

4. CHAPTER FOUR : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. The steps of this research

This research seeks to blend the researcher's personal experiences with literature and field research. Years spent on African soil have demonstrated that no expatriate to the continent can fully feel the complexity of issues involved in the web of personal, family, village, national and international relationships that impinge upon conflict and violence. If the pain cannot be fully felt, neither can a remedy be adequately recognized, understood, nor recommended. Of course outsiders may help, but they need insider information. In order to see both conflict and intervention through African church leader eyes, this study has gone through a series of steps.

Step one was to identify various interventions or programs that were recommended by others, which seemed to bring a community to experience some healing. It was important to use recommendations of those not involved in the formation or implementation of an intervention. It is human to self-validate our own work. The use of outsider-recommended interventions meant a broader recognition of the helpfulness of that intervention.

Step two was to accumulate videotaping of the interventions. There were a variety of ways in which the videotapes were obtained. Some stories were filmed in their entirety for this research, some stories used a combination of existing film and new film, and other stories relied entirely on existing films that were either re-edited or simply used. A full range of experiences was attempted to be included in the footage: interviews both of those making the intervention and of those being helped, background information, and evidence of what had happened.

Step three was to edit the videos into nine separate film stories. It was intended that a person who was involved would tell the story of each program. In this way each story is told in its most positive perspective, and the struggles shared would be inside perspectives. So that the films could be viewed in a reasonable length of time, the goal was to not exceed a thirty minutes, and the ideal was to have a fifteen-minute length. In addition to the nine stories a short teaching film on biblical shalom was also developed. This segment both introduced the idea of biblical shalom as well as the analysis process that was used.

Step four was to field test the introductory film and one of the stories. The formal field test was done with a focus group of faculty from the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology.

Most have their PhD and are active in their local churches. This field test indicated that the film (Beyond the Disaster) was so emotionally powerful that it had to be viewed twice in order to analyze it. It is probably true that this focus group was better suited to reading than to seeing and hearing in order to do analytic thinking. Other films were shown to church leaders informally to be sure that the story was understandable. The result of this field test was that for the focus group screening, each film was viewed twice with a verbal introduction, the opportunity for reflection between as well as after showings, and group discussion.

Step five was to screen all nine films to four focus groups of African church leaders. The focus groups were held in the following locations: Port Elizabeth and Cape Town in South Africa, Nairobi in Kenya, and Kigali in Rwanda. The focus groups were two or three days long depending upon the logistical arrangements, and lasted six to eight hours each day. Lunch was provided and the environment created was a type of workshop setting. The discussions of the groups were video taped as well as recorded on newsprint. The reflections of individuals were recorded on response sheets (see appendix).

Step six was the keying, recording, and analysis of all the data generated by the focus groups. Each person filled out a response sheet for each film. Each response sheet encouraged observations to be made in four areas of each of five sectors of human experience (therefore a potential of 20 observation sectors). Multiple observations were often made and each observation was keyed and recorded separately.

4.2. State-of-the-art methods

In today's world, anything that was state-of-the-art yesterday is probably superceded by something newer today. Research is no less affected by technology than anything else. This research for the year 2001 at least, is state-of-the-art. In Patton's extensive review of qualitative research, he says that, "Videotapes of activities, classrooms, training sessions, therapeutic interactions, and a host of other observational interests can sometimes substitute for the physical presence of the evaluator when that would be more intrusive than running a videotape machine" (Patton 1990:247).

He misses much of what can now be accomplished in research through video. Video is the primary capture tool of this inquiry. Video alone is able to allow the evaluator or analyst do the following:

1. To go back in time and observe interventions that had already occurred and analyze what happened in the healing process.
2. To see and understand interventions that have occurred in locations that an analyst has never been.
3. To watch interventions occur over time.
4. To re-observe interventions.
5. To provide a case study with richer descriptive-observations than written case studies are able.
6. To allow other researchers to reevaluate and to build on the identical case studies in order to research with different questions.
7. To allow those interested in the findings of this research to actually see and do their own evaluation of these interventions.

Besides case studies, video has also been used to record the reflections of the focus groups, allowing their responses to be studied not only from written notes but from live action; allowing body movements and group interaction to be seen so that responses may be even more clearly understood. It has allowed a “triangulation” (see Chapter 4.4.5) of data sources, for in addition to the focus group evaluators writing their own responses (data sheets) their responses were received collectively (newsprint) and the interaction was filmed (video). Of course there is still room for error in understanding what was said, but the error of hearing and recording what was said is virtually eliminated.

State-of-the-art methods also have their liabilities. Of one type of technology, Patton says,

The stenomask [a voice-activated recorder that has a microphone on the user’s collar], of course, is most appropriate for overt, onlooker observations. The imagery of a field-worker following a subject around through the day wearing a Stenomask provides a stark contrast to that of the traditional anthropologist doing participant observation and trying to covertly write notes” (Patton 1990:249).

It is exactly that image that raises some of the more serious objections to the use of hi-tech data collection methods.

The film “Transformations” begins with the researcher pictured as he walks through a darkened street watching other people hurriedly, seemingly furtively, passing by. He looks up and down the buildings and then talks into his Stenomask. His camera ever ready at his side, he presents a perfect picture of the state-of-the-art researcher. If he is not heuristic in his research, at least he is going into

some places that might hazard his well-being. The film asks the poignant question, “Have you ever experienced God’s transformations of an entire community?” The viewer may easily be convinced that with such hi-tech investigations, the findings must surely be correct. What viewer? The one who either believes in the primacy of technology or the one who is fascinated with its power.

Therein lies the potential danger of video, its power. It may not only convince a viewer that the work is thorough, but that everything is accurate. In a world where power is spiritual first and physical second, video may represent that spiritual power. It seems to capture not just sounds and ideas but the very people it pictures.

The video edit system used for this study runs on a small but powerful Apple Powerbook and uses the software “Finalcut Pro”. This software is more sophisticated than what was, just a few years ago, the state-of-the-art edit systems used for professional Television and small production studios. It enables the editor to seamlessly cut and paste between words, just like an editor does on a word-processor. Unlike the word-processor however the video editor can put the words (now deleted or added) with an image, making a distortion very convincing. The “magic” must be understood. At the same time video can misrepresent, it can also tell a much fuller story than words alone.

Any researcher has to choose what will or will not be reported, what will or will not be recorded. Because video records everything (when it is on) there is much more that has to be cut out. Additionally, in faithfully recording (by pen or by tape) every word of a focus group, and then transcribing it, and analyzing it, research methodology is said to have been complete. But the words are not enough. Was the position of people, where they sat in relation to each other or how they dressed, or if they had grey hair or not at all important? These are things that are consciously either left in a video or cut out. But in a pen and paper recording what is included or left out is often done from the moment a researcher looks at a focus group, whether or not a conscious choice is made.

Recently this researcher was facilitating a healing intervention between opposing ethnic groups that had divided a denomination in Congo. Neither he (a western missionary) nor his two colleagues (both experienced African leaders) could tell who was Lendu and who was Hema. The group knew! Part of the intervention was video recorded (with permission, the camera occupied only a potential participant’s place in the room). Only after several days was it possible to view the recording and recognize that the ethnic divisions sat together, talked together, and presented themselves together.

The issue of what is edited in a video film is significant for this inquiry. Of the many Martin Luther King films, the one which might have been the clearest, best example of church-based healing interventions was not available (BBC proprietary use only!). The alternative was to piece together the story from other existing videos. Purchasing several standard videos made by the Martin Luther King foundation was all that was needed to edit over two hours of film into a 25-minute film that told the story in a focused way. (The Martin Luther King center in Atlanta has thousands of hours of film and audiotape.) But did the film for this inquiry focus correctly? It ends with a very powerful speech in which King quotes the words of Jesus from the Gospels. What was cut out of that speech was his nearly equal time of quoting from Gandhi. One viewer said "I didn't realize how much King was a man of the Bible". Did this editor *make* King a man of the Bible, or did a previous editor make him a man of Jesus *and* Gandhi?

Yet another way in which a video's "power" is seen is its ability to mask real indicators, either by not revealing them or by hiding them behind the person telling the story. An example is seen in the "Transformations" film and is the reason it was used as a type of "control" film. It does not show indicators. A few indicators were talked about, but there was no corroborating evidence. By contrast the "Beyond the Disaster" film has a large section of a survivor telling her story—of the bomb blast, of how people helped, and of what it all meant to her. Would the viewing analyzer tell the difference? In both cases the viewer becomes engaged in someone (someone real) telling *his /her* story. No longer is it a newspaper story, it is a *real* story.

Other issues of using video must also be considered. The ethics of video, and its sense of intrusion are two obvious issues. Smith reminds us that, "research procedures should be designed within a framework of sincere respect for the respondents as people and for their right to privacy. Second, the results of the study should be of interest and benefit to the subjects of the study and other persons with similar experiences as well as to researchers and other members of the public" (Smith 1982:145).

In any study the "respondents" or "subjects" must be taken seriously. To ensure that no filming was done without permission, every interviewed storyteller signed a release form. But what of the sense of intrusion that using video seems to introduce? The picture of a television crew arriving in a large van, dragging out power cords that power blaring lights connected to a large generator is only the

start of an intrusive picture of video. How *does* a researcher get video in a way that is “naturalistic” and “emic”?

In this inquiry a digital video camera was used that is smaller than a standard 35mm camera with interchangeable lenses. In only a few settings were lights used. It was found that lights did have a tendency to cause the storyteller to become less natural, so they were only used when necessary, and the camera was sufficient in most cases without lights.

That the narrator-participants of the case studies were keen to participate, and did not consider it either an imposition nor a fiscal opportunity is seen in the fact that the researcher was never asked for money or other considerations for the filming. They were happy to be promised a copy of the videos used for the study. The film curator at the South African Broadcasting Company was so interested in the project that he personally identified stacks of footage that might be appropriate from the library, and gave both tape and time for making copies.

In this study the focus group respondents were also analysts, and their desire to understand and think about the subject of healing in communities was strong enough that no one from any of the focus groups even requested a sitting allowance or transport. They came of their own, and in most cases came for three full days of work. Everyone was eager to learn and be a part of the discovery process. The felt need among church leaders is so strong to better understand their role that the opportunity to think in a structured way on this topic was more enticing than a formal “workshop”. Those who gave up to three full days as analysts left with a sense of learning, expressed by one church leader, “I have learned more through this than through all my MDiv classes. Can you do this in Zambia?” At least for that analyst/church leader the goal of transformative research had been accomplished.

The struggle to have quality, widely representative videos was in tension with the need to not be intrusive. One way this was accomplished was by using as much existing footage as possible. In this way the role of the researcher was less a cameraman than an editor. (The video summary chart in the appendix shows exactly how much footage was actually used from existing sources.) Because of the use of high quality editing software, the resulting film was in some cases superior in focus to the original footage.

Since all the videos, with the exception of the “transformations” video were filmed and/or edited by the researcher, it required a personal involvement in each of the case studies. Some case studies had significantly more involvement than others. The intervention of the Nairobi post-bomb counseling coalition became such a major project, for example, that the filming was done after the intervention. It was in the “Beyond the Disaster” counseling coalition that the power of video as the main capture tool was discovered. Without a video the real power of what had happened would be lost.

The researcher’s close case involvement was also seen in the African Evangelistic Enterprise (AEE) Healing Hearts video. The AEE team and their workshop intervention underwent a participatory self review at the Institute for the Study of African Realities, under the direction of Karl Dortzbach. During that review several key indicators of healing were identified. Those indicators appear later in the body of this inquiry.

4.3. Differences in Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

Why would a qualitative methodology be considered for this study? It would seem that the need for clear, succinct measures of personal and community health would be of greatest use on a continent plagued with war and instability. Patton’s words would seem then, to be decisive:

Qualitative measures are succinct, parsimonious, and easily aggregated for analysis; quantitative data are systematic, standardized, and easily presented in a short space. By contrast, the qualitative findings are longer, more detailed, and variable in content; the analysis is difficult because responses are neither systematic nor standardized” (Patton 1990:24).

So why would one choose a longer, more complicated and difficult form in which to report a study?

One reason is that the subject of inquiry does not lend itself to the shorter, easier form of study. When one wants to examine the forest rather than a single tree it is better to be a bird than a worm. Patton goes on, “In contrast to designs that manipulate and measure the relationships among a few carefully selected and narrowly defined variable, the holistic approach gathers data on multiple aspects of the setting under study in order to assemble a comprehensive and complete picture of the social dynamic of the particular situation or program” (Patton 1990:50).

Indeed, is it possible to study wellness or shalom in a quantitative way? Is it not in its very nature a subject that requires a holistic inquiry? Are there not so many aspects involved that a comprehensive base is needed to start with? The nature of this inquiry would make the quantitative

method both awkward and unlikely to yield information that could be applied, given the need for a great deal more understanding before clear theories and experiments could be designed. For example, there is no shortage of concise definitions for “health”, and medical doctors take great care in learning and knowing the proper procedures for treatment of bodily disease. The non-physical areas of health continue to muddle prescriptions for returning a measure of wholeness to a nation torn by genocide, or countless lives blown away by a single bomb blast. Healing measures at that point must be about more than corrective eye surgery or even just trauma counseling clinics. An example from the region is appropriate.

In 1996 the researcher was working in Rwanda with church leaders to help them deal with their own trauma and become healing helpers for their churches after the decimating killings of 1994. Because a group of 6 Americans were working together in facilitating this workshop, it seemed best to establish contacts with local agencies that were providing trauma counseling. At that time the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission on Refugees) was the lead agency for trauma. A meeting was arranged with the head psychologist. A Ph.D. who appeared to be in her mid twenties with a New York city accent, and spoke nearly no French presently met the party. Immediately she reprimanded an effort to bring in lay people to do religious things supposedly to help the people of Rwanda. She settled down slightly after taking a casual look through the CVs that were brought along—PhD, MAs in counseling, MD, many were French speakers. “OK, they are all right, but don’t just think you can come in here and teach anything”, she added, “we have established a curriculum guideline...”

So, can it be assumed that curriculum guidelines for reestablishing community wholeness in Rwanda is something that a new PhD from New York can do? Perhaps the assumption is that the science itself is so profound that it has the answers? The director’s point was probably correct, one cannot just come in and *teach anything*. There must be an inside perspective.

Even though the young psychologist seemed not to show it, the field of Psychology, like the fields of social psychology and sociology all echo the remarks on anthropology given by Allison.

The development of comparative cultural analysis in cross-cultural methodology has also benefited greatly from a model given originally by Kenneth Pike (1954), contrasting the etic and emic perspectives. The emic perspective is understood as the insider’s viewpoint, the participant in a given culture. The etic view is that of the outside analyst, developing categories and distinctions based on his view of culture. (Allison 1996:35).



The importance of an insider's perspective becomes quite clear when looking at issues of health. Allison goes on, "For example, the etic view of a particular illness may be explained by the outsider according to germ theories. The insider's explanation (emic) may understand the same illness in terms of activity in the spiritual realms of witchcraft, sorcery, ghosts, spirits, and sin" (1996:36).

Germ theories help some to explain things like infection of a cut, or even worms. But no germ theory explains communal hate and violence. In order to be sure that the views of healing interventions were emic, this study has used a methodology of focus group analysis of case studies. If a traditional African view of healing (a focus on the healer, witchcraft, and "connections" with the departed) is still alive among trained evangelical church leaders, then it would not be surprising for that view to emerge in a focus group discussion.

That such views are still very much held in contemporary Africa is witnessed to by the large followings of "Christian evangelist-healers" as well as a very active practice in both the cities and countryside of seeking out "traditional healers". Both types of healers deal with witchcraft, spirits, and sin.

The "control" film "Transformations" self-reportedly demonstrates how God brings transformation to a community. The only interventions shown were prayer and the casting out, or "breaking the power" of a witch. Many of the analysts saw no incongruity in the lack of demonstration or verification of the intervention, nor was there any surprise to some that it seemed to focus on the character and "powers" of one person, the evangelist. In the opposite way, the interventions of "Video Dialog" provided a very simple way for a violent community to begin talking together. The results were clearly pictured, but the film was not generally considered particularly useful by focus groups. Might that have been because it did not depict a struggle with the "principalities and powers of darkness"? That and other questions will be saved for the evaluation and interpretation of the data, which is to follow.

Thus a holistic perspective, or an approach to the phenomena of interest by considering and including the underlying values and the context as a part of the phenomena is necessary if we are to unlock a deeper understanding of healing interventions (Morse 1992:2). We must create "...an

inductive and interactive process of inquiry between the researcher and the data” (1992:2) as we learn and evaluate what is or is not healing, and what might be the principles for wider application.

The holistic design and use of focus groups with a large amount of data makes this study seem to point to potential of a quantitative analysis. But in Patton’s summary of the choice of inquiry strategies, it would seem that having chosen holistic case-study methods the qualitative data analysis is the remaining step. He says:

“The ideal-typical qualitative methods strategy is made up of three parts; (1) qualitative data, (2) A holistic-inductive design of naturalistic inquiry, and (3) content or case analysis. In the traditional hypothetico-deductive approach to research, the ideal study would include (a) quantitative data from (b) experimental (or quasi-experimental) designs and (c) statistical analysis” (Patton 1990:189).

The fact that case studies are being used is not in itself a conclusive argument as to why we could not use a statistical analysis rather than content analysis. There are good arguments for doing so (e.g. triangulation of method, Patton 1990, validity and reliability, Smith 1982) and arguments against it (e.g. purity of methodology, Patton 1990, Yin 1982). A good example in which a qualitative community study was done and then followed by a quantitative study is the “Developing Communities Project” in Chicago, Ill. The Psychology Department of the University of Illinois, Chicago, in 1992, conducted a participatory evaluation of a project using qualitative methodology. The project was formed in 1986 to promote community well being. The issue of leadership was an emerging issue in the evaluation and was its principle focus (Tindale, Heath, Edwards et al 1998). In 1993-1995 the same project was studied only it began with a leadership focus and used semi-structured interview data collection, after extensive discussion about whether or not to use qualitative or quantitative methods (Tandon, Azelton, Kelley, 1998). A third study, utilizing in-depth interviews of 80 community leaders was conducted with great sensitivity to the concerns of emic inquiry, and a very complex statistical analysis was done on those interviews. It was however a quantitative study that “demonstrates that quantitative methods that consider multivariate relationships between attributes can capture meaningful patterns of associations between variables in a way that can be informative to those observed” (Williams 1997:12).

For those who are unsure of mixing methods, Patton even gives a guideline as to how they could be mixed. For mixing in a qualitative inquiry he gives the following recipes:

pure qualitative strategy: naturalistic inquiry, qualitative data, and content analysis
mixed form: experimental design, qualitative data, and content analysis

mixed form: experimental design, qualitative data, and statistical analysis
mixed form: naturalistic inquiry, qualitative data, and statistical analysis
mixed form: naturalistic inquiry, quantitative data, statistical analysis (Patton 1990:190-92).

The idea of mixing methods is enticing, for it would seem to yield the best of both research worlds. This study, however, chooses not to mix the methods. To strengthen the reliability and validity of the findings, however, a triangulation by the slight altering of the study design has been chosen. At the first stage the case studies are evaluated purely by the focus groups. At the second stage the focus groups are evaluated in light of the researcher's own knowledge (hence evaluation) of the case studies. These comparative findings allow the reader of this research to understand first what African church leaders actually think about the healing interventions they have analyzed, and second what a western missionary thinks they might have missed or seen that is not normally understood.

4.4. Qualitative Research: outlines of this research

4.4.1. Objections to using a qualitative research method for this study

Having evaluated the difference between qualitative and quantitative research for this inquiry, and having chosen the former, a nagging question remains. Smith says, "Qualitative field methods are well suited to describing organizations, groups, subcultures, and small communities. They are not well suited to describing total societies or culture, far-flung or non-interacting categories of people" (Smith 1982:56). So on what basis can we say that the peoples and societies of South Africa and East Africa are "subcultures" and "small communities"? Although on the one hand those societies *are* "far flung and non-interactive", on the other hand it is widely recognized that there is an "African" similarity that cuts through most of the continent. Often this follows linguistic patterns. In this study the socio-linguistic patterns that are dominant are the Bantu patterns. But the case studies include a predominantly white congregation in Cape Town, and the historically and geographically distant case study of Martin Luther King. Do these not nullify the use of qualitative research simply because of the breadth? While it is true that there is breadth, there is also focus. Every evaluator will analyze the case studies from his or her own perspective, from his or her own experience and to some extent from their ethnic or subgroup perspective.

This is a focus on healing. This is not an ethnography that is intended to explore a full language or set of customs. Nor is it about the development of social awareness, nor a question of determining who belongs in the group and who does not. This is about understanding congregations—which do

have a focused group boundary—and the interventions which they have and may take which help heal their surrounding community. Healing events are focused events.

A second objection that might be made to this inquiry being qualitative and naturalistic, comes from the strength of the naturalistic inquiry being that the observer is sufficiently a part of the situation to be able to understand personally what is happening (Patton 1990:270). Somewhat by definition the researcher in this case is an outsider to the communities and interventions under observation. Not even the nearly thirty years of identification with African communities and churches is sufficient to give a North American an “inside” view. It is for this reason that a two-stage analysis method of this inquiry has been chosen. The researcher understands that his perspective will never be the same as that of an African church leader, but since the focus groups are made up of church leaders and they are the ones doing the primary analysis, then it is their understanding of the situation that forms the basis of this inquiry.

The two stages of analysis are: stage one, the focus groups observe and analyze the nine case studies. Stage two, the researcher in turn analyzes the analysis of the focus groups. Since the researcher has worked with African church leaders for thirty years in a multiple array of roles, he does share an adequate experience to have an inside view of their interactions to probe and learn from their evaluations.

4.4.2. The purpose of this study

Whether the strategy of research is qualitative or quantitative, there are basically five types of purpose that either strategy can serve. They are:

- (1) basic research to contribute to fundamental knowledge and theory
- (2) applied research to illuminate a societal concern
- (3) summative evaluation to determine program effectiveness
- (4) formative evaluation to improve a program
- (5) action research to solve a specific problem (Patton 1990:150).

All of these would have a place in understanding, applying, or improving interventions of healing. In fact the researcher has already done a naturalistic evaluation of the African Evangelistic Trauma program. This inquiry however, is not about evaluating but about understanding. In non-evaluative outcomes, the difference of the purposes of research is that applied researchers are trying to understand how to deal with a problem while basic researchers are trying to understand and explain

the basic nature of some phenomenon (Patton 1990:154). Action research assumes that there is an answer which could bring a solution to a problem if done in the right way.

This research focus is best described as fitting into the shared ground of basic and applied research. While the goal is to understand how healing interventions can be applied, in reality there is not a sufficient understanding of what the interventions are or of why they may or may not be healing. There certainly is not a clear answer to a problem that is looking for a “good fit” application somewhere.

If however, this inquiry is successful in finding out how to help churches identify and implement healing interventions, then action research into specific churches, denominations, and settings would be appropriate. It would not be possible to have applied research as the purpose of this study if *nothing*, were understood about healing interventions. Since there is research and understanding about healing interventions and communities, our purpose is not to simply repeat or even to verify these findings. Rather it is to investigate more fully the corollary validity between “healing acts” and African churches in their communities so that these interventions can be more fully encouraged. We are asking the question then, “What are the interventions that bring healing to a wider community?” precisely so that they can be applied, encouraged, and communicated.

Table 4.2 A summary of research purposes

Research questions	Research answers	<i>“Wholeness and Healing In Community” responses</i>
Type:	Applied Research	<i>Applied research with the “investigative” edge of basic research.</i>
Purpose:	Understand the nature and sources of human and societal problems	<i>Understand the nature and reasons as well as the kind of interventions that help communities heal.</i>
Focus:	Questions deemed important by society	<i>Principles, or lessons learned about healing from church/community leaders.</i>
Desired Results:	Contributions to theories that can be used to formulate problem solving programs and interventions.	<i>Contributions to the practice of ministry in churches to create or enhance programs and interventions.</i>
Desired level of generalization:	Within as general a time and space as possible, but clearly limited application context.	<i>African churches in east, central, and southern regions, and at least urban or peri-urban .</i>
Key assumption:	Human and societal problems can be understood and solved with knowledge.	<i>God can heal personal and community wounds from conflict and violence through the church.</i>

Taken from a complete table of types of research purposes (Patton 1990:161).

4.4.3. The starting point: theoretical framework

With a clarified understanding of purpose, a starting point can be chosen. Smith suggests three starting points from which a study can start--theory, method, or substance (Smith 1982:58). In reality a study cannot really begin unless all three are present. We have already been considering the strategy, which is methodological, but we now turn to the theoretical framework.

Smith would seem to say that paradigms are for theoretical research, not for applied research. “Theoretical paradigms are intellectual frameworks that more or less fit some aspect of the empirical social world. Paradigms point out significant problems, provide conceptual models and concepts for analysis, and specify criteria for the evaluation of the quality of scientific work. Paradigms guide exploratory, focused and theoretical research” (Smith 1982: xii).

What is required is that the researcher be very clear about the theoretical framework being used and the implications of that perspective on study focus, data collection, fieldwork, and analysis (Patton 1990:87). To that end the following table seeks to establish that framework and the approaches used in this study.

Table 4.4.3 Variety in Qualitative Inquiry: Theoretical Traditions compared with Healing the Nations study

Perspective	Disciplinary Roots	Central Questions	"Wholeness and Healing In Community" questions
1. Ethnography	Anthropology	What is the culture of this group of people?	<i>What is the culture from which focus group analysts come?</i>
2. Phenomenology	Philosophy	What is the structure and essence of experience of this phenomenon for these people?	<i>What is the meaning and reason for healing in the communities shown in the case studies and among the communities of the participant/analysts?</i>
3. Heuristics	Humanistic psychology	What is my experience of this phenomenon and the essential experience of others who also experience this phenomenon intensely?	<i>What is the experience of the focus group participants in healing as they evaluate the case studies?</i>
4. Ethnomethodology	Sociology	How do people make sense of their everyday activities so as to behave in socially acceptable ways?	<i>How do the evaluators understand and utilize healing interventions in their home areas?</i>
5. Symbolic interaction	Social psychology	What common set of symbols and understandings have emerged to give meaning to people's interactions?	<i>What common understandings are there among African communities which bring them to a sense of wholeness (cf chap. 2, 3.3)?</i>
6. Ecological psychology	Ecology	How do individuals attempt to accomplish their goals through specific behaviors in specific environments?	<i>How do individuals attempt to accomplish their goals through specific behaviors in specific environments?</i>
7. Systems Theory	Interdisciplinary	How and why does this system function as a whole?	<i>Are conflicts, trauma or wholeness explicable? What are the common understandings of health in contemporary Africa?</i>
8. Chaos Theory: nonlinear dynamics	Theoretical physics, natural sciences	What is the underlying order if any of disorderly phenomenon?	<i>What are the patterns of change in understanding health and wholeness in Africa today?</i>
9. Hermeneutics	Theology, philosophy, literary criticism	What are the conditions under which a human act took place or a product was produced that makes it possible to interpret its meanings?	<i>What is the social, theological, and cognitive context for conflict and healing in each case study?</i>
10. Orientational, qualitative	Ideologies, political economy	How is 'x' ideological perspective manifest in the phenomenon?	<i>How is biblical holism or traditional African wholeness seen in these interventions?</i>

Table taken from Patton's table of theoretical traditions. The fourth column reflects this study (Patton 1990:88).

While these theoretical traditions can clash, there is also compatibility and similarity among many

of them. This research is guided by a qualitative theoretical paradigm. It is also guided by a paradigm of biblical holism seen in Chapter 2 and 3.3. These two paradigms guide very different aspects of this research, but they affect each other. The holism paradigm is a content guide which does not seek to direct the answers so much as it does to stimulate the answers. Things in our world that are most basic are often most difficult to describe or talk about, simply because they are taken for granted rather than thought about. So it is that a paradigm of holism will guide our reflections, and therefore deepen our understanding of health and healing.

The qualitative paradigm, drawn from the above chart, is to guide the study process. The theoretical traditions chosen for this study are chosen for their compatibility to each other and to the goals of this inquiry. A few comments are appropriate, and will follow the order of perspectives given in the above chart. Not all of the possible perspectives will be commented upon even though their potential questions for this study have been listed in the chart. The pursuit of these additional questions would be useful and informative for additional studies.

First, a *phenomenological perspective* can mean either or both (1) a focus on what people experience and how they interpret the world (in which case one can use interviews without actually experiencing the phenomenon oneself) or (2) a methodological mandate to actually experience the phenomenon being investigated (in which case participant observation would be necessary) (Patton 1990:70). In this study there is a peculiar mix of several aspects and types of naturalistic inquiry. Because the focus groups are actually doing an analysis themselves of healing interventions, and because most of the focus group participants have themselves gone through situations of community violence and trauma, they are genuine “phenomenological” participant-evaluators. A phenomenological inquiry asks, “What is the structure and essence of experience of healing for these people?” (Patton 1990:69). Because of the years of ministry experience of the church leaders in the focus groups, it is safe to assume that they have experienced woundedness, loss, pain *and* healing, encouragement, and strength. Therefore the query to understand the structure and experience of healing through these people is reasonable precisely because they have experienced it, sought to encourage it, and reflected upon it.

A phenomenological perspective also requires that the researcher has an inside perspective on what these people have experienced and why. Some of these participant/evaluators have been colleagues

with the researcher for years. The years of shared experiences in Africa's conflict and violence give even the second stage of analysis a phenomenological perspective.

Secondly, the *heuristic perspective* comes from a term that is Greek in origin (*heuristic*) and means to "discover". Heuristic research epitomizes the phenomenological emphasis on meanings and knowing through personal experience; it exemplifies and places at the fore the way in which the researcher is the primary instrument in qualitative inquiry (Patton 1990:72,3). The heuristic perspective sought in this study is that of the participant/analyst, not of the researcher. The entire point of the two stage analysis, as mentioned earlier, is the desire to have the researcher be lost from view in the process of allowing others to fully identify their own understanding of healing and shalom.

A third aspect of naturalistic inquiry is *symbolic interactionism*. Symbolic interactionism attempts to relate the procedures that are routinely employed to build up social scenes (Smith 1982:38). It is a social psychological approach most closely associated with George Herbert Mead (1934) and Herbert Blumer (1969) (Patton 1990:75). Theories about what is happening in a setting are grounded in direct program experience rather than imposed on the setting *a priori* through hypotheses or deductive constructions (Patton 1990:44). For this study there is no hypothesis or construction of healing intervention that is seeking to be validated. The model of biblical holism is not a "tested theory". It is a lens through which the understanding of the question, "What common understandings are there among African communities that bring them to a sense of shalom?" may become clearer.

The fourth perspective of this inquiry is the *hermeneutical perspective*. A hermeneutical orientation in qualitative inquiry is not different than its application to Biblical interpretation. Hermeneutics takes the position that nothing can be interpreted free of some perspective, so the first priority is to capture the perspective and elucidate the context of the people being studied (Patton 1990:85). The aim of this study is to understand the phenomenon of healing within the context of communities. Those communities are of course different in different countries, but in light of the many similarities among African cultures, it is hypothesized that there are qualities of interventions, as well as interventions themselves that will be healing and helpful in a wider range of communities.

4.4.4. Knowing where we are: triangulation



The idea of triangulation comes from the application of geometrical principles to both land survey and building. If one can establish the length of three sides then the square or regular shape may be certain. If one can establish two angles and the length of one side, then the position of the other sides is known, and so forth. Four kinds of triangulation contribute to verification and validation of qualitative analysis: (1) methods triangulation, (2) triangulation of sources; (3) analyst triangulation; and (4) theory/perspective triangulation (Patton 1990:464). The two basic kinds of triangulation methods used in this study are source and analyst triangulation.

Intentionally diverse types of case studies enable the analysis to be made between similar interventions in different cases. If they are evaluated to have a similar impact, then the intervention is more likely to be healing in multiple contexts. Analyst triangulation, or making use of the focus group participants as the actual analysts gives a great many perspectives. In the case of this study there are more than fifty analysts. If there is a strong agreement between them about the value of certain acts, and the impact of those interventions, then again it gives greater certainty that those are interventions, or principles, that will apply in wider and repeated settings

By looking at the tables in the appendix, it is possible to see the variety of case studies as well as the participant/analysts.

