

TITLE

**The Trauma Caused by the Matebeleland Massacre of 1982 – 1987 in Tsholotsho
Zimbabwe and How the Church can Bring Transformation Using Pastoral Care.**

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Declaration

I Raymond Givemore Motsi declare that the dissertation which I here by submit for the degree of doctorate in Practical Theology at the University of Pretoria is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

Acknowledgment

This Dissertation is dedicated to the many thousands of victims and survivors of this man made disaster who are heroes and heroines because of their resilience.

Secondly, I would like to thank my family for allowing me to pursue my heart and for their patience and tolerance toward me during my absence in body and spirit because of this work.

Thirdly, thank you to all those who have contributed by assisting me in being able to achieve this. It is true to say, "*I am because I belong*". May the spirit of ubuntu be resuscitated in our communities and country.

Abstract

This study was undertaken in order to research on the trauma caused by the Matebeleland Massacre of 1982-87 in Tsholotsho Zimbabwe. This dissertation is two pronged: one part is to ascertain the trauma in the community twenty years after and the second aspect is to suggest interventions that can be applied.

The history of the country and the political background to the conflict is the most rational way to explain why this may have happened. This history has been used to justify the Massacre and is being used continuously even today by those in power. If people do not learn from their history they are bound to repeat it, (interview with Phineahs Dube 4/8/20080). Trauma has been investigated using a qualitative social reconstruction narrative theory by way of cultural world view and not medical psychological means. Investigating people's painful experiences and emotions has not been easy. A suitable framework and trauma measure which are scientifically approved had to be found and used in order to validate and verify the results in a manner that the outcome can be accepted scientifically and internationally.

Chronic 'on going' trauma or Long-term Psycho-social Crisis is the kind of trauma that the researcher has come up with if conventional medical jargon is to be avoided. The survivors can not fully comprehend what happened to them but the greatest injury and pain is caused by how the community as a whole was under threat of annihilation by the Gukurahundi, The name itself is infamous and points to the brutal nature of the operation of this North Korean trained army battalion known simply, as the 5th Brigade.

The interventions suggested are psycho-social since the context is rural Tsholotsho Matebeleland, culturally, a socio-centric set up with in an African world view, (Mbiti 1969) and (Mugambi and Kirima 1976).

The Church is proposed as the agent for change in the community as light and salt due to its proximity to the community. The interventions include funerals services and rituals, testimonies, and archival processes for the sake of prevention and collective memory. The psycho-social cultural approach takes the survivor from being just an individual with a personal problem to a collective memory of experience. (Becker 2000: 18) This gives practical theology an opportunity for a logical conclusion of all theologizing which is a theology of praxis or engagement.

Key Words

Psychosocial, survivor, trauma, worldview, transformation, culture, torture, silence, church, peace-building and resilience

Summary of the Dissertation

The community is hurting and in crisis whilst the church lulls in its comfort of precarious peace and dubious plenty. The problem is that nothing has been done about the problem of the Matebeleland Massacre of 1982-87 even by the church. It is believed that over twenty thousand people were killed by the Government special army, the 5th Brigade.

This dissertation has a two pronged approach to the issue of the Massacre. The first one is the ascertaining of the trauma on the ground twenty five years after the event. The second one is the proposal of non-violent interventions which could be used to bring about transformation in the community that is hurting. A correct diagnosis will lead to a correct treatment.

A history of the country and its political background is given in order to frame the problem in its proper context and help the readers to understand. The history and the nation's political background is the bed rock on which this conflict that brought about the Massacre is imbedded. The back ground was used by both political parties i.e., ZANU PF and ZAPU PF, either as a justification and/or to vilify the other. This was a political problem, a conflict that had been nursed for over two decades.

The methodology used is a qualitative social reconstruction narrative theory. The aim was to establish the kind of trauma and its severity. Trauma is a phenomenon that can not be quantified but can be qualified through emotions and experiences hence, qualitative approach was used. Due to the fact that the Massacre happened in three provinces of Zimbabwe i.e., Midlands and Matebeleland North and South sampling approach had to be done and Tsholotsho which is located northwest of the country in Matebeleland north was chosen. The reason for sampling was to do a thorough

scientific investigation based on structured interviews by way of questionnaires and unstructured group conversations.

The first task was to define trauma in an African cultural world view. This had to come from the survivors as they narrated their stories, songs, and proverbs. Trauma in this dissertation is

not defined from a medical psychological perspective but from a psycho-social approach. The researcher is a minister of religion and he is not qualified to assess trauma through the instrumentality of psychology or PTSD approach. Secondly, He believes that PTSD is not an appropriate diagnosis in the African context where a person is socio-centric and not ego-centric. The third reason is that there are not enough medically qualified personnel in Africa, let alone Zimbabwe to help millions that have been traumatized and need urgent help. Trauma is the deductive and reconstruction of the people's stories, experiences and understanding of what happened to them told by a third party. That is where data interpretation came in as it was analyzed and coded using the framework and grid designed for that purpose.

The trauma that the researcher came up with is chronic 'on going' trauma if the researcher uses western understanding. But the researcher would suggest that in this research and in Africa it will be called Long-term Psycho-social Crisis. A health crisis in African culture means that the community has a problem and a responsibility amongst its members.

The Church has by its proximity to the public in the community has a role to play with its pastoral care through shepherding and wise guidance as suggested by Gerkin (1997). By its influence, the church is supposed to be light and salt to the world.

