Anna Spilling Høyere grad Neuberggt 21 0367 Oslo 91300740 annaspilling@hotmail.com | NB! All korrespondanse går via e-post. Det er derfor viktig at du oppgir en korrekt e-postadresse. Det bør videre være en adresse du bruker aktivt over tid. Husk å gi beskjed dersom den endres. |
| 5. Formålet med pros | sjektet | |

| Prosjektets formål | Formålet med studiet er å undersøke hvilken betydning kirken har/kan ha overfor mennesker somhar mistet en av sine nærmeste, og å gjøre en tverrkulturell sammenlikning på dette. Jeg vil sammenlikne en norsk menighet med en menighet I Kenya. Problemstillingen er: Hvordan forholder kirker i ulike kulturelle kontekster seg til mennesker i sorg? Underprproblemstilling: I hvilken grad har det diakonale arbeidet i kirken innvirkning på de individuelles sorgprosess? Jeg har valgt følgende forskningsspørsmål: 1. Hva blir betraktet som den "normale" måten å sørge på i den spesifikke kulturelle konteksten? 2. På hvilken måte påvirker sorgen den enkelte sørgende i de to gitte kontekstene? 3. Hvordan forholder kirken seg til mennesker som er i sorg? 4. Hva er de sørgendes subjektive vurdering av kirkens betydning for dem i deres sorgprosess? | Redegjør kort for prosjektets formål, problemstilling, forskningsspørsmål e.l. Maks 1500 tegn. |
|---|--|---|
| 6. Prosjektomfang | | |
| Velg omfang | • Enkel institusjon vasjonal multisenterstudie Internasjonal multisenterstudie | Med multisenterstudier forstås her forskningsprosjekter som gjennomføres ved flere institusjoner samtidig, som har samme formål og hvor det utveksles/deles personopplysninger mellom deltakende institusjoner. Les mer om hva |
| Oppgi øvrige institusjoner | | personopplysninger er |
| Hvordan foregårsamarbeidet mellom institusjonene? Hvem hartilgang tilpersonopplysninger oghvordan regulerestilgangen? | | |
| 7. Utvalgsbeskrivelse | | |
| Beskrivelse av utvalget | Utvalget vil bestå av fem til sju enkeltpersoner i den enkelte menighet som har erfaring med å ha mistet noen de er glad i, og som har vært i kontakt med kirken i forbindelse med dødsfallet og sorgarbeidet etterpå. I tillegg skal en til to fra ledelsen intervjues. | Med utvalg menes dem som deltar i undersøkelsen eller dem det innhentes opplysninger om. F. eks. et representativt utvalg av befolkningen, skoleelever med lese- og skrivevansker, pasienter, innsatte. |
| Rekruttering og trekking | Rekrutteringen foregår gjennom prest og/eller diakon i den enkelte menighet, som velger personer som passer til beskrivelsen over. I den norske menigheten vil diakonen sende ut et informativt brev om studiet med forespørsel om den kontaktede kan tenke seg å bli intervjuet. Denne diakonen er kjent for de som mottar brevet. Deretter vil de kontaktede få mulighet til å tenke seg om før diakonen så kontakter dem på telefon for å høre omde kan tenke seg å bli intervjuet av masterstudenten. De som er positive til et slikt intervju vil så bli kontaktet av studenten selv, etter deres tillatelse. I den kenyanske menigheten vil også utvalget bli trekt av presten som kjenner menigheten. Han ber om den enkeltes tillatelse til å formidle deres kontaktopplysninger videre til studenten, som deretter tar kontakt. | Beskriv hvordan utvalget trekkes/rekrutteres. Utvalget kan trekkes fra registre, f. eks. folkeregisteret, NAV, pasientregistre, eller rekrutteres gjennom f.eks. en bedrift, skole, idrettsmiljø, eget nettverk. Oppgi hvem som foretar trekkingen/rekrutteringen. |
| Førstegangskontakt | I begge tilfeller, både i den norske og den kenyanske menigheten, er det prest og/eller diakon som oppretter førstegangskontakt med utvalget, da det allerede eksisterer en etablert relasjon her. Dette vil skje gjennom en skriftlig forespørsel med påfølgende telefonsamtale til det norske utvalget, og via muntlige forespørsler i det kenyanske utvalget. | Oppgi hvem som oppretter førstegangskontakt med utvalget og beskriv hvordan den opprettes. Les mer om førstegangskontakt |