4.4.5. Case studies

The "how" and "why" questions are more explanatory and likely to lead to the use of case studies, histories and experiments as the preferred research strategies (Yin 1982:18). Asking "how are people and communities healed?" and "Why are they healed?" or "Why were the interventions used effective or not?" were the questions that lead to this qualitative inquiry.

Yin helpfully delineates three types of case studies.

In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context. Such "explanatory" case studies also can be complemented by two other types--"exploratory" and "descriptive" case studies. Regardless of the type of case study, investigators must exercise great care in designing and doing case studies, to overcome...the traditional criticisms of the method (Yin 1982:13, emphasis added).

The type of case study may simply be a matter of how the investigator presents the material elicited. Of the video case studies that are used in this study there are elements of each type of case study, but because the cases are self-reported, there was not an attempt made to squeeze the case study into a "standard type". The idea behind a self-report case study is that the one doing the reporting chooses to identify what is most important and most relevant to their story. "The task for the qualitative researcher is to provide a framework within which people can respond in a way that represents accurately and thoroughly their points of view about the world, or that part of the world about which they are talking" (Patton 1990:24).

So in the *St. James* story, the event had happened several years before the filming of the case study. The pastor and the survivor interviewed were much more reflective about what had happened, this case study therefore is much more about exploring the meaning of repentance, forgiveness, and healing of individual and collective trauma.

The *Khulumani* story was created mostly to encourage people to enter into a support group so that the TRC process could go on. It is therefore mostly descriptive. But the *Video Dialog* story was an attempt to use an on-going process of peace building to show how intransigent conflict might be moved toward dialog. It is therefore more explanatory in nature.

The *Beyond the Disaster* story was descriptive of a very complicated but focused and powerful coalition. The *Transformations* film reportedly explained how God transforms communities. In the Rwandan films, the *African Revival Ministries (ARM)* story was descriptive, having been used mostly as a public relations film. The *AEE: Healing Hearts* film was a current event, and the leaders attempted to both describe what was happening and explore why it was effective. The *Rebuilding Hearts and Homes in Burundi* was descriptive, a current event that was taking place. Finally, the *Martin Luther King* story was filmed as an historical reflection, simply to describe the events and presumably to motivate watchers to a higher moral and ethical ground in dealing with conflict.

Therefore, of the nine films, five were basically descriptive, two explanatory and two exploratory. This balance of type, though not precisely even, does give some basis to triangulate the findings. We do learn a more about the impact of an intervention if it is being explored or simply described. If viewers are relatively experienced in their ministry skills, an explanation of an intervention may

not be needed in order to evaluate but the explanation may enhance the evaluation. In actual experience, when the viewer becomes engaged in what the storyteller is saying it does not really matter what type of case study it is, it is viewed holistically.

In proposing how case studies might be gathered, Smith discusses the types of interviews that might be used: 1. unstructured, 2. focused, 3 structured (Smith 1982:325). Patton adds a fourth, calling it an “open-ended interview” (Patton 1990:281). The cases presented in this study are of situations where community healing was self-reported, and were corroborated by the observation and understanding of the researcher. As much as possible the case studies are self-reported. Either there were no questions asked (the cases where film footage was borrowed) or the questions asked were descriptive in nature, for example “How did the program start?”, “Describe what it does”, and “What impact have you seen?” As an interview form then, the creation of the case study was by way of a focused interview. The questions asked however would not fit the same typology. The questions were not unstructured in the sense of being free-flowing from one response to the next question. Nor were they focused in the sense that they were seeking to expose what might prove or disprove a theory of healing. Nor were the questions structured in the sense that every case study answered the same questions. It would be better to describe the questions used to collect the case studies as “non-structured” and “open-ended” in the sense that there was no formal structure, but the questions sought to assist the reporter in a full description of reasons and acts of intervention and the results of those interventions.

4.4.6. Sampling

In qualitative studies, units of analysis may be particular kinds of events, occurrences, or incidents (Patton 1990:167). The unit of analysis in this study are interventions. *An intervention may be defined as any action or relationship or understanding intentionally taken or given which brings an individual or a community of individuals to a greater sense of shalom.* Sampling, or choosing the primary units of analysis, was necessarily a part of the case study selection and design. Several choices exist and were considered. Patton again assists in providing a helpful table that lists the options of purposeful sampling through which the choices and reasons made in this study are shown.

Table 4.4.6 Sampling types and choices

Type	purpose	<i>Sampling strategies in Healing the Nations Study</i>
extreme or deviant case sampling	Learning from highly unusual manifestations for the phenomenon of interest, such as outstanding successes/notable failures, top of the class/dropouts, exotic events, and crises.	<i>This would have been a helpful type sample but it is impossible to determine ahead of time what "excellent" or "best" healing interventions are.</i>
intensity sampling	Information-rich cases that manifest the phenomenon intensely, but not extremely such as good students/poor students, above average/below average	<i>Again this would have been a good sampling method were there cases that within themselves included many different kinds of interventions. The closest to an intensive case study would be the ARM: The Living Church.</i>
maximum variation sampling—purposefully picking a wide range of variation on dimensions of interest	Documents unique or diverse variations that have emerged in adapting to different conditions. Identifies important common patterns that cut across variations	<i>By assembling the variety of case studies chosen this maximum variation sample is used. It provides triangulation as well as a broad basis for understanding healing interventions.</i>
homogeneous sampling	Focuses, reduces variation simplifies analysis facilitates group interviewing	<i>There is a certain amount of homogeneity in the cases sampled. Most are done either by churches or groups of Christian organizations. These groups could easily have done all. The church plays an important part in each of the cases studied</i>
typical case sampling	Illustrates or highlights what is typical normal average	<i>There is probably no such thing as a typical case in this study, but it is hoped that through the study it might be possible to understand enough about healing interventions that what would typify a healing intervention will be known.</i>
stratified purposeful sampling	Illustrates characteristics of particular subgroups of interest; facilitates comparisons	<i>In that three regions of Africa are chosen from which the studies come, there is some level of stratification. This however did not seem to be the most revealing strategy.</i>
critical case sampling	Permits logical generalization and maximum application of information to other cases because if it's true of this one case it's likely to be true of all other cases.	<i>Because of the degree of pain and loss that most of these case studies deal with, it could be asserted that they are all of the critical case sampling strategy. However, if one looks at the African continent and sees the enormity of loss, trauma, and pain, it is most difficult to attempt to answer what case is more critical than another.</i>
combination or mixed purposeful sampling	triangulation flexibility meets multiple interests and needs	<i>The slight variety of strategy used in the case selection for this study does add to the triangulation. Other cases in fact have been filmed by this researcher and might have been used. However the better and more revealing cases were chosen.</i>
<i>Columns 1-2 from Patton 1990:182-3</i>		

The sampling in this inquiry is a maximum variation sampling. When selecting a small sample of great diversity, the data collection and analysis will yield two kinds of findings: (1) high-quality, detailed descriptions of each case, which are useful for documenting uniqueness, and (2) important

shared patterns that cut across cases and derive their significance from having emerged out of heterogeneity (Patton 1990:172).

Each video case study has been chosen to show as great a variety of interventions as possible. Because the case studies are few, the samples are relatively few in number. In diversity the interventions are simple and complex; requiring many agencies, or a single congregation, or a single individual. The interventions range from requiring a great deal of external funding to requiring only volunteer labor. These are interventions that can be accomplished in urban as well as rural settings. (It may be helpful to refer to the video summary table in the appendix to understand how the maximum variation sampling was achieved.)

4.4.7. Evaluation or analysis questions

Smith says, “the three main sources of new data are interviewing, observation, and experimentation” (Smith 1982:51). Of these this inquiry uses the first two. The interview questions were considered in the above section on case study. The second form of new data is that of observation. To assist the participant-evaluators a form of semistructured questionnaire was developed. “A semistructured questionnaire is used when the researcher is familiar with the boundaries, the domain, and the components of a phenomena but is unable to anticipate all the possible responses to a particular question and cannot structure the answers” (Morse 1992:361). This semistructured questionnaire was a response grid sheet.

The use of a simple response grid or report form for viewing the videos was to both enable the viewers/analysts to stretch their own thinking and response, as well as to provide some structure for capturing the range of responses that would fit within the boundaries and components of health and healing. The response grid asked questions, and these questions were similar in type to those asked for the creation of the case studies. What were above called “non-structured” or “open-ended” questions are the same type of question used for the response grid.

“The standardized open-ended interview is used when it is important to minimize variation in the questions posed to interviewees. This reduces the possibility of bias that comes from having different interviews for different people” (Patton 1990:281). The response sheet provided in this inquiry was a way of standardizing an open-ended “interview”. Because of the two-stage methodology, the participant-analysts are basically “interviewed” by the response sheet and by the

focus group discussion. In giving directions for the use of the response sheet, there was no requirement to fully utilize the response form, and in fact it was complex enough that with limited time most analysts/focus group participants did not fill it in completely. The response form is shown here in a shrunken form.

Video Analysis Chart

	NEEDS OBSERVED	ACTIONS TAKEN	RESULTS OBSERVED	LESSONS OR PRINCIPLES
EMOTIONAL				
SOCIAL				
VOLITIONAL (CHOICES)				
PHYSICAL				
MENTAL				

The provision of these forms, one for every person for every case-study film was itself a standardizing procedure. Because the forms were both complex and unstructured they required explanation and introduction. The complexity of the form came from the fact that it was a chart with five categories or aspects of human existence, and four questions to be addressed for every category. The lack of structure came because there was intentionally no clear explanation of what was to fit where—only that something should be in each column (the questions). In order for this form to be helpful and not just confusing, two standard steps were taken with each focus group. The first step was that every day was opened with a devotional meditation that focused on some aspect and example of biblical holism. The passages used were consistent for each focus group. The second step was the showing of a short video explaining the model of biblical holism as presented in this study. The full text of that video may also be seen in the appendix. Usually the “Biblical Holism” video was viewed several times, twice before the viewing of the first case study, and at least once more on the second day as a review. It was found that viewing the film made the structure of the response form more clear—that it was a guide to stimulate thinking and not an evaluation sheet to give the case study a grade of “whole” or “not whole”.

The object of the response sheet and the focus group discussion was to get high-quality data in a social context where people can consider their own views in the context of the views of others (Patton 1990:335).

4.5. Summary of choices used in this inquiry



Table 4.5 Summary table of *Healing the Nations* study choices

Issues	Sample Options and Considerations	Healing the Nations choices
1. What is the primary purpose of the study?	Basic research, applied research, summative evaluation, formative evaluation, and action research.	Applied research
2. What is the focus of study?	breadth vs. depth trade-offs	Eastern and Southern African church leaders
3. What are the units of analysis?	Individuals, groups, program components, whole programs, organizations, communities, critical incidents, time periods, etc.	Interventions
4. What will be the sampling strategy or strategies?	Purposeful sampling, probability sampling; variations in sample size from a single case study to a generalizable sample	Purposeful, maximum variation sampling
5. What types of data will be collected?	Qualitative, Quantitative, or both	Qualitative
6. What controls will be exercised?	Naturalistic inquiry: experimental design, quasi-experimental options.	Naturalistic Inquiry, but using two different design options
7. What analytical approach or approaches will be used?	Inductive, deductive. Content analysis, statistical analysis, combinations.	Inductive, content analysis.
8. How will validity of confidence in the findings be addressed?	Triangulation options: multiple data sources, multiple methods, multiple perspectives, and multiple investigators.	Multiple investigators
9. Time issues: When will the study occur? How will the study be sequenced or phased?	Long-term fieldwork, rapid reconnaissance, exploratory phase to confirmatory phase, fixed times versus open time lines.	Case study collection over five years, focus group within a six-month period
10. How will logistics and practicalities be handled?	Gaining entry to the setting, access to people and records, contracts, training, endurance, etc.	Study parallels the researcher role as director of the Institute for the Study of African Realities. Former and present colleagues coordinated focus groups.
11. How will ethical issues and matters of confidentiality be handled?	Informed consent, protection of human subjects, reactivity, presentation of self etc.	All subjects filmed signed consent forms most borrowed film footage was released. Non-released footage is not being available for distribution.
12. What resources will be available? What will the study cost?	Personnel, supplies, data collection, material, analysis time, and costs, reporting/publishing costs.	Approximately \$20,000 see appendix for details
<i>Twelve items, first two columns taken from Patton 1990, 197</i>		
13. What are the goals of this research?		Identification of church interventions which have and may bring healing to communities
14. What, in view of these goals, is the kind of data I want this research to produce?		Descriptions and principles of what and why interventions are healing.
15. What research will allow me to achieve these goals and get this kind of data?		Experienced church leaders analyze diverse type case studies
16. Given these goals and this research setting, what research methods should be used ideally?		Qualitative methods, focus-group analysis
17. What research methods are practical in this research setting?		Case studies by video, focus groups in multiple countries with diverse African cultures.
18. Given this estimate of the practical methods, is it possible to approximate sufficiently the goals and kinds of data we want to make this research desirable?		Individual evaluation sheets from each analyst, focus group discussion records, gender balance, 4 focus groups, minimum 50 analyst-participants
<i>Last six questions from Jack Douglas, Investigative Social Research (Smith 1982, 58)</i>		



4.6. Assumptions

The following assumptions have been made in this research:

1. The church naturally and systematically touches many different aspects of human life.
2. Various models of whole-person healing exist, but are not suitable for programmatic use in the African church.
3. Video can and will adequately portray a case study so that it can be analyzed by church leaders.
4. Past interventions can be analyzed long after taking place.
5. The “sense of healing” will vary with time, situation, and human life cycles.
6. Experienced church leaders can identify the significance of a church intervention.
7. Mature African church leaders can recognize and name healing interventions when they see them.
8. Nine videos showing a wide range of healing interventions is adequate and not too much for focus groups to process.
9. That contemporary African worldview is both like and different than the traditional worldview.
10. That the model of holism used as the basis for the response sheets will enhance reflections and analysis.
11. Barriers in people’s perception will make it more difficult to measure and understand interventions. These barriers include the following ideas: (These barriers are among those noted in the process of numerous conferences, seminars, and workshops conducted by MAP International in Rwanda and Burundi, 1994-1997. The researcher was a primary facilitator and these are found in non-published documents in his possession.)
 - I am not in need of healing.
 - My community does not need healing.
 - Justice--the punishment of perpetrators of negative acts and intents against my “community” and me must be administered before healing can take place.
 - I have nothing to repent of, I am not guilty.
 - I cannot be responsible for the injustices done; a higher authority or simple circumstances are responsible.
 - Forgiveness is not possible without repentance first: Repentance is not possible without knowing that forgiveness is unconditional.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: RIVERS OF HEALING--CASE STUDIES

5.1. Overview

The nine case studies in this study allow this inquiry to view a wide range of historical and geographical experiences. But the individual historical context of each film must not be overlooked.

Morse reminds us of the four parameters that must surround the investigation of these case studies:

...[Q]ualitative work is emic, comparative, historical, and holistic...In being emic, we must understand the multiple perspectives, the competing beliefs, the ways lives are lived, and their implications for social relations...In being comparative, we seek not only to contrast but to combine. We ask, what is the meaning of all perspectives taken together as well as in contrast to one another?...In being historical, we not only put events and interpretations into sequence, but try to discern how this history and other histories are implicated in present action and what this means for those involved...In all of these we attend to the fourth criterion, holism (Morse 1994:44).

The nine cases represent four different country areas (grouping Rwanda and Burundi into a single country area complex because of the similarity in history, culture and language.) Each area has its own history and background that must be sketched briefly. Further, each film, or case studied has its own story to tell. Because this study was done in video, the videos will be summarized for the reader so that the context of each film is clear. After the cases have been presented it will be possible to consider the reflections that the evaluating focus groups shed on those cases. In this way both method and results will remain in context (Patton 1990:471).

Several threads tie these cases together. The first is story or narrative. Each case is a story of an effort to heal pain and brokenness. Every effort was born from a vision that what *is*, is not what *should be*. The actions taken in every case are vastly different from each other although they all aim toward the single goal of transformation. In some ways the visionary or visionaries who conceived of the actions was motivated by compassion. As Nouwen expresses it, “compassion asks us to go where it hurts, to enter into places of pain, to share in brokenness, fear, confusion, and anguish” (Nouwen et al 1982:4). These stories are stories of that kind of compassion.

Because they are stories of compassion for those who have been crushed under the oppression of politics, of hate, or of history, these are also stories of healing. In the words of one Mr. Sikwepere who presented his story to the TRC, “I feel that what...has brought my sight back, my eyesight back, is to come back here and tell the story. But I feel that what has been making me sick all this time is the fact that I couldn't tell my story. But now...It feels like I've got my sight back by coming

here to tell you the story (Krog 1998:6). Perhaps as we listen to these stories there will be a new vision of what our broken world could be.

These stories have taken place not only in different countries, but also in many different places. That very difference is a third uniting factor, for it demonstrates that there is not a single primary place where healing occurs. There is no social hospital and no worship service experience for those who are broken in which to find healing. Perhaps in that sense the place of healing is like the World Wide Web—the single common element of the cyber world is only that one must enter. Once there, a myriad of “sites” are available.

An example is that of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which chose many different sites for their hearings because the use of space was deemed important in the act of community healing. If they chose a city hall it was because “by choosing the city hall...the commission gives notice of its determination to perform the ritual of claiming space, of consecrating a space, of saying, ‘this once belonged only to whites. Now it belongs to all of us’. The commission enhances its claims to the space by means of banners, posters, and, of course, by using the police to secure it (Krog 1998:8).

A fourth similarity of each of these stories is that they illustrate the use of rituals that create “types” of cultures, which develop around the healing actions and multiply the actions that are taken. A ritual may be described as “a highly condensed form of action composed of metaphors, and symbols, the essence of which is to focus the intimate attention of an individual or a group” (Krog 1998:7). Several examples will help show the meaning. During the TRC hearings the television reporting became a ritual in which the nation participated both because of its regularity and because of its repetitive use of certain visual symbols. The African Enterprise trauma healing seminars used rituals of repentance and the symbol of the cross that became nearly trademarks of participants’ experience. The use of song was a ritual that moved Martin Luther King’s non-violent opposition to racial segregation. The ritual of exorcism was to be found in every “transformation” of the Transformations case. And so in every case studied, we find the use of ritual.

It is possible to deeply analyze this element of ritual as Krog has done for South Africa and the TRC.



One: Acknowledging the Sacred Space:--positions of seating, who is announced or not, symbols like a flag and candle, use of prayer, song,
Two: Initiation into Being One of the Few Who Have been Chosen:--use of language, common or vernacular, use of microphone and headset.
Three: Letting go of the Bad or the Exorcism of the Terrible Memories--the story is told.
Four: Becoming Part of the Blessed Greater Community--Tutu fits the story into a broader, higher scheme, explains a deeper meaning of the story.
Five: The Scapegoat ritual: victimization, blame-casting on whites, all innocent.
Lost opportunities: to contribute to a fund by perpetrators, to sign a document or book by ordinary people etc. (Krog 1998:15).

What one sees in this list is that ritual is often not defined before it is developed. It often just happens and then becomes the trademark of what is done. While we will note some of the rituals in the cases studied, it is not the purpose to outline the trademarks as it were of the interventions, but what was intentionally done.

A fifth similarity of all these situations is the presence of violent conflict. This conflict takes on very different forms so that in some cases people who were touched would not have thought there was a conflict (the Nairobi Bomb Blast of the US Embassy). In most cases the conflict was a long brewing and widely involving one. If there is a common story to be told between Rwanda, Burundi, Congo, South Africa, Bosnia, Liberia, Siera Leone, Ethiopia, Sudan, or any number of other conflict zones, it is the story that Volf tells, outlining the progression and complexity of violent ethnic conflict.

In extraordinary situations and under extraordinary directors certain themes from the "background cacophony" are picked up, orchestrated into a bellicose musical, and played up. "Historian" --national, communal, or personal interpreters of the past--trumpet the double theme of the former glory, and past victimization; "economists" join in with the accounts of present exploitation and a great economic potentials; "political scientists" add the theme of the growing imbalance of power, of steadily giving ground, of losing control over what is rightfully ours; "cultural anthropologists" bring in the dangers of the loss of identity and extol the singular value of our personal or cultural gifts, capable of genuinely enriching the outside world; "politicians:" pick up all four themes and weave them into a high-pitched area about the threats to vital interests posed by the other who is therefore the very incarnation of evil; finally the "priests" enter in a solemn procession and accompany all this with a soothing background chant that offers to any whose consciences may have been bothered the assurance that 'God is on our side and that our enemy is the enemy of God and therefore an adversary of everything that is true, good, and beautiful.

As this bellicose musical with reinforcing themes is broadcast through the media, resonances are created with the background cacophony of evil that permeates the culture of a community, and the community finds itself singing the music and marching to its tune. To refuse to sing and march, to protest the madness of the spectacle, appears irrational and irresponsible, naive and cowardly, treacherous toward one's own and dangerously

sentimental toward the evil enemy. The stage for "ethnic cleansing" and similar "eruptions" of evil--personal as well as communal --is set (Volf 1996:88).

These stories begin with the dissonance of different peoples in South Africa.

5.2. South Africa

5.2.1. Overview

The conflict in South Africa has been the conflict of the church. Not only is the conflict rooted in the church, but it is also rooted in the very ritual intended to remind Christians of God's forgiveness that reconciles man with God and man with man—Holy Communion. "Apartheid began its life in the Church around the Table of the Lord when white Christians of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) refused to take Communion with those Christians who were not white. This sinful attitude was not only tolerated in the church of the nineteenth century, but in 1857 became a law for the life of the Church" (Boesak 1983:xi).

The idea of a biblical defense for racial separation at the Lord's Table was made in 1828 at a church council when the arguments about slavery (Luke 17:7-8) was connected to not eating in a way that gives offense to another (I Cor 8:13), which was taken to show that if partaking in communion with a person of another color was offensive to some, it should not be done (Loff 1983:13).

The theological foundations for apartheid can be traced long before the debate about admission to the Lord's Supper. Theologically it is necessary to start with the missionary efforts in the seventeenth century and then focus on the movement of Protestant missions with the Halle Pietists and Zinzendorf's Moravians in the eighteenth century whose emphasis on personal and individual salvation discouraged any sense of corporate responsibility. "Pietism moreover tended to have a rather one-sided vertical dimension, with little understanding of man's cultural relationships and Christ's universal kingship" (Bosch, 1983). Maluleke's makes the charge that Apartheid is but the product of pietism (Maluleke 1998:333). It may lead some (perhaps him!) to avoid any form of Evangelical or Reformed theology. What it should do is to warn every theological perspective of inherent dangers.



This theological inadequacy of pietism walked hand in hand with an era of political, social, and cultural imperialism of the west with its worldview. When added to the propensities of the human heart for selfish focus and gain, the result was unabashed and defended racism.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the colonial subjugation of the local peoples in what was to become South Africa was often rationalized as an extension of Christian civilization. A particular reading of the Old Testament coupled with a newfound identity of *volk*, or peoplehood created the possibilities of Afrikaner nationalism and the justification of this cause against both the Africans and the British (Pillay 1998:79).

Afrikaner nationalism that was reinforced by the Boer Wars is probably best seen not as the basis for racism, but as an outgrowth of it and contributor to its structural implementation. Indeed the use of the term Afrikaner in 1912 included not just those of Dutch origin but all whites whose loyalties were in the South African Union. The Nationalist party that formed in 1914 embodied this racial imperialism (Roberts 1986:555).

Racism is not a South African sin, it is a human sin. "Racism is not merely attitudinal, it is structural. It is not merely a vague feeling of racial superiority, it is a system of domination..." (Boesak 1983:3). Because that domination took on both ecclesiastical and political structural enforcement, the further context to the struggle in South Africa must be seen through the separate yet intertwined strands of the white church and the black church.

In the progression toward ever-increasing application of apartheid principles between the formation of the Nationalist party and the clear call to apartheid by the formation of National Party in 1948 (De Gruchy 1979:54), there are important issues that polarized both society and the church. Separate development in separate homelands of different peoples was at the center of this polarization. The theological point of apartheid was to use the differentiation of peoples as operationally normative for the church and society, rather than as descriptive. This brought theological division among the white churches that could or could not rationalize such differentiation. In 1950 the Dutch Reformed Church missionary conference recommended a "territorial apartheid" as a sort of compromise (De Gruchy 1979:56).

While the white church was debating, the black church was left with few options. They could worship with other blacks under the control of whites (mission churches), or could worship with whites in a multi-racial denomination that was also dominated by whites, or they could form their own churches and lose any political voice (De Gruchy 1979:43). Of those who formed their own

churches there were those that Sundkler called “Ethiopian” churches (breakaway was motivated by racial oppression and desire to control their own affairs but held to more or less orthodox Christian views) and the “Zionist” churches that tended to blend African Traditional Religion and Christianity (De Gruchy 1979:45).

The written voice that is therefore given to the struggle against apartheid is mostly a white voice, and can be viewed through the catalogue of church meetings, pronouncements, and declarations. In 1942, the Christian Council of South Africa (CCSA) met at Fort Hare for a conference on "Christian Reconstruction", following the fall of Hitler. In 1948 when CCSA again met at Rosettenville, the theme was "The Christian Citizen in a Multi-racial Society" (De Gruchy 1979:54). The South Africa Bishops Conference met in 1957 to articulate a position against apartheid, but it was not until after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960 that a conference at Cottesloe the same year produced a document rejecting all unjust discrimination and calling for consultation between race groups on all matters. That was accepted by a wide range of churches including the Dutch Reformed Church but then rescinded in the DRC because of political pressure (Swanepoel 1997:11, 15) The only implementation of Cottesloe was the withdrawal of the DRC from the WCC (De Gruchy 1979:68).

The struggle was watched and engaged by the world of churches outside South Africa. In Berlin in 1966, Michael Cassidy the director of African Enterprise (also known as African Evangelistic Enterprise in Rwanda) spoke of intense opposition from DRC pastors as he spoke against apartheid at the World Congress on Evangelism (Cassidy ed. 1988:69). The power behind that opposition is probably best seen in light of the Boederbond Exposes in 1963, that details the influence of a secret society upon the conscience and dictates of the church. Naudé broke his vow of silence to reveal condemning documents in order to assist fellow theologian Albert Geysers (Ryan 1990:19).

Beyers Naudé became an international icon of Christian integrity and principle that stood in the face of both ecclesiastical and political power. He created the Christian Institute, which was involved in black consciousness movement, and in 1972 refused to provide evidences required by state against accused conspirators against the state. He went to trial because "no Christian could participate in a trial which could implicate others if it were so conducted that those implicated would be unable to refute any false evidence that might be forthcoming" (De Gruchy 1979:111). He was declared a banned person in 1977 and again rebanned in 1982.



The Christian Institute closed suddenly because of the oppression of the government and banishment. Had it been more grass-root (compared say to the civil rights movement activities in the US) its activity might have been more difficult to stamp out. In a way the CI and its adherents were like a confessing church movement which in fact Naudé, a former *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK moderator, had suggested was necessary to the church in a published article in 1965 (De Gruchy 1983:75).

In the 1970s ferment continued to produce various church decrees. 1973 produced the declaration of faith of the Presbyterians, followed by the Lutheran World Federation's Confessional Integrity Declaration. The Soweto uprising in June, 1976 produced a backlash of increased repression by the government and increased violent aggression in black communities seeking to counter the repression (Hay 1998:42).

“Soweto, it appears, was not the result of some organization's planning, but was part of an interconnected web of circumstances and events. And central to this was the rise and impact of black consciousness within and upon the black community” (De Gruchy 1979:172). (This impact is a theme to which we will return.)

It was however starting in 1981 when the Black churches began to speak together that a burst of church proclamations was released. The Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in Southern Africa produced a charter document and then its refinement about the meaning of being Black and Reformed. In 1982, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches met in Ottawa and passed a decision on apartheid. Following that many churches produced their own stand, including the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk*, the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk*, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*, and the Church of the Province of South Africa. (De Gruchy et al 1983:161-184).

“The evangelical community seemed slower to respond but the NIR [National Initiative for Reconciliation] was born in 1985 out of Christian concern regarding the rapidly escalating conflict situation...” (Cassidy 1988:80). Its stand was not strong enough for many and in 1985 the Kairos Document was released as a reflection of more radical liberation theology ideas from World



Council churches. The NIR lost some of its support from Black churches and so worked toward some solidarity with the Kairos theologians. In so doing, it lost some of its more conservative support (Nurnberger & Tooke 1988:11).

It would appear that the influence of liberation theology, together with the worsening of situations, acted in concert to bring both white and black church leaders to a converging consensus to respond more radically to the imperatives of the gospel.

The publication of the Kairos Document in 1986 was indicative of this development. Like previous confessing documents, such as the Message to the People of South Africa in 1968, The Kairos Document attempted to address the political realities of a South Africa in crisis by going to the root causes of the problem in the light of Scripture...from the perspective of the poor and oppressed.... (De Gruchy 1991:29).

Theological, political, and social ferment then led to the Rustenburg Church Conference in 1990. It shared the spirit of the Cottesloe conference of 1960 but the Rustenburg Conference was held in anticipation of the end of Apartheid and the rebuilding of the nation. In the former conference the anticipation was never realized. The latter of course was the fullness of time (De Gruchy 1991:22). It was at Rustenburg that an overwhelming majority of church leaders from across a very wide denominational spectrum, including the DRC (Swanepoel, 1997:23), unequivocally rejected apartheid as a sin, confessed their guilt in relation to it, and pledged themselves to the struggle for justice and equity in the land (De Gruchy 1991:21).

The significance of the role of the Church in South Africa is clear as: "In December 1989, state President Frederick Willem de Klerk appealed to the Church in South Africa to formulate a strategy conducive to negotiation, reconciliation and change...Thus, because church membership represents about three quarters of the total population, the Church's influence cannot be underestimated" (Alberts & Chikane 1991:14). The expectations and hope for the role of the church must be tempered. De Gruchy suggests that the danger is to think that renewal will come from commissions and reports rather than in what God is seeking to do. "This does not invalidate reports or confessions, but it reminds us that simply because certain things have been said or written does not necessarily mean that they have happened or will happen" (De Gruchy 1979:124).

De Gruchy again outlines the gaps that existed (and exist!) between proclamations and reality:

First of all, there has been, and remains, a gap between synodical resolutions and congregational resolve and action. Secondly, there is something of a credibility gap between



the stand of the churches and discriminatory practices in their own life. Thirdly, the churches have by and large failed to educate their constituencies in the meaning of Christian social responsibility (1979:92).

These gaps widened in both the white and black churches through the years. Perhaps the very political machine of repression was what forced blacks to ultimately follow with actions what their voices increasingly articulated. It is important to recognize that from 1963 until the birth of the Black Consciousness movement in the late sixties, bannings and exile largely silenced the voice of black protest (De Gruchy 1991:24). While there was a silencing from the political machine, a fire was being fed inside the minds and responses of black leaders as well as some white theologians. The fire was one fed by the race struggle in the US which provided not only theological backing but also moral encouragement. The fact that Gandhi who had his early beginnings in South Africa also influenced Martin Luther King was yet another philosophical and moral tie.

King's theology built upon Gandhi's non-violent theology as well as the Liberation Theology that was growing in Latin America. Together it formed what might be called "Black Theology". Black theology has been attributed as the prime mover of social activism, but in reality it was but a contributor. A key accomplishment of this theology was the formulation of the Kairos Document (Pillay 1998:80)

Black theology in South Africa for the most part took its cue from the Cone variety of U.S. black theology,

"...[B]ased on the understanding that God, as portrayed in the Bible, is the liberator of the downtrodden--of the oppressed....As the leader in this kind of debate, [James] Cone has tended to follow the black power approach to it. Originally he advocated the view of "by any means necessary" in the quest for socio-political transformation. In doing so, he was more in agreement with the approach of Malcom X--a Black Nationalist leader.... (Motlhabi 1998:22).

Black theologians debate the very use of the term "black theology". Maluleke argues against Setiloane who felt that "Manas Buthelezi and others in this land were seized by Black Theology...'A ready-made Western theology turned into a consumption commodity for Africans'.... Black theology is still doing theology within the field of Western European, Graeco-Roman-rooted thought forms and Weltanschauung" (Maluleke 1995:24). Setiloane would want to go beyond Black Theology to an "African Theology". In contrast, Maluleke supports the continued relevance of the core ideas in Black Theology, which are liberation, and, we might say, "compensatory" equality.