The interventions suggested are all psychosocial in nature. They start with the Church realizing its mandate and mission here on earth as it puts practical theology to test in its praxis. Interventions involve funeral services, rituals of mourning, testimonies, and archival processes for a collective memory and for the sake of our posterity. The researcher has been enriched and transformed by the survivor's resilience, courage and generosity not to keep their experiences to themselves but to share with those willing to listen. All that is left is to be reminded that information means responsibility what are you going to do with this information now that you know?

Definitions

Atrocity;

It is an act of cruelty or wickedness, violence done to civilians or non combatants.

Base Camps;

These were the centres established by ZANU soldiers in the bush or any way they so fit during the war of liberation. People were forced to go there and have all night vigils singing. The idea was used after the independence in 1980 and was used by Gukurahundi.

Church;

It is the local congregation and all other national Christian church from all denominations which make up the body of Christ in Zimbabwe.

Conflict transformation;

The process of changing a confrontational /antagonist situation into a manageable process by way of removing and dealing with the way we perceive things and circumstance.

Dissidents;

These were Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army; freedom fighters that had left the Zimbabwean National Army or were absent without official leave and were accused of destabilizing the Zimbabwean government.

Non violent interventions;

These are peace building, conflict transformation, ritual and liturgical activities in the affected areas in order to bring about holistic social transformation.

Gukurahundi;

It is a nick name given to the 5th Brigade army battalion trained by the Koreans which literally means "the early rain which sweeps away the chuff."

Operation drama;

It was a South African government sponsored code name for under operations of the apartheid regime to destabilize Zimbabwe soon after independence.

Reconciliation;

It is an action that seeks to establish or built the pillars of peace by removing and dealing with impediments of healthy relationships in the community.

Restorative justice;

It is a reparative process in order to reconcile between /among warring /antagonists whether it be individuals or people groups or nations.

Matebeleland;

It is the western region of Zimbabwe composed of Bulawayo the second largest city Matebeleland south and north provinces.

Midlands;

It is the middle province of Zimbabwe that borders the whole of Matebeleland north and south and is connected to Masvingo province and Mashonaland west.

Tsholotsho;

It is one of the districts in the Matebeleland north province on the west of the province. The name is derived from the language of the original people who lived in the region called San people the name means “thohu yetlou” head of an elephant.

Survivors;

These are the victims who survived the Massacre in Matebeleland and Midlands provinces.

Super ZAPU;

A name given to the South African sponsored insurgence into Zimbabwe to destabilize the government.

ZANU Elite; this is a special group of people who are the driving force behind ZANU as a political party.

Torture;

An act by which severe pain or suffering whether physical or mental is intentionally inflicted by another person.

Genocide;

Killing members of a group or tribe, causing serious bodily/mentally harm to members of a group or tribe, deliberately imposing on the group/tribe conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or part.

(2) Abbreviations

ZANU Zimbabwe African National Union

ZANLA Zimbabwe National Liberation Army

ZAPU Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZIPRA Zimbabwe People's Revolution Army

ZIPA Zimbabwe People's Army (9ZIPRA and 9ZANLA 17/01/1976)

PF Patriotic Front

RF Rhodesian Front

ZNA Zimbabwe National Army

CCJP Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

CIO Central Intelligence Organization

PISIU Police Internal Security Intelligence Unit

Dissertation Chapters

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Chapter One

Introduction and Political Background

People in Tsholotsho were left wounded and in shock. The country was awash with rumours of commission of terrible deeds by armed forces particularly in Matebeleland – rumours that are like ghastly nightmares from which you struggle but don't quite manage to awake, (Todd, 2007: 49). This community is devastated by hatred trauma and anger and as a result is imprisoned by a moment in history. People can not move on with their lives because of the massacre, (Fr. Lapsley: 2004 lecture notes). They can not move because of intimidation, harassment, victimization and the torture these people were subjected to for over five years. No wonder why they have become prisoners in their own community, villages and in their own minds. Life, all of a sudden came to a screeching halt. Lives, families and communities changed permanently. This was so due to the trauma that the people experienced two decades ago. It came like a whirlwind that left a trail of destruction and rubble in its track. They were emotionally shocked and had incredulous feelings of disbelief, thinking that it was just a nightmare. It swept and gripped the community systematically from homestead to homestead village to village. The modus operandi differs slightly, but the execution was strikingly similar. It was ruthless, heartless with a clear objective of wanting the victims to suffer violently. Judith Todd wrote, “*it seemed armed forces- whether only 5th Brigade or others too- had gone berserk in an orgy of violence against defenceless civilian. I felt so horrified, sick, and faint that I longed to go straight home to bed when I had the news of what was happening,*” (Todd, 2007: 49). If people that heard the news of what was taking place could feel the way Judith Todd did one can only imagine what the Tsholotsho people felt. But no body need to imagine what might or may not have happened this research is trying to bring the information, images and the

feelings of the survivors. This massacre has surely taken Zimbabwe backwards and left the nation in a state of limbo.

Pregnant women, women with babies on their backs were killed others gang raped. Others were dumped in mine shafts while the majorities were buried in shallow mass graves. These were the fortunate; the less fortunate ones were eaten by the dogs and other scavengers. Boys and men were killed on sight because these were considered to be dissidents. This occurred as a result of a conflict between the Zanu PF led government and the then opposition political party ZAPU PF. The 5th Brigade was an army battalion which was trained by some North Koreans to deal with the Matebeleland disturbance of 1982. This special battalion and operation was nicknamed “Gukurahundi”, Shona which means the *“the rain which washes away the chuff before the spring rain”*, (Breaking the Silence 1994: X1). One sixteen year old teenager recalled digging a grave for nine men seven of whom had been beaten to death in front of him. The other two he believed were still alive as he covered them with sand.