| Alder på utvalget | □ Barn (0-15 år) □ Ungdom (16-17 år) ■ Voksne (over 18 år) | |
|---|---|--|
| Antall personer som inngår iutvalget | Fem til sju i både Norge og Kenya, til sammen 10 til14 personer. | |

| Inkluderes det myndigepersoner med redusert ellermanglendesamtykkekompetanse? Hvis ja, beskriv | Ja ∘ Nei ● | Redegjør for hvorfor det er nødvendig å inkludere myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse. Les mer om inklusjon av myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse |
|---|---|---|
| 8. Metode for innsamling av | personopplysninger | |
| Kryss av for hvilkedatainnsamlingsmetoder ogdatakilder som skal benyttes | □ Spørreskjema ■ Personlig intervju □ Gruppeintervju ■ Observasjon □ Psykologiske/pedagogiske tester □ Medisinske undersøkelser/tester □ Journaldata □ Registerdata □ Annen innsamlingsmetode | Personopplysninger kan innhentes direkte fra den registrerte og/eller fra ulike journaler (NAV, PPT, sykehus, bofellesskap og lignende) eller eksisterende registre (f.eks. Statistisk sentralbyrå, Kreftregisteret). |
| Annen innsamlingsmetode,oppgi hvilken | | |
| Kommentar til metode for innsamling avpersonopplysninger | | |
| 9. Datamaterialets innhold | | |
| Gjør rede for hvilkeopplysninger som samlesinn | Opplysningene som skal samles inn handler om personlige erfaringer relatert til det å miste noen man er glad i, til sorg, sorgarbeid og kirkens betydning for den enkelte i dette. Intervjuene vil være semi-strukturerte, og legge opptil at intervjuobjektet selv kan utbrodere der han/hun ønsker. | Spørreskjema, intervjuguide/temaliste, m.m. legges ved meldeskjemaet til slutt. |
| Samles det inn direkte personidentifiserendeopplysninger? | Ja ● Nei ○ | Les mer om hva personopplysninger er NB! Selv om resultatene i den endelige publikasjonen vil være anonymisert, må det krysses av her dersom direkte eller indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres i datamaterialet underveis i prosjektet. |
| Hvis ja, hvilke? | Navn Fødselsdato 11-sifret fødselsnummer Adresse og/eller e- postadresse og/eller telefonnummer | |
| spesifiser hvilke | Navn, adresse og telefonnummer vil bli notert i kontaktfasen, men vil ikke bli brukt videre i behandlingen av opplysningene, og er ikke relevantefor oppgavebesvarelsen som sådan. | |
| Samles det inn indirekte personidentifiserendeopplysninger? Hvis ja, hvilke? | Ja ○ Nei ● | En person vil være indirekte identifiserbar dersom det er mulig å identifisere vedkommende gjennom bakgrunnsopplysninger som for eksempel bostedskommune eller arbeidsplass/skole kombinert med opplysninger som alder, kjønn, yrke, diagnose, etc. |
| Samles det inn sensitive personopplysninger? | Ja ∘ Nei ● | |

| Hvis ja, oppgi hvilke | □ Rasemessig eller etnisk bakgrunn, eller politisk, filosofisk eller religiøs oppfatning □ At en person har vært mistenkt, siktet, tiltalteller dømt for en straffbar handling □ Helseforhold □ Seksuelle forhold □ Medlemskap i fagforeninger | |
|--|--|---|
| Samles det inn opplysningerom tredjeperson? | Ja ○ Nei ● | Med opplysninger om tredjeperson menes opplysninger som kan spores tilbake til personer som ikke inngår i utvalget. Eksempler |
| Hvis ja, hvem ertredjeperson og hvilkeopplysninger registreres? | | på tredjeperson er kollega, elev, klient, familiemedlem. |
| Hvordan blir tredjepersoninformert om behandlingen? | □ Skriftlig informasjon □ Muntlig informasjon □ Blir ikke informert | |