Time will ask the question of when liberation theology actually brings liberation. A liberation theology that mixes with the political dominance of a previously oppressed people begins to look like the same reality as curious mix of Neo-Kuyperian theology and Afrikaner nationalism that produced to a large extent, a positive justification for Apartheid (duToit 1999:56, De Gruchy 1979:212).

If it were possible to move behind the theologies that have justified apartheid and its overthrow, we would come back to the unrest in Soweto and the underlying issue of self-governance which seemed to be the historical trigger that finally brought apartheid to an end. “Buthelezi says, separate development is not acceptable to the black community. The recent happenings in Soweto were evidence of that. We would like to have a share in the decision-making process of the country” (De Gruchy 1979:172). De Gruchy also points out that the journey for a share in the decision-making of the country actually started when the African national Congress was born in 1912, in the same place, Bloemfontein, as the Afrikaner national party two years later (1979:47). As it happened, the journey for black self-determination would not happen until after Afrikaner self-determination.

A desire for decision-making is the result of self-awareness. The “black consciousness” movement nurtured the self-awareness of blacks. The rise of black consciousness was crucial to the processes in South Africa, but it is finally an African consciousness that Mogoba, the president for many years of the South African Institute defines as the higher goal: “African consciousness would be a consciousness that held the spirit of Africanism dear to it. South African consciousness would not imply rejection of any one race, but would lead to a spirit that resulted in people being proud to be who they are, to have a healthy self-image and would lead, ultimately to an harmonious society” (De Gruchy 1979:44).

Exactly what was and is the goal of liberation that has been at the center of this debate about “black theology/consciousness” and “African theology/consciousness”? Bosch argues the point this way:

We have to ask in all seriousness whether the category 'people' or 'nation' may be the object of the church's concern for liberation. 'People' as cultural and ethnic entity is *not* a theological category and wherever it is made into such a category (as an 'ordinance of creation' or 'God-given distinctive entity') it cannot lead to mutual exclusiveness which endangers the life of the church as the new community" (Emphasis in original) (Bosch 1977:33, 34).



Is it people or nation? Perhaps the question is the very dialectic of the nation that is at the heart of the reconstruction and healing which is needed. In Villa-Vicencio's view, a theology of reconstruction is "theology committed to continuous social renewal and revolution". But Pillay rebuts, "there is something incongruous about making theology the enterprise that follows in the wake of changed social and political circumstances: a kind of secondary activity that seeks perpetually to make sense of change" (Pillay 1998:81). It is likely that Villa-Vicencio's meaning is that theology's task is to continue the process of transformation, not simply providing an exegesis for it. The process of transformation must include both people and the nation.

Changing only people—and certainly only changing the people groups in power—could not be a sufficient healing of the nation. The church cannot avoid relating to the cultural milieu in which it is set if it is to fulfill its task, neither can it simply stand aloof from the social and political aspirations of groups within society. In some way divisions created by race and culture have to be transcended in the church so that its identity as the reconciled and reconciling community can be demonstrated (De Gruchy 1979:52). So, for example, in 1992 Michael Cassidy called for a pan-African Christian community to join AE's mission to Pietermaritzburg so that both people and a nation could be brought into a broader community unified in its witness. "Those who came from other African nations, knew the inappropriateness of Utopian expectations of majority rule. 'Uhuru' was not a panacea for all ills" (Cassidy 1995:29).

The story of South Africa as it has been told thus far seems to reveal more injury than healing. Before proceeding to review parts of the story of healing interventions, two significant church interventions must be seen. First is the continual role of the church to speak out. The prophetic voice was often muted, muffled, slow, or spoke with lack of clarity. But it did speak.

...[O]n several occasions our Presiding Bishop personally encouraged Mr. F.W. de Klerk, when State President, to hasten change. We found both men receptive to our approach although we do not know what it accomplished. It was dialogue rather than confrontation. That was our *modus operandi*. However, we now see that instead of helping our cause it hindered it (DRC submission, TRC 1997).

Second is the important intervention seen in solidarity. Denominational solidarity was at times a problem, but it was in being connected that change eventually came. It was the connectedness of churches in denominations and between denominations, within a race and between races, within South Africa and outside of South Africa that enabled the economic and political pressure to work.



The inter-connected voice of God's people kept alive the hope of change and release of oppression. This role of influence, mediation, and advocacy is one that the international Christian community may be as effective in other situations of global conflict.

Third is the intervention of appropriate confrontation that speaking and being connected allows. Emmanuel Kopwe, one of the international AE team present for the mission in Pietermaritzburg in 1992, spoke to a SA Brigadier, challenging him about his words and attitude of the blacks he was oppressing, and opening the way for a deeper understanding of his own trauma and loss. It is this kind of confrontation that uniquely was the regular contribution of the church in the conflict situation (Cassidy 1995:31).

Bate reflects on the internal healing needed in South Africa. He looks at the "charismatic" healing rites that he calls a "coping-healing phenomenon" and sees that it offers one intervention to the need, but it is inadequate by itself, because the need is for more than individual healing. He says, "Although one can perceive a type of common South African culture much of it is also a sick culture. Consequently, it is in need of healing and healing becomes the major mode through which South African society and culture can become human" (Bate 1995:19).

A focus on the humanity of the other has been found in the idea of *Ubuntu*, which is a common philosophy in a word for South Africa. It seems to both embrace its African Traditional Religions and Christian heritages, for it implies both 'compassion' and 'recognition of the humanity of the other.' As a prevailing world-view it has had a moderating influence on what would otherwise be a severe reaction to apartheid (Asmal, Asmal & Roberts 1996:21). The flight magazine of South African Airlines popularizes the meaning with the familiar African sense of "people": 'I am because we are', 'I can only be a person through others' (Mbigi 1997:39). The community is therefore essential for the success of showing compassion and the humanity of others. While the philosophy seems to present a universal healing balm, it fails to assist in rooting out a cause for failure and evil or even in bringing justice.

Two other examples may be cited in which using the idea of *ubuntu* actually excludes the guilty from legal prosecution. Hirohito, emperor of Japan, and certain German Nazi collaborators were not included in a list of WW2 accused of crimes against humanity. This was for "sociological" reasons (Asmal, Asmal & Roberts 1996:21). The reason given was that prosecution would create more of a



social backlash—it would seem more “inhuman” to dishonor an emperor or certain other prominent leaders by making a public spectacle than simply doing nothing. In other words the sense of *ubuntu* in Japan and Germany protected some individuals who were horrible abusers of humanity because of a desire to not diminish the pride of a people.

The search to heal a past is hard and desperate in every society where brokenness has left everyone wounded. “South Africa faced the task of reconstructing a society that had been based on divisions and oppression. This entailed dealing with past injustices. First they looked to the ways other countries had formed ‘truth commission’ to deal with crimes; some even proposed the formation of “Nuremberg trials” for those responsible for apartheid” (Jones 1998:19).

Several good reasons were given for not having Nuremberg-style trials:

1. South Africa was not formally a dictatorship, but simply had a powerful military.
 2. Summary trials and executions were not possible.
 3. A triumphalist approach of victor's justice was rejected in favor of ideals of nation building.
 4. Nuremberg only reached a few of the perpetrators.
 5. Ordinary people remained outside the process.
 6. Over-judicializing would have delayed the process of remembering.
 7. Judicial process is traumatic again for victims
- (Asmal, Asmal & Roberts 1996:18-19).

A second approach to the injustices would have been to simply declare amnesty. Justice Minister Dullah Omar responded to that idea by saying: “I could have gone to Parliament and produced an amnesty law—but this would have been to ignore the victims of violence entirely. We recognised that we could not forgive perpetrators unless we attempt also to restore the honour and dignity of the victims and give effect to reparation” (Hay 1998:51). General amnesty would not have brought healing. Some balance between justice and forgiveness that included both elements was needed.

The parliamentary act that birthed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was “based on the principle that reconciliation depends on forgiveness and that forgiveness can only take place if gross violations of human rights are fully disclosed. What is therefore, envisaged is reconciliation through a process of national healing (Hay 1998:53). Three subcommittees were erected under the TRC: the committees on Human Rights Violations, on Amnesty, and on Reparation and Rehabilitation.

The TRC carefully circumscribed the conditions for amnesty. Amnesty was seen as a way toward healing more than the simply prosecution of acts. It recognized that justice that is based on cultural or politically biased laws would not be a good foundation for a new society. "In order to grant amnesty, the commission must be convinced that: the act(s) involved a political objective; the act(s) took place during the time period designated by the commission (1960-93); the acts committed were proportional to the political objective being sought; and that the perpetrator has confessed the whole truth" (Jones 1998:21).

Reconciliation in South Africa through the TRC seemed to be sought or expected from three approaches: "The first is the official comprehensive report...the second approach is by way of individual disclosure...The third approach...national reconciliation" (Hay 1998:117). So that national reconciliation does not just become a "national amnesia", a genuine healing is necessary. Part of the healing was to rightly mourn. A bishop of the African Independent Churches in Soweto said "Reconciliation, yes, but not before we have been allowed to mourn!" (Gerloff 1998:37). The issue is that without mourning there may be only revenge. But how long does mourning last, and how can it be used as a part of the healing process rather than a part of the revenging process?

The idea of the TRC was to give space to the mourning, and to the confessing/forgiving that needed to happen. Long before the TRC De Gruchy had identified the need for confessing and forgiving.

"In the name of maintaining security whites are constantly informed that they have nothing for which to feel guilty. Such a refusal to acknowledge what history plainly describes does not mean an absence of guilt, only an absence of admission and acceptance of it. This has disastrous consequences for whites' coming to terms with reality. In fact, what could be one of the most potent forces for healing society's wounds, has become one more burden which prevents social wholeness and reconciliation.... Unless white Christians in particular admit the wrongs they have done to Black people and take action to redress them, there can be no possibility of healing in our land (De Gruchy 1979:190).

Community, and social healing must include repentance--not only a confession or even simply truth telling. The TRC chose to identify confession, or the admission of wrongs, as simply that and no more. No contrition was required of perpetrators, no apology, and no individual participation in reparation or restorative justice (Hay 1998:86).

The TRC officially ended though its work continues. It is questionable that a "permanent" TRC would in any event accomplish more than it has already. "For the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to become a [permanent]body would be duplicative and would remove the



commission's distinctive and rarefied role...to change the nation's paradigm of itself through a short, sharp hammer blow of a new beginning” (Asmal, Asmal & Roberts 1996:27). What has been missing is a the participation in a process in which other community infrastructures like the Church might have been energized to create "nodes" of healing in the wake of the TRC.

In the wake of the TRC some organizations have come into being and have actually grown. The Khulumani support group structure is one such organization. Its contribution will be considered shortly. Other organizations and churches certainly have continued their work and ministry. The St. James Church ministry is one such example and it will be considered as well. While healing of the nation is taking place, it is clear that it is and will be an on-going process. We turn now to the first of the case studies that present an intervention for healing what appeared to be an intractable conflict.

5.2.2. Video Dialog

Bishop Mvume Dandala's role as the Methodist Bishop was both on a regional church level--to prick the conscience and to lead in mobilizing for repentance--as well as on a personal level—to encourage his own churches to follow right thinking with right action (Meiring 1999:158). Bishop Dandala facilitated much of the work in the video dialog project. In his exercise of a dual role--regional denominational church leader, and community leader--he revealed the importance of church leaders taking a leading role in healing interventions.

The Kathorus Video Dialogue Project in East Rand, Johannesburg, followed the format of a relatively successful project originally done in the community of Crossroads, Cape Town, in 1992. Its purpose was to use the making of a video film as a process of dialogue within the community and between groups whom otherwise would not talk to each other. The material filmed was shared across the enemy lines and a consensus was built that the film product would be useful if viewed by the adversaries together. This step introduced the notion of "video dialogue" - the making of a video product as a stimulus to bring parties together to talk, first to the camera and secondly to each other in a facilitated process. This process might be seen as a different but very useful way in which the biblical command may be fulfilled, “if your brother sins against you, go to him” (Mat 5:24). The process enabled people to “go to each other” as well as “taking some one else”.

The partners in this project were: the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, an NGO that has been working in the Kathorus area since 1990, the Media Peace Centre, (a media NGO located in Cape Town and committed to use media for social change), the International Committee of the Red Cross, and various other community based groups and technical consultants.

The Kathorus Community was involved in some of the most violent history experienced in South Africa. The fighting continued right up to the 1994 elections. Between 1990 and 1994 more than 2000 people died there and thousands more were displaced - forced to flee their homes amidst the chaos of the conflict. Political rivalry between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and their supporters largely contributed to generating this violence.

Carl Stauffer, a Mennonite Central Committee staff member who worked with the project, writes the following report on the history and outcomes of the project. His evaluation, written for an MA program in Peace for the Eastern Mennonite University, May 2001 is shortened and edited for inclusion here.

The relative success of the Crossroads experiment gave rise to the same idea in Thokoza, another of the most violent areas in South Africa. The resulting project was called "Simunye (we are one) Dialogues" which was launched in 1997 by Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, the Media Peace Centre and Simunye, a local community based organization serving the ex-combatants of the East Rand. Video cameras were given to two former commanders of the militarized youth wings from opposing political groups. These two commanders were to tell or "diarize" their own and their community's story through the use of video. After this, a process of categorizing, editing, and putting together of one story, from two, was embarked upon. This was a highly difficult and taxing process as each of these young commanders had to play down their perceived and deeply cherished prejudices, myths and stereotypes in order to produce a new joint reality that was acceptable to all.

The product of this effort was a one-and-one-half-hour video that openly and candidly outlines the past and current conflicts, analyzing the conflicts, and soliciting solutions from all stakeholders. This video was successfully screened in April of 1997 to a large number of community leadership. Following this, various public viewings were conducted for different segments of the community, after which participants were divided into commissions and a facilitated dialogue was engaged in. This follow-on process used community resources - facilitators, video machines, church and school halls and caterers - to interact with groups who otherwise would not have talked to each other.

The aim of the project was to promote a broad-based unity, restore a sense of "community" and assist the Kathorus community to recognize its divisions, and to intervene into the Kathorus situation as a preventative approach against the threat to renewed violence. In many cases media exacerbates conflict, reiterating narratives of violence, body counts, and the same old articulated hardened positions. Video Dialogue believed that media can help

manage conflict without compromising the "truth". This project relied on mediation principles such as bringing key parties to the table, and related inclusiveness and representativeness, extensive consultation, building trust and relationships, the importance of context or history for the conflict, intensive listening and other interviewing skills such as open-ended questions, getting parties interests beyond their positions, and helping parties identify common ground and ways forward. The Video Dialogue supports a more free information flow, and empowers people to speak and to listen. It is a cathartic process: people telling of their own experience/views, in their own language, of their anger, grief, hope, is liberating in itself.

According to Sam Motsitsi, a fieldworker for the project, the video dialogue process in fact pushed the community of Kathorus to be more "pro-active and future-looking". He cited examples of the following activities that have been initiated as result of the process:

- Formation of active youth structures in the community,
- Tackling of the problem of electricity and utility piracy and cut-offs,
- Determination to officially unveil the Thokoza peace monument,
- Desire to open up the Khumalo Street "no-go" zone,
- Securing a counseling center in the community,
- Interest in improving education, employment and general delivery of service (Stauffer, 1998).

Two key principles behind the motivation of those involved in the project were 'empowerment' and 'recognition'. According to Bush and Folger, conflicting parties are mutually empowered when they both:

- 1) Envision and express their goals in this specific conflict as well as in their lives in general,
- 2) Are aware and able to choose from a broad range of options,
- 3) Increase their skills in conflict resolution,
- 4) Realize and access resources that they were previously not aware of, and
- 5) Reflect, deliberate and make conscious decisions about the future.

The conflict becomes truly transformed when there is mutual recognition. Mutual recognition happens when:

- 1) They are both able to consider giving and receiving recognition to and from each other,
- 2) They both actually desire to give and receive recognition to and from each other,
- 3) They both give recognition to each other in thought, words, and in actions (Bush & Folger 1994:85-87).

The intervention shown in this film is a deceptively simply one. Deceiving because on the one hand the only thing that seems to happen is to give two opposing sides a camera and tell them to take pictures of their side's complaints. The project did not require a great financial backing since the cost of two cameras and local transportation was sufficient. There seemed to be little role for the church to play—there was no preaching or Bible study! For all of these reasons many of the focus group observer/evaluators may have missed the power of what Stauffer has detailed above.

The complexity of the film intervention comes from the fact that it is intensive in process. The selection and bringing the principal leaders to a place of willingness to participate in the project was itself difficult and significant. Understanding what kind of testimonies would be representative and revealing, including emotionally charged scenes of violence (or not), creating the trust to edit the films and many other steps were all significant and difficult for the success of the project.

The film shown to the focus groups was an edited version of a one-hour film done by Kathorus Video Dialogue Project itself for demonstration and information. In the film a number of difficulties and interventions were mentioned. First, there were several points where the use of the media did increase the anger. At those times the mediation of an outsider was needed to get the project moving again. Second, the community was hesitant to have anything to do with it. It took time and many small steps to build the trust. Third, outside parties were clearly involved throughout the process. This included Bishop Dandala as the moral encourager and mediator, but it also included the technical and social/educational expertise of the Video Dialogue team. Finally, the project did not result in a “fully reconciled” community. However, there were several crucial steps along the journey to reconciliation. In this respect a healing intervention is best seen as a movement toward healing and reconciliation rather than an act which is expected to complete the change.

South Africa has many communities that are deeply entrenched in conflict. It would seem any form of discussion is impossible in some situations. Where there is no acceptable mediator, or no established process between communities, or a language that only bears a commonality of accusation, discussion would seem impossible. The intervention of the video dialog surely offers a clear step ahead when all hope is lost that healing might begin.

5.2.3. Khulumani

One organization that formed out of a self-perceived sense of need was Khulumani.

“The Khulumani Organisation who regularly brought groups of victims in different centers of Gauteng together to deliberate on their problems, has asked us to come. Khulumani means “let us talk together”--and that was exactly what we did that afternoon” (Meiring 1999:91).

Even before 1991 a small group of women including Ntombi Mosikare began to visit each other. They shared common losses of husbands and sons. A detainee support group was a sort of parallel

to Khulumani. When the government forced the detainee support group to disband in 1991, Khulumani continued on as it had done before—a few women visiting a few homes to console the grieving in Soweto. The following history is taken from an interview with Ntombi who is generally regarded as the “Mother” of Khulumani (Mosikare, N 2001).

Khulumani grew again after the banning of the detainee support group, but was still only a regular meeting until the TRC. As the TRC began to gather force and called people to testify so that corroboratory evidence could be gathered, Khulumani began to play a more visible role of both support for those testifying and education for the community to ease the fear that many had of appearing before what they often saw as a legal jury—which in the experience of the past usually meant injustice for blacks.

Brandon Hamber and the Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation took notice of the small but significant work of the regular meetings, which in 1995 were perhaps only 15 women. The support role that was clearly so essential to enable wounded people to talk about their wounds before the TRC was in fact going on apart from any intervention of the TRC. Khulumani was given a place and limited administrative support for its office at the CSVR office complex in 1996.

With an office and minimal support behind the small organization, and the TRC calling people to come, the work of Khulumani soon expanded. Besides the group in Soweto several formed in the S. Rand area. By 1997 there were more than five groups in Soweto, E and S Rand, and one in Mamelodi. What drew the groups together was a commonality of location, not language. If there were a woman or man who could not understand, someone would translate. Usually everyone could hear enough of the languages used that translation was not needed.

The structure of the support groups has remained nearly the same since the early days of expansion. Each group has an organizing committee. The facilitator from that committee meets every month with the facilitators from the other groups at the Khulumani office. As more and more groups began however, it became necessary for the facilitators to choose representatives from the various groups. The representative leaders then met in a steering committee that met monthly. Regional meetings of leaders continued to meet monthly. In 2001 Khulumani has grown from a group to a movement. The national steering committee meets every two or three months.

The facilitators are not trained. They have been volunteers, most of whom have attended an educational seminar on Khulumani and the TRC. Although the main purpose of the support groups is counseling, few of the leaders have had any training in counseling.

From its early days until nearly midpoint in the TRC Khulumani has struggled to be accepted by political groups as well as churches. Political groups, the ANC especially, have feared that they would be exposed. Churches on the other hand saw Khulumani as being too political. Through the years it has only been the Methodist Church and The Evangelical Alliance of South Africa (TEASA) that have been supportive, though since 1999 special memorial services have been held sometimes twice a year in churches. Only the Roman Catholic church has offered their facilities free of charge for these events.

Khulumani leaders identify the impact of the groups in a number of areas. The very increase in number illustrates the sense in which participants find their needs being met. A large number have been able to give testimony to the TRC, and even those who don't have been able to overcome their sense that official political policy is always repressive. People are able to talk about the past with others and in their families. Khulumani has been able to assist many with educational grants and medical help as well as provide candlelight memorial services where the dead are remembered with names written on banners, the wounded are affirmed, and people are able to eat together and feel a part of a caring community.

There have of course been problems. Until recently when the SA government has recognized the services that Khulumani has provided, all financial support has come from private donations—and never an adequate amount. Since counseling is the main intervention, finding a willing volunteer psychologist to help has always been a problem. Probably most difficult however has been the sense of opposition that has come from every front—except the people in the groups! They have had to deal with the resistance, and sometimes threats of political parties, threats from perpetrators, resistance from the TRC to their advice (Gunn 2001:2) even though their services have been appreciated. With the closure of the TRC they now sense a need to continue much of the needed leftover work but have no mandate or official direction from the TRC beyond the sense of moral duty to those who have suffered (Gunn 2001:3).

Khulumani continues to be both a support and an advocacy group for emotional and physical needs of apartheid victims (Gunn 2001:9). They continue to resource and dispense important information on things like special pensions and other benefits (Gunn 2001:10). What remains a mystery to this researcher is that in a land full of churches--black, white, colored and mixed—why has the church not blessed, aided, and participated in the support groups that have emerged under Khulumani? The interventions shown in these efforts parallel closely the kinds of activities that the church often sponsors anyway, and the opportunity to bring healing to a wider community outside the walls of the church building would seem to be an endless horizon.

5.2.4. St. James CESA

“There is an unspoken feeling among Christians that, if there is to be suffering, it should be bearable and that we should not experience the same horror that unbelievers do. The truth of the matter is that we are often exposed to the same depth of suffering” (Retief 1994:30). History has often illustrated that Christians have been exposed to far worse suffering than those outside the Christian community. It has long been the mark of the true church to suffer, and to suffer with grace and forgiveness.

On 25 July 1993, during the evening service, armed Azanian Peoples Liberation Army cadres burst through front sanctuary doors of the St. James Church in Cape Town, lobbed hand grenades, stepped out to allow them to explode, and then reentered to open fire on the congregation. The St. James Church of the Church of England of South Africa in Cape Town entered its time in history to suffer and suffer well.

What makes this story important is not that its suffering is so unusual in history, but that the circumstances were unusual. During the reign of Idi Amin in Uganda it was not unusual for soldiers to enter a church, but they usually did their killing after the service and outside the building. During the massacres in Rwanda thousands of people lost their lives in the church buildings, but they had gone for refuge, not for worship.

At St. James people had gathered for worship on a normal Sunday that in the history of South Africa was after the tensions, after the rhetoric, and seemingly after the violence. Its pastor, Rev. Frank Retief, wrote of the events, “...no political party accepted responsibility for the act. In fact it has become evident that the perpetrators were probably a cadre of terrorists who made an error in

judgment (Retief 1994:39). That early assessment of the invasion was clearly incorrect. As time revealed it, those responsible were not just "terrorists" but a politically motivated military wing of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (APLA).

The perpetrators applied to the TRC for amnesty and the hearing began on 10 July 1997, four years after the attack. Meiring gives the background to the St. James attack.

"I did not think that it had been wrong to attack the church" Bassie Mzukisi Mkhumbuzi told the judges the next day, discussing events during the St. James Massacre. "I have sympathy with the people who died, but we could not stop what was happening. Now there is peace...."

Mkhumbuzi was one of four APLA members who applied for amnesty for the shocking events of 25 July 1993.... When the dust settled, eleven parishioners lay dead and fifty-eight were injured. The wounded included many coloured and black Christians, as well as a Russian seaman who lost an arm and both his legs. "We were under the impression that all the people in the church would be Whites, because the church was situated in a white area", he explained. Mkhumbuzi, who had traveled to Cape Town from Kimberley, where he was undergoing training as a member of the new South African National Defense Force, took the story further: "We had to follow instructions blindly, and not ask questions. The Whites, we believed, were using the churches to oppress black people. The main reason why we wanted to attack Whites was because they had taken our land away from us...."

Gcinkhaya Makoma, who led the attack for which he was serving a prison sentence of 23 years, had instructed his accomplices to fetch arms and ammunition from the comrades in the Transkei... He expressed his sincere regret about the loss of life: "I was seventeen years old and obeyed orders without questioning them" (1999:169).

Understanding what is lost from our humanity in trauma helps us to understand what needs healing. Retief expresses part of this for the St. James church. "When something needless, pointless, cruel, vindictive and malicious robs us of our values, sense of well-being, security or respect, we stand face to face with tragedy" (Retief 1994:27). The struggle to understand is usually followed with an explanation. Often a Christian tragedy is explained in terms of "martyrdom". At St. James the tendency to move in that direction was averted. "We do not believe that the violence that erupted on that fateful night was persecution for our faith. Nor do we see ourselves as martyrs in any way. We see ourselves simply as the victims of violence" (Retief 1994:75).

To identify suffering as "martyrdom" is to glorify the pain in some manner, and give it a purpose. To recognize that suffering had no such significance is to simply recognize the loss and pain as merely destructive. Purpose is one thing that relieves the loss by making it "worthy". In this sense then the St. James experience did not seek to artificially "heal" the situation, the leadership simply recognized the depth and purposelessness of the violence and had to deal with the consequences.

The interventions therefore are more significant, more helpfully revealing because they had to bring healing from a greater depth without the advantage of the "glory" of martyrdom.

What were the interventions? Some were automatic responses.

On the night of our tragedy people clung to each other in a new way. Family suddenly became important and friendships took on new meaning. Small and petty things that so often disrupt our relationships were showed up for what they are and were swiftly abandoned. No wonder the writer of Hebrews said, 'do not lose heart when He rebukes you' (Retief 1994:80).

Perhaps one of the chief roles of the church is in simply activating, or nurturing its natural role. Providing an atmosphere for "clinging" and "befriending" may not seem to be an intentional intervention, however Retief's observation of the St. James experience indicates that if the correct environment has been created through intentional interventions, then an emotionally healing response happens. Perhaps it can be compared to the physical healing of a wound where keeping a wound clean, dry and with air circulating will enhance the body's natural healing ability. So too the church has natural emotional and social healing abilities. In an environment that encourages comfort, social binding, and faith, healing of both deep and superficial wounds will occur.

Sometimes the most significant intervention is the one that is so common and regular that it seems to pass unnoticed until a time of need, "...the years of systematic Bible study had borne fruit in a time of great darkness" (Retief 1994:44). At other times there must be new and focused responses, "We organized two weeks of debriefing sessions for adults and children. We all needed help and, in God's goodness, the right people were on hand to help us...dealing successfully with our feelings is not something that happens overnight" (Retief 1994:33). This intervention shows that one role of the church is to facilitate what it cannot itself accomplish or provide. Systematic Bible study is an intervention that heals the mind. Good debriefing is an intervention that heals both the understanding as well as emotions.

Another healing intervention employed at St. James was reflection and creating a space for it in the lives of its people,

What has happened needs to be thought through. Unpleasantness needs to be faced. The whole experience has to be integrated into our view of God. We need to incorporate the experience into our lives. The tragedy that overtook us at St. James is a case in point. The event was so shocking and traumatic that it took some time for the reality to dawn on some people...We arranged to send a number of people away for a few days either to a quiet

country hotel or a cottage at the sea. Here they had an opportunity to come to terms with what had happened (Retief 1994:101).

Unfortunately in today's Africa and often in history's violence there is neither a place nor space for reflection for some people who are most affected in suffering.

Any intervention that enables reflection addresses social, emotional, and cognitive needs that are crucial in healing. But reflection is not an end in itself, it is so that a person can sort through overwhelming burdens and begin to find individual steps that can be taken. "In our own case there were those injured or traumatized who were struggling with other great personal difficulties. For a while all the problems seemed merged into one great burden. These people needed help to see that there were often several different issues that needed attention" (Retief 1994:107).

Some interventions for healing are simply to comfort the body. St. James experienced some of the world's finest medical attention, and they also understood the connection of the body to the emotions of stress. "We were very grateful when a pharmaceutical company donated supplies of sleeping tablets to us in the aftermath of the attack on our church. They wisely foresaw the need to help people to sleep and not to remain sleepless because of stress" (Retief 1994:106). Sleep is one of God's greatest healing interventions.

In the presence of these interventions, and others that have not been catalogued here what happened? (Many other interventions were made, but space cannot allow all of them to be considered. Those commented upon here are clearly seen in the video.) Following are some individual stories that reveal the impact of and need for healing.

When the disaster overtook our church, the enormity of what happened was too much for Bill. He simply switched off. He refused to acknowledge the event. It was not that he denied the actual happening but rather he refused to allow his emotions to deal with it. He seemed to sail through the tragedy unaffected. Six weeks later he sank into an inexplicable depression...The way back to a regular walk with God is to face up honestly and sensibly to what happened in your life. You may need a friend or a counselor to help you to understand your feelings. Then you need to take those true feelings into the presence of the Lord in prayer and honestly talk to Him about them (Retief 1994:120).

Facing trauma honestly is a necessary step to healing. Any activity that helps someone take that step is a healing intervention, but when it becomes healing and what are the multiple ways God may use to effect that healing often remains a mystery.

One story that is helpful to understand the need for continuous and possibly repeated healing interventions is that of Dawie Ackerman who is pictured in the film as he interacts with the attackers during a TRC hearing. Retief tells us of his first response after the attack.

His wife Marita had been hit. Even before the paramedics appeared, Dawie realized she was dying. He managed to get her into a car and rushed her to the emergency unit of the hospital but they were too late. She was dead shortly after arrival. Dawie returned to the church and was immediately surrounded by the media...he...announced a refusal to seek revenge and offered forgiveness to the attackers (Retief 1994:137).

In his response to trauma Dawie Ackermann followed certain normal responses. He was immediately catalyzed into action. Whether or not his handling of his wife's wounded body was more helpful than waiting for equipped paramedics is an open question. He responded to the press with a faith-based offer for forgiveness. That offer came not from reflective reason, but from the passion and expectation of faith. In the film we watch him struggling four years later to understand how an offer to forgive such indiscriminate violence could be made without an expression of sorrow from the perpetrators. With great emotion he looks at them and asks, "What are we doing here? The truth yes, but...I looked at his anger...how on earth can we be reconciled?" (St. James Massacre video).

In 1994 Frank Retief as pastor had said, "We felt a special responsibility to pray for them [the perpetrators]. It seemed to us as if the whole country was hating them. This is not mentioned to indicate how especially holy the congregation is but rather to illustrate about a relationship being established between the criminal and his victim...that relationship exists and needs to be resolved (Retief 1994:144). In 1999 Rev Ross Anderson another pastor of the St. James church said "But forgiveness is a different thing (than love). There is no such thing in Scripture as unconditional forgiveness....there is no fellowship restored until there is an apology and a genuine repentance" (video interview).

What both pastors affirm is their belief that shalom requires a resolution of even evil relationships, and that the desired end of a restored relationship is fellowship. The idea that apology, forgiveness and fellowship is both necessary and possible presumes that some interventions will be made. For some of the St. James congregants, the opportunity to go to the TRC and actually face the perpetrators was a step forward. Some went and visited the perpetrators in jail for longer and more personal conversations. None of them were satisfied with having heard the words of "sorry" that

they wanted (St. James Massacre video interview with Gillian Schermbrucker).

On the other hand significant healing did take place. Retief says, “It took some people a while before they felt emotionally strong enough to go back to the church premises” (1994:33). But they did return, and returning to the place of violation is a step toward healing as one survivor recounts it, “My brothers insisted that I go back...the church was empty and I went to sit in the same place I’d sat that night. They held me as I cried and cried and cried. There was blood all over the place, everything was still in disarray. But it was good to go back. The presence of God was palpable, and that was a real comfort” (Sorour-Morris 1998:73).