It seemed that there was a clear aim to cause psychological and physical pain. Torture which was practiced in the Nazi concentration and extermination camps was not primarily carried out for purpose of extortion or to extract information from victims. In steady physical pain and psychological degradation were inflicted as acts of gratuitous punishment which would become a prelude to death for many or as an extreme expression of loathing of Jews. (Basoglu 1992: 136) The soldiers were trained to hate any body and anything that belonged to Ndebeles and to treat Ndebeles in the most disdainful and degrading way. This was to be an object lesson to the whole nation by demonstrating not only who was in charge but who had the power. Those that were taken by these soldiers were subjected to threats, constant screaming, powerful lights, deprivation, screams of people being tortured and harassment. People were traumatized for a period of six years by the 5th Brigade. All

this coupled with property destruction and disappearance of people brought the district to “chaff”. Surely the “*ploughing and re-construction*” referred to by the then Prime Minister of the country was realized (Breaking the Silence, 1994: 45). “*ZAPU and its leader Joshua Nkomo are like a cobra in the house. The only way to deal effectively with a snake is to strike and destroy its head,*” (Robert Mugabe 1983: 29). Definitely there were dissidents in the area, but this did not warrant such carnage and atrocity to be directed towards innocent people. Rapes, as acts of terror, humiliation and domination became the order of the day. The pain and anguish of the soul was not that your husband, brother or father has been killed or ran away but that due to rapes many women would be carrying a child whose father killed her husband or father. Worse still the people were asked to kill their next door neighbors. This was done in order to cause confusion by divide and rule, to maximize division and hatred in the community. Seeds of mistrust were scattered abroad by using people to kill and report each other to the soldiers, (Breaking the Silence 1994: X1).

The Historical Background

Pre- Colonialism Shona and Ndebele Rivalry 900-1890

Beach in (Abrams 2006: 23) gave the following succinct history of the traditional rivalry between the Shonas and the Ndebeles. The myth of Shona and Ndebele antagonism dates back to the mid-18th century. The Shona emerged as a discernable linguistic group in 900 AD. Between 1000 and 1800 a variety of Shona speaking states emerged controlling valuable trade routes in the region’s gold laden interior to the Indian Ocean. Adam stated that by the 1700 AD the power of these states began to decline. As the more powerful Portuguese took over and dominated the gold trade in the north and east of Zimbabwe the Shona people stronghold begun to be weakened. Individual groups turned against each other as a means of generating wealth through land acquisitions and livestock raiding,

(Beach 1994:42). By the 1800 AD due to the disintegration of the Shona states, outside groups moved into what had been previously Shona territories. The Ngoni speaking people were members of the Northern Zulu tribes from South Africa who began to move up toward Zimbabwe plains. These are said to be the current Shangani and Ndaу people who are in the Chimanimani and Chiredzi areas of current Zimbabwe. They initially settled in the southeastern part of the country in 1836 AD.

Beach further states that another Ngoni group moved up in about 1838 AD and entered southwestern Zimbabwe led by their general called Mzilikazi. Mzilikazi established a state in the area of the south west of Zimbabwe with a central capital called Bulawayo. The group was composed of a confederation of allied sub-rulers. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni the Ndebele nation was said to have survived by plunder, pillage and violent raids upon their neighbours. The Ndebeles ruled their subjects through a tribute system whereby Shona villages or any other defeated tribes were given the option of paying tribute to avoid being raided by Ndebele soldiers or even be assimilated into the Ndebele kingdom. This mythology with a token of truth has had far-reaching implications for the Ndebeles, (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003 34). This would mean that the weaker tribes would be protected from attacks by other groups. Many groups agreed to be assimilated there by becoming part of the Ndebele kingdom. To elaborate further this mythology was not only restricted to the Ndebele Shona relationship but to all traditional a culture as it was pervasive through out the whole of Sub Saharan Africa.

This history need to be mentioned because it has serious implications relative to the panning out of the reasons given by the 'Shona Elite' for the Massacre in 1982-87.

Mfecane

In the 1850's this history mentioned above begun to take place in Zimbabwe. It is written that by the early 18th century the Zulu peoples of Southern Africa had began migrating

north. (Abrams 2006: 12). As they moved a series of conflicts arose and they also fought against themselves as the Shona did. The researcher needs to point out that the fights amongst the tribes were nothing new. These fights were a way of establishing authority and entrenching themselves in power. These series of conflicts throughout the sub-continent of Africa became known as “*Mfecane*” meaning “the crushing”. The myth goes on to suggest that there was so much violence which in turn weakened the traditional tribal kingdoms and opened doors for the white settlers to come in. It is this myth that places Mzilikazi, the Ndebele leader as a general closely linked to Tshaka Zulu’s army in Southern Africa who moved up in 1838 AD as previously mentioned. He is said to have migrated into Zimbabwe as part of Mfecane. Once in Zimbabwe, Mzilikazi established a despotic state which he ruled harshly. The Ndebele rule covered the Shona territory which explains the basis of the contents and the agreement signed between Cecil John Rhodes and Lobengula referred to as Rudd Concessions. This he did by taking crops, raiding its villages for cattle and beautiful unmarried young women and selling some of the people as slaves. This history would have a significant impact on the violent events that occurred during 1882-86. The coming in of the white settlers changed the power game in the country. When the colonialists came in into Zimbabwe they concentrated on dealing with the more powerful Ndebele people rather than the weaker Shona.