| Blir ikke informert, redegjørhvorfor | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 10. Informasjon og samtykke | | | |
| Oppgi hvordan informasjontil utvalget gis | ■ Skriftlig informasjon ■ Muntlig informasjon □ Ingen informasjon | Som hovedregel skal det gis informasjon og innhentes samtykke fra den registrerte. Dersom informasjon gis skriftlig, legg ved kopi av informasjonsskriv. Dersom det ikke skal gis informasjon, må dette redegjøres for. Les mer | |
| Redegjør | Et informasjonsbrev blir sendt ut fra diakonen i menigheten med en kort presentasjon av hva studiet gjelder. Dette brevet har blitt lest og godkjent av masterstudenten selv. Masterstudenten vil gi ytterligere opplysninger muntlig til de som responderer positivt på brevet, før man gjør noen endelige avtaler om intervju. | om hvilken informasjon som bør gis til utvalget | |
| Oppgi hvordan samtykkeinnhentes | □ Skriftlig samtykke ■ Muntlig samtykke □ Innhentes ikke samtykke | Dersom det benyttes skriftlig samtykke, anbefales det at dette følger i teksten etter | |
| Innhentes ikke samtykke,redegjør | | informasjonen. Dersom det ikke skal innhentes samtykke, må dette redegjøres for. Les mer om krav til gyldig samtykke | |
| 11. Informasjonssikkerhet | | | |
| Direkte personidentifiserendeopplysninger erstattes medet referansenummer som viser til en atskilt navneliste | Ja ● Nei ○ | Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger bør ikke registreres sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet. | |
| Hvordan lagreslisten/koblingsnøkkelen oghvem har tilgang til den? | Listen og koblingsnøkkelen lagres på masterstudentens private PC, og det er kun masterstudenten som har tilgang til den. | | |
| Direkte personidentifiserendeopplysninger lagressammen med det øvrigematerialet | Ja ∘ Nei ● | | |
| Hvorfor er det nødvendigmed oppbevaring av direkteidentifikasjonsopplysningersammen med det øvrigedatamaterialet? | | | |
| Lagres direktepersonidentifiserbareopplysninger på andremåter? | Ja ○ Nei ● | | |
| Spesifiser | | | |

| Hvordan registreres ogoppbevares datamaterialet? | | Sett flere kryss dersom opplysningene registreres på flere måter. |
|---|--|---|
| | □ Fysisk isolert PC tilhørende virksomheten□ PC i nettverkssystem tilhørende virksomheten□ PC i nettverkssystem tilknyttet Internetttilhørende virksomheten □ Fysisk isolert privat PC ■ Privat PC tilknyttet Internett□ Videoopptak/fotografi ■ Lydopptak■ Manuelt/papir□ Annen registreringsmetode | |
| Annen registreringsmetodebeskriv nærmere | | |
| Behandles og/eller lagreslyd- og videoopptakog/eller fotografi på PC? | Ja ● Nei ○ | |
| Hvordan er datamaterialet beskyttet mot atuvedkommende får innsyn iopplysningene? | PC-tilgangen er beskyttet med brukernavn og passord, og så lenge dette studiet pågår, vil PC-en bli oppbevart på steder hvor det er mulig å låse av. | Er f.eks. PC-tilgangen beskyttet med brukernavn og passord, og står PC-en i et låsbart rom? |

| Dersom det benyttes mobillagringsenhet (bærbar PC,minnepenn, minnekort, cd,ekstern harddisk), opgihvilken type, og redegjør forhvorfor det benyttes mobillagringsenhet | Bærbar PC vil bli benyttet, da intervjuene vil foregå på ulike steder, i ulike land, og det er nødvendig å kunne flytte med opplysningene underveis i studiet. | |
|--|--|--|
| Skal prosjektet hamedarbeidere som vil få tilgang til datamaterialet pålik linje med dagligansvarlig/student? | Ja ● Nei ○ | |
| Hvis ja, hvem? | I Kenya vil det være behov for å ha med en tolk på intervjuene, som kan tolke swahili-engelsk. | |
| Innhentes eller overføres personopplysninger vedhjelp av e-post/Internett? | Ja ○ Nei ● | |
| Hvis ja, oppgi hvilkeopplysninger | | |
| Vil personopplysninger bliutlevert til andre enn prosjektgruppen? | Ja ○ Nei ● | |
| Hvis ja, til hvem? | | |
| Skal opplysningene samlesinn/bearbeidesav en databehandler? | Ja ○ Nei ● | |
| Hvis ja, hvilken? | | Med databehandler menes en som samler inn og/eller behandler personopplysninger på vegne av den behandlingsansvarlige. Eksempler på ofte brukte databehandlere er Questback, Synovate MMI, Norfakta etc. Les mer om databehandleravtaler her |
| 12. Vurdering/godkje | nning fra andre instanser | |
| Søkes det dispensasjon frataushetspliktenfor å få tilgang til data? | Ja ∘ Nei ● | |
| Kommentar | | |
| | | For å få tilgang til taushetsbelagte opplysninger fra f.eks. NAV, PPT, sykehus, må det søkes om dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten. Dispensasjon søkes vanligvis fra aktuelt departement. For dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for helseopplysninger skal det for alle typer forskning søkes Regional komité for medisinsk og helsefaglig forskningsetikk |