For Gillian Schermbrucker healing was transforming—bringing her to pursue medical training so that she could return to do community health work in the very townships where the perpetrators had come.

Forgiveness, the volitional act of releasing another from a binding sense of obligation, has occurred in many lives at St. James even though the perpetrators could not feel sorrow. The loss of lives and limbs was healed so that the survivors could identify with the humanity, and the ethical weakness of the perpetrators. All could think of the support groups, the family-like atmosphere, the teaching and encouragement to forgive and to understand that they had received from St. James. Healing had not happened in an instant, but over years the congregation had benefited from the faithful interventions of their church.

5.3. Rwanda/Burundi

5.3.1. Overview

David Rawson, the US ambassador to Rwanda in 1994 observed that, “Evil, here in Rwanda as in all the world, is an incredibly destructive force.... When any of us begin to diminish the importance of a neighbor's humanity, we are on a slippery slope” (Lawrence 1995:136). Just how slippery the slope can be was painfully illustrated in Rwanda.

The biblical curse on Ham and the supremacy of Noah's other sons has not only contributed to the curse beliefs of racism in the US and South Africa, but also in Rwanda. In Rwanda, the idea has been perpetuated that the Hutu are descendants of Ham and the Tutsi descendants of Japheth or Shem. The multi-generational consequence of that attitude has caused multiple backlashes. “In

November of 1992 the Hutu Power ideologue Leon Mugesera delivered a famous speech, calling on Hutus to send the Tutsis back to Ethiopia by way of the Nyabarongo River, a tributary of the Nile that winds through Rwanda. He did not need to elaborate. In April of 1994, the river was choked with dead Tutsis, and tens of thousands of bodies washed up on the shores of Lake Victoria” (Gourevitch 1998:53).

It happened this way: “At 8:05 P.M. on April 6, 1994, racial hatred, terror, and corruption burst into flame over the lush gardens surrounding the Kigali Airport. Before the president's body hit the ground, the darkness from the heat-seeking missile had triggered what would become one of the worst massacres in modern history” (Lawrence 1995:32). Rwanda was decimated.

Decimation means the killing of every tenth person in a population, and in the spring and early summer of 1994 a program of massacres decimated the Republic of Rwanda. Although the killing was low-tech--performed largely by machete--it was carried out at dazzling speed: of an original population of about seven and a half million, at least eight hundred thousand people were killed in just a hundred days. Rwandans often speak of a million deaths, and they may be right. The dead of Rwanda accumulated at nearly three times the rate of Jewish dead during the Holocaust. it was the most efficient mass killing since the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Gourevitch 1998:3).

Such a response is particularly hard to imagine in light of Michael Cassidy’s reflections on the Rwanda tragedy that happened even as he awaited the news of the inauguration of Mandela in South Africa. “Memories of being in Rwanda just weeks previously flooded back--preaching with Israel [African Enterprise director] in Kigali's stadium; meeting leaders of the non-government organisations and talking about the part they could play in reconciliation; visiting refugee and displaced camps where 300,000 people, even before the latest convulsion, were mute testimony to the terrible tragedy of ethnic warfare” (Cassidy 1995:4). He had finished an evangelistic campaign in Kigali, but had anyone listened? It was perhaps the last public call to repentance and transformation in Kigali before family-to-family butchering began.

What could possibly bring on such efficient mass killing? “Why is such a nation--professing to be 80 percent Christian and the beneficiary of two major revivals (1930s and 1970s) tearing itself apart? Are these Christians killing Christians?” (Lawrence 1995:13). The question haunts and perhaps mocks this study. It must haunt the very soul of any true follower of Christ. There is neither a simple nor an adequate answer. The mystery is only partly understood in the complexities of the people, the attitudes, and the history of the region.



Rwanda is comprised primarily of three people-groups. “Certain history hypothesis has it that the Batwa were hunters and were the first to occupy the land, the Bahutu supposedly came afterwards and were agriculturists while the Batutsi came last and were cattle raisers” (Rutayisire A 1998:110).

But,

“These theories draw more on legend than on documentable fact. With time, Hutus and Tutsis spoke the same language, followed the same religion, intermarried, and lived intermingled, without territorial distinctions, on the same hills, sharing the same social and political culture in small chiefdoms...through marriage and clientage, Hutus could become hereditary Tutsis, and Tutsis could become hereditary Hutus. Because of all this mixing, ethnographers and historians have lately come to agree that Hutus and Tutsis cannot properly be called distinct ethnic groups” (Gourevitch 1998:48).

The term Tutsi became associated with the political and economic elite simply because those who owned more cattle tended to be more economically able and thereby politically dominant. Pre-colonial Rwanda was an oral culture and therefore no records exist to "prove" anything of the ordering of society or who, what, or even whether the modern terminology of class, caste, rank, or ethnicity had meaning (Mbanda 1997:3). Certainly all these forces harmonized to produce the dance of destruction, “in the end it has little to do with one's tribe, but much to do about the satanic hunger for raw power--disguised as ethnicity” (Lawrence 1995:120).

A simple historical chronology will serve as a framework for further analysis.

- 1926 Belgians introduce a system of ethnic identity cards differentiating Hutus from Tutsis.
- 1957 PAREMEHUTU (Party for the Emancipation of the Hutus) is formed while Rwanda is still under Belgian rule.
- 1959 Hutus rebel against the Belgian colonial power and the Tutsi elite; 150,000 Tutsis flee to Burundi
- 1960 Hutus win municipal elections organized by Belgian colonial rulers.
- 1961-62 Belgians withdraw. Rwanda and Burundi become two separate and independent countries....
- 1963 Further massacre of Tutsis, this time in response to military attack by exiled Tutsis in Burundi....
- 1967 Renewed massacres of Tutsis.
- 1973 Purge of Tutsis from universities....
- 1975 Habyarimana's political party, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development...is formed. Hutus from the president's home area of northern Rwanda are given overwhelming preference in public service and military jobs...
- 1986 In Uganda, Rwandan exiles are among the victorious troops of Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army who take power...The exiles then form the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a Tutsi-dominated organization.
- July 1990 Under pressure from Western aid donors, Habyarimana concedes the principle of multi-party democracy.



- Oct. 1990 RPF guerillas invade Rwanda from Uganda. After fierce fighting in which French and Zairean troops are called in to assist the government, a cease-fire is signed on 29 March 1991.
- 1990/91 The Rwandan army begins to train and arm civilian militias known as Interahamwe....
- 1992 Prominent Hutu activist Dr. Leon Mugusera appeals to Hutus to send Tutsis 'back to Ethiopia' via the rivers.
- February, 1993 RPF launches a fresh offensive and the guerillas reach the outskirts of Kigali.
- August, 1993 ...Habyarimana and the RPF sign a peace accord that allows for the return of refugees and a coalition Hutu-RPF government....
- Sept. 1993-Mar. 1994...Extremist radio station, Radio Mille Collines, begins broadcasting exhortations to attack the Tutsis (Frontline 1997).

The impact of a few general trends is immediately observable:

“The weakening world economy, plus the agitation by the RPF and militant Hutus spelled the beginning of the end for Habyarimana's regime, and set the final stage for the massacres that would follow after his death. The sons and daughters of the Tutsis were in exile in Uganda waiting for this moment. Adopting the title of Rwanda Patriotic Front (the RPF), they invaded the hills of northern Rwanda from bases in Uganda” (Lawrence 1995:31).

Opinions abound about what part in the massacres was played by various individuals. But the difficult question is why with 80% of the population being Christian, and why in a country that birthed two major revivals did the tragedy happen?

The answer to “why the church?” is at least in part explained by Lawrence: “The church of Rwanda married the government, a marriage that was proposed in 1942 when the king supposedly became a Christian and was baptized. Regretfully, all his subjects then became Christian as well, and took baptism” (Lawrence 1995:137). Rwanda was a culture of unquestioning obedience and, “...had always been a strong tradition of unquestioning obedience to authority in the pre-colonial kingdom...reinforced by both the German and Belgian colonial administrations. And since independence the country had lived under a well-organised tightly controlled state.” It is clear that simply following the king in baptism was not a reflection of transformation.

So, on the one hand it seems that the church had simply married politics. On the other hand the church came to revival. Surely would not a revived church be the bride of Christ? Clear hope was seen in the revival:

The beginning of the revival can be traced to a deep relationship between a white man and a black man who found each other in their common brokenness before the Lord.... Two of the most impressive features of the revival were (a) the multiracial, multitribal teams of



witnesses which lived and traveled together--a "fellowship of the unlike," and (b) the open fellowship meetings which were marked by mutual confession of sin, bible study, prayer, testimony and mutual encouragement (Kritzinger 1996:348).

The question only becomes more elusive. A majority of the population was Christian. A wide and powerful revival that focused on the fellowship of the "unlike" and an outpouring of confession and prayer.

Why did it happen? The first part of the answer is that the revival had become institutionalised and nominal...An anti-intellectualism among the missionaries resulted in the church leaders not being given the theological training and tools to deal with the complexities of gospel and cultural issues.... The second problem was the lack of relevance for everyday life. It was partly the result of the theological background of the missionaries who tended to emphasize evangelism to the exclusion of any engagement with the public life of the nation... (Kritzinger 1996:349).

Alas, we find a gospel not deeply rooted. The theological foundation was flawed. Testimonies stayed on a shallow level. Powerless Christianity could not confront a powerful politic. Pietism was no prevention of evil and no healer in Rwanda.

The 1959 revolution and its accompanying massacres quenched the fire of the revival before it had produced lasting results on the social and ethnic relationships...The East Africa Revival gave a different perspective on the issue and conversion was rightly preached as a prerequisite for being called a real Christian. However, their legacy contained many small flaws that were to lead to the inefficiency of the Christians in times of crises. First, the 'balokole' movement was so heavenly-minded that it forgot that Christianity has duties even here on earth. This led to a kind of naive faith, often irrelevant when it came to dealing with social issues (Rutayisire 1998:115).

We arrive at a crisis of faith. Lawrence tells the story of a Tutsi pastor who survived a massacre of nearly 9,000 individuals. "He now tries to pray but can only cry, 'God, how could you let this happen? Why?' He wrestles with unbelief. Many times he had told his congregation, 'just believe in God and He will take care of you'. Now he is uncertain" (Lawrence 1995:47). His questions of faith are heavier because of his experience, but they are simply the same questions asked by all.

The questions of faith were not just asked by Tutsi survivors. They were also asked by fleeing Hutus who fled for one of four reasons. Either they were guilty of participation in the genocide, or they feared reprisals from the genocide by the entering RPA, or they were virtually forced to flee as a human shield for the perpetrators, or they were the innocent children of any of these. In the confusion of the flight, the aftermath of cholera epidemics, and the general killing, many children were separated from all family members. "Their eyes often best asked their questions: "Can you

find my mother, my father, my brother, my sister? Can you make it all right? Can you give me food? I'm hungry. Can you let the rest [of the children] go and tightly hold me in your arms?" (Lawrence 1995:84)

As the world stood and watched in horror it too experienced a crisis of morals. What should it have done? What should it do? To the Hutu refugees it sent food, cooking utensils, plastic sheets. In the vast refugee camps that stretched out as far as the eye could see when flying into the town of Goma (the eastern most town in Congo, then Zaire), the masses of western humanitarian aid accomplished many things.

First, many people managed to survive on the handful of grain that they received daily. The rain and sun somehow stayed off their backs from the single piece of blue plastic sheet that was given to each family to make a half-tube like shelter from sticks. Secondly the massive aid-giving machinery brought jobs, equipment, and wealth to the people of Congo as well as to the Rwandese who were able to speak the English that many aid agency staff were limited to. Third, the food and the jobs all enabled the machinery of the radical Hutu leadership to not only thrive but to be able to continue military training under the cover of millions of refugees. "The simple concept of giving food, medical supplies, and money too often plays into the hands of corrupt leadership" (Lawrence 1995:112).

By night, when the protection and administration of the UNHCR and the aid agencies retreated, the management of *interahamwe* (Hutu militias) would take over. By day the distribution of food and supplies was often still in the functional control not of the agencies but of the political leaders. To defeat the system of distribution there was many a "work around". One was the practice of herding together children "borrowed" from various families to be "helped" in an "orphanage" that would seek and usually find the support of a church agency if the "shepherd" used the correct religious language. Doubtless, many children genuinely needed the extra assistance. This researcher did however, place a team of workers with one such "orphanage" that turned out to be bogus. This was done after two field visits and reference searching!

It may not often be seen as an intervention of healing for the church to simply stand together, but here the failure of the church is clearly seen as a contribution to the massacres. The unity of the corporate body of Christ is both prevention and healing to the society around it. "It would be a giant

step forward if each denomination would corporately confess that the war has not been limited to two political factions and the weaponry has been more than machetes and guns. Rather, they in fact have been engaged for years in a more subtle and more vicious type of war of words, beliefs, and denominationalism that contributed to the climate that erupted into a massacre” (Lawrence 1995:145).

Inside Rwanda the world rushed to monitor the new Tutsi-dominated government to be sure it would not be too vengeful and to assist it in setting up new systems of justice, of housing, and monuments. The monuments are laden with skulls and femurs, the icons of horror that were intended to help a wounded country remember that decimation must never again happen. Gourevitch reflects on the increased pain of monuments to genocide that remember the viciousness of the crime as much or more than the dead. The pointed message of a popular t-shirt in Kigali sums it up: “Genocide. Bury the dead not the truth” (Gourevitch 1998:196).

Thus the cycles of bitterness and revenge move to ever-increasing levels. Revenge is always disproportionate to the offense, seeking a higher price than the one already paid. Unfortunately forgiveness is often disproportionate in reverse—it forgives far less than was done. “In Rwanda the lesson had not been learned that unresolved injustice in one generation will return to haunt the next” (Rutayisire 1998:123).

It is possible to make judgments about the failure of Christians in Rwanda. More should have been done to stop the evil, much more should be done to atone the evil and heal the pain. But the limitations of the human will and spirit must always be considered. Who *can* be a hero? “The White Fathers [Western missionaries] were present in large numbers in Rwanda. All or most of them left. Did they leave out of cowardice or obligation?...Before you make a judgment--if you think you have the right to make one--you must remember that at that time people were not counting in days, but in hours. No one is obliged to be a hero or to remain a hero for long” (Sibomana 1999:14).

Two overarching reflections make the conflict in Rwanda and Burundi somewhat unique. The first is that because of the history of the conflict having been spread out over so many years and having involved people-groups that seem to defy any clear sense of definition, “each group brings to the conflict a deep sense of persecution and destruction not always recognized by the other side, which



is preoccupied with its own tragic national experience” (Rouhana 1998:763). Rouhana wrote about the Arab-Israel conflict, but it applies to Rwanda and Burundi equally well.

A second matter that will make the healing particularly difficult in the future is the nature of the killings. People never had a chance to mourn their dead in a traditional way. In most African cultures such mourning is done by the community, which helps to counsel the families or individual by showing that the community shares their loss (Kariuki 2001). This causes the loss of a mourning opportunity to compound the impact of the loss of the person. While this deep loss is not unique to Rwanda and Burundi (it was seen a great deal in the TRC hearings in South Africa), it is a loss that is universal in most every family in the country. Few families were spared, not even Hutu families. For many Hutu families the physical loss came during the mass exodus into refugee camps when a cholera epidemic raged so violently that that one missionary reported that her job for a week was to go down a line of people waiting for medical help and pick out the ones who had already died—most without a family knowing or being known.

5.3.2. Africa Enterprise: Healing Hearts

The first video to be considered from the Rwanda-Burundi area is AE’s “Healing Hearts” video about the reconciliation and trauma healing workshops.

Many prayed and trusted in God's deliverance in the midst of the nation's decimation. Many lived to tell stories of God's miraculous salvation. More simply perished. The African Enterprise leader's story told here by his Tutsi replacement Antoine Rutayisire, is a reflection of the determination to both prevent evil and to heal its wounds. AE's programs of widow relief, childcare, micro-enterprise and trauma healing are all components of an attempt to provide a holistic gospel in Rwanda which is regularly proclaimed in crusade-style campaigns. Perhaps the hardest question that Rwanda raises for the world of Christians is not "why did 'Christians' kill 'Christians'?" but "why did God not cause a deeper, more true kind of Christianity to grow more fervently, more rapidly so as to root out the evil of hatred and power-mongering that produced a genocide?"

Israel was a man who lived what he preached...during the 1990-1994 tensions that led to the genocide, Israel stayed equal to his Christian commitment, spearheading a reconciliation ministry through a nationwide city crusade. But the extremists resented his friendship with Tutsi brothers and sisters, and the bible study group that met at his home was mistaken for RPF support meetings. In February 1994 a hand grenade was thrown into his home as a



warning. We then discussed the possibility of stopping our prayer group, so as not to compromise him any longer.

‘What Christian testimony would that be?’ he retorted. ‘To shy away from my brothers and sisters because they are targeted! I have been preaching reconciliation, and I will live it even if I have to pay for it with my own blood’.

Pay with his blood he did. He was gunned down the very first day of the massacres with his three daughters...” (Rutayisire 1998:14).

Antoine Rutayisire had come to be appointed as the new director of AE following Israel’s death. Antoine had suffered the ravages of the decimation, but unlike most Tutsis, he survived. Because of his own suffering, he recognized the need for trauma healing to be extended to the nation. The healing and reconciliation team began in 1995 with the work of Dr. Rhiannan Lloyd, a Welsh psychiatrist. Her training would normally have moved her to create a program designed for professional single-client therapy. She recognized Rwanda’s need however as greater than single-client therapy could manage, and deeper than the usual psychological therapy could go. A different and more spiritual dimension was given to the workshops she created.

The co-facilitation of the workshops was given to an all Rwandese staff starting in 1996. Anastase Sabamungu, Joseph Nyamutera, and Valens Karekezi joined the trauma-healing ministry in that order. The diversity of this leadership team was probably a key factor in the success of the workshops as interventions. Anastase was a “recent returnee”, having lived his life in Uganda as one of the “old refugee Tutsis”. He spoke inadequate French. Joseph was a Hutu who had joined the fleeing masses to the refugee camps in Congo (then Zaire) in 1994, but he returned early and had been through the waves of accusations made against people “like him”. Valens was a Tutsi whose family had remained inside of Rwanda, and perished. The only reason he had not perished with them was that he was studying outside the country at the time of the decimation. These three men then represented nearly all of the regional, educational, and “ethnic” factions in the struggle. Their commitment to each other was a reflection of the power of transformation.

The workshops began in 1996. Participants were provided with everything—transport food, lodging, and materials. They only had to be willing to come. During the year 1997 a registration fee was asked of the participants. In 1998 the registration fee was increased and some workshops were conducted where there were contributions of lodging and meals for the participants. The model in other intractable conflict situations indicates that the “one-shot” problem-solving workshop is of less value than a series of workshops (Rouhana 1998:768).

Although the workshops now have a manual written by Rhiannan Lloyd that outlines its steps and stages, the following description and assessment are taken from a two-week program assessment and evaluation done at the Institute for the Study of African Realities in Nairobi, September, 1998. During that time the three Rwandese program staff of AE were guided through a detailed program assessment. What follows are their reflections (that in fact are not complete when compared to the manual). By choosing here to cite only what was spoken and agreed about in the program evaluation rather than the manual, we are able to understand what the facilitators of the workshops consider to be the most important and most healing aspects.

Anastase and Joseph have been the primary facilitators and share most of the teaching load. Valens has primarily done the contacts, arrangements, reports, etc as the administrator, though he also does some teaching. Joseph and Anastase also use their natural contacts, relationships, and background to situate the workshops. Workshops have been the primary activity. People come with neither an awareness of how the workshop might help them, nor knowledge of their needs. Church leaders have been the primary targets, because it is believed that if they can be helped in their healing process, then they in turn will help the healing of others.

The aim of the workshops is to help participants:

- a. identify that wounding has happened;
- b. experience healing
- c. help others be healed.

The workshops are in pairs. Workshop one is the main teaching and healing workshop, with workshop two being a follow-up for the same participants that enables participants to share their experiences, further their individual counseling and needs, and explore their experiences and background of trauma.

Workshop #1

The teaching includes the role of the Church in Healing and Reconciliation, suffering and the God of love, Christ is presented as the pain-bearer, justice, forgiveness and reconciliation. Exercises include small group sharing and individual writing, an experience of writing down losses and nailing them to a cross and then burning the papers, whole group discussion, and a demonstration of representational repentance.

Some healing begins in the group discussion as participants share each other's pain. Some healing occurs when the loss is nailed to the cross, this both symbolizes and actually becomes a release of the pain. Some healing occurs when smoke from the burned papers rises, symbolizing that God wipes away the pain and providing a point of closure to the pain. Others experience healing in the representational repentance demonstration.

Workshop #2

This workshop is for the same participants as were in the first workshop and so begins with an assessment of the teaching and impact of the first seminar on individual's lives. Additional teaching is given, e.g. tips on counseling, listening, how to deal with focused issues like helping raped women, a session on the roots of conflict, and our rootedness in Christ.

Following are the results of an extensive two-week self evaluation that the AEE team made in Nairobi, November 1999 at the Institute for the Study of African Realities, and facilitated by Karl Dortzbach. It was on the basis of this evaluation that the program was chosen as one example of healing interventions.

Assumptions of the Program

1. All Rwandese are wounded
2. The process will work
3. People will recognize healing when it happens.
4. After healing people will be agents of healing.
5. A healing agent must be a healed person
6. Church leaders when healed will become agents of healing
7. "Agent" of healing provides permission, networks, and facilitates individual healing.
8. Healing is the start of reconciliation.
9. Through workshops, churches will be unified.
10. Other countries outside Rwanda will be helped by workshops.
11. The government will recognize the role of the church in spite of the past.
12. The Government will resist in some issues.
13. People would/could get personal help beyond the workshops.
14. Families will be restored.
15. Attitudes about God will change with healing.

Lessons Learned from the Program

1. This healing program is important to many and is God's plan.
2. Wounds are deeper than expected.



3. Healing is a process and must continue.
4. The power of healing goes beyond the workshop, and the power of the cross goes beyond imagination.
5. Not everyone is healed or wants to be.
6. Forgiveness is more costly than expected.
7. Top Church Leaders need the Workshop.
8. The church needs to be re-established on a true foundation.
9. Facilitators need more knowledge, especially of psychological aspects of healing.
10. The church has a bigger role than it has yet attempted or accomplished. It is not yet competent to counsel or help heal deep wounds.
11. It is difficult to minister to people of your own group.
12. There is power in identificational repentance.
13. After healing in Rwanda comes, it will help other countries.
14. Mixed group families have a double woundedness.
15. It is difficult to face a person when giving forgiveness.
16. The church may force someone to be a hypocrite through social pressure and through the fear of being rebuked.

Principles observed

1. It is important to work with Government agencies and plans.
2. Do not fear your own limitations, but recognize them.
3. Proceed from what is known and effective and modify through evaluation
4. Symbols are important in healing: the cross, communion etc.
5. Ceremonies are needed to review lessons and principles.
6. There must be an expression of need and a remembering of the pain: the more I remember the more I am healed because I remember my forgiveness and healing.
7. Facilitation by a mixed ethnic group may create or result in a sense of a group being betrayed by the facilitator of its own group.
8. The most effective healing comes from cross-group teaching and facilitation, e.g. when a Hutu can express his failure and healing to a Tutsi or a Tutsi his failure and healing to a Hutu.
9. Healing organizations must minister together.
10. Healing comes through ministry activities that promote cooperative relationships of sharing pain and joy.

Program Evaluation

The following charts were developed to show how there may be and has been movement or change that first impacts attitudes generically and progressively (left column), then how attitudes change personally and progressively (center column) and finally how actions change actually (right column).

Table 5.3.2.1 AEE Indicators of Healing

INDIVIDUAL Healing		
Attitudes of change	Steps of change	Actions of change
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I no longer want to revenge 2. I am no longer angry at ... 3. I have overcome my hatred 4. I do not generalize very often 5. I no longer pass judgment on other group 6. I accept and appreciate differences 7. I am willing to share and talk with other group 8. I take responsibility for my group and personal failures or contribution to a problem 9. I no longer am angry 10. It no longer adds pain to think about a problem or situation 11. I have expressed my release of hatred 12. I have hope for the future 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. There is a problem 2. I am a part of the problem and progressively 3. I want to change 4. I can change 5. I choose to do something, say something, believe something that will resolve a problem 6. I can be an agent of change 7. I seek opportunities to bring change 8. Other see change in me 9. The government and leaders see change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The way I speak about the other group has changed • I am at peace with myself, I can sleep well • I am willing to share and talk with other group • I visit people in the other group • I talk over the issues with the other group • I can speak forgiveness to someone (or many) of the other group. • I can now eat, sleep with the other group • I seek friends among the other group

Healing in the FAMILY

Attitudes of change	Steps of change	Actions of change
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I show, or see a loving and compassionate leadership in family 2. I seek the needs/ideas of others in my family 3. I have shown kindness to others in my family 4. There are good relations in my family 5. We love and consider each other important in my family 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I know there is a need in my family 2. I appreciate the people and their contributions in my family 3. I want to deal with the problems in my family 4. I choose to say something that will help the problems in my family 5. I can be an agent of healing in my family 6. I can be an agent of healing between families 7. I am an agent of healing between families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I can spend time with my family to talk • I now can express love for my wife or other family members • I begin to talk about problems in my family • I can stand in the gap to ask forgiveness of another family • I have resolved some problems in my family • I want to solve problems and issues with other families • I pray for families I am in conflict with • I visit other families I am in conflict with • I share and assist a family I have been in conflict with

Healing in the CHURCH

Attitudes of change	Steps of change	Actions of change
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I accept, respect and appreciate other church traditions 2. I am willing to collaborate with other churches 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I want to help bring healing to others 2. I am able to work with others to promote healing 3. I have been reconciled to other churches/denominations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I can minister to others in my church • I have helped create a ministry of healing in my church • I promote inter-church cooperation and appreciation in my congregation and with others. • Interdenominational rallies and ministries held

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sense of security ▪ Places for worship are available and accessible 	<p>and valued multi-ethnic building team</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Schools available for all ▪ Churches are engaged in teaching forgiveness, reconciliation ▪ Churches and homes are teaching dignity of value of image of God in mankind 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Support groups exist in churches to assist with grief and loss ▪ Worship opportunities are multi-ethnic ▪ Worship is joyful, focused on God's promises and Word 	<p>are important when making choices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Church leadership encourages people at the grass roots to make choices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethnically diverse marriages are respected ▪ Disputes are settled with Biblical principles ▪ Trust is evidenced through...
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(Sabamungu & Dortzbach 1999)

Central to the AEE workshop experience is the focus on a redemptive sense of “otherness”. It seems to be the intention of each aspect of the workshop to both teach and help the participant discover how they may apply Christian love to the “other” in a way that breaks down the barriers of exclusiveness. Volf puts it this way:

Guided by the indestructible love which makes space in the self for others in their alterity, which invites the others who have transgressed to return, which creates hospitable conditions for their confession, and rejoices over their presence, the father keeps re-configuring the order without destroying it so as to maintain it as an order of embrace rather than exclusion (Volf 1996:165).

It is this constant invitation to repent, to give hospitable conditions for confession, and the rejoicing over the presence of disparate people coming together that has characterized the AEE workshops. The background, goals, daily activities, and issues are shown in the film. The film also interviews several church leaders who have been through the workshops and reflect on how their communities and families were impacted.

5.3.3. Africa Revival Ministries: The Living Church

The Africa Revival Ministries (ARM) provides a look at a series of interventions that are a blend of traditional relief and development agency approaches and individual congregational ministries. This is so because the ARM arose out of the personal vision and focus of David Ndaruhutsi who was a pastor at heart. Ndaruhutsi, the Rwandese founder of the ARM, tells his own story and that of ARM. His flight into Uganda and eventual return to minister first in Burundi and later in Rwanda is a story of healing in his own life. The model of Ndaruhutsi' pastoral leadership is very different than that provided by Martin Luther King, Jr., whose life and work will be considered shortly. Perhaps the central difference between Ndaruhutsi and King is the fact that they arose from very different cultural contexts, one African and the other American. While this is a true difference, it is less clear that culture is a sufficient explanation of the difference.



Traditional African communities expect their leaders to fulfill the roles of: a) priest, b) animator (Hetson & Holmes-Seidle 1983:10, 17), c) healer, and d) liturgist (CMC 1990:13). Each of these roles is fulfilled by both preacher-leaders. If there were a deep cultural rootedness of the black American world-life view in the African world-life view, then it would explain the similarity of approach, and the sense of identity that many African Christians have with Martin Luther King.

Ndaruhutsi was dealing with the results of violent “exclusion”. Unlike the intervention of the African Enterprise workshops, and more similar to the intervention of JRMD (see following, 5.3.4), he targeted physical interventions. The intervention of physical helps, however, was far more self-consciously aimed at healing the emotional and social wounds of war than the house building of JRMD. We have in ARM interventions a blend of the other two Rwanda/Burundi programs. Since the Living Church and the ministry of ARM has branches in both Rwanda and Burundi, it genuinely demonstrates the connection of the two countries.

In the film David Ndaruhutsi tells his history, which started with his experience as a boy when he watched his father, a church-planting pastor, killed in an early Hutu attack on Tutsi. They lived on the northern edge of Rwanda, and so he with his sisters fled into Uganda.

He recounts that the second turning point in his life was his conversion while at university (1982), majoring in economics. He felt called to ministry in Burundi, working with the Anglican Church for four years until he started ARM in 1987. Originally, ARM was a non-denominational organization to train church leaders in ministry to the poor. A mental-health clinic was created. Mental illness was seen as “mental derangement” together with “demonic oppression”. Later a maternal health and dispensary was created in response to local needs.

The background of “tribal” differences and separate living was always present, but Ndaruhutsi’s conviction was that the Church was the place for these differences to diminish. Crusade evangelism produced many believers who “could not be pushed back into various churches” so a new church was formed. It grew, and then hundreds of new churches were planted in Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zaire (Congo). These churches were supported by ARM.

Drug rehabilitation and skills training programs were started, along with nursery and primary schools, as well as a Bible school for pastors. Reconstruction of homes in Burundi was also a need that was met, using local churches to mobilize in the building, and working toward reconciliation as they built, because people were encouraged to return to their homes.

In 1994 ARM expanded to Rwanda, working first with infants and children who were rescued or escaped the decimation. An orphanage and adoption program was initiated. A second reconstruction project was begun in Rwanda focusing on displaced peoples. Projects for widows and orphans of the decimation were begun, providing training, counseling, and encouragement. The mutual working together was seen as a place to foster healing and reconciliation when community development and evangelism are done together.

In the midst of the ministry armed violence struck one of the projects, killing the staff. This violence in the midst of ministry seemed to strengthen the resolve of the entire organization. Then, in 1998 David Ndaruhutsi was killed in a plane crash, delivering yet one more tragedy to the vision and organization.

Following his death his brother assumed leadership, together with Gilbert Habimani and several others. The new leaders struggled to keep the vision and existing projects alive, but the ministry did not stop. Besides the continuation of existing projects, the new leaders strengthened a clinic with an AIDS ministry in Kigali, created an agriculture project, and turned their hearts more directly toward reconciliation.

The church became increasingly the focus of ministry, providing a place of worship and fellowship for those who were reached in the community development ministries. These churches, called “Living Church”, sought to intentionally make use of both Hutu and Tutsi leadership so that the church would be a place of healing rather than division in leadership.

The starting point for ARM ministries in preaching, open-air crusades, prayer walks, and presence at public gatherings is a common theme in many evangelical Christian ministries. These are the same kinds of actions that are seen in the “Transformations” film as well as in the Martin Luther King film. Unlike the experience of the civil rights movement in the US, the main results of ARM ministries would be measured in terms of the numbers of people who were helped in their personal

lives, and in terms of the numbers of churches planted. These more individual and community results are similar to those reported in the Transformations film.

Of particular interest in this film was the impact it had when screened to the focus groups. Church leaders who were not from Rwanda/Burundi were always excited about the results and diversity of ministry. It was seen as highly successful in terms of both numbers as well as impact. There was an observable shift in the evaluation of this film as it was viewed in different places. The only Burundian leader in the Cape Town focus group felt that the ministry of ARM was a genuinely healing intervention, but that the JRMD project only ministered to Hutus (he was Tutsi). The Nairobi focus group was nearly a third from Rwanda/Burundi and they were mixed as to the impact of ARM in the area of actually helping reconciliation. These were mostly Hutu leaders. When the film was screened in Rwanda, the group was strangely silent, and more academic than with other more “geographically distant” films.