Rhodesian History

Zimbabwe which was formerly Rhodesia was a colony of Britain from about 1893. Cecil John Rhodes named the country after himself when he came in from the Cape of Good Hope leading the great Trek.

The colonialists established the Federation of Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, now Malawi. Salisbury now Harare was the capital of the Federation. At

the end of the Federation most of the whites settled in Rhodesia where they started to entrench themselves in power by way of white domination and white supremacy which oppressed and dehumanized the locals. This rule was epitomized by the Unilateral Declaration of Independence from Britain by Ian Douglas Smith on the 11th of November 1965. This meant that the whites in Rhodesia could do whatever they wanted to do without being controlled by the Queen or the British government.

Colonialists crafted repressive legislations which had been designed to silence the black political opposition parties and activists. Human rights abuses, selective application of the law and preferential treatment of people based on race or tribe were the order of the day. This brought about the need to wage a war of liberation in Zimbabwe. Because of the war of liberation a state of emergency was declared by the Rhodesian Front, which gave powers to the then Prime Minister to rule by regulation instead of through parliament. These powers include the Law and Order (Maintenance Act) of 1961. It is important to note that the Matabeleland Massacre of 1982 -1987 took place under these laws, even though it was after independence. These laws were only repealed in 1992, (Government gazette 12/4/1992), twelve years after independence.

Antagonism between ZAPU and ZANU

ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army) was the military wing of ZAPU which was led by Joshua Nkomo while ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) was led by Ndabaningi Sithole after the split of 1963. Mugabe became the leader of ZANU in 1975 after he was released from detention. It must be mentioned at this point that the political parties were not based on tribalism since all parties had a tribal mixture be it Shona or Ndebeles or others. The major difference was that after the split ZIPRA remained and was trained by the Russians and ZANLA was trained by the Chinese. During the war

of liberation the country was divided into two regions, one controlled by the ZANLA forces and the other under the ZIPRA forces. Traditionally, people say that the antagonism between Shonas and Ndebeles can be traced to the time of the Ndebele arrival from South Africa in the eighteenth century. The Ndebeles were made of tribal groups who were brought into Zimbabwe by Mzilikazi, a commander of Tshaka Zulu, from Natal in South Africa. As they settled in the south of the country, they would raid Shona speaking people in the north. Through oral and traditional communication it is believed that they captured beautiful unmarried women, and livestock, which were brought to Matebeleland. This point is by oral tradition which has been passed on from generation to generation. Scholars like Rangers dispute this contention and do not believe this to be a legitimate reason for the brutal and indiscriminate action of Gukurahundi. Historically, this is the only basis for this problem apart from the political reasons to be given later in this introduction, (Rangers 1985: 25).

This mistrust led to difficulties in integrating the two guerilla military wings of the two parties into a conventional army at independence in April 1980. Six negative legacies were identified which contributed to the conflict in Matebeleland. These are:

- The external threat from apartheid South Africa which saw a new united Zimbabwe as a threat to its survival.
- The historical antagonism between the Ndebele and the Shona.
- The legacy of colonial rule as it applied to the abuse of and the lack of accountability of the military.
- Antagonism between the ZAPU and ZANU politicians dating back to the split of 1963 and the legacy of mistrust between the two liberation armies of ZIPRA and ZANLA.
- The politicization of ethnicity.
- ZANU_PF agenda of establishing a one party state, (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2003: 23).

Two of these extra were added to the list. add these last two legacies.

- The role of the Rhodesian Front (RF) colonial soldiers as monitoring forces of the former freedom fighters in the Assembly Points.
- The harassment of ZIPRA soldiers by ZANLA soldiers and their lack of security in the army, (Alexander, McGregor and Ranger 2000: 191).

These legacies worked together to compound a conflict situation and opened political space for the intervention of the military in civilian affairs.

In Matebeleland and Midlands, where the ZIPRA soldiers operated the civil-military relations which had been built during the War of Liberation were destroyed. Unlike the ZANLA, ZIPRA had cordial relations with the masses where as in areas where ZANLA operated there were night vigils (pungwes) and bases which put civilians in danger of attacks from the Rhodesian Forces. Bhebe says, “*ZANLA adopted a Chinese policy of forced political indoctrination of the local population by force as a way of compulsory all night mass meeting whilst ZIPRA remained strictly military force,*” (Bhebe 1999: 92). The masses were forced into acquiescence and were rounded off in bases which became the order of the day during the Massacre period in Tsholotsho. Krieger N J. in his controversial book entitled Zimbabwe Guerillas Peasant Voices which was confined to the Mutoko area where ZANLA operated emphasized their propensity to violence in their interaction with the civilians. This was said to be the most objective and critical study of the traditional notion of popular peasant support for the Guerilla wars of Liberation in Africa. In many situations popular appeal was laced with intimidation, force, violence and murders (Krieger, 1888). Nhongo-Simbanegavi (2000) also made reference to this in her book, “For Better for Worse: Women and ZANLA in Zimbabwe’s Liberation Struggle,” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). It would have been good to compare findings between ZANLA

and ZIPRA forces' relationship with the civilians. Unfortunately, there are no such studies that the researcher has come across.