| Skal det innhentes godkjenning/tillatelse fraandre instanser? | Ja ○ Nei ● | Det kan f. eks. være aktuelt å søke tillatelse fra registereier for tilgang til data, ledelsen for tilgang til |
|---|---|---|
| Hvis ja, hvilke? | | forskning i firma, etc. |
| 13. Prosjektperiode | | |
| Prosjektperiode | Prosjektstart:09/02/2011 | |
| | Prosjektslutt:16/05/2011 | |
| | | Prosjektstart Tidspunkt for når førstegangskontakt opprettes og/eller datainnsamlingen starter. Prosjektslutt Tidspunkt for når datamaterialet skal anonymiseres, slettes, eller arkiveres i påvente av oppfølgingsstudier. Dette sammenfaller gjerne med publisering og ferdigstilling av oppgave, avhandling eller rapport. |
| Hva skal skje meddatamaterialet ved prosjektslutt? | Datamaterialet skal anonymiseres Datamaterialet skal oppbevaresmed personidentifikasjon | |
| | | Med anonymisering menes at det ikke lenger er mulig å føre opplysningene tilbake til enkeltpersoner i datamaterialet. Les mer om anonymisering |
| Hvordan skal datamaterialet anonymiseres? | Alle lydopptak og noterte personopplysninger vil blislettet etter fullført oppgave. | Hovedregel for lagring av data med |

| Hvorfor skal datamaterialetoppbevaresmed personidentifikasjon? Hvor skal datamaterialet oppbevares, og hvor lenge? | | personidentifikasjon er samtykke fra den registrerte. Årsaker til oppbevaring kan være konkrete oppfølgningsstudier, undervisningsformål eller annet. Datamaterialet kan lagres ved egen institusjon, offentlig arkiv eller annet. | |
|--|-------------------|--|--|
| 14. Finansiering | 14. Finansiering | | |
| Hvordan finansieres prosjektet? | Selvfinansiering. | | |
| 15. Tilleggsopplysninger | | | |
| Tilleggsopplysninger | | | |
| 16. Vedlegg | | | |
| Antall vedlegg | 2 | | |



NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telegrams: "SCIENCETECH", Nairobi Telephone: 254-020-241349, 2213102 254-020-310571, 2213123. Fax: 254-020-2213215, 318245, 318249 When replying please quote

Our Ref:

NCST/RRI/12/1/SS-011/270/4

Website: www.ncst.go.ke
Date:

P.O. Box 30623-00100

NAIROBI-KENYA

11th March 2011

24.3.2011.

Anna Spilling MF Norwegian School of Theology OSLO

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "The impact of church fellowships in Kenya & Norway on the grieving processes of its members: A cross-cultural comparison" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nairobi Province for a period ending 31^{st} June 2011.

You are advised to report to the Provincial Commissioner, the Provincial Director of Education, Nairobi Province and the Pastors of the selected Churches in Nairobi before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **four hard copies and one soft copy** of the research report/thesis to our office.

AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT RESEARCH. The above named, ANNA SPILLING, UNCLAL C.N. NYAKUNDI FOR: SECRETARY/CEO Who is a Student on Exchange Programme at St. PAUL'S UNIVERSITY Copy to: The Provincial Commissioner Nairobi Province LIMURU, is hereby granted formal The Pastors Selected Churches in Nairobi Province by this office to Conduct Re search in FOR: RREWINCIAL DIRECTORS OFFED LICATION ounty on the subject cited. NAIROBIPROVINCE accord her all The neasony asistine P.O. Box 74629 - 00200, NAIROBI Rase

The Provincial Director of Education Nairobi Province

6. Research Permit, Kenya