The question was posed to the group about the reported strategy of having a mixed leadership—was it effective in attracting mixed congregations? The answer was that the Living Church was predominately Tutsi, and the ministries to widows, orphans and reconstruction was primarily to the survivors of the decimation (therefore Tutsi).

This finding does not invalidate the value of the interventions, nor their impact in bringing healing. What it does indicate is that reconciliation is a very long process, after deep violence and violation of trust. Unlike the ministry of African Enterprise that had each of the “diversities” represented on the facilitating team and effectively ministered to all the diversities, the presence of diverse backgrounds in the Living Church seemed not to facilitate an “embrace”.

If, however, “embrace” is a process in which there must be first a self-recognition in order to receive another, then the interventions of ARM and the Living Church may be seen as the first step in the process. It is interesting to note that one of the pastors of the Kigali Living Church was Anastase Sabamungu, the leader of the AE trauma healing team.

The interventions of ARM are varied and have developed over many years. They have a wide financial support base through several large funding organizations. Their projects are known to have a high standard of integrity in finances and purpose fulfillment. They are recognized as

effective community development projects by their funders. The growth in numbers of churches and church members indicates that many people find a sense of acceptance, joy, teaching, and help.

5.3.4. JRMD:Rebuilding Hearts and Homes

Burundi is not Rwanda, even though the meaning of the name has been translated to mean “another”, or “again”. For the purpose of the evaluation of these case studies Burundi is being considered as similar to Rwanda. Several key similarities and differences exist.

The people, culture, and language are nearly identical. Both countries have the same approximate distribution of Bahutu, Batutsi, and Batwa. The languages for the most part are different only in the sense of being dialects. (A slightly greater difference does exist.) The histories of the two countries intersect so much that it is difficult to speak of them being distinct. Some of the distinctions however are important when we think of healing interventions.

Possibly the most important difference is that in Burundi the Tutsi have always been the ruling people. They dominate (almost completely) the army and government posts. It has been a secure place of refuge for Rwandan Tutsis as they have fled from destructive civil unrest. For the most part the Hutu and Tutsi live apart from each other, making revenge and reprisals the easier because of the homogeneity in communities. Because of this mostly distinct living, the nomenclature of “ethnicity” fits better in Burundi than in Rwanda.

When the presidential jet was shot down in Kigali both countries lost their president. However Burundi did not slide into decimation, it simply continued on in a state of fragility and self-destruction. By comparison to the killings in Rwanda, Burundi seemed to be unscathed. It is thought, however, that nearly as many lives have been lost in Burundi over the years as was lost in Rwanda. The difference is that in Rwanda massive killing occurred in a few months. Burundi on the other hand is used to a regular staccato of hundreds being killed and then hundreds more being killed in revenge and retribution.

These differences point to different kinds of interventions that would be needed for healing. On the one hand both countries face the need to heal bitterness and anger that comes from feeling that the “other” people group has been responsible for violence while one’s own group is mostly the victim.

The sense of victimization is present whether we speak of being a victim of genocide and decimation, or depreciation and denigration.

Both countries share the ignominy of church leaders who have received favors from the government, are squabbling with each other over money and power, and have lost touch with many of their constituents. In this sense the church is a part of the problem rather than the answer. In both countries the church is a dominant force among the people and is respected by the government.

A common result of bitterness in both countries is the failure of people to see them as one, sharing one history and one future hope. Working together to create a new future would therefore be a healing activity in many ways. It is this that the JRMD attempted in its project to “rebuild lives and homes in Burundi”.

The JRMD organization has constructed homes for over a thousand displaced people in the last few years. JRMD is the French acrostic that translated means “Youth in Reconstruction of a World in Destruction”. This organization uses volunteers from all ethnic groups to rebuild for all ethnic groups. The most recent project, still under completion, was done in a northern part of Bujumbura where over a thousand homes were destroyed by war. In many cases university students were involved in the destruction.

The project rebuilt 150 homes in a month using 500 university student volunteers. Said one student “if the destruction continues, I will be among those who say no, because I now have a home in this place.” He was a Tutsi student rebuilding for a Hutu family. Since the students were volunteers, no screening had been done, but the recruitment had originally been among the Christian Student Union. This provided a starting point of students who had at least some Christian commitment or identification. The voluntary spirit led to a high sense of moral reconstruction and community building.

The students met at central locations and bused to the building site, given lunch, and bussed back to central locations in the late afternoon. In every phase of their day the students were mixing. This mixing—to travel, to work, and to eat together was a healing activity, for the history of Burundi has had the Hutu and Tutsi peoples living much more distinctly apart than in Rwanda. The mixing was

also a community building activity that blended social, volitional, and physical activities. The spirit of enthusiasm and joy demonstrated that an emotional component was also a result of the activities.

Several times during the two weeks of building there was the opportunity for other kinds of events, for example a crusade of preaching and evangelism, as well as the viewing of the Jesus film. The planners therefore attempted to include some opportunity to address the spiritual needs of the volunteers. Since the original plan had called for an infusion of students from Kenya as well as the US, the idea had been that these outside students would play an important role of interacting and relating with the Burundian students. In this way, through the mediation of social interaction and physical work, opportunities would be created to enable the cognitive process of thinking peace and evaluating the negative impact of ethnic hate.

The project intention to create a partnership event was most unusual and creative. The idea was to use a combination of 20 University students from the Nairobi Chapel, and over 30 university students from a church in the U.S. to join the 500 from Burundi. In this way the church regionally and internationally would have an event in which to share together. They would be able to share their faith and experiences. Security concerns at the last moment called off the international volunteers, but the project continued with local volunteers. With the change there was no longer an identification of the regional church, except as funders and outside consultants.

A weakness of the project is that it represented an approach that was mostly Para-church in its orientation. In this respect it was similar to the Video-dialog and the Khulumani projects in South Africa. It also did not solicit churches to send student volunteers. By contrast the AEE workshops used the churches as their base. Had there been a more concerted effort to include churches, then the need and opportunity for church unity would have been built.

An area of success was the reception of the project by local government officials, specifically the mayor of Bujumbura. In a private interview, which the mayor refused to be taped (for security), he indicated that every government attempt to create housing had failed, both because of the great expense per house as well as the inability to use and create community. He likewise appreciated JRMD for utilizing local resources—both students as well as material aid.

At the completion the vice-president officially came to a dedication ceremony that recognized the reestablishment of a once-destroyed community in the city. His presence was the highest political office to officially recognize the value of the intervention. This governmental recognition was seen in only this case out of all the cases viewed. (Of course, the work of Martin Luther King was eventually not only widely recognized but also appreciated in the US. In the early days of King's movement, however, there was angry recognition rather than appreciation.)

Financing was a nightmare. The project leader attempted to find financial partners for each phase of his rebuilding projects. The one filmed was only one of several rebuilding projects over the previous three years. During that time he had developed the pattern of borrowing money to purchase the necessary materials, and when full funding came in, he would repay the loan. However, the overdraft rose higher with each project, and this final project not only began with a prior debt, but also saw the withdrawal of key supporters. Because of the security issues a few months before the project, the US and Kenyan church had cancelled their participation. They did continue to honor some of their pledge for project, but it was inadequate. Additionally a core funding promise from a spurious organization in the US was never received.

As result, following the completion of the project and its blessing by the government, creditors came to collect. The director was unable to pay and spent most of the next nine months in jail. Suddenly the project went from building community to destroying a community builder. These events demonstrate the fragility of interventions and the vulnerability of the leaders of change. Had there been a larger base of churches or organizations who were partnering on the local base, it is possible that the breakdown might not have come.

This type of intervention can be wonderfully holistic, but also enormously expensive. Even though the costs of rebuilding each house were not completely borne by the project, still the project had an enormous portion. Families were expected to donate their own labor and materials, except for some of the more major costs like doors, windows, and roofing. The project offered additional assistance of both workers and expertise. For residents who were old the project did all the rebuilding.

For the residents who had fled many months earlier to seek refuge in a squatter camp outside a missionary's compound, the project offered healing in many ways. It became a symbol of hope simply seeing so many houses being built at once. It created a catalyst for people to begin who had

formerly lived in the area, were able to do all their own building, but feared to rebuild. The project created cohesion among the community residents even as it provided simple but adequate dwellings. As a model it promoted an understanding that when people stand together their community can experience positive change.

5.4. Kenya

5.4.1. Beyond the Disaster Counseling Programme

Background

Following the bombing of the Nairobi US Embassy in 1997, a coalition of 13 Christian agencies was formed to provide counseling to survivors and families of the blast. In fact, many were traumatized that were not actually “in” the blast. Though Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) debriefing literature calls for debriefing to be done within 72 hours, the counseling coalition did not begin until ten days after the blast. One Christian counseling agency took the lead in calling others together and providing initial organization, and in seeking funding. Following a “training” period of three days in which lay counselors were “trained” in PTSD counseling, three basic counseling sites were established in different central parts of the city on the premises of churches. To a greater or lesser degree the churches then became primary supporters of the counseling program.

“The issue of cultural sensitivity in counseling was first raised in 1998 by Kenyan doctors involved in Operation Recovery which set out to provide counseling to the victims...” (Kariuki 2001:5). This questioning of approach was probably more the result of disappointment that the Red Cross was the agency that received a large grant for the counseling, and the leadership was given to an American doctor. By contrast, all of the counselors in the counseling coalition with the exception of a small handful, were Africans with a diversity of training background.

People with a masters degree or higher, and significant counseling experience, were used as supervisors over lay counselors who had completed some form of counseling training and were willing to volunteer their services for a period of time. The counseling program, entitled “beyond the disaster” lasted three months and over 3,000 persons were counseled. When available a limited amount of physical relief was provided. No major funders were ever identified, and the counseling services were provided with little financial support to counselors, agencies, or churches.

The film was created months after the three-month period in which the coalition did its work. It begins with one of the survivors telling her story of horror and help. It moves through a series of interviews and provides a structured look that the project with many counselors, coordinators and supporting pastors giving their reflection. The report on this film will follow use categories to describe what happened.

Structure.

One of the keys to the success of the intervention was the structure. Each center had a director, supervisors, and counselors. Each center had autonomy in the manner in which they oversaw the work, but coordinated their response and the area that they covered through a series of central committees. The committees were made up of representatives of each center.

Each center director was on the executive committee. Representatives of the centers then made up committees for finance, communications, and coordination. In a larger situation committees for training and assessment would also be needed.

The coalition of counseling agencies were available for free referrals from the lay counselors. In a litigious society it is questionable that lay counselors could be used. However support groups that included laypersons could be very effective in many places. Support groups were not a part of the strategy in Nairobi because the idea of a “support group” is unknown, and travel after dark (6:30 PM) is not possible. The city center clears out except for those few with cars.

Support

The counselors and caregivers rapidly grow fatigued and develop secondary trauma signs themselves without support. In Nairobi training and encouragement were the main forms of support. Daily a group of counselors would stay at each center waiting for clients. This was a time for training and debriefing as well. Due to the fact that after two weeks few people actually came off the streets into a center, the centers began to deploy teams of two for “home visitation”. The one center that began this almost immediately proved to be very successful and actually reached the majority of those counseled.

Communications

A committee for communications provided the interface with the press which advertised the availability of counseling. The role of this committee would have been expanded to the creation of

helping messages by billboard, radio and TV had there been funding available.

Finance

The finance committee received the expenses incurred from each center and distributed what little funds came in. The original finances were managed by the lead agency which was accused of first meeting all its own expenses, and sharing a little with others. This created mistrust and ill will between agency leaders. Actual grant submissions at first were kept private. Upon the creation of the finance committee the greater transparency restored confidence and trust. The earlier erosion of trust was probably one factor that did not allow the project to continue collaboratively more than three months.

Screening

Screening of counselors was done through an information form. Unfortunately there was little agreed upon definition of what a “trained lay counselor” meant. Since the lead agency had done lay training, anyone who had been to a three-day training they provided was considered trained. This left a great number of well meaning but unable lay counselors. One center used the experience level of the counselors to pair the less able with the more able counselors.

No particular precautions were enforced as to how the counselors would “share their faith”. Given the mostly Christian social ethos of the nation, this was not a problem. The potential abuse was addressed in many training and debriefing forums. Because of the world-view and religious convictions of all the lay counselors, there was a very high degree to which “spiritual” aspects of the needs of clients were addressed.

Mobilization

Mobilization has the greatest potential for spreading a healing net upon a focused disaster. Church leaders should have been targeted in the Nairobi intervention, but were not. They therefore did not have real ownership, leading some churches to not support well the centers that operated in their own buildings. Other churches simply stood on the sidelines and did nothing. Businesses contributed, but were not solicited or mobilized. Counselors were mobilized simply by a few public announcements on radio and in churches. Greater effectiveness would have resulted from a major effort to mobilize and coordinate a wide range of assistance. No follow-up or group evaluation was ever conducted.



Diversification

The Nairobi effort was a primarily Christian response. Other faith communities also did their part, but it was not even in communication with the Christian coalition. Generally people gravitated to their own faith communities (Protestant, Catholic, Hindu, Muslim). Within the protestant coalition denominationalism was discouraged, and even though a large contingency from the Seventh Day Adventists were included as lay counselors for example, they were spread into different centers. The SDA took a very active role, and channeled contacts to their churches for further support. Catholics seemed to be disconnected from any coordinated response, but within their own structures provided support and assistance to their own members and others who came. Hindus were most visibly active in providing relief from hours after the blast, and the Muslim communities also mobilized to assist, though provided little or no counseling.

The focus for counseling included both adults and children. No special focus or attempt was made to reach youth or to provide business counseling. All of these were needed. Since no residences were involved the assistance required did not include housing. Long term, mid-term and short-term assistance was not differentiated but should have been. US embassy response generally provided the material and medical assistance and did provide some funding for the counseling program.

The counseling program was a focus and was not seen as the whole picture. Other agencies and projects provided assistance for food and clothing, immediate and corrective (mostly eye damage) medical care, and very limited occupational counseling. This enabled the counseling coalition to focus and probably have a greater impact in its area. However, there was not good coordination with other efforts that might have assisted a more holistic healing intervention.

Materials

Materials for training and helping survivors understand and deal with their responses were almost entirely lacking. A few brochures were quickly produced, but the quantity grossly insufficient. No money was available for advertisements or helping messages. Pastors and churches had no idea of how they could respond or if they did what would be helpful. Every person did what was right in their own eyes if they were not a part of a coalition. The great need for materials seemed to be short messages in tract form for most of the people, longer booklets for church leaders, and fuller books for counselors. No web site was considered in Nairobi because at the time very few people had access to the web. This would be a useful intervention in a situation today.

Materials need to be in a variety of languages that are used. Since linguistic and cognitive skills are often suppressed by trauma, materials that are helpful must be simple, limited in scope, to the point, and easily understood. Of all the cases studied in this research, the need for reading materials was nowhere else identified as urgent. When cognitive growth and understanding was deemed important in other cases studied, either there seemed to be existent material, or the cognitive need was addressed verbally through preaching or teaching.

The uniqueness of this case is that it reflects the result of a conflict that brought violence to people mostly outside of the conflict. The “targeting” of a US embassy was to bring suffering to the US and to mark its vulnerability. Those who suffered, however, were mostly innocent Kenyan citizens who were completely unconnected with the US. In this sense the “healers”, the counselors, were not considered by anyone to have been a part of the problem. In all of the other cases studied those who were part of the conflict initiated the healing interventions. This case then shows the significant place that the church does play and can play when it is an outside party.

Although this coalition was “a very Christian response” (video quote), it was not particularly a church response. Churches were deeply involved in providing a place, some material resources, and encouragement. They were not involved in the thinking, strategizing or planning, and therefore when the intervention ended there was no organization of next steps that might have been done had a church been involved.

5.4.2. Transformations

The Transformations video was used as a type of research control. A portion of it was shown at each focus group unedited. By statements made in the video, it has both discovered how communities in pain are transformed, and has documented such transformation. The idea in presenting this film was that if church leaders could identify the healing interventions, and could evaluate the nature of the healing as well, then their observations could be compared to other cases studied which were also self-reported successes, but did not make claims of total community transformation.

We can do no better than include here its own words:

How can we invite God into our own community?” Pastoral, civic, and business leaders



routinely ask this question. George Otis, Jr., President of The Sentinel Group, replies, “The key to transformation is a willingness for believers to invite God’s presence into their communities—through prayer and humility (Transformations Video).

George Otis, Jr. is the president of The Sentinel Group, a Seattle-based, non-profit Christian research and information agency, and the producer of the acclaimed Transformations documentary, winner of an Angel Award for documentaries in 1999, and seen by an estimated 50 million people in over 120 nations. Sentinel has just released Transformations II The Glory Spreads. Like the first video, Transformations II seeks to document the social effects of Christian spiritual revival around the world. The new documentary features several communities—and one entire nation—radically touched by God’s presence.

Transformations II opens in the Canadian Far North where, following spiritual awakening, communities across the arctic from Baffin Island to eastern Siberia have seen sexual and physical abuse, alcoholism and drug abuse plunge dramatically. [It] also documents dramatic changes in Uganda, where nationwide revival and government-level awakening have fueled changes in the legislature and led President Museveni to commit Uganda to God in an unprecedented public dedication. The video reveals that revival has resulted in a new cabinet post for ethics and integrity, and that the rate of AIDS has declined in Uganda as nowhere else in the world.

In addition to these current social effects of revival, Transformations II visits Scotland’s Outer Hebrides, where residents describe the divine visitation in 1949, when they saw bars close, churches overflow, and residents kneeling at the roadside, seeking God’s forgiveness. (www.Sentinelgroup.com 2001)

The intention of the Sentinel group, and its Transformations videos, is “Informed Intercession to help prayer warriors everywhere develop simple yet focused and effective prayer strategies for uprooting evil in their communities and leading the lost to Christ” (www.Sentinelgroup.com 2001). It purports to be able to help the layman develop a systematic plan to uncover and attack the enemy’s strongholds with spiritual mapping and warfare prayer. Among the list of accomplishments that the plan enables the church to overcome are alcoholism, sexual abuse, drug addiction, suicide, violence, and civil war.

The claims of both the videos and the “resource” literature that Sentinel offers would appear to be exaggerated. Certainly a systematic plan to cure the world of sexual abuse and civil war would be

welcome news, since in Africa alone AIDS and violence are the two lead causes of death. Since this research has been conducted in Africa several of the claims can be checked.

The claim is that revival in Uganda has caused the national AIDS rate to drop with world-record levels. What has actually happened is that the prevalence rate of infection has diminished from 14% to 9%. “Because prevalence is a measure of current infection levels amongst living individuals, it does not capture infections amongst those who have already died or who have not yet become infected but will be in the future. We can look at current incidence and mortality patterns and estimate the lifetime risks of contracting HIV and dying from AIDS faced by young people embarking on the sexually active phase of their lives” (www.unaids.org 2001). Therefore, the virus will have already infected most of those who have been promiscuous and can only yet infect those who will grow to sexual maturity and be promiscuous. What Transformations needs to document is actual change of behavior that shows a great drop in the number of people who are having sex promiscuously.

A drop in prevalence rate and in numbers of new infections in Uganda has been anticipated for a number of years. Therefore, for the claim to be true that a lower rate is due to revival (rather than epidemiological expectations), either God has miraculously healed AIDS infections, or there have been many kinds of behavior changes, or the claim is spurious. On-the-ground evidence would indicate that neither of the first two possibilities has happened.

It is also possible to investigate the claims of the first Transformations video. In this research only one portion of the video was shown to the focus groups, it was the portion that showed the interventions in the town of Kiambu, a bedroom community close to Nairobi. The video claimed that as result of the spiritual revival “the bars became churches and all the churches experienced dramatic growth”.

One of the viewers of these case study films is a student at Daystar University in Nairobi. His home is Kiambu. Before watching the Transformations video he was asked to describe what his hometown was like. He relayed that it presently had a great deal of poverty and crime and that the churches did not seem to make very much difference in people’s lives. When pushed further he indicated that things are not as bad now, however, as they used to be.

After seeing the Transformations video the student was asked if he could corroborate any of the claims. He indicated that the claims were true, that Kiambu was now a different town. However, it would appear that he did not wish to counter the video's claims. The town in fact is still known for much violence, crime, and poverty. It continues to experience growth because the city of Nairobi continues to grow and Kiambu is a less expensive place to live than residential areas closer to the city. The video cites not only bars becoming churches as the evidence of transformation, but complete safety and security, an increase of wealth, and people moving into town as a safe haven from other areas that are insecure. The question must be asked, "what is transformed?"

The interventions in the first Transformations video were basically the same for all four locations where transformation was reported. Each site reportedly had a visionary leader whom God had called (like David Ndarahutsi in the ARM film). This leader fasted and prayed, mobilized others to do prayer walks, identified that the community problem was "spiritual powers" in the form of occult presence, cast out the spiritual powers, and preached.

What was notably lacking were holistic interventions. All negative emotions, all social failures, all personal choices, all physical problems and all wrong-headed thinking was taken care of once the evil powers were named. In the opening scenes of the video George Otis Jr. is not only pictured with his special tape-recorder and camera, but the narration says that transformation has been documented. One assumes then that what is shown is at least representative, if not inclusive, of all the interventions made. The conclusion must be that no other significant interventions were made.

Also outstanding in this case study is the fact that it shows two elements which anthropologists indicate have long been a part of African world-views concerning health, namely there is a naming of the cause of the problem, and there is a visual spiritual confrontation. The fact that these two aspects were the ones consistently identified as the healing interventions by the focus groups, would seem to indicate that to some extent the "success" of an intervention was attributed to the presence of qualities that conformed to the world-view expectations of the viewers.

The philosophical assumption of Transformations seems to be that spiritual power is at the same time separate from, but also the power over physical phenomena. In this it continues a Cartesian dialectic of body and soul. If the answer to healing the pains and wounds of a community were as simple and predictable as portrayed here, it raises the question of why any Christian or church



would do anything other than pray and hold public rallies. What this film communicates is a very different message than that of the other films. It shows that prayer and preaching are the only useful interventions. The other films show that prayer and preaching are part of the overall set of interventions.

5.5. USA: Martin Luther King Jr.

The day after Martin Luther King was assassinated Robert. F. Kennedy addressed the American public with these words:

We learn at the last, to look at our brothers as aliens, men with whom we share a city, but not a community, men bound to us in common dwelling, but not in common effort. We learn to share only a common fear, only a common desire to retreat from each other, only a common impulse to meet disagreement with force. For all this, there are no final answers (Schulke 1995:14).

In so speaking Kennedy pointed out some of the most poignant realities in racial conflict: it breaks community, destroys common effort, creates common fears, and uses force to resolve differences. In his life, King sought to transform each of those realities. His violent death perhaps was what brought Kennedy to the conclusion that there are no final answers.

We will look briefly at King's attempts to create a new community. By reviewing the key events and dates in his life and work, we have a framework to understand him and his contributions:

- Jan 1929 MLK born "Michael" to a father who was a Baptist minister in Atlanta.
- 1944 he entered Morehouse College at the age of 15.
- 1946 he worked for a summer in Connecticut on a tobacco farm and found society to be "liberal"—no "whites only" signs and a social tolerance (Haskins 1977:24).
- 1953 Married Coretta King, who shared his attitudes but wanted to be a professional singer, not minister's wife.
- 1954 received doctor degree and moved to pastor the Dexter Ave Baptist Church in Montgomery (Haskins 1977:40).
- December 1955 Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to give her seat to a white man in a bus. She was arrested for violation of ordinance concerning racial accommodation on public transportation rather than "disorderly conduct", the normal charge. NAACP was looking for a test case and used this one to start the bus boycott (Haskins 1977:44).
- 1956 Supreme Court passed law making bus segregation unconstitutional (Haskins 1977:56).
- 1961 "Freedom Riders" were busloads of mixed race that sought to integrate bus stations and restaurants, people were beaten by mobs not defended by police. King was arrested again. A "children's crusade" of children marching to integrate parks and libraries in Montgomery resulted in many arrested by police, attacked by dogs, hosed by water canons.
- 1963 The "March on Washington" and "I have a dream" speech. (Lewis 1970: 229).

- 1964 King was Time Magazine “Man of the Year”, but his leadership was not adequate in the riot-torn parts of the northern cities slums. He also received the Nobel Peace Prize in this year (Lewis 1970: 251).
- 1964 March from Selma to Montgomery was an integrated march that commanded the attention of the nation.
- 1965 The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Southern Christian Leadership Convention (SCLC) concentrated on voter registration in the town of Selma, Alabama. (Schulke 1995: 92).
- 1965 Memorial service for white Unitarian minister who was beaten to death by segregationists (Schulke 1995:114).
- 1965 Voting rights were extended to blacks.
- 1968 King shot by a lone gunman.

Forty years after King's death he still inspires people from poor and black communities in a unique way. Healing, however, is not about more than just inspiration. Certainly one aspect of a healthy community is its ability to think and act together. It was the ability to inspire that action that King is most remembered for. In reflecting on the process of leadership development in a study conducted in a changing neighborhood in Chicago, Glidewell says:

The leader needed much power to inspire citizens to set aside personal concerns and act in concert. Concerted action was almost always both a risky pursuit of a short-term goal, and in time, a vision of greater community well-being. The Reverend Doctor Martin Luther King and Chicago mayor Harold Washington were mentioned repeatedly. They were the kind of heroic, public-spirited, charismatic, competent, courageous leaders who inspired other community leaders to join them in the leadership of community action (1998:75).

The inspiration of King, and the changes to the race laws in the US, gave great inspiration to the black movement against apartheid in South Africa. It was not his non-violent methodology, however, but the fact that he had managed to launch a movement of people. It was this movement that perhaps had the most potent impact. But King was not alone and he was not first. The NAACP was already a movement in which King had a catalyzing impact. King was a man who made history, but he was a man who history used.

The history of slavery in the US grew out of the economic need for the southern cotton and tobacco plantations to have plenty of cheap labor. In time the institution of slavery came to have increasing opposition. The Southern states demand that it was their autonomous right to decide the issue of slavery (among other things) for themselves produced the civil war. While the civil war changed laws affecting slaves rights, it did not affect the attitude of southerners towards those who were former slaves.

Martin Luther King, the most public of all figures in the Civil Rights Movement, sought to change attitudes as well as laws. It is said of his work: “The memorable events of history are the visible effects of the invisible changes of human thought” (Lewis 1970:229). In many ways King reached his goal of changing attitudes, of creating a movement of blacks who thought of themselves as valuable and would carry themselves with dignity. The civil rights movement also changed the face of social interaction in the nation. It is doubtful however that his monumental work produced even a single generation of people who shared community, common desire, and effort, and could live together without fear.

Interventions

Many of the interventions which King created or with which he participated are not particularly unique. What made them difficult was the charged environment and the response of non-violent resistance. The actual interventions were social events. Walks or marches where people prayed, sang, and carried placards were the most frequent, and were the least confrontational. “Freedom rides” was a variance on the theme of the walks, using buses to enlarge the public awareness of the movement. The buses carried mixed race groups of people who went from less-hostile environments to more-hostile places (from the northern to the southern states). As they drove and “landed” in targeted places, they ate together and used facilities that were segregated. The movement from lesser to more hostility allowed a publicity “cloud” to accompany the travelers.

Mobilization of all sectors of the black community was King’s goal. In so doing he was able to capitalize on the social networks of support. For example, children who left school to march were actually encouraged (not officially of course) by their black teachers. Whole families had a role in the movement and talked about it. Since religion was basic to black society, the churches and church leaders were at the front of the mobilization.

The churches provided several other key elements and interventions. Church buildings became the meeting places for strategizing, instruction, support, and mobilization. Using Christian liturgy became the movement’s method: preaching was pointed and passionate, stirring the emotions and volition of the people. Prayer was a tool of purpose as well as support, it gave people a sense of God’s higher calling and blessing which added to their resolve. Songs and hymns of the church were used and modified to carry the message. Choirs became the emotional punctuation marks of the teaching. The churches supplied the movement with a “collective enthusiasm generated through



a rich culture consisting of songs, testimonies, oratory and prayers that spoke directly to the needs of an oppressed group" (Matton & Wells 1995:187).

The result of the rather common but profound interventions was that people had to act. It created boldness, an ability to overcome fear and face police brutality, vicious dogs, angry mobs, jail, and increased poverty.

In 1961 King wrote a letter while in the Birmingham jail and said: "The ultimate tragedy is not the brutality of the bad people but the silence of the good people" (Haskins 1977:77). This letter not only stated the "sickness" in the black community, it also catalyzed the community. Rather than simply leave people feeling bad, or blaming "bad people", they were forced to look at themselves. This inside reflection was perhaps one of the more healing and transforming aspects of the movement. "Sister" Pollard's comment speaks to this profound "healing". In the midst of the bus boycott when she was walking long miles rather than riding she said, "my feets [sic] is tired, but my soul is rested" (Lewis 1970:291).

The "rested soul" was not only an individual experience, it was a community experience. There arose an entirely new community self-image. The myth that had been perpetrated and believed was the same "hamitic myth" taught and lived in South Africa, namely that the black man was cursed in Noah's curse of Ham, and therefore were of less value—perhaps even less human.

If there was a perception of some being less human, less equal, than others, the result of the civil rights movement was a series of changes in both the US constitution and its laws. Not only were Blacks given the right to vote, but also in time affirmative action laws were passed, which required not only equal treatment in terms of access to education, employment, and housing, but also created a favorable, preferential treatment of blacks so that the inequities could be rectified.

Affirmative action laws do not change the attitudes of bias and bigotry. They do not heal the wounds of separation and ignominy. That kind of healing must happen both in those who are arrogant in their attitudes of the "other", as well as in the sense of self worth that must grow in those who have been self-denigrating. Through the civil rights movement a collective sense of identity, of dignity, and of power grew. This "black awareness" grew to "black pride" and eventually to "black power", taught by the more radical elements of the civil rights movement.



The civil rights movement had multiple theological streams which fed it, it cannot be identified merely with Martin Luther King, even though he was a dominant figure. The movement was much larger than him and included elements that were far more radical, even violent. There had been a tension throughout King's life in the movement. The "Malcolm X" and Stokeley Carmichael variety of militancy was pitted against King's non-violence. During King's life his theology and church rootedness was a controlling element. Eventually the more radical elements emerged and were expressed in "black theology".

There was not a developed type of theology called 'black theology' before King died in 1968...At the same time disillusionment in some participants of the Civil Rights Movement about the effectiveness of non-violent means toward change led to the opposing cry of 'black power' with its implied strategy of an eye for an eye--as opposed to giving the other cheek. (Motlhabi 1998:17).

Perhaps King's very death brought to many despair that non-violence was practical.

Without question the most significant impact that King made on the civil rights movement was his philosophical commitment to non-violent resistance. But this was the outworking of deeper philosophical convictions. "Martin Luther King, Jr.'s non-violence approach was based largely on the Christian norm of love. In addition, he admitted to being influenced by the personalistic philosophy of the Boston School as well as by the Gandhian Satyagraha. King interpreted love itself as a principle, while he saw non-violence as an ethical method for fulfilling the demands of this principle" (Motlhabi 1998:23).

Precisely how various streams of thought merged in King's mind is unclear, but there were several major influences on his thinking. First was the impact of Gandhi: "King found Gandhi's concept of Satyagraha (truth-force or love-force) compatible to the Christian concept of love....Nonviolence, King came to see, utilizes love as a powerful and effective social force on a large scale" (Smith 1981:6).

Those who followed King's insistence on nonviolence echo (in the film) King's own words: "Nonviolent resistance is not a method for cowards, not for the weak or if one lacks the ability to be violent...A second basic fact that characterizes nonviolence is that it does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding" (Zepp 1989:101).



Niebuhr too had his influence upon King but, “Though Niebuhr provided King with a persistent uneasy conscience concerning human contracts, Boston University’s social ethics gave him a persistent optimism in the efficacy of God’s grace to accomplish good through his agents in the social order” (Smith 1981:8).