In an interview with Sodumi Ngwabeda (not his real name) it became clear that the problem started before the Lancaster Cease Fire Agreement. Josiah Tongogara who was the ZANLA army commander and Dumiso Dabengwa the ZIPRA army commander agreed to form one conventional army. This forced the liberation armies to enter into a marriage of convenience in under the Patriotic Front (PF). The idea was not a new concept at all as it had been suggested in the Zimbabwe People's Army years before. Suddenly, Tongogara died in mysterious circumstances days before independence. It was not surprising that Dabengwa was the first to be arrested from ZIPRA as soon as the disturbances started. Some people were not for the unity but to get ultimate control and power of the country. Any body who was perceived to oppose the ideology of the ruling party was an enemy, (Ngwabeda Sodumi. interview; 5/8/07)

Equally, was the government's acquisition and confiscation of ZAPU owned properties like the holding company, Nitram and Nest Egg. Nitram was a ZAPU owned company which was formed by ZIPRA combatants who had contributed their own money towards its establishment which included farms, small holdings such as Castle Arms Hotel. Nest Egg at Woody Glen was used for archival purposes for most of the ZAPU military equipment and supplies which included medical supplies which they had come from Zambia. All this important archival information has not been seen again which means ZAPU has very little concrete material to write about the war as all their evidence and documentation has been confiscated by the government.

The Shona Elite

The conflict in Matebeleland has pre-colonialist roots which are steeped in the primary cultural traditions of the country. It is this history that has been exploited by the "*Shona*

Elite” to enhance their aspirations and entrench themselves in power over their real threat ZAPU. The Shona Elite are those within ZANU PF who plan and scheme to perpetuate their dominance and protect the privilege of this special group not only over the Ndebeles but of all Zimbabweans. This group churns out secret plans to sow the seeds of division amongst Zimbabweans, whilst the ‘Shona Elite’ within ZANU benefits from the gains of these schemes. ZANU schemes by raising an ‘ideological red flag’ for public discussion and attention as a scapegoat whilst they are dealing with a different issue on the side. This needs to be exposed and probably be pursued fully in further research. The secret and divisive documents that are circulated in the country are very much part of the ‘Shona Elite’ work which are meant to keep the nation in disunity. ZANU used the same method in the period leading to and during Gukurahundi and has continued to employ the same tactics, (Blair David, 2002: 29).

The Threat of War at Independence (1980)

Picking up the issue of the antagonism between the Ndebele and the Shona people some light has been shed on what went on during these early centuries of the struggles of the two major groups in Zimbabwe, (Beach , 2006: 24)

Whilst there were fears of the black majority seeking revenge against the white minority in the aftermath of Zimbabwe’s independence in the 1980’s, violence erupted instead, mainly between Zimbabwe’s two largest ethnic groups the Shona and the Ndebele. What was going on at this point in Zimbabwe? Even though this problem is normally framed in the language of the historical antagonism above, the massacres were largely the result of contemporary political rivalries and aspirations that had arisen since the rise of the nationalist movement in the early 1960’s. The biggest contributor to the conflict was the lack of a national strategic vision that would be the rallying point for the people of Zimbabwe. Instead, politics of expedience prevailed over nation building vision. The

Shona led government saw the conflict created by the disgruntled few ZIPRA (Ndebele) soldiers as an opportunity to legitimize and widen its control over the country. It developed a clear message, sharp media campaign and a multi-layered military response to achieve its political ends. Even though it was reported and stated that the aim was to provide and establish security in a newly independent Zimbabwe the evidence on the ground painted a different story. The message, manner and the nature of the intervention demonstrated the political nature of the conflict. The imbalance between the security threat posed by the alleged 400 ill equipped dissidents in all and the multi-faceted military robust response of the government within the context of the fluid political situation in post independent Zimbabwe revealed that there was more than what met the eye, (Abrams, 2006: 24).

Horowitz Group Domination Theory

The theory which the researcher is going to explain is going to throw some light as it gives the philosophical explanation of the theory of domination of the Ndebeles by the Shona. This is done by using Harowitz theory of group domination.

Horowitz provides the basis for the Zimbabwean crisis in a more scientific way and additionally graphically paints a clear picture of the motivation for the insecurity intended. This theory is based on the premise that political competition and economic differentiation amongst people of various ethnic groups will bring about violence due to group security concerns. The existence of another group which threatens to harm in part or in whole the physical security of an ethnic group can create a security dilemma in which a kill or be killed mentality develops. This scenario is created in the dichotomy that forms in the society between “backward” and “advanced” groups, Horowitz proposed, (Horowitz; 2000: 140). The split is driven by the feeling of weakness and therefore the desire and need to

prove the strength by the backward group to the advanced group. This feeling of inferiority often leads to violence against the perceived advanced group.

The fear of extinction is one of the main factors contributing to this extreme response to threats and the need to catch up with the so called advanced group. If they are unable to catch up with the other there is a belief that the backward group will completely be dominated by their advanced counterpart. The issue becomes a case of survival otherwise the backward group exhibit severe anxiety due to the fear and threat of being dominated. Fear of extinction is by nature an anxiety-laden perception, an ethnic group ceasing to exist is not taken lightly. It is said that such perceptions are characterized by a disproportionate feelings between the external stimulus and the response. In essence the perceived threat from the advance group forms an existential threat and the response to that creates a rationalization for the use of extreme measures including violence in order to ensure the security and survival of the backward group.

The problem of ethnic groups emerging from post-colonial situations within the discourse of the realist concept of the insecurity dilemma was framed by Posen . The dilemma arises on the bases of the anarchy created in the transition from the colonial rule to independence. In such period of fluidity it is difficult to differentiate between one group's offensive and defensive intentions. To make this determination more complicated the similarity between offensive and defensive weaponry in a low-level conflict is impossible. Any of the groups can accuse the other of violence and aggression and as a result legitimize the preparation and investment in defending one-self from the other party, (Posen, 1993: 44).