Niebuhr gave the idea of a social contract, Boston University infused an undying optimism, and Ghandi provided the basis for non-violence, but it was from another quarter that the ideas of the social impact of Christianity would come. King acknowledges his indebtedness to Rauschenbusch, the leading and perhaps defining voice for the “social gospel”, “It has been my conviction ever since reading Rauschenbusch that any religion which professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned about the social and economic conditions that scar the soul is a spiritually moribund religion only waiting for the day to be buried. It well has been said: ‘A religion that ends with the individual ends’ (Zepp 1989:32).

While much of the history of Christianity might be traced to one of two extremes (as have been done in the earlier chapter) of political power vs personal piety, King said: “But religion true to its nature must also be concerned about man’s social conditions. Religion deals with both earth and heaven, both time and eternity. Religion operates not only on the vertical plane but also on the horizontal” (Zepp 1989:59).

The horizontal plane was the social dimension of the gospel which black churches laid hold of during the civil rights era. “The chief social idea that penetrated King’s consciousness in the early years was undoubtedly the idea of social freedom” (Smith 1981:2). We could define that “social freedom” as the freedom to both choose and be a real human being in the image of God in community with all other humans who are likewise in the image of God.

In South Africa it was called “*Ubuntu*”. For King it was the “beloved community” which was: “An integrated society where ‘brotherhood is a reality’...Segregation is ‘prohibitive’...desegregated society is not an integrated society...Integration, as King understood it, is a matter of personal relationships created by love” (Zepp 1989: 211).

It is entirely human to believe what we do is important and effective. Why else would we do it? It is the task of this research to separate between what a person or project believes is effective and the actual impact. It must ask the “why?” question. It must seek to identify causes and consequences.

Those questions can now be asked concerning the nine projects considered in this research. Limitations and the process of analysis must be clearly understood before the conclusions can be understood.

6. CHAPTER SIX: RESULTS OF HEALING INTERVENTIONS

It is entirely human to believe what we do is important and effective. Why else would we do it? It is the task of this research to separate between what a person or project believes is effective and the actual impact. It must ask the “why?” question. It must seek to identify causes and consequences. Those questions can now be asked concerning the nine projects considered in this research. Limitations and the process of analysis must be clearly understood before the conclusions can be understood.

6.1. Collection of data

The data collected and analyzed consisted of the voluntary responses from each focus group participant. The participants put these responses into the five categories (emotional, social, volitional, physical, and mental) by. However in recording the data, the participant’s response was sometimes coded either in a different category or in multiple categories. This separation was done so that the response could better be analyzed as to how it might be understood in terms of the five categories. A single entry was made for every person, and his or her answer to the four questions asked for every film (What needs? What act of intervention? What result? What lesson?). When each of these discreet answers was coded into often multiple categories, it generated over six thousand nine hundred separately coded entries.

While the raw number is sufficient to do a statistical analysis, such analysis would not be valid because the researcher’s bias in coding the responses entered early. The intention has been to understand not merely the statistical relationship between a certain action and a certain result, but why it seemed to community leaders that a set of actions was seen to produce certain results.

6.2. Data array

Arraying the data for analysis was necessary because so many responses were produced. The main array technique was that of clustering. The process of clustering was used several times. The array of responses of “interventions” were analyzed and clustered into like kinds. Twenty-four discrete kinds of interventions were found among all nine films. Next the “results” were analyzed and clustered into twenty-one discrete kinds of results. Observing the clusters of responses as they occurred in each category and kind of intervention and result provide further analysis.

The problem of clustering is the same as the problem of separating—something is lost from the original expression. It is placed into a category or kind whether or not the respondent intended such

category or kind. However, in order to observe patterns of responses, it was necessary to “translate” the actual responses into a common set of words and phrases.

6.3. Data Analysis

Two primary analytical processes were used to analyze the data, comparing and summing. The process of comparing the primary clusters of category and kind in a film’s intervention to each film’s results was the main analytical tool. This was a rather visual process to highlight the responses that should be looked at in greater depth.

The problem of comparing is the danger of comparing non-alikes. The films were about very different kinds of interventions. Can they really be compared? Some would aver that the Transformations intervention was primarily a spiritual intervention but that the Video Dialog was a primarily physical intervention. How can they be compared? They are compared simply because both are self-proclaiming that they deal with community change of attitudes, of actions, and of relationships.

The process of summing was used. Of course this is a normal process used by quantitative and qualitative analysis and it produces averages, means, medians etc. It is useful as a general and overarching conclusion for the analysis of this research. For example, it is helpful to know the average as well as the mean number of years of experience of the focus group participants. But since experience is not just counted in the number of years of employment or activity (the number of children, the kinds and diversity of experience etc are also important experience factors), then some measure of interpretation had to be given to the numbers reported.

It is also helpful to know the major kinds of interventions and the major kinds of results that occurred from the nine programs analyzed. But there is more or less of a given intervention in any one program and more or less of a result. These “more or less” gradations are not revealed in an average or in a “top five” list. Summing is therefore a bit sterile, although it does give some clear handles to lay hold of the results.

6.4. Participant Analysis

Of the four focus groups there were 41 participants, 29 men and 12 women. While it might have been hoped that an even gender balance was achieved, the balance certainly reflects a higher

percentage of women than are actually in church leadership in African churches.

Countries represented in focus groups

Angola	1
Burundi	1?
Congo	1
Kenya	3
Liberia	1
Malawi	3
Nigeria	1
Rwanda	16?
South Africa	9
Tanzania	1
USA	1
Zambia	2
Zimbabwe	1

This diversity of country of origin created two negative factors. First was the language problem. Though all spoke English, the English that was spoken was from a wide range of accents and ability levels. Because the films were self-narration they also represented various accents and range of vocabulary. This sometimes resulted in participants not understanding what was said. The second diversity problem, reflected in the question marks in the above table, is that identifying one's country is not a clear-cut question in some regions, Rwanda, Burundi, and Congo in particular. The suspicion is that of those who identified themselves as Rwandese, many had in fact grown up in Burundi or in Congo even if their mother tongue was Kinyarwanda. This is true simply because of the history of the conflict in the region.

The fact that people from the Rwanda region and South Africa dominated the focus groups is appropriate in that most of the films came from those areas. These are the leaders most likely to have understood not only the background of the film, but also the reality of what had actually happened in the intervention. That nearly 35% of the participants were from other African countries helps to determine the extent to which the lessons found in this research may be applicable to other African countries.

Experience and Family backgrounds in focus groups:

Experience	No. of points scored	Family background	No of points scored
Single	1	Married	1
Married	2	1-2 children<10	3
Expatriate	1	1-2 children>10	4
African	2	2-3 children<10	5
0-4 years with an NGO	1	2-3 children>10	6
0-4 years with a church	2	3+children<10	7
4-8 years with an NGO	3	3+ children>10	8
4-8 years with a church	4	Grandchildren	1
8+ years with an NGO	5		
8+ years with a church	6		

Scoring was a matter of adding the various categories. The maximum score for family background for example was a 10 and experience was 15. The scales are weighted in favor of church experience over NGO experience, African over Expatriate (applied to only one person), and having more and older children and to having younger and fewer children.

Analysis of experience and family background:

Experience points	Number of participants	Total points
12	5	60
11	5	55
10	16	160
9	4	36
8	4	32
7	1	7
6	2	12
5	2	10
4	1	4
2	1	2
TOTALS	41	348

Avg 8.5
Mean 10
Median 10

Family points	Number of participants	Total points
10	2	20
9	11	81
8	10	72
7	2	14
5	2	10
4	5	9
3	1	4
1	2	2
0	6	
	41	211

Avg 5.1
Mean 9
Median 8

This analysis reveals that the participants watching these films had a significant amount of experience in ministry and represented the full range of today's church leader from singles to grandparents. Of the single leaders four were under thirty but two were significantly older. Having four "youth leaders" who were both youthful as well as youth leaders gives a representation of the youth. Considering that most of Africa's population is now under 30, this is an important perspective to have.



There has been no attempt to do an analysis of the kinds of responses made by the various categories of respondents. For example we might compare whether or not age seems to make any difference, or if greater experience levels really led to a greater understanding. In fact these comparisons were not done because the only data that could be compared would simply be the raw number of observations made by a certain respondent category to a certain film. This would not give a qualitative answer as to whether or not the observation was deeper, or more accurate. Accuracy and depth was in the eye of the beholder, not the researcher.

6.5. Data Analysis, Results of Interventions

Beginning with the following chart (6.2) showing the results of each film situation several general observations may be drawn:

1. The responses for any one kind of result in any one category do not exceed nineteen. This means that of the forty-one participants, nineteen observed that a form of overcoming social barriers occurred in the Martin Luther King film. For reporting and analyzing, this research is using 20% as a “significant” response. In other words if there were eight or more observations, (eight or more people) making an observation, it would reflect that perhaps 20% of observants saw something, felt it was important, and remembered to write it down. The figure of 20% of the respondents is used in approximation because every participant could have written down multiple outcomes that may have been recorded multiple times in a given category. For example one person might have seen three different ways in which spiritual renewal was evidenced in the AEE film. Those might have all been recorded in the same block—meaning that of the eleven responses shown in the chart, three could have been from the same person.
2. Several kinds of results had few observed responses. For example “showing emotional change” and “willing to represent others in repentance”. Several reasons for this may be made. First, most of the films did not show situations where this was necessarily a significant part of the interventions. But it is an important observation for the face value of trying to see if any community change occurred. Opportunity for it may not have been given, or it may not have occurred to the storyteller to mention it. Secondly, even though few observations were made, it may be an important kind of result. For example in the *AEE* film, the storytellers (AEE workshop facilitators) mentioned the need for representational repentance as an important part of community healing.

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Film	AEE					ARM					DISASTER					JRMD					KHULAMANI					MLK					ST JAMES					TRANSFORM					VID DIALOG														
	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V										
Release emotion	9			1	1	8	1				5					4			7	1	10	1		2	3	4	1		2	2	11	1	1	1	3		2	4	4		6	1	2	1	4										
Restore relationship	2			8	3	6			8	1	2			2		5	1	11	2		3			6		2			3		1			6							4	4	1	8	1										
Show emotional change	5		2	2		1			1							1					1					2					1																								
Forgiveness	2			3	7																1				2				2	8				1	6						1														
Comfort, joy	8					4					6	1				9	1				4					8			1	2				2											1										
Increased understanding		6		1	1	2	6	3			2	7	1	1	1	2		1	1			9	1	7			6		1		1	11		3			2				1	15			2										
Spiritual renewal	9	5	11	2	1	5	7	3	4	1	1	3	1		1	7	8		4	2	3	2					1				6	5		1	1	18	5	1	3	2	1	1													
Restitution			4		1											1			2	2																																			
Freedom of movement				1		1		4								1	1																	6	3				1	1															
Represent others in repent				5	1																																																		
Inclusiveness				5					1		3	1		7	3			6	1			3				2	6	1	6	4	6	5	1	12	1	1					3	5		8	1										
Confession			1	1	2					1											1	1			1						2	3			9						2				4										
Hope for future	1					4	2	2	2	1	3	1	4		1	12			2							4	1		1	2															2										
Connection	2			2	1	1			9		2	2	2	15	5			8				9	3			1		16	6	3	1	2	18				1					1			7	1									
Other-focused						1	13	9	1		5	7		7	6	2	3	1	2	5			6								2	1	1	3	1						1	1			1										
Leadership						1		3	2		3												1						3					1											7										
Collaboration in projects		1		9	1	1	1	4	8	1		1	4	2		2	1	9	6	4			1	1			2	4	3					1								2	1	3											
Overcome social barrier	2	1	1	9		1		1	7		1	1		4				1			1	1		2			1	19	2	1		1	7																						
Self-reflection	6	2		6	7	4	5	1		5	3	5			3	2	6		5	4	4	3		2		7	5		3	12	3	7		4	6						1	10	1	5	3										
Listen, talk				1	1						1	1	1	1							7	1		4	1	1					3	1	1	2							3	4			11	2									
Other						*					6	4				2	1	8	1	1	1					16	1				N					1										13	4			3	W	G			O

* orphans adopted **improved life needs N= Negative factors present P=physical healing W=prosperity G=population growth F=force of evil (witch) O=options seen

Table 6.2 Numbers and kinds of responses to the results of interventions



3. Some of the kinds of results were left to the “other” category. This is not because they were less important but because they tended to only occur in one film. In some films this was actually a significant difference that will be mentioned later.
4. Several films have very few clusters. For example *Disaster* has only one cluster, but it has many observations in many categories and kinds of results. *Transformations* has two clusters, but most of the observations tend to fall into two kinds of interventions. This is informative because it shows that there were a variety of observations and ways of speaking about those observations.
5. The titles given to the various kinds of results are shortened for the chart. A fuller explanation of what kinds of things are grouped together would be helpful:
 - Release from fear and anger includes any sense of a wounded person having let go of an emotion that would be a negative force in their life or community. The exception is in the *Transformations* film where “release” meant simply getting rid of the blamed witch from the community.
 - Restoring relationships includes reconciliation.
 - Demonstrating emotional change includes observations that spoke of people hugging, or smiling, or showing mutual acceptance.
 - Forgiveness was both implicit and explicit.
 - Comfort and joy includes observations that identified positive emotions, but were not specifically a physical demonstration like hugging.
 - Increased understanding includes any growth in cognitive processing and acceptance.
 - Spiritual renewal includes all mentioned spiritual revival. Typically this would include observations like “people got saved”. If however something like “churches were planted” was mentioned, it was placed in the category of “connection” because the main point concerned the coming together of people.
 - Restitution includes any observed evidence that a wrong had been made right, property returned etc.
 - Freedom of movement included observations about security.
 - Representing others in repentance did not include anything other than that.
 - Inclusiveness includes the idea of “ubuntu”, solidarity, identifying with the other’s humanity etc.
 - Confession includes admission of wrong, repentance etc.
 - Hope for the future included any specific mention of hope, or implication of it.
 - Connection includes the idea of social gathering whether in small groups or in churches or in a movement.
 - Other-focused includes the ideas of service, or moving from an individual focus to the needs of another.
 - Leadership includes any mention of leadership or other organizational structures that necessarily have been needed in, or a part of bringing about, healing results.
 - Collaboration includes any ministry or project that utilized multiple organizations or people from different groups to accomplish.
 - Self-reflection includes the idea of self-realization and self-acceptance, and actions that are mentioned to come from these.

- Listening includes any form of active communication. It mostly contained the idea of varying (particularly opposing) sides or perspective.
6. Perhaps one of the most surprising discoveries in this research was something *not* observed. There was no mention for example about the significance of an identity in Christ that was greater than an ethnic identity. This was both mentioned and seen in several of the films. Probably if this omission had been pointed out to the participant-observers, they would have agreed with the importance of such an identity shift. The significance of the omission then may be that the worldview of race and ethnic identity has not been deeply affected by a Christian worldview of primary identity in Christ. Until this shift occurs, there is little hope that the next generation will have fewer conflicts based on race and ethnicity.
 7. No mention was made regarding the significance of families as either being included or excluded as a part of a healing intervention, the result of an intervention or recognition of need. Considering that the family is often seen as a highlight of African culture and strength, the absence is striking. This element was present in presenting some of the problems and some solutions in several of the films. The researcher offers no explanation for this.
 8. Most of the groups would have greatly benefited from some group exercise that pushed the reasoning about causes and consequences. This would have made the stories more transformative in the lives of the viewers. The films all very useful for teaching/training situations with church leaders and this kind of an exercise would be recommended in such settings. It was not done in the focus groups both because of the amount of time it would have taken and because it would have biased the outcomes of the group observations.
 9. Straight-line analytic thinking seemed to have been difficult for most of the focus group participants. The difficulty of observing what results may have come from particular interventions was evidenced by the lack of such correspondence on the individual response forms.
 10. There seemed to be a fair amount of naiveté among many. This was evidenced by observations for example on the *Transformations* film that it must have been very difficult to actually film a witch doing incantations at night. The thought that such was staged for the film effect did not enter the group's mind, for several agreed with the point! It should be

noted that in none of the researcher's films was there a staging for film purposes. Because *Transformations* was shown in its original release form, it is quite likely that the mentioned part was staged.

11. That the church has an important role as both shock absorber and vision-carrier in a community was not observed. Clearly in the *Disaster*, *St. James*, *ARM*, and *AEE* films these roles were observable. Perhaps the fact that there was not a question to elicit the various roles is the reason for this omission.

6.6. Further observations from each film:

1. ***Healing Hearts (AEE)***: the clustering of observations indicates that this intervention brought about impact in each of the categories. Specifically, three different kinds of emotional healing signs were seen: helping people to release their negative emotions, the creation of a positive emotional social environment, and spiritual renewal. Workshops were the main strategy of the AEE intervention and it was observed that they seemed effective in increasing understanding of conflict and its resolution and healing. The observation that the AEE intervention actually brought about restitution as the major physical category is significant. A frequent observation made by participants during the "off time" of the film analysis was that restitution was a clear sign that something was being healed, that deep foundations for peace were actually being laid. Two primary social signs of healing were collaboration on projects and overcoming social barriers. The fact that the workshops were conducted with both Hutu and Tutsi and from a cross-section of church denominations made this idea of collaboration likely to be seen. Given the history of the Rwanda struggle, the overcoming of social barriers is a significant observation. Volitional changes were identified in that people actually embraced each other. They were able to affirm something of each other. Although in the film this appears to be a bit forced, it was seen as important.
2. ***The Living Church (ARM)***: six clusters of important observations were made. Like the *AEE* work, the release of negative emotions was seen. It was clear that the projects of *ARM* were other-focused. This was debated off time in the Kigali focus group. Off the record a number of people indicated that in fact the *ARM* project was primarily Tutsi and Hutus felt excluded. The sense of success however was seen to belong to the idea of serving a mixed ethnic base.

The main focus of the *ARM* project was social services, and the social dimension was seen as having brought about a restoration of relationships, a significant connecting of people into groups and churches, collaboration among peoples, and a genuine focus of serving others. If social indicators alone were taken as the primary healing indicators, then this approach of *ARM* would be the most effective.

3. ***Beyond the Disaster***: only two widely recognized clusters of observed signs are seen from this film. Connecting people was very strongly observed—no wonder because the only intervention of this film was counseling. However it was also seen by a significant number that physical assistance and giving was also a sign of healing. It is possible that the very complexity of this film made it difficult for people to analyze. This film was field tested with the faculty of the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology—all PhDs both African and European/American. They commented that the complexity of the film, and the emotive power of the long testimonies given made it necessary for them to see it a second time. Even then many felt some trauma in watching and identifying.
4. ***Building Hearts and Homes (JRMD)***: six significant clusters are observed. Two signs of emotional healing were the fact that comfort and joy could be seen as a result of the intervention of house building, as well as the fact that there was hope for the future. As one thinks of destroyed communities, these are not surprising observations. Two signs of physical healing were that there was collaboration in the project, and those houses, which were built, are physical. The idea of collaboration being physical is interesting. It would seem that there might be a particularly healing aspect of collaboration if it is a physical project and not just a committee meeting. Signs of social healing were the fact that relationships were restored and people were reconnected into community. An interesting note here is that the idea of restitution was not seen even though students from both ethnicities who would have been destroyers, were involved in the rebuilding. Both the storyteller as well as students themselves mentioned this, but only two people actually observed it—or perhaps only two believed it?
5. ***Khulamani***: three clusters are observed. Release of negative emotion, increased understanding, and significant social connection. Since this intervention was collection of support groups that helped each other work through pain and loss, the three signs of healing

could be said to illustrate that the goals of the Khulamani groups were indeed fulfilled. Few observations were made about physical aspects of healing, though they were in the film (visiting sites of trauma, loss and burial for example).

6. ***Martin Luther King***: four clusters in three categories are seen. There was an observable sense of joy and comfort emotionally. In that it was a grass-roots movement it was seen strongly that there was social connection. Laws were actually changed and so clearly many saw the social barriers falling. While there are generally few clusters in the volitional category, this intervention was seen to produce in people intentional self-reflection and self-realization. The *AEE* film was the only other film that produced this volitional impact.
7. ***St. James***: shows five clusters. There was again the release of negative emotions, an increase in understanding, a strong sense of social inclusiveness and connection, and a volitional sign of confession. Like other films, these clusters are not a surprise, but they are significant. The *St. James* intervention was one that represented an intensive teaching/supporting/proactive church. Though confession and repentance are responses that would often be desired in situations of violent conflict, they are not ones that often come. Perhaps the kind of intensive support and teaching seen here are required for such response. The *AEE* film had similar support and teaching, but not over duration of time and it was not particularly pro-active in bringing together actual offenders with actual victims. Though confession was observed there, it is only significant in this film.
8. ***Transformations***: two significant clusters are seen here. People “got saved” and “became prosperous”. In the coding of all responses usually the “salvation” response was put into the emotional category unless there was some other descriptor, some other indicator that the salvation was more than a saving feeling. There were seven who observed that the film showed an increase in security. The fact that this film showed clusters in only these two areas is a good indicator that the process of coding and the process of film analysis were valid. What only a few people could know was that there really was no significant increase of security in Kiambu beyond what normal economic upgrading would suggest. Increased prosperity is probably true of the town, but the issue is whether or not such social transformation came as result of evicting a local witch and people “getting saved”, or came as result of other issues—like the growth of nearby Nairobi city and several years of general

country prosperity that surrounded the making of the film.

9. **Video Dialog:** reveals five significant clusters. Two clusters are in the mental category, showing that there was a very significantly observed increase in people's understanding (15 responses) and in their self-reflection. Three clusters are in the social category indicating that there was the restoration of relationships, a sense of inclusiveness, and an ability to listen to others. In this intervention that both sides could listen to each other and do so inclusively and actually restore relationship is most amazing. The communities involved were entrenched in their opposition so much that there had been an increasing unwillingness to talk at all—only to fight. Numerically insignificant but probably very important was the observation made by several that people were able to see options to their impasse. This was an insight that was not clearly “self-evident” in the film. It therefore required several people to reflect more deeply about why the social changes took place.

6.7. Analysis of healing interventions:

Having seen what happened in each of the video situations, we do well to ask what might have caused such responses? In this section we consider the interventions that each program or situation attempted. It would of course be possible to work from the stated objectives of those projects and ascertain if they met their objectives or not. However in none of the situations do we actually have formal project goals and objectives. What we have are the narratives of what was the motivation or idea behind the actions. The focus group viewers themselves have identified the interventions.

Like the analysis of results is this analysis of interventions. Every response given by the focus groups has been coded into one or more of the five categories (Emotional, Mental, Social, Volitional and Physical). Then the responses have been analyzed to identify the various kinds of intervention mentioned. There are twenty-six different kinds of responses; most are not combinations of ideas but simply report the exact word or idea named. Some kinds of interventions however need a further explanation or were groups of ideas and include the following observations that are part of the list found in the adjoining chart 6.4.1.

- *Confession* includes for example admitting wrong, failure, or responsibility.
- *Giving/Receiving Love* is done in many ways and many ways were mentioned.
- *Symbolic acts* includes doing things that represent a deeper emotion or action as well as drama which is action in a story showing the essence of some truth.

- *Reflection (personal)* includes any kind of self-analysis or deeper insight about how a person's life relates to the situation of conflict around them.
- *Projects-minister in groups*: everything was included here that mentioned groups of people doing things together where the focus was on doing it together.
- *Identification* can be understanding, conviction, or some practical ministry.
- *Broad –based* is a description of any project or ministry that was inclusive of different ethnicities or denominations in its planning and accomplishment.
- *Visitation* describes all interventions that went from a person's place of comfort and security (home, office) to do their ministry in a place that was someone else's home.
- *Talking together* includes the idea of sharing both pain and problems.
- *Teaching/learning* includes interventions of training, seminars, as well as evangelism and preaching.
- *Holistic ministry* is one that was seen to include all five categories of human existence. Only observations using the term holistic were put into this kind of intervention
- *Communication* differs from talking together in that communication was here mentioned more as general information sharing rather than deep personal impact.
- *Structures* were observations of leadership and organization that were fundamental to the success of the intervention.
- *International partners*
- *Create desire for Jesus* were observations that pointed to an awareness and/or desire of God's solution in Christ.

Two general observations may be made about these kinds of interventions:

1. Several of the interventions have the same name as the outcome. For example, “reflection” and “restitution”. In these cases the intervention simply created space and time for reflection and restitution. It should not be a surprise that the outcome of such focused opportunity would be the accomplishment of the intervention. A similar coupling exists between the intervention observations of “evangelized, shared the gospel” and “people got saved”. In coding, however, the work of evangelization was grouped with “teaching/learning”, and “getting saved” was placed in the “spiritual renewal” kind of result.

2. The level considered “significant” in each cluster of interventions is eight, the same as that of the results. Clearly there were many more observations concerning interventions than results. There are also some very large clusters of observation that deserve special mention. The maximum observations recorded were 75 in any one kind of intervention for any one category of holism. Only two films did not have at least one kind/category with 30 or more observations. We perhaps best interpret this as understanding that the observers were much less sure about what really happened as a result than they were sure about what was done. This shows a healthy perspective of caution that everything was not simply taken as a fait accompli just because it was seen or talked about.

Table 6.4 Healing Interventions chart

Film	AEE					ARM					DISASTER					JRMD					KHULAMANI					MLK					ST JAMES					TRANSFORM					VID DIALOG														
	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V	E	M	P	S	V										
Confession	1				1						1					1					1				1						3	2			5															1					
Forgiveness	2	1		1	1																2	<i>1</i>			<i>1</i>	1			1	3	8	8	3	2	11						1									1	1				4
Reconciliation	3			2	1					3						1				<i>1</i>					<i>1</i>						1	1		2	3														1	2	1				2
Counseling	4					1					2	1			4	2	1				7	1		2	1		1				10	2	1													1									
Worship	1	1								1						2					2	1				2			2												5														
Symbolic acts	13	7	6	6	13					1	1									1						1			1					4	1						1														
Giving/Receiving Love	3			1												2										1														2															
Reflection (personal)	5	2		1	2	2			2	2	1	1								2	1			11		2				3	1			1	1	1	1		1	2					1	2				2					
Doing things together			3	2	5	8	12	75	37	6	3	5	55	21	21	5	5	53	46	23	2	3	2	10		3	4	26	40	26	1		7	4		1	1	2	5					5	13	33	4			4					
Restitution			7	1	2														2	2					1	1								1																					
Identification		2		5	2						2		4	1			1				3	3		3							3	1		2							1	1													
Broad -based			1	10	1				6	1					1	1			9					2				2						1					1					2	1										
Visitation				2		1	1				4		1	4	2	1			1		2	1	2	6															1																
Talking together	14	7	2	16	4		2	1	1	1								2			23	2	5	13	6	4	4		2	2	10	5	4	8	2						4	8	5	23	3										
Teaching/learning	1	40	2	2		8	34	7	1	2	1	8	1	1		2	23	9	4	2	7		1			2	14	1	<i>2</i>	6	5	24		1	1	4	14	4	2		6				1										
Prayer	9	1	1	2	1	2	1		1		3		1	1							4	1			1										1	17	1	13		2					1										
Wholistic ministry						3	2	5	3	2			1			1		1	1																																				
Communication												3							3							9		2	1			2	4	1								2		3											
Structures											4	1	9			1	2	2	3			1		10		1		1	-2		2	2	4	2							1	3	6	22	2										
International partners											1	2	1					2	3																																				
Create desire for God															1				1																1																				
Support group																					2	4		29	2						6	1		7																					
Encourage																					4	1									2			2	1						1														
Vision																												3	2												1			3	1										

Figures in *bold italics* indicate a negative comment



We proceed now to the analysis of each film's interventions.

AEE's observed interventions formed clusters in every category of holism. Providing opportunities for talking together in order to share pain and problems was the most significant intervention for both emotional and social healing. The sole strategy of the AEE intervention was a workshop, and it was of course widely observed that the teaching/learning intervention was its focused intervention. Also seen as significant were the symbolic activities in promoting a change of mind (volitional). Nearly significant was the number of observations recorded for restitution. What is significant is the fact that restitution was primarily seen in the AEE interventions.

When we compare the primary results observed with the interventions, we must ask what is the connection between them? Primary results again, were: release of negative emotion, demonstration of positive emotion, restoration of relationships, spiritual renewal, collaboration on projects, and overcoming social barriers. These were emotional and social results.

Concluding observations:

1. When teaching or training produces opportunities to talk together, reflect, and demonstrate in some way a new deeply felt commitment, then significant community healing takes place.
2. The kind of teaching/preaching that brings about healing is one that brings a person to reflect on their attitudes and actions as they have impacted the community. It is not a one-way teaching model of lecture or proclamation but of structuring experiences and dialog.

ARM's observed interventions form a different pattern of clustering than that of *AEE*. Here we observe primary clusters in two kinds of intervention, working together, and teaching/learning. These two interventions were seen as significant in the categories of emotional, mental, social, and physical categories. There was no area in which volitional interventions seemed to be significantly noted. Unlike the rather single-focused intervention of AEE's workshops, the ARM interventions were in fact quite diverse but all were seen primarily as different ways in which people could do something together. Even the teaching/learning interventions could be interpreted as doing things together, because they were strong in the area of church planting and creating schools. Both are things that communities do together.

The results observed fell in a variety of results: releasing, restoring relationships, connecting, collaborating, and being other-focused. These are all results that have high face-value validity in describing a healthy or a healing community. Given the history of Rwanda and Burundi where the ARM interventions took place, these results are perhaps even surprising if they indeed reflect these

things happening in communities between the Hutu and Tutsi. According to some participant's reflections upon the ARM ministry, even though it was intended to bring Hutu and Tutsi together, in fact it was primarily a ministry to Tutsi. If this off the record observation were a fact—which was not the investigation of this research—then it would tend to indicate that the specific ministry of ARM did not bring cross-ethnic healing. It would not however invalidate the following conclusions that may be observed:

Concluding observations:

3. When people work together in programs or projects it enables them to let go of negative emotions, thereby restoring relationships through social connection and collaboration.
4. When people work together in programs or projects it enables them to focus on the needs of someone else, and not themselves alone. This is the essence of community. In a situation of ethnic conflict it is crucial that programs and projects be a collaboration of effort from both or multiple parties in the conflict.

BEYOND THE DISASTER shows a similar pattern of observations to the ARM ministry. Although the ministry strategy was a counseling program—a single focus as was the AEE ministry—still it was observed primarily that the intervention was a project that was done together. In ARM's case there were many projects done together, in the *Disaster* case there was one project. Counseling was another significant kind of intervention observed that affected the emotional needs, but since counseling was the project done together it may simply be seen as another way of seeing a project done together. The fact that structure was seen as an important intervention brings an obvious need to light: if a project is to be done by a diverse group of people, there needs to be a good structure.

This ministry was only seen to provide one major result, the connecting of people. Provision or care for other physical needs were also seen as a major cluster of intervention but in fact the program did not itself provide for other physical needs. To understand the significance of observations about this ministry we need to remember that it was a response to a single act of terrorism—not a response to a prolonged embitterment between peoples or communities. The response was an intensely focused response to one specific need—emotional trauma or post-traumatic stress resulting from a critical incident that no one anticipated being repeated.

Bearing this in mind then, it causes us to ask the question, “what is the primary community healing needed in a critical-incidence social trauma?” Surely the primary need is not reconciliation, for social division was not the issue. The primary needs that were identified by participants tended to be described as love, care, courage, counseling, and physical needs. If a community were

functioning in some healthy capacity, then a primary descriptor of how it would need to respond would be something like “including” or “holding-sustaining-supporting”. We may then see the observed response, “connecting”, to be a most appropriate summation of what a healthy community would do. Seen in another way, if the *Disaster* response was not one made in a broken community but one in a relatively whole community, then it did what it should do to bring individual healing. Because “connecting” is a significant result in six out of nine films, and nearly significant in a seventh film, this idea is a primary factor in community health and healing interventions. When it happens it indicates that an environment for both individual and collective healing may take place.

Concluding observations:

5. Healing interventions will be different in situations where the community is the receptor of violence rather than the originator of violence.
6. Connecting people to each other in a community so that they may meet each other’s needs and support each other is a major part of bringing healing.

The JRMD intervention was primarily a single-strategy of building houses. But the single strategy contained important factors that were woven into the focus. Rather like the building program of Nehemiah in the Bible, the JRMD idea was to rebuild youth by using a house-building project. The collaboration on the building project was seen as very significant in bringing not only physical healing but also social healing and volitional change. The high numbers reported in three categories of wholeness indicate both that everyone (presumably) could see clearly the focused intervention, and that many saw multiple ways in which people were working together. Also significant was the report that teaching and learning were interventions as well as the observation that it was a broad-based program. These strands were in fact very intentional parts of the ministry—using the opportunity to teach and evangelize the students when they were together and drawing students from all sectors of society—Hutu, Tutsi and Twa.