It is in this kind of theoretical framework that the Zimbabwean situation was located. By creating a sense of threat by “the other” against the very existence of the ethnic group, group security provides a useful toll for the general acquiescence for action by the elites against other ethnic groups. Whilst on the other hand the fear of extinction felt by self-assessed backward groups and the inherent insecurity dilemma create in transitional period

help explain the willingness of the masses to support extreme tactics perpetrated by their leaders.

Political competition, economic differentiation and group security interplay to produce a relative position that may lead to instability. By playing around with these groups' relative positions and differences between ethnic groups, leader can create a zone of permissibility for their actions. This manipulation is exactly what ZANU Elite did before, during and after the massacre. During the Shona and Ndebele conflict (1982-1987) the government utilized political competition and group security concerns to justify their brutal campaign against the Ndebele peoples. In the co-opting of the war veterans of (1996-1998) Mugabe used the justification of economic differentiation to build acquiescence for land seizures of white owned farms. Finally, during the campaign against the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) (2000-2006) the ZANU Elite used a combination of all three above to legitimize its actions. This is the reason why public participation was not needed, hence covering its back by making sure the information disseminated is what they calculated the public should hear and know. A sense of legitimacy and permissibility among the public was created. This is a significant breakthrough to the secrecy, public acquiescence and conspiracy of silence that shrouded the Matebeleland massacre. This back ground information will provide a platform for the understanding and identifying the trauma and threat it brought to the whole

Message

At the beginning of the conflict in the 1980's the government strategy was to develop an ethnic political ideology based on controlling the dissemination of information about the conflict. They designed a multi-faceted military and quasi-military forces and a very clear political message, (Abrams, 2006: 61). Here is how the message was all coded.

Then main idea was to link ZAPU with dissidents and dissidents with the Ndebele people. The message was clear that *ZAPU is connected with the dissidents and ZAPU is Ndebele therefore the Ndebele people are dissidents.* Enos Nkala a Ndebele himself but part of the ‘Shona Elite’ and a ZANU minister made this connection in his speech, ”*ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo, was the self appointed Ndebele King, and that the dissidents are Ndebele who are calling for the historical legacy of the mfecane.*” He placed the conflict squarely on the tribal cultural bases of 150 years before. On the 7th of March 1983 Enos Nkala called for the liquidation of ZAPU because of their party’s connection to the dissidents. This can be found in “Zimbabwe in Brief: Nkala’s call for “Liquidation” of ZAPU,” BBC Summary of World Broadcasts February 1982.

Motivated by the incendiary language of ZANU leaders, 5th Brigade soldiers sought to carry out retributive justice as expressed in this victims' testimony:

“they told us that they had been ordered to ‘wipe out the people in the area’ ‘to kill anything that was human’ they said that they had been told that all Ndebeles were dissidents, making women and children as well as men targets. ‘The child of a snake is also a snake’ as one of them put it others said they were taking revenge for the nineteenth century Ndebele raids against their Shona ancestors: They said , “ your forefathers ate our cattle , where are they?” We were attacked for being Ndebele..... they did not hide their real motive, “you have killed our forefather’s you Ndebeles,” (Beach 2006: 69).

No wonder the massacre was so vicious and inhuman in nature. The tribal tramp card was planted, watered and connected in the minds of the soldiers and the gullible masses of Zimbabwe. The rest of the world was told the security of the newly found nation was under threat from within. The Front Line States could not see anything wrong with the Prime Minister protecting civilians and government property from a few disgruntled

soldiers. The raising an ‘ideological red flag’ was expertly employed for the first time publicly. Everyone thought of the security of this fragile democratic state and the need to establish itself firmly. Even the international world was heaping accolades giving honorary Doctorates to someone who was at the very same time trying to wipe out a major tribal group in the country.

Battle of Intubane 2/1981

The ZIPRA account of this conflict stressed the tension created by a rally at White City Stadium at which ZANU-PF Minister Enos Nkala told the assembled crowds that “*ZAPU had declared itself the enemy of ZANU PF. The time had come to form vigilante committees to challenge ZAPU on its home ground, if it means few blows we will deliver them,*” *The Chronicle 10/11/1980* in (Alexander, McGregor and Ranger, 2000: 186). ZANLA soldiers used big guns like mortars and bazookas which the ZIPRA were not allowed to use. As a result this anomaly caused serious friction between the soldiers and the commanders. It is also told that heavy weapons eventually found their way into ZIPRA camps as well.

There was an outbreak of war as it became difficult to integrate the two armies into a conventional army as early as November 1980 six months after independence. The best known of these clashes was the Intumbane war which spread to Ntabazinduna and Glenville of 1981. Former Rhodesian Defense Forces had to come to restore order. Lieutenant Dyke who was part of the Rhodesian forces became famous because of his role in intervening in most of these battles, fights and conflicts, (Interview with Taps 11/08/2009). Taps, (*not his real name*), is a Shona who was part of the army and then joined the air force during the Massacre. This war came about because of the close proximity of the two opposing factions in Bulawayo. It needs to be stated that the Matebeleland region, from a guerilla war perspective belonged to ZAPU and ZIPRA,

therefore it was problematic to bring ZANLA forces next to the ZIPRA in Bulawayo. This same problem manifested itself in the same way in Chitungwiza where the two groups were again in close proximity to each other. ZAPU members were expelled from government. Soldiers who were Ndebele speaking were mistreated and the top ranking officers were incarcerated. These are some of the incidents which led to the conflict that resulted into the massacre.