These interventions are paired with seven significant clusters of results: restoration of relationships, comfort, renewal, and hope for the future, connection, collaboration, life needs met. As in other project-based interventions the intervention of doing things together seems to bring about a series or complex of results. Restoring relationships, connecting and collaboration being seen in this film is again a supportive finding of lesson 3 above. Additionally we see again the importance of a broad-based initiative in making a project successful in actually binding a community together (lesson 5). The observation of the important role of teaching in this intervention helps us focus on the way in

which evangelism is done in situations following conflict. It may have a great deal to say about whether or not evangelism per se is an effective healing agent. In other words it may not be so much that there was a very powerful preacher or that dramatic events took place as the fact that the evangelism was done in a context of life. Evangelism was here holistic rather than narrow. Understanding was intimately related to being and doing in the project.

That a very significant number of participants observed this intervention as one that met and improved basic life needs cannot be missed. The houses were built all in one community—actually creating not only shelter but also a sense of security and pride. Though other rebuilding projects of JRMD were not viewed, it is true that in each of the areas where they have rebuilt homes a sense of security and pride in community grew. During the years that followed this particular JRMD project, the city of Bujumbura saw many areas destroyed. This area was not destroyed. Might it have been that an increased sense of community contributed to its protection?

Concluding observations.

7. Holistic evangelism is the proclamation and demonstration that the gospel is lived as well as believed. Holistic evangelism promotes community healing.
8. When an intervention meets basic life needs (food, shelter, security) it is more likely to promote community healing than an intervention that does not address those needs.

KHULAMANI observation clusters form yet another pattern. All the significant observations fall along two axes of the grid: the social category of holism and the intervention of talking together. Four significant clusters of intervention line in the social category: doing things together, talking together, support group, and appropriate structure. The aspect of talking together was significant in dealing with emotional, social, volitional, and physical needs. What this reveals is that the intervention—primarily a support group—was seen in its multiple functions of doing things together, talking together and being helpfully structured. But was this kind of support group effective?

According to the results, released negative emotion, connection, and increased understanding were seen as significant. From other films we may understand that connection is an important function of a healing or healthy community. We may conclude therefore that the focus groups of Khulamani were indeed healing. However we find that a number of negative observations were made about the emotional results of this intervention. We might conclude that the support groups as they were structured were helpful for some things to happen, but not for other things. We might also conclude

that a support-group intervention may be helpful for a particular kind or stage of healing. It is interesting to note that listening and talking was a nearly significant aspect to the intervention. Why might this not have been significant in a support group that is all about listening and talking? The likely answer, though not completely conclusive is that something was missing in this intervention. The observation was made by several focus groups in their group discussions (making this a significant observation because it represents a large number of participants) that there was no real guidance given in the support groups. Forgiveness per se was not necessarily important. In other words, venting rather than processing of anger was the activity most seen. While talking together was clearly seen, most of the talking was the sharing of pain and not problem-solving.

Again we must understand the role that Khulamani groups played in a larger picture of healing interventions. They were the support groups that went with people to the TRC hearings. They provided in many cases the reason why those who were deeply wounded could face a system and people who had wounded them. Seen in its larger context, and assuming that the TRC did enable at least some national healing to take place, these support groups enabled one step along the healing pathway.

Concluding observations:

9. Support groups are an effective way to help people with a similar need to understand their situation and release negative emotions as a part of moving toward a wider community healing.
10. If a support group is to be effective in transforming hurt into healing it needs someone present able to help guide the process toward some positive redirection of negative acts and attitudes.
11. Some healing interventions are useful to help individuals and a community to take one or more small steps in the healing process. These are not less significant interventions because they accomplish only one step.

MARTIN LUTHER KING observations of interventions show a similar pattern to that of Khulamani. The major interventions lie along the intervention type of doing things together and along the mental category (Khulamani's focus by contrast, was in the holistic category of social). Significant clusters of observations are found in the social, volitional, and physical impacts of doing things together. The impact on people's understanding was seen to come from the teaching/learning and communication interventions. Probably in this film more than in others the distinction between communication and teaching/learning was observable. The media (communication) played a large role in making the preaching of King widely known. The preaching itself however was a powerful

motivator.

It is clear from the interventions and the observations that the kinds of things that were done together were mass meetings, social resistance, and collective acts like boycotts. What is particularly interesting about this social movement is that the observed interventions do not obviously link with the results that were: comfort, connection, reflection, and overcoming social barriers. This is so because unlike building houses or schools or orphanages or churches that are seen in other interventions, the type of activities in this film are seemingly ones that were less building than resisting. Being jailed, hit with water cannons, enforcing economic boycotts encouraging children to stay out of school etc. that are all shown as the things that people did together are not particularly building events, are they? They might be seen as more negative than positive. Why then was there seen the strong positive result of connection and comfort if the primary activities were negative? In fact, were the events only negative?

One of the features of the MLK film that is not present in any other film is the fact that issues of justice were directly addressed. The conflict that it sought to address was a conflict of injustice. Although the South African films were in a context of the injustice of the apartheid years, they were interventions after a primary injustice had been dealt with, after the laws had been changed. (Of course this does not mean that the country had healed from the injustice or that injustice ended with a change of leadership color) The MLK film was about interventions that were effective in bringing changes in legislation. Changing legislation is much easier than changing the human heart. As powerful as King's messages were in bringing courage, and as effective as the movement was in changing laws, there was no national healing of racial prejudice, anger, or violence.

We must therefore see the relationship between interventions and results in a slightly different light. There was a deep issue in the hearts of black people in the USA before the civil rights movement (and after) that kept the people impoverished, powerless, and downtrodden. The belief or sense of human value was lacking. "Black" meant less. If "white" was human then "black" was sub-human. Whites believed it about blacks and blacks believed it about them. In South African terms, there was no "ubuntu". The significance of the results therefore is in the reversal of this fundamental belief. People connected at the mass meetings and actions that were a part of the civil rights movement. When they connected they found that they were not alone, and they began to understand and affirm the value that they had as human beings. This discovery and growth of self-confidence



brought joy and comfort in the midst of pain.

It is no wonder that the civil rights movement in the USA had such a compelling influence in South Africa where blacks struggled with many of the same issues. This film and observations made about it, provides a bridge of understanding between the bitter past of South Africa and the new present and future. The relationship between the interventions of preaching at a mass rally which was gathered to march, to boycott, or to protest was effective in causing many people rethink their values, take courage in standing with and supporting others, and in forcing a government to rethink the way in which its constitution was lived out. The results of MLK could be likened in one way to lesson 8 that relates to the connection of holism and evangelism. The gospel demands justice and truth as well as mercy and love. These are holistic values and when a society is broken because of the absence of these demands, then a gospel healing must address them. To fail to address the deeper issues is to fail to bring deep healing.

Concluding observations.

12. An intervention that brings a healing to widespread negative self-worth will have to address that belief by teaching and by actions. "I will feel better about myself when I have done something of which I am proud."
13. An intervention that would seek to address and change social injustice can be expected to have programs or projects that involve many people and have high visibility.
14. Teaching and learning that produces action is the kind that brings community healing. (This requires the collective individual reflection and commitment from lesson two.)

ST JAMES interventions show the same pattern as the AEE film with a significant cluster in each of the categories of holism. Emotional interventions are forgiveness and counseling. Mental interventions are forgiveness and teaching/learning. The social intervention seen was support groups. The volitional intervention was forgiveness and the physical intervention that was nearly significant was doing something together. These clusters of observations point to the intentional focus of this church on forgiveness. It can be assumed that there was a great deal of effective teaching on the subject, and that the counseling and support groups were also focused in this direction. These things were clearly indicated on the film, and were seen.

The results that were seen in the video are an impressive list of high face-valid outcomes: release negative emotions, forgiveness, increased understanding, inclusiveness, confession, and social connection. Following a conflict situation it would be difficult to imagine better outcomes. This film is similar to the Disaster film in that the congregation received the fury of a single act of

terrorism that would not normally be expected again. The comparison is worth a mention because unlike the Disaster response, the response at St. James was, a) what one congregation did, and 2) it did more than counseling—it focused on forgiveness, teaching, and creating support groups, and 3) the social environment was threatening rather than peaceful. These additional interventions carried the impact of the counseling much further in a more difficult situation. The situation was more difficult in that South Africa was hoping for good results from the ending of apartheid, but bracing for negative backlashes. Nairobi was simply hit like lightning in a passing storm.

Concluding observation:

15. A local congregation is the best center for healing interventions because it is able to do many interconnected interventions that form a holistic web.

TRANSFORMATIONS was the only film that made the self-claim that an entire community had been transformed. The community was described in the video and perceived by the participants to be one fraught with social ills—alcoholism, insecurity, murder, prostitution, poverty, fear, crimes, drugs, and spiritual oppression focused in witchcraft. To combat these ills two observed types of interventions were seen: prayer and teaching/learning. More specifically the teaching was preaching and evangelistic crusades. The prayer intervention clustered in the emotional and the physical areas. The results? The only observed results were spiritual renewal and economic prosperity.

An assumption seemed to have been made in the film, although it was not articulated. That assumption was that “spiritual bondage” is the cause of all community ills and is “transformed” by the identification of the central source of evil. That evil source is driven away from the community and passionate evangelistic crusades then bring the needed transformation. That this was the assumption is seen in the fact that in the four scenarios included on the Transformations video (only the one of Kiambu Kenya was seen by the focus groups), all of the interventions were exactly the same and in the exact same order: a leader with vision, prayer and fasting, prayer walks, identification of and removal of some personalized form of evil, passionate evangelistic crusades.

The fact that seasoned African church leaders could not see any sign of transformation in the video other than spiritual renewal is telling. It in fact raises the question of the validity of such “spiritual renewal” if there is no indicator that a society so filled with evil has any change. The fact that a very significant number identified economic prosperity does not help to reclaim the poor validity of the claims of this film. Economic prosperity can come in the midst of great social evil. One of the

scenarios shown on the film was of the city of Calais, Columbia. The film pointed out its great wealth before “transformation”, wealth from drug money!

Another important observation seen in the responses of the participants concerned their apparent worldview beliefs. Few questioned that there was genuine spiritual revival. The gathering of people in numbers to pray and attend crusades seemed to be adequate evidence that genuine spiritual revival occurred. The fact that prayer was a significant observation in only two films (this one and the AEE film) raises the question of just how important prayer was anyway. Of course the question cannot be answered in these films. Just because prayer was only observed in two films does not mean it was not present in all of the ministries in a significant way. The question that the absence of clear observations in this film raises is to what extent do the expectations of a viewer—formed by worldview beliefs—cause a bias about the effectiveness or value of an intervention? It would seem that a person’s value/belief system is indeed very significant in identifying cause and effect relationships. Viewers seemed not to doubt that “spiritual powers” were broken in Kiambu and that “spiritual revival” had happened—there just were no signs of it!

In this sense then, it may be seen that “spiritual” means “ethereal” or that which cannot be seen or touched. This idea of “spirit” is a concept based on power more than presence. Although “evil” came to be embodied in the witch (presence), it was something beyond her. The idea of Christian transformation being the presence of the Holy Spirit working in and through believers (the concept traced early in this research and identified as healing being a kind of conduit) seems to be strangely lost. It is likely that a fuller research on the manner in which the understanding of “spirit” and “spiritual” is lived out in the African church would be helpful. In particular the exploration of the difference or lack thereof between the more indigenous churches and the more Europeanized churches. If indeed “spiritual” simply means an unseen power that weighs upon the lives of people—be it an ancestral power or a specifically Satanic power or a Divine power—then healing may be no more than one “power” being greater than another “power”. In this event, little could be done to tip the scales in a different direction to bring healing unless the prayers and righteousness of people somehow add to the power balance in the heavenlies. If this is a reflection of reality and not just a world-view opinion, then the following conclusions are not valid. It is the belief of this researcher based on his biblical understandings that such metaphysical beliefs are not grounded in reality and therefore the following conclusions are valid.

Concluding observations:

16. Spiritual healing in a community requires more than emotional words, it requires actions which demonstrate a sustained difference in relationships. Instant changes sometimes popularly known, as “miraculous healing” is not community healing unless it can be demonstrated to be sustainable.
17. Expectations and assumptions due to worldview influence the understanding of both the interventions for, and the results of, healing.
18. When there is community transformation, multiple indicators will be observable.

VIDEO DIALOG observations indicate four significant clusters of interventions: two clusters in doing things together, one in talking and listening and one in appropriate structures. Of all the films this film was seen to be the least “Christian” even though a church leader mediated it. Like the AEE, JRMD, Disaster, Khulamani and Transformation films it used a single focused strategy. Unlike the other films the strategy was intended to specifically bridge two communities set upon destroying the other. In this regard it is a bit like the MLK film for the issues of active injustice formed the background. Healing a deep rift as well as healing the aftermath of violence was the twin objectives of this intervention.

The significant observations recorded about what happened were: restore relationships, increase understanding, inclusiveness, self-reflection, and listening. Again we have an impressive list of accomplishments seen from a single intervention. The seeming simplicity of this intervention, the fact that it may have been a low-cost intervention and the lack of evident structure would make this intervention seem simple. Like the other single-strategy interventions, it was far from simple and even though the film did not show the complexity of structure to make the project successful, there was a significant number of staff people (at least six plus advisors and mediators) who worked to make the idea work.

A few observations make this film unique. First is the fact that this film seemed as visibly non-Christian as Transformations was Christian. One person observed prayer (or imagined it?) but there was a lack of teaching/learning (preaching or evangelizing), worship, church meetings, counseling, showing love, visiting or holistic ministry to others that has characterized all the other films which were seen to promote reconciliation and Christian values. What is obvious from the kinds of results is that there was what might be called a “readiness” for healing. It was the first step in a healing process much as the Khulamani groups were a step forward on the journey. When bitter enemies are able to be self-reflective and listen to each other—particularly listening to accusations—it clearly lays a foundation for further steps of healing. This is particularly true when there has been an

increase in understanding. Since most conflict either arises from or is fed by misunderstanding this result indicates a significant healing step.

Concluding observations:

19. Healing interventions on the community level must create an increase in community self-reflection for changes to take place. (Note that lesson two has a focus on individual reflection.)

These twenty conclusions are the primary Concluding observations from the analysis of the observations of these healing interventions. Many of the conclusions stated could be stated for more than one film, so the list is cumulative rather than comprehensive for each film. It is observable that in many cases the kinds of intervention or of result were specific for certain ministries. That there are many ways of working toward healing, and many different indicators of healing bring us to two additional lessons:

Concluding observations:

20. No one intervention is effective in every situation and no intervention brings exactly the same results in every situation.
21. There are many pathways to community healing but all have indicators. The more indicators that are seen the more healing is likely to be happening.

An overview of all the Concluding observations and all the observations made allow us to make a final statement that is a positive reflection on the thesis of this research.

Lesson learned:

22. In conflict situations, community healing is promoted through holistic interventions.

This research does not establish that the only or the best definition of holism is one that includes the five elements of emotional, social, volitional, physical, and mental. This was simply the definition used to differentiate observations. This research does not attempt to prove either that the interventions made are the best or the most effective interventions, rather that they are the interventions which were observed by African church leaders as bringing certain kinds of healing in these situations.

6.8. Future research topics.

A good number of questions are generated from this research that are not answered but which would make the topic of healing interventions much better understood. Some of them are:



1. What are the elements or factors that create a change of will which is so vital in bringing a person to a point of confession, forgiveness, and action?
2. Are some interventions intrinsically better than others, or is it only the way in which an intervention might be accomplished that makes it better?
3. Are the findings of this research equally applicable to all African cultures?
4. Are the findings of this research applicable to non-African cultures?
5. To what extent is a given healing intervention more or less effective depending upon the nature of the community brokenness and the distance in time from the wounding?
6. How might the findings of this research change if there were an in-depth time-lapsed case study done of each of the cases?
7. To what extent does video change the perceptions of a viewer as to what is or is not healing?
8. How would the findings of this research be different if a person who was affected by a ministry were brought in person to tell their story to a focus group?
9. What are the psychological factors that may affect a sense of healing in community that may have been latent in this study?
10. What are some additional healing interventions not identified in this study?
11. Is there an identifiable process or steps through which community healing normally goes?
12. What is the relationship of personality type and/or cultural expectation of community to a sense of community healing or wellness?

6.9. Summary of Conclusions

1. When teaching or training produces opportunities for people in a community to talk together, reflect, and demonstrate in some way a new deeply felt commitment, then significant community healing takes place.
2. The kind of teaching/preaching that brings about healing is one that brings a person to reflect on their attitudes and actions as they have impacted the community. It is not a one-way teaching model of lecture or proclamation but of structuring experiences and dialog.
3. When people work together in programs or projects it enables them to let go of negative emotions, thereby restoring relationships through social connection and collaboration.
4. When people work together in programs or projects it enables them to focus on the needs of someone else, and not themselves alone. This is the essence of community.
5. In a situation of ethnic conflict it is crucial that programs and projects be a collaboration of effort from both or multiple parties in the conflict.
6. Healing interventions are different in situations where the community is the receptor of violence rather than the originator of violence.
7. Connecting people to each other in a community so that they may meet each other's needs and support each other is a major part of bringing healing.
8. Holistic evangelism is the proclamation and demonstration that the gospel is lived as well as believed. Holistic evangelism promotes community healing.
9. When an intervention meets basic life needs (food, shelter, security) it is more likely to promote community healing than an intervention that does not address those needs.
10. Support groups are an effective way to help people with a similar need to understand their situation and release negative emotions as a part of moving toward a wider community healing.
11. If a support group is to be effective in transforming hurt into healing it needs someone present able to help guide the process toward some positive redirection of negative acts and attitudes.
12. Some healing interventions are useful to help individuals and a community to take one or more small steps in the healing process. These are not less significant interventions because they accomplish only one step.

13. An intervention that brings a healing to widespread negative self-worth will have to address that belief by teaching and by actions. “I will feel better about myself when I have done something of which I am proud.”
14. An intervention that would seek to address and change social injustice can be expected to have programs or projects that involve many people and have high visibility.
15. Teaching and learning that produces action is the kind that brings community healing. (This requires the collective individual reflection and commitment from lesson two.)
16. A local congregation is the best center for healing interventions because it is able to do many interconnected interventions that form a holistic web.
17. Spiritual healing in a community requires more than emotional words, it requires actions which demonstrate a sustained difference in relationships. Instant changes sometimes popularly known as “miraculous healing” is not community healing unless it can be demonstrated to be sustainable.
18. Expectations and assumptions due to worldview influence the understanding of both the interventions for, and the results of, healing.
19. When there is community transformation, multiple indicators will be observable.
20. Healing interventions on the community level must create an increase in corporate self-reflection for changes to take place. (Note that lesson two has a focus on individual reflection.)
21. No one intervention is effective in every situation and no intervention brings exactly the same results in every situation.
22. There are many pathways to community healing but all have indicators. The more indicators that are seen the more healing is likely to be happening.

In conflict situations, community healing is promoted through holistic interventions.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, HEALING THE NATIONS

7.1. A broken world in need of healing

In an African world that is broken and burdened by wars, failed leadership, economic inadequacy, and imperialism both historic and present, the needs for healing are overwhelming. Consider the need for bringing comfort to a mother whose young son was killed because of an ethnic clash. Or the need to care for a young girl whose mother died from the HIV transmitted through her father. Or the need to advise a young woman who was raped by a pillaging soldier and is now rejected by her own people because she gave birth to a “snake”. What heals these deep wounds in individuals and in society?

Neither traditional healing methods nor western/modern healing methods seem to work. In the past, the community might plant a tree that has always symbolized peace and grew to speak of the curses and blessings of breaking a peace covenant. (A present project carried out in Kenya is reviving this practice. Their findings are journaled in the monthly publication, *Kocha* produced by Community Peace Museums Programme, P.O. Box 14894, Nairobi, Kenya). But a boy urinating at the roots of the peace tree does not recognize the significance of the tree, only the pressing need of his bladder. He is likely to be one of the 50% of Kenyan boys who could not go to secondary school because of the lack of space (Daily Nation, Feb 10,2002:1). He knows not why his grandfathers planted the tree, nor does he know the reason that penicillin is a useful drug for his bladder infection. The cock that was sacrificed for the spirits and left on the road nearby as a means of breaking the curse of drought is likely to be snatched and eaten by his gnawing spirit of hunger. He is a child that understands neither the past nor the modern world.

Our despair grows as we listen to that cock crow on BBC’s Network Africa news program. Someone in an interview reprimands the UNHCR and the world (meaning western world) for ignoring the plight of his country. More should be done, more food, more medicines, and more education. So the “world” brings in its experts—mostly experts in their twenties or thirties who have studied at prestigious universities and speak more than one language. They plan programs for shelter and food security. Displaced children are moved through intricate channels to find family. The “providers” are driven in fleets of big white air-conditioned 4X4s and chatter on their mobile emergency radios. Prices on “adequate housing” soar and local businessmen’s pockets bulge. For a brief year or two or three there are clinics and medicines and programs and people with money.



Then, like a body on the rain-forest floor, African realities creep back. The place of frenzied activity is left silent, with only the dark holes of a skull asking, “Healed?”

7.2. Narrative Theology and healing the brokenness

For centuries Christianity has provided answers to broken people and societies. Some would question whether those ecclesiastical answers are appropriate. Others would want to return to African religious traditions or find some newer Christian answer. In these pages we seek healing for nations in Africa as a process in which both traditional and popular understandings of biblical truth about healing are separated from core truth. This is not because the understandings are necessarily false, but because they are the manifestation of a deeper truth that has been seen and practiced in a particular place in culture and history. In other words, there exists a myth that “the way I see things” is the *only* way things really are. In the language of healing this would amount to saying “your healing has occurred when I say so”. Universalizing this kind of formula for healing may be little more than prattle on a two-way radio.

It is long overdue to release the myths of the past and the present, even though those myths will continue to live among us. Whether we are missionaries or millionaire businessmen, African academicians or healing practitioners, we all do a kind of narrative theology. We all practice what we believe and talk about what we practice in the context of what we believe. For example, an American Christian practices and justifies their theology of “God helps those who help themselves”, even though it is nowhere in the Bible. An African Christian church leader practices his sermon on “Servant Leadership” by clutching to his leadership position for more than two decades, forcing others to serve him. Both Christians theologize and defend their practices by the Bible.

Like the mango tree that is planted in one generation for the next, good narrative theology today should follow biblical truth, but it will be a different generation of mango tree, or theology. Healing in narrative theology in fact is a great deal like the mango. It *is* possible to expect true healing for a wounded generation—but for the healing to take root; it may be necessary for the tightly held understanding or “flesh” of that truth to die. Some regard the Bible as simply the sweetness of fruit around a useless seed. They eat the fruit and burn the seed--which is like saying that whatever people practice and think about God, is true about God (Healey and Donald Sybertz 1996:48).

Others regard narrative theology as something sacred, all of which must be put into contemporary soil to grow up into a future tree--which is like saying that whatever the Bible says must be seen in life today. In reality the fruit may be eaten, but it is the seed that grows into a tree and simply needs to be planted in fertile soil--which is to say that the principles of the Bible both guided people of old and will guide people today (Alexander and Rosner, eds. 2000).

Narrative theology in the Bible was theology in practice. It was how God's people understood and obeyed His words. Our narrative theology should begin in the same place and instruct us today. But if we are unaware of the strong influence of our cultural times, we are more likely to start where we are and work backward so as to instruct God how He should work. The desire for healing the immense pain and dysfunction in the world around us drives us to that short cut.

Two examples will serve to illustrate the point. The first comes from the seventeenth century in Europe, where glaciers were advancing into the houses and crops of people. The church bishops were called upon to "exorcise the Spirits" of the mountains of ice. One bishop's exorcism seemed effective, and he was called back. Exorcisms of this type became a ritual, and this kind of practice continued until,

"Six processions of the reliquaries of St Genevieve and St Marcel took place in Paris during the eighteenth century, after being authorized by Parliament: four times to obtain rain (1603, 1611, 1615, 1694) and twice to make it stop (1625 and 1675). In many vine-growing areas—for example around Paris—the custom was to take the Blessed Sacrament into the vines to protect them from worms and insect pests. The use of exorcisms used to be general: they drove away evil and misfortune. G Le Bras has counted 120 documents in the archives of Doubs from the years of 1729 to 1762 containing requests to the archbishop for formulae for exorcising insects and rats" (Delumeau 1998: 41).

In Europe the belief was held and practiced, therefore, that Christianity had incantational powers over everyday parts of life that brought suffering (Thomas 1971:62). This was sixteen centuries after Christianity came to Europe. It is questionable (so we might observe today) that the bishops' words either moved the mountains of ice or chased away the rats.

But this type of magico-religious cultural expectation is no different in Africa in the twenty-first century, the second example. Here there is no need to call a bishop. A "Spirit-filled" church-planter goes to a small social disease-infested town in Kenya and calls a handful of faithful to fast and shout incantations of strange sounds that form no known language. A local witch is then identified,



who has brought the misfortune on the town, and “cast out”. The town is proclaimed as “transformed”. The film “Transformations”, produced by Sentinel Group is shown today throughout the world as a demonstration of “researched” places in the world where Christianity has brought total change in situations of misery (Sentinel Group, 2001).

As the sixteenth and seventeenth century bishops’ incantations questionably made any difference in the mountains of ice, so the incantations made in Kiambu, Kenya are equally questionable in whether they made a difference in the numbers of town bars. However, there *is* a spiritual reality that does bind these situations and others into a common Christian theology. Christianity impacts the lives and beliefs of people. Those people make changes. The change produced may be an industrial change that impacts the glacier, or a sanitation change that impacts the rats, or a social change that impacts alcohol consumption. The first change is a physical change, the second may be a corporate volitional change, and the third a social change. All three types of changes help alleviate suffering. All three changes may be spiritual changes, because they involve the human spirit, by the presence of the Divine Spirit, working from the inside out. Christianity is an inside-out religion, even if it is often practiced in outside-in ways. Kraybill expresses this in terms of the “upside down Kingdom” that focuses on relationships and not merely words (Kraybill 1990: 20, 21). It is not the power of incantation, but the power of incarnation that brings transformation and community healing. This is narrative theology which both speaks truth and lives it.

What are those inside-out changes that bring healing not only to individuals but also to communities? Perhaps some day enough will be known about the human process of understanding, socializing, choosing, and emotional bonding to clearly articulate with precision the forces of change. That day is not yet. It is possible, however, to recognize that those forces taken together create a whole that is more than the sum of the parts. Healing in that sense is synergistic. To understand it requires a holistic view of the world and mankind.

7.3. Holistic healing needed

Holism is neither a new idea nor practice in Christianity. The Protestant reformation in many ways reacted against the narrow and seemingly superstitious views and practices of the Catholic Church. Seventeenth century Protestant theologians would have been horrified at the idea of offering the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper to grape bushes with the expectation of a good harvest. But the

Anglican traditions did read gospels to cornfields believing that God would bestow some strength to the corn and the air that people needed (Thomas 1971:62). Those who followed the more rigorous ideas of the protestant reformers rejected the magical powers and supernatural sanctions that pervaded the church in the Middle Ages (Thomas 1971:68). Wesley, with other “enthusiasts”, set up dispensaries in the eighteenth century to “heal” all sorts of illnesses. The popularity among common people incurred the wrath of the established Anglican Church (MacDonald 1982:117). But the strangeness of his practices has led some to feel that it “would not be difficult to picture Methodism as a kind of preview of Pentecostalism with a dash of Christian Science thrown in” (Rack 1982:138).

For centuries in European Christianity, theologians taught and believed in the importance of holistic thinking and living. It was formulated into the Westminster catechism question and answer, “What is the chief end of man? To glorify and enjoy him forever”. So was spoken a world-view that later would be called the protestant work ethic. We deal here with neither the presence of a holistic worldview in earlier European traditions, nor its absence in modern thought. Rather, what we do well to observe is the parallel between the European worldview for centuries before modern times, and the African worldview today. The place of magic or “spirituality” was very much the same in pre-reformation Europe as it is today in Africa. What happens when a “modern” worldview rubs against the more traditional magico-spiritual world? Would we not expect to find belief practices that appear in Africa today which resemble pre-reformation Europe? It is then not surprising that the “incantational” approach to “total community transformation in Kiambu” has received a wide acceptance in African Christianity today. As European belief migrated from the magical to the rational, so African belief is probably in a migratory pattern.

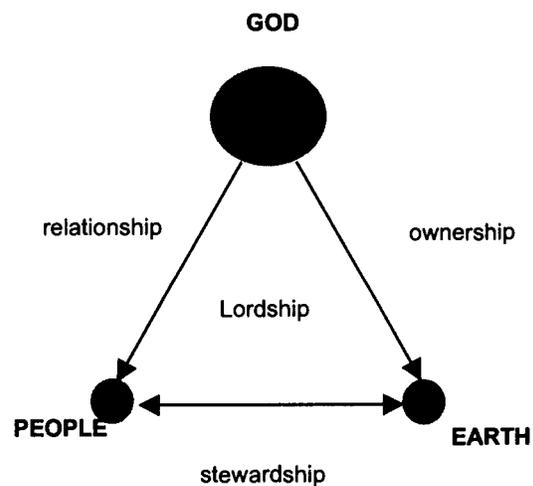
In spite of much global effort to bring health care to the two-thirds world, western style health care does not bring much healing. The 1978 health conference in Russia at Alma Ata began a movement toward “Health for all by 2000”. It enabled a focus on community-based health, because it changed the health priority from secondary health measures to primary health (Ewert 1984:5). The new global priority was not on what could be done in a sophisticated hospital, but upon what people could do for themselves. This shift helped lower infant mortality and improve many aspects of health.

Only a few years earlier, disasters, that increasingly drew global attention, gave birth to the rise of

non-governmental relief and development agencies. Some agencies delivered a “product” of improved agricultural production for the development of people and their communities. Typically this would be expressed as a holistic ministry of the church, if the agency were a Christian agency. A model goal would be “To improve the quality of life of farming families and to minister holistically to men and women” (Batchelor 1993:192). The worldview of the west was constantly intruding, so that the measurement of the success of the “quality of life” came to be demonstrated by “...quarterly reports, with photographs, showing the numbers of farmers who had been reached, numbers of men and women who had learned to read and write, numbers who came under the sound of the gospel and so on” (Batchelor 1993:29). This management by objective was foreign, both because it measured the wrong things, and because it failed to ask, let alone answer, the question of what makes life “good” in a given culture.

Christian development agencies increasingly have attempted to define and measure a “holistic” approach of ministry. The better attempts provide structured thought processes, which have underlying worldview assumptions but are useful in an attempt to understand a worldview in comparison with a biblical worldview. One of those attempts is provided by Dr John Steward as a workshop entitled “Biblical holism: Where God, People and Deeds Connect”. Produced by World Vision Australia in 1994, it was the summation of seventeen years of work in Christian development work. It arose from a seed of thought provided by Christopher Wright, and was refined by Steward and many of his Asian colleagues. This thought paradigm uses a triangle as a reference for the relationships between God, people, and actions (Steward 1994).

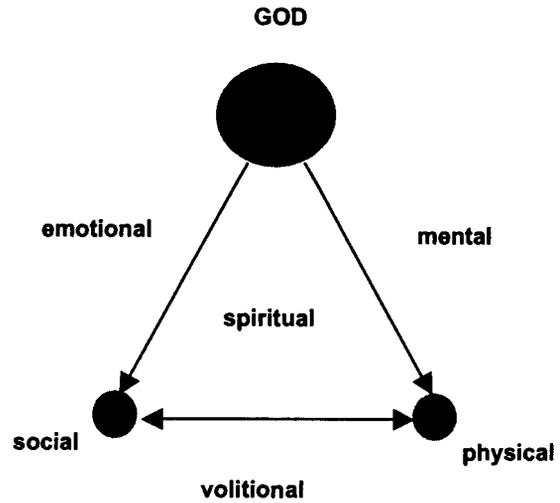
The primary connection between God and people is defined as one of relationship; the connection between people and the earth is one of stewardship; and the connection between God and the earth is one of ownership. The integration of these is seen as “Lordship” (Steward 1994:11). Thus a biblical



theological framework is provided that sees the “people” as not just individuals, but as the people of God in Old Testament times, New Testament times and today. The earth is not just the land of

Canaan, but also all that God promises to His people.