As a result of this problem some ZIPRA soldiers literally walked away from these military camps and went home, and some with their guns. It was in the context of this conflict that an announcement of the discovery of arms caches was made by the Government of Zimbabwe. ZANU believed that ZAPU was supporting the dissidents. It was also alleged that Ndebele soldiers were fighting the government in order to destabilize the fragile state and overthrow it.

Turning the nation from a war into a civilian society was not easy for Mugabe, who had won the first election. Twenty two Shonas were killed in 1885 in Mwenezi about 130 kilometers south of Bulawayo and sixteen in Matopos, (Breaking the Silence 1994; 23). ZAPU on the other hand, was of the view that the Government was using the dissident issue as an excuse to crush ZAPU the only political party with the same war credentials as ZANU. The Government then created an army specifically to fight the Ndebeles in Matebeleland and Midlands. The two regions being the areas where there is a great concentration of Ndebele speaking people. Wabner commented, as he analyzed the situation in his book and said,

“the catastrophe which is a quasi nationalism is that it can capture the might of the nation and bring authorized violence down ruthlessly against the people who seem to stand in the way of the nation being united pure as one body.....it is as if quasi-nationalism’s victims opposed quasi nationalism and in so doing put themselves

outside this nationalistic bigotry and indeed beyond the pale of humanity. A certain sector of the community was identified as other,” (Wabner 1991; 40).

This qualified it to be purged. The one single passion of the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe to achieve a one party state should not be lost sight of as it was the over riding objective and driving force behind all his actions. Put it bluntly has always been Mugabe’s and ZANU Elite’s strategic intent.

This back ground seeks to provide context of the massacre. The situation was fertile soil for the atrocities which are the subject of this research.

Dissidents

Abrams (2006) believed there were two groups of dissidents in Matebeleland: Super ZAPU a small group of South African created and funded force of former ZIPRA soldiers that operated in the first years of the conflict. Most of its members were recruited from Dukwe Camp in Botswana and some disgruntled ZIPRA soldiers from the Assembly points and former refugees and Zimbabweans who worked in South Africa. The second group was the regular dissidents, small groups of loosely organized former ZIPRA soldiers who acted almost completely independently. They had no message, limited resources, lacked leadership and failed to generate public support. As a result these handicaps limited their activities to isolated acts of political violence. This is the only legitimate reason given as to why the army was sent to Matebeleland and Tsholotsho in 1982. The researcher had an audience with one of the key government minister who was minister of information during the massacre. His response to him was, *‘but there were dissidents there.’* Interview with the then minister of information, 10/10/2008.

These are the various groups of the security forces that operated in Matebeleland and Tsholotsho either at the same time or at different times: the conventional army, the Central

Intelligence Organization, Police Internal Security Intelligence, 5th Brigade, the police and the youth Brigade

In an interview with an ex-ZIPRA deserter, the researcher established that the dissidents felt that their party wanted them to integrate to form the National Army. But, because of the problems they encountered the soldiers could not continue to risk their lives, hence, they left. In a similar study in Matebeleland done by Alexander, McGregor and Ranger in 2000 it was determined that it was not the aim or view of these former guerillas to take up arms with a plan to overthrow the Mugabe government. In any case they would not have been able to do so because of the following reasons:

- These people were scattered and not coordinated
- They were few in number (not more than 400 in total)
- They only operated in the Ndebele speaking Midlands and Matebeleland Region
- They had neither political leaders nor support from ZAPU, even though the leaders sympathized with them.
- They had no supply of clothes or food as in the 1970s.
- They had no source of weapons except the few they had hidden in the bush.
- The local people did not want to be involved with dissidents even though most of them were their own relatives. (Alexander, McGregor and Ranger , 2000: 234)

The greatest security threat to the Ndebeles and the ZIPRA former guerrilla soldiers and any body who may have been in Zambia and Botswana refugee camps trained or not was the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA). The Rhodesian Light Infantry and the Paramilitary Support Unit were as ruthless before and during the disturbances. They killed soldiers and civilians on sight at St Paul Assembly Point in Lupane. At Cross Jotsholo a bus load of ZIPRA comrades were attacked by air and killed as they made their way to the Assembly Point. Seven guerrillas were gunned down on the spot at Jotsholo Business Centre and up to now have not been decently buried, except for a sign that reads “*people died here*”. The

unequal treatment of the guerrilla armies in comparison to the Rhodesian forces deepened the hatred and suspicion. The Rhodesian forces were the enemy in the 1970s, but now they were the supervisors, and they took over after the withdrawal of the Commonwealth Monitoring Force. To make things worse, most of these Rhodesian soldiers were exactly the same personnel we knew as white enemies during the war of liberation. These are testimonies from some of the ZIPRA leaders like, Nicholas Nkomo, Charles Grey and Soneni Mdlalosi. They stressed the life threatening pressure of what they called the *situation* and their abandonment by their leaders, who were often in jail or who actively, disassociated themselves from them and condemned their activities. The polarization and politicization of ethnicity reshaped the dissidents' views and tactics. This was so because during the liberation war, Mawobho Sibindi a ZIPRA soldier who became a dissident said, *“In the 1970s war we fought against tribalism, regionalism, partyism and racism but now the 1980s was on tribal bases, (Ibid, 2000:202).*

Dissidents killed 700 to 800 people in Rural Zimbabwe. The dissident activities were not only restricted to Midlands and Matebeleland, but the whole country, because of the transitional nature of the nation, it became difficult to turn the country into a united peaceful nation under a single army. One of the communications between Mugabe as Minister of Defense and Lookout M. K. V. Masuku (ZIPRA commander) revealed the reported dissidents' activities in ZANLA operated:

1. -22/6/80 Dissidents at Marenga Business Centre fired 2 bullets destroying fuel tank and a vehicle driven by Sgt. Gava of Zvimba Post in Sinoia now Chinoyi.
2. -In Chipinge Police are being assaulted by organized groups or gangs of ZANLA. This included an assault on Inspector De Lange at APX.
3. -17/6/80 Zanla Shooting at Kachuta TTL
4. -Shooting at Murambinda

5. -Stealing of two watches and \$40.000 from the bus driver in Maranke now Marange, (Todd, 2007; 150).