If this paradigm is followed one step further, so that the nature of the connections are explored, we may understand that the primary relationship between God and His people is one of love. The primary aspect of stewardship is one of choice or volition, and the primary aspect of ownership that the Bible speaks about is understanding. The first example is the creation account in Genesis, where God gave to Adam and Eve the responsibility to not only name the animals, but to care for the



garden. Satan’s temptation was concerning the question of what God knew in relation to what Adam knew about the garden. Having failed the knowledge challenge, Adam was challenged to choose a pathway different than the one given by God. As Adam had been warned, the failure to obey altered his relationship with God, with his wife, and with the earth itself. These primary aspects of the connections are in fact one way of understanding holism, and one of the most consistent biblical paradigms for understanding shalom.

Luke 10:27, ‘Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength and with all your mind’; and, ‘Love your neighbor as yourself’ is perhaps the clearest text that spells out the breadth of meaning of Shalom. *Heart* (καρδία) is the “the centre and seat of spiritual life, the fountain and seat of the thoughts, passions, desires, appetites, affections, purposes, endeavours” or simply the volition. *Soul* (ψυχή) is “the seat of the feelings, desires, affections, aversions”, or emotions. *Strength* (ἰσχύς) or “ability, force, strength, might”, is all that is physical. *Mind* (διάνοια) is the understanding and mental capacity. *Neighbor* (πλησίον) is “any other human, irrespective of race or religion, with whom we live”, and is the reflection of our social dimension (definitions from Strong 1995). Taken together, these meanings encompass the biblical understanding of shalom, salvation, and health. The Hebrew ruler who received Jesus’ answer had asked the question “What must I do to inherit eternal life?” The answer was that eternal life, or salvation, was the result of living in shalom--being emotionally, socially, volitionally, physically and mentally in right relationships with God, man and the earth.



If we return to the analogy of the mango tree, we may see this biblical paradigm as the seed that has various cultural “fruits” around it. We may identify key biblical holistic values, a person could be understood as healthy or unhealthy in terms of the emotional, social, volitional, physical, and mental aspects. But the key question still remains, how are these attributes seen in the healing process in an African community? What exactly is the fruit around the biblical truth?

To answer this question it is necessary to move on with narrative theology. This time the narrative theology is not the biblical narration, but the narration of contemporary African church leaders. Their narration is about how their understanding of biblical truth is lived out in the healing process that is so needed in their lives and communities. Listening to their stories and evaluations is a fundamentally emic task. It begins with stories that African church leaders themselves see as stories where healing has taken place.

Of course we all naturally tend to view our own work as useful, successful. The stories that should be listened to must be stories considered to be healing by other than the primary implementers. Ideally these stories would not just be talked about, but would be seen and visited by a panel of experienced community leaders. That panel would then reflect on the nature of the wounding, the kinds of healing interventions attempted, and the actual results. They would be able to reflect on principles of how biblical healing is seen in their communities. If the process of telling, seeing, and thinking is successful, then the biblical seed of shalom would both be enjoyed as a fruit as well as planted back into the fertile minds and lives of those leaders for continued implementation.

7.4. The identification of community healing

It does not necessarily follow that, just because a person is recognized as a leader in the community, such a person understands healing. They are likely to declare sickness or health based on assumptions and worldviews that they already have. Certainly their view of what will bring about healing is dependent upon their worldview. That is why ancestors receive sacrifices of chickens, and planting certain trees is considered a peace offering to the earth. By contrast, a western or “modern” worldview may call for an anti-depressant drug thought to be the cure for emotional depression. This struggle between biomedicine and natural medicines continues rather relentlessly. The answer to the struggle has normally been to pit one against the other, or to solve the conflict by

simply including both. Much of psychosocial medicine focus today is the attempt to at least understand the factors that promote healing which are not bio-medical (Flaaten 1996). Social psychology looks for definitions.

A more helpful way to view healing in community is in shalom. *Shalom occurs when people who are in a right relationship with God and each other enjoy and share together the resources of the earth in ways that show Christ is Lord of all creation.* This is a community with shared values and communication (social); shared vision and sense of purpose (mental); caring, trust, respect and recognition (emotional); teamwork and participation (volitional); and incorporation of diversity (physical) (characteristics from Royal & Rossi 1996:415, categories given by author). What brings healing, then, is anything that promotes these characteristics in and among people who live together and know each other.

While a local church pastor may not be able to give a prescription for an anti-depressant, he is likely to recognize, for example, the presence or absence of various ethnic groups participating in a project meant to assist in meeting certain needs of the whole community. The simplest housewife is likely to give an accurate evaluation of whether or not trust has grown or diminished as result of certain functions, meetings, or communications. The most learned physician is no more likely to give better evaluations on these things, but she is more likely to determine whether or not the rapid and painful death of many people crammed into tight living quarters is, for example, from cholera or not.

The healing of violence and conflict is most likely to be seen in a social perspective, since people and social conditions bring violence in a community. The vision of this study was to take community leaders into various situations where healing occurs and allow them to analyze what works and why. An obvious limitation is the impracticality of taking a panel of community leaders to diverse places. Furthermore, in order to understand the impact of those interventions, time is necessary, and a visiting team does not visit over time. It is also impossible to take a panel of evaluators back into time to watch a story that has already happened.

Nine stories about community healing have been told and analyzed in this study. (Everyone who wishes may both see the stories themselves and evaluate them, because they are available on CD Rom from the Institute for the Study of African Realities, in Nairobi Kenya.) To hear and see these

stories, the medium of video transported experienced church leaders into situations that were purported to bring healing to a community (29 men and 12 women from 12 different African countries, representing many different denominations, including Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Pentecostal, and various independent church traditions). On a scale of 1 to 12, which factored in both the number of years of church experience, and the kinds of experience (pastoring, NGO work etc), both the median and the mean experience level of these leaders was 10. On a scale of 1 to 10 measuring their families (numbers and ages of children), the mean score was 8.5. To have scored above an 8 required the leader-observer to have more than three children who were ten years of age or more. Anyone who has cared for their own hurting children in a war zone, as most of the participants had, and has at least 8 years experience in ministry, must have some ability to judge the quality of healing if they are judging it from their own worldview. Of course, that is a basic assumption of this study. These participant-viewers met in four different focus groups (two in RSA, one in Rwanda and one in Kenya) to view each of the story-films twice. After viewing them they were given the opportunity to both record their own thoughts and to interact with each other. Following is a description of what they saw, and then how they interpreted what they saw.

7.5. Nine Stories of Healing in Community

Starting with the only non-African film, **Martin Luther King (MLK)**, we look at the story of a people movement that brought about changes in legislation of one of the world's most powerful nations. The power that came from personal and political freedom was a selective power before the civil rights movement. Blacks were "technical" citizens, who were deprived of the rights to live, travel on buses, shop, eat, drink, and even use the toilet in places where whites would have a right and privilege. The simple yet motivating speeches of Martin Luther King cut through generations of blacks who felt that they were inferior to whites in nearly every respect. King helped them to see the injustice and inhumanity of what they had accepted. The social movement began chiefly because of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—a gathering of Southern Black preachers, who believed that the Bible addressed social world issues. The strong call to non-violent protest was one that King traced to Jesus and Mahatma Gandhi. It was a different kind of activism.

Perhaps the most important thing noted from this story was that individual and collective pride or sense of worth is a fundamental ingredient to building a community. Before the civil rights movement the black community was simply a mass of people hidden from political, social, and

educational view. After the decade of activism the community became self-conscious, mobilized, and insistent. They were a very visible community. The collective actions in boycotts, marches, meetings, protests etc brought a sense of self-value and joy. Those who suffered saw their suffering as bringing something of value for others. Though the non-violent activist strategies did bring a change in laws, its greatest accomplishment was to produce in people intentional self-reflection and self-realization that became self-actualization. Unfortunately for the movement, and people of all races, such growth in self-awareness did not bring widespread racial harmony and reconciliation. So, in other words, the collective action combined with powerfully motivating teaching and preaching, did indeed produce a kind of healing. Individually and collectively healing may come from such a combination of teaching, encouraging, mobilizing, and becoming involved. But, unfortunately, the healing was inadequate to bring transformation of heart values like hatred and prejudice, perhaps because the interventions did not continue beyond the stage of protest into the stage of rebuilding. Even though this film was both culturally and historically distant from its African viewers, the common response was one of deep appreciation and identification. For many viewers this was the most informative story they watched.

Our second story takes a deeper look at what happens in smaller groups as people begin to talk together and share their pains. The story of the **Khulamani** support groups in South Africa is about the same kind of problems that the MLK story revealed—people who suffered gross injustices and had no voice to object. The Khulamani support groups started simply as a community response embracing those who had lost family members in a government system that would give no answers when family members simply disappeared. Participants came to find solace and courage in their meeting together. They were able to release many of their negative emotions and grow in their self-understanding and sense of belonging. This powerful tool of healing did not bring about an observed sense of forgiveness, perhaps because missing in the intervention was someone to facilitate the dialog in a healing, forgiving direction. Even though negative emotions were released, there was no replacement with a positive sense of forgiveness that could grow in the future into appreciation or acceptance. The community bonded, but the bonding was only among those who already shared many commonalties—commonalties of pain, suffering, and oppression. The support group appears to be an excellent intervention that brings healing in several ways, but it needs to be accompanied by teaching or facilitation that is able to replace the negative and hurting emotional, social and volitional elements with a healing, helpful direction.

The third story, again from South Africa, shows the healing interventions that are able to bring about forgiveness and reconciliation after intense pain. Following a terror strike by the Azanian People's Liberation Army in the midst of a church service dead and wounded were left on the pews. Following the **St James Massacre**, the congregation of the Church of England of South Africa embarked on a continued ministry of teaching, counseling and ministering to its people. They provided both formal and informal support groups, and counseling was done. Most importantly the support groups and counseling was in a teaching context where forgiveness was encouraged. The forgiveness was not simply a general feeling, but a closely taught and closely understood process of working through the pain, and to seek audience if possible with those who had wronged them. Like the other South African stories there was a healing in the release of negative emotions, in confession and forgiveness, and in an increased sense of understanding and inclusiveness. People not only felt closer to others in the church, but felt closer to others who suffered, who had been treated unjustly. Given a setting of racial hate and social injustice, crowned with mass killing at terrorist hands, this represents healing at a very deep and wide level. Some individuals experienced more or less of that healing—one victim chose to make it her life calling to work among those barely surviving in townships, like the one from which her attackers came. Other victims were still struggling with the pain of the event many years later—but the struggle was a healing struggle rather than a wounding one.

The fourth story, **Video Dialog**, is the story of two embattled communities outside Johannesburg where, through a video camera, people were able to see each other as humans who were in the process of heaping misery upon each other. Each side was enabled to see that the wounding they received was very similar to the wounding they were delivering. Such understanding was a healing through self-reflection. Through this process of recording and listening to others, relationships were restored and a sense of inclusiveness grew. It is sometimes thought that healing requires a gentle avoidance of hard issues. This story shows that deeply held bitterness often needs to come out—but in the right way and place. In this story the deep hatred and anger had an expression, and was directed toward the perceived offending community. With the presence of a facilitator/mediator these hard and intense feelings were redirected toward finding the “human” in the enemy, and identifying new ways of interacting. Had the video dialog been only at the video level it is unlikely that healing would have occurred. But the video dialog was moved into an actual forum of face-to-face discussions that used ceremony to bless what was accomplished and focus on the healing that remained.



Three stories of healing are from Rwanda and Burundi. The killing that took place in Rwanda in 1994 may have been five times higher in the first six weeks than the daily killing rate of the Nazi death camps (Relph 1998:133). The story of the **Africa Revival Ministry and the Living Church** evidences that even if a ministry fails to achieve an ethnic balance, it nevertheless may bring significant healing to many. The list of ministries that have been accomplished by this NGO-cum-church is impressive. Maternity and general clinics, mental health facility, schools of many kinds and levels, agriculture projects, vocational training, orphanages etc. were all specific ways in which orphans, widows, disabled and traumatized people were offered healing care. As impressive as this list is, it could represent simply a list of ways in which individuals rather than community are helped. But the fact that ARM constantly sought to reach into its community enabled it to be seen as providing interventions which helped people to work together, release negative emotions, restore relationships, connect, collaborate and focus on others. Although full ethnic “balance” was not achieved, the ministry did seek to be inclusive rather than exclusive. This operative goal seems to have been a significant reason why these project-style interventions produced so much healing. The founder of the ARM, David Ndaruhutse, was an evangelist who believed in uncommon workings of God, but his greatest joy was the reconciliation he had witnessed (Relph 1998:14).

The sixth story is the story of healing a geographic community in Bujumbura, Burundi by providing shelter. *The Youth in Construction in a World of Destruction (JRMD)* ministry had a very tenuous connection with churches in Bujumbura, but sought to link their home-building project with congregations in Nairobi and in the USA, using a “global body of Christ that extends a hand of help” idea. Shelter is a basic human need, but providing only buildings does not in itself bring community healing. The story of JRMD indicates that the healing ingredient was the idea of working together, mobilizing people to collaborate. This reveals the importance of “sweating and swallowing” together, or the physical labor and physical eating together. Both are social events that are fundamentally community building, because they require some measure of interdependence and trust, yet not a great deal of it. Not only was the pride in accomplishment of newly constructed homes evident, but also the accomplishment of having done something in a large group of “former enemies” that was positive, restorative, and enabled a new identity to begin forming. While restitution was not seen (the project story-teller indicated it included restitution), it was not apparent that those who actually did the destruction were the ones doing the reconstruction. On the other

hand, the types of people who destroyed were the types of people who rebuilt—the youth. This is a symbolic restitution seen more by the project promoter than observers.

The seventh story of the **African Evangelistic Enterprise (AEE)** trauma healing workshops brings us to look more deeply at the healing which symbolism can bring. Since the AEE team's interventions were primarily workshops that gave people opportunity to talk together and to engage in symbolic activities, it is most significant to note that a combination of activities helped people to release their negative emotions, create a positive emotional social environment, and spiritual renewal. AEE's intervention provided the kind of healing support that is found in support groups, but it facilitated the movement from negative hurting emotions to positive healing ones. The teaching had an affective focus through the intentional use of symbolic exercises—hugging, nailing papers to a cross, and burning them, etc. The makeup of the workshops was intentionally broad—representing different denominations, ethnicities, genders, and leadership levels. The leadership of the facilitating team was itself multi-ethnic. What resulted was an intense personal reflection period that gave opportunity to demonstrate commitment to community change. Identification with others was symbolic, but restitution was individual, personal, and real. This individual change enabled the sense of identification with others who had experienced the release of pain and anger to be real and communal rather than only symbolic and individual.

Our eighth story is set in Kenya and tells the healing of individuals who were wounded in the US embassy bombing. They were the survivors who needed emotional and physical healing. But the wounded were more than those who were walking the corridors of the buildings near the blast. The wounded included families whose main support was the person who was killed or lost their sight in the blast. The children of those people lost not only the supply of school fees, but also became orphaned with a suddenness that often left their grief overshadowed by the grief of their adult family members. The healing that was needed was therefore a community healing. The **Beyond the Disaster** ministry was a three-month trauma counseling intervention that sought to bring healing to post-traumatic stress. This ministry worked through local congregations and the mobilization of over 200 volunteer counselors.

The walking wounded were reconnected with a support structure that would enable them to feel that the world was a safe place and their future had hope. The idea of connecting people to each other is one of the most important healing interventions that can happen. This connecting may come about

through working together, learning together, planning together, or eating together. The connecting may also come through specific measures of counseling that enable one supporting relationship to be connected to the next. If this transfer is to happen, it must be planned and not haphazard, giving credence to the importance in this story that good leadership structures for planning and doing help an appropriate intervention become a healing intervention.

The last story is also set in Kenya, but now in a small commuter-community outside Nairobi. Kiambu is not an unusual town as an African commuter town. Its origins would have been a village, then an important market, and then a shopping center, and finally, as infrastructures and population grows, it merged into a bedroom community. But, because of its origins, the kind of people who normally live there will be on the fringes of society and will not fit well into rural life or the better parts of urban life. Crime, prostitution, and alcohol will be normal. The story of **Transformations** states that to this decayed center, where no churches could grow, came a complete social change. It was rags to riches, booze to beauty, and evil to good. It tells about a single pastor's foray into the socially broken town of Kiambu. "Spiritual warfare" was the single intervention, and total community transformation is claimed.

The conclusions seem to be exaggerated, as the story never reveals just how such transformation really took place—except by Divine intervention. People prayed, a witch was thrown out of town, and people "got saved". One church grew, and supposedly many bars became pulpits. So the story is told, but would those who walk the streets of Kiambu see it that way? Some say it has grown and grown better. Perhaps it is the result of prayer and fasting, perhaps it is the result of economic and population expansion from Nairobi, and perhaps some of both. But no transformation was achieved. Whether or not any healing took place, is perhaps the important question. Observers felt that some spiritual healing had happened, some steps in the right direction. Some social binding happened as a church grew. Some sense of collective working together was created by prayer marches. Perhaps some deeper understanding of one cause of evil was seen. If people were actually converted, and did not just change churches, then some level of self-reflection, confession, and renewal took place. The primary question this film raises is whether or not it is true, as some may believe, that the force of this healing is simply in the verbalization of the name "Jesus" (Weatherhead 1951:89). Such verbalization is sometimes dubbed as "spiritual warfare", but spiritual warfare must do more than joust with windmills.

Yes, there can be healing even if there is not transformation. The elements of the healing are the same whether on a small or a large scale, whether deep or shallow. What emerges when we relate these various healing stories together is that the combination of interventions produces a far greater impact than the simple existence of a given intervention. Healing is best promoted through the synergistic result of multiple interventions. The Healer works healing through every aspect of human existence. We do well to understand the variety and multiple applications of His healing balms.

7.6. Indicators of healing

Let us return to the mango tree. Conclusions about healing are like understanding why some seeds grow and some do not. It tells us the best kind of seeds for planting. But the lessons must be used in some systematic way to assist in the creation of a grove of mango trees. Furthermore, when a seed is first planted there are indicators of growth so that the attending farmer does not have to wait a generation to figure out if there will be mangoes for his grandchildren to eat. He will know how to spot a mal-formed tree or some form of rust and rot that will keep the good seed from growing to bear a bountiful harvest.

Indicators of growth are like indicators of healing. First we must see the indicators of healing, and then decide how to use them in planning and evaluating programs. Key indicators found in the nine stories told and analyzed are listed in the following chart and are shown in the category of their primary evidence.

Emotional	Social	Volitional	Physical	Mental
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Release negative emotion • Show emotional change • Comfort, joy • Trust others with own emotions • Bear others' burdens • Empathetic listening 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restore relationship • Represent others in repentance • Inclusiveness • Connection with individuals or groups • Leadership • Overcome social barrier • Listen, talk • Reconciliation • Churches planted • Small groups formed • Service to another 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Giving and receiving forgiveness • Spiritual renewal • Confession, admitting wrong • Other-focused • Acceptance of pain, loss • Repentance, sorrow for wrong 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restitution • Freedom of movement • Collaboration in projects • Physical needs met • Security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased understanding • Hope for future • Self-reflection • Planning for change

This list is far from complete. Additional indicators could be added by observing the results of other intervention programs. These are shown because they come from the observations of the stories chosen for this research.

7.7. Uses of indicators in program creation

Creating programs of intervention is sometimes a hit-or-miss intuitive idea about what will help a situation. Better intuitive ideas may come following a time of prayer and reflection, but as was seen in the Transformations story, prayer and fasting may still not create program interventions that are aimed at change. What might the program planner/church planter have done in Kiambu?

First, had he really known his community through visitation with residents, shopkeepers, police, town leaders etc, as well as in prayer, then he would have known many of the needs of the community. He might have started with a grid like this one that was identified by the focus groups viewing the film.

Emotional	Social	Volitional	Physical	Mental
Fear	Drunkenness	Follow Satan's ways	No security at night	Not know Bible
Peace of mind	Concern for others	Determination	Churches that don't grow	ID spiritual oppression
Hope	Street children	Integrity	Poverty	Knowledge of God
Witchcraft	Prostitution	Salvation	No development	Spiritual nurture
Courage			Crime	ID root causes
Acceptance, self worth			Drugs	How to deal with root causes
Salvation				

With at least this much understanding of the needs of Kiambu, the church planter might use the table of interventions (7.10) to decide which interventions would best deal with the needs. This table reflects the interventions shown on the nine film stories, as well as interventions found in literature (shown in italics).

In selecting various interventions for Kiambu, the church planter would do well to select those interventions that involve more than one aspect of holism, or make the intervention to actually be a combination of interventions. For example, a street children ministry should include business



people and town leaders, it could provide some basic education as well as food and shelter, it should connect the children with families in some way, and give the children the opportunity to express their own pain and find new identity in Christ. It could mobilize the youth of various churches to assist in a recreation program, or put street children to helping mobilized youth in cleaning the streets of the town.

Putting together as many different aspects of holism as possible helps bring community healing. The history of healing ministries is that they tend to grow in effectiveness and in breadth. Effectiveness usually means that an impact is made in more than one aspect of holism. Breadth means that holistic effectiveness spreads to more and more people. The ministry at Kiambu might have had an impact in the community had there been a focused attempt to bring health and healing to some of the social and individual brokenness. Instead, it seemed to stop with the emotional/spiritual interventions. One wishes that there might have been more social/spiritual interventions other than prayer walks. For example, what was seen and found on the walks other than a witch? Were street children talked with? Were their needs understood or addressed? Were business people engaged in a kind of community dialog?

A key failure in bringing healing to communities may well lie in the failure of many “Bible believing” Christians to listen, to identify needs, and to address those needs holistically. The Bible “answers” must address specific questions rather than a vague sense of “spiritual”. A key success in the stories filmed was the ability to identify the needs, and a way of responding that fit the abilities, resources, and inspiration of the project initiators.

7.8. Uses of indicators in program evaluation

Holistic interventions and indicators of brokenness or healing are not only useful for creating ministry programs, they are also useful for evaluating those programs. One evaluation tool is a simple chart that lists who is impacted, and the outcomes. Both the “who” and the “outcomes” should come from the program plan, and should reflect the various aspects of holism. During an AEE self-evaluation of their healing workshops, a number of indicators were identified for community healing. If they are placed in a holistic grid form, it looks like this:

	Pastors	Church leaders	Church members	Youth	Children	Non-members
Emotional						
Releases own anger, revenge						
Seeks to understand needs of others						
Expresses positive emotion to other group						
Shows positive emotions towards others						
Uses emotionally healing language about other group						
Able to counsel others						
Social						
Visits other group						
Speaks repent/forgive with other group						
Good relations in family						
Eats and sleeps with other						
Collaborates with others in projects						
Is an agent of healing in family, church						
Volitional						
Willing to share and talk with other group						
Forgives						
Repents						
Takes opportunity to be change agent						
Willing to collaborate with other churches						
Part of representational confession/forgiveness						
Physical						
Eat and sleep with other						
Assist a family that has been in conflict with me						
Share with a family in						
Participates in joint rallies, or other projects						
Assists in meeting needs of orphans, widows						
Give restitution for loss I am responsible for						
Mental						
Attends a healing workshop						
Talks about problems with other group						
Seeks to solve problems						
Understands own groups responsibility in conflict						
Invites others to workshops or projects of healing						

(Sabamungu and Dortzbach 1999)

The evaluation grid is then used for both pre-workshop and post-workshop evaluation, when facilitators and/or participants place a mark in each cell that applies. In such a manner a density chart can be created that reveals where a community may be in its process of healing. To better reveal where a community is in the process of healing, negative indicators could also be added. This

would show when a community might possess destructive or broken elements. By utilizing more of the interventions from table 7.10 it would be possible to construct programs for intervention or training that are richer in content and therefore more likely to produce healing.

7.9. Implications for training and funding

Holistic interventions and indicators should be utilized in determining curriculum for training. The interventions and results shown in this study are certainly not the only interventions and results that should be a part of training interventions. The use of holistic categories is, however, a helpful tool in planning and evaluating training programs. Whether the training program is one that deals with AIDS in the community, or one that deals with conflict resolution, each of the holistic categories should have behavioral objectives. Training is not complete if it has not effected change in the emotional, social, volitional, physical, and mental spheres of a person's life. For example, an AIDS training program might rightly discuss the problems of emotional fear and shame, the social problems of being ostracized, the physical needs of good diet and hygiene, and of the pathways of transmission. But if there is no focus on the need to change sexual practices, (volitional) then the HIV/AIDS interventions have little hope of actually reducing the epidemic.

Likewise, a conflict-resolution strategy may only focus its training on techniques of discussion, or on technical causes of the conflict. Should it fail to include both sides of the conflict in the training, or to help the participants deal with their own emotional pain and prejudices, and then the otherwise useful training is likely to accomplish little. Training ought to correspond to the holistic needs that are identified, and be holistic, even if there is not a uniform balance. An intervention of support groups or counseling, for example, are likely to have an increased focus on emotional listening and encouraging. Training leaders for those support groups is likely to have an increased focus on understanding the social or volitional steps in facilitating such a group. But if a support group leader does not know what it feels like to be supported and encouraged, how will that leader be effective? Or if the training is only participation in groups that reveal and talk about emotions (weak in the area of cognitive understanding), then how will the group actually move toward healing?

The use of holistic indicators for healing is also crucial for funding. An agency seeking to fund effective interventions should ask the project to produce holistic evaluations. A holistic evaluation

will avoid the trap of measuring qualities that are not relevant to change. A present example is the focus of many funding agencies in attempting to measure behavior change in HIV/AIDS is to be satisfied with increasing the numbers of condom users rather than the more disease-preventive strategy of measuring the numbers and attendance in youth support groups for abstinence.

Other kinds of programs should be similarly rethought. It is better to fund resettlement programs which measure the numbers of people attending integration programs rather than the number of people simply relocated. Missions support would better go to effective church outreach which measured by the number and frequency of members visiting in their community rather than the numbers who attend a crusade.

Relief and development agencies often race each other to the scene of a disaster. As this research is being written the town of Goma on the eastern border of Congo is again the center of global attention. A lava flow scattered people westward and deeper into Congo or eastward into Rwanda. Of course, the lava flow is not violent conflict, but it covers a violent conflict. Its flow has now covered a large burial mound near the airport, nick-named “Clinton’s Hill” by many local residents, who reflected on the thousands buried there in the 1994 cholera epidemic which came following the mass migration out of Rwanda’s decimation. Little was done to even attempt to bring healing to the community then. The relief agencies now seek again to provide shelter and water and food—all physical needs and interventions. Some focus may come again to help families locate members who have become separated in the flight. But little focus will be given to the emotional trauma that again comes to the region. Africa Network News on the BBC may interview someone who mentions the likely re-entry of angry and bitter *interahamwe* militants who were able to move back into Rwanda under the cover of a fresh migration. But creating community-healing interventions was not a financial priority of the world at any time during the aid flow from 1994-1999 in the Goma region. Most agencies left, believing their task was done when the blue tents came down and people moved back into Rwanda. The silent river of lava will cover the remains of war and broken society. By March 2002 an estimated 2 million people have lost their lives in the DRC since 1998 from violent conflict, starvation and disease, unbridled from that conflict (www.nytimes.com/reuters/world/international-congo-democratic-talks.html). The silent scream asks us once more to answer the question, “Healed?”

7.10. Healing Interventions of the Church

The following chart summarizes the interventions which the Christian church both has made and might continue making which bring healing to its community. The interventions in italics are those reported on in a wide variety of literature. Those interventions not italicized are the ones identified by the church leaders in this study which they saw as appropriate healing interventions which came from the films they viewed. Most of the interventions listed could be amplified and could profit from a greater definition or discussion. They are offered here in their more cryptic form so that each reader may identify their own ideas and permutations. In this way it is hoped that the steps taken toward healing will lead further down a pathway of speaking and doing what God would have us all to do.

Table 7.10 Healing Interventions of the Church

Emotional Support	Social Support	Volitional Change	Physical Support	Mental Growth
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mourning • Hospitality • Presence • Scripture reading and Bible stories • Public opportunity for transparency, vulnerability • Counseling • Establish monuments and memorials • Group palaver • Blessing • Prayer • Story Telling • Empathetic listening • A support system • Language choice and use • Teaching and preaching • Faith celebrations • Promotion of articulated forgiveness • Promotion of articulated confession • Rebuking • Memorials • Worship, crusade • Singing • Service • Compassion • Trust building • Encouragement • Giving/ Receiving Love • Tell own story of pain • Counseling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action groups • Networking and training • Discipleship groups • Creation and use of Liturgy • Creating social order through structure and leadership • Convening a community • Create active non-violent responses to evil • Create active non-violent responses to evil • Presence • Provide forums for diverse peoples to meet • Political, structural involvement • Representational repentance • Give community recognition • Theological education that prepare for reconciliation • Provide special worship/celebration programs • Create Church coalitions and cooperative efforts • Create support groups • Provide hospitality • Encourage and honor a vocation of healing • Create Memorials • Promotion of personal conflict resolution • Make suffering redemptive • Identify the impact on all actors • Promote social reconciliation • Speak and give public platforms for truth telling • Actively seek justice and work against injustices • Seek to transform conflicting relationships • Teaching and preaching that challenges evil • Identify and create interconnected interventions • Monitor cultural practices that destroy wholeness • Identify and create covenants of peace • Inform the Christian community of suffering • Integrate fellowship and worship • Promote local congregational participation in peacemaking • Visitation • Worship • Counseling • Identification • Prayer • Broad-based • Care • Mobilization • Support group • Family • Talking together • Marches • Drama • Work with other churches • Support groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celebrate gains in relationships • Celebrate gains in relationships • Develop kingdom ethics and values • Create and use teaching opportunities to help focus on reconciliation • Constantly push and encourage people to embrace differences • Encourage Christians to live in conscious awareness of their reconciliation with God • Look for individual and community needs that might be met • Provide trauma counseling and create trauma awareness • Promote public and private opportunities to speak truth about situations of conflict • Encourage public and private articulation of forgiveness • Discipleship must include listening and speaking to those in conflict with us • Create conflict when it forces structural justice and redemptive action • Provide opportunity and encourage people to publicly confess corporate failure • Teach and make clear the choices which people have and are making • In receiving confessions, require that personal responsibility is accepted • Forgiveness • Confession • Reconciliation • Opportunity to be involved • Representational repentance • Drug rehabilitation project • Youth mobilization for a project • Volunteer opportunity in projects • Visit offenders in jail • Community plan for action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognize that physical healing is a divine act and physical interventions may only be symbolic: • Use physical symbols to be reminders of commitments made • Identify the correct time and kind of reparation to be made in reconciliation • Use art and beauty to restore a sense of humanity • Provide hospitality • Encourage humor, laughter and joy • Organize and encourage acts of kindness • Encourage appropriate touch in healing ceremonies • Advocate new ways of managing wealth and property ownership • Encourage and structure story-telling opportunities • Advocate and identify programs that might reduce violence • Encourage all Christians to identify how they connect with others in compassion • Restitution • Project done together • Micro-enterprise • Job placement • Medical clinic • Maternity clinic • Agriculture project • Street children project • Orphanage • Feeding program • House building project • Clothing distribution • Community meals, celebrations • Boycott • Meet needs of victims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teach and preach about the consequence of violence: • Teach truth about health and wholeness • Teach and counsel people to understand the redemptiveness of hurt • Use the Biblical narrative to frame life's stories and show their place in God's greater story • Use a national event to grow a broad base to support, education and mobilization activities • Create a multi-faceted education and awareness campaign • Evaluate existing church programs on the basis of whether or not they are helping people to help themselves • Use conflict as a teaching moment • Provide opportunities for communities to express and listen to the pain that they feel in the protective buffering environment of the church • Be actively engaged in non-violent activities • Sponsor community memorial events • Be sure that confession is followed by appropriate restitution • Use Scripture to give God's thoughts about conflict, evil, and pain • Symbolic acts • Reflection (personal) • Teaching/learning • Information, awareness raising • Nursery and elementary school • Public lectures • Workshops • Training for church leaders • Vocational school