The dissidents' problem should have been acknowledged as a national problem. It was a headache to all who wanted the newly established nation and its fragile democracy to move forward. This problem led to the negative peace achieved by the Unite Accord. ZAPU was swallowed by ZANU and the one party state envisaged by the ZANU Elite whose architecture was and still remains Robert Gabriel Mugabe was achieved. After having achieved his main objective mentioned above Mugabe on the Zimbabwe's eighth birthday declared on the 18/4/1988 an amnesty for all dissidents. Joshua Nkomo now the vice President in the Prime Minister's office announced in the Government Gazette (3/5/1988) that all "*abafana*" young men to come down from the mountains and lay down their arms. A full pardon was extended to those who had been alleged to have assisted dissidents as well, (Government Gazette 18/4/1988). As late as 31/5/1988, the infamous Tennyson Ndlovu whose pseudonym was Tambolenyoka a known dissident who operated in Nkayi was seen wandering around Bulawayo. It was alleged in (Todd, 2007: 155) that some of the dissidents like the notorious and loathed Gayigusu (Morgan Nkomo also known as Morgan Sango) were well connected with serving members of the ZANU PF leaders such as Mark Dube, governor of Matebeleland South. This man is alleged to have master minded the axing to death of eleven missionaries and five infants at News Adams Farm in Matobo in November 1987, (Todd 2007; 248). The researcher has interviewed this former dissident and is still in touch with him. Mdawini, Masikisela and Gilbert Sitshela who were dissidents commanders had been captured and executed, by the time of the amnesty in 1988 only 122 dissidents returned officially, (Alexander, McGregor and Ranger, 2000: 199).

Operation Drama (Super ZAPU)

This operation was a South African government sponsored codenamed for under cover operations of the apartheid regime in Zimbabwe. It was carried out under Moeller and Jan Breytenback who were part of the South Africa's Special Forces, (Breaking the Silence: 1994: 34 and Alexander, McGregor and Ranger, 2000: 234) . Operation Drama established links with ex ZIPRA forces in the Dukwe refugee camp in neighbouring Botswana and together they formed Super-ZAPU. The units were small, and bands of combatants under the orders South African whites and ex-Rhodesia agents based in Botswana. They were then infiltrated into Zimbabwe through the porous border. The role of this operation was to cause confusion and destabilize the country.

Weaponry was the main determinant that differentiated "Super ZAPU" from the dissident groups. Ex-ZIPRA forces used old weapons from catches set up during the war of independence. On the other hand "Super ZAPU" had brand new weapons which differed in make from the weapons used during the independence struggle. Apart from those weapons, they also had South African funding surveillance flights over western Zimbabwe were carried out by French pilots, Dzimba in (Abrams, 2006: 44).

Gukurahundi (5th Brigade)

In August, 1980, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe, revealed that 106 North Koreans were in Zimbabwe to train a "new force". Mugabe had been previously invited to the sixth congress of the Korean Republic's ruling Workers' Communist Party where he signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation. Within this agreement lay the seeds of what was to be called the 5th Brigade. 5th Brigade was "*a political killing machine answerable to Mugabe alone and its communication equipment impenetrable by that of Zimbabwe's regular force,*" (Todd. 2007; 37). Judith Todd in her book Through the Darkness mentioned that she bumped into what she called 'an all pervading anxiety' information that

5th Brigade had to start each day with a salute to “MUGABE”, and absolute loyalty to the ruling party, ZANU PF. What must be born in mind is that the Prime Minister had an insatiable desire for absolute power and nothing could stop him from achieving his goal which was one party state. Mugabe toured the country in October 1980 and his message was to emphasize his belief in a one party state. With 5th Brigade he had found a weapon to deal with who ever exhibited any semblance of resistance to his insatiable passion. In North Korea, the Prime Minister found an example of a system he liked, an ally to help him establish himself, and in communism the philosophy on which to build a one party state.

In an interview with Taps (*not his real name*) he stated that the army was involved with the dissidents in Matebeleland as early as 1982. Two surprising things happened: it was reported that no other battalion would be involved with the dissidents except the 5th Brigade and Perence Shiri who had a lower rank, lacked discipline and had lose morals was chosen to be the commander. This gentleman further on to mention that as far as the army was concerned they believed that Mugabe had brought in the Koreans to form a separate entity on the side lines which would not be under the British Monitoring Forces. He stated that it was believed that where ever the British were involved in handing over power like Ghana and Nigeria they were coup daters. The only way for Mugabe to safe guard his position was to develop a different strategy based on a separate personal military force answerable only to him. The Koreans became handy and played a double pronged role of helping to destroy ZAPU, and protect Mugabe from any possible coup.

The only major political obstacle was ZAPU the oldest political party, the party that started the war of liberation and the only party that had liberation war credentials like ZANU PF.

The harassment of Joshua Nkomo who was the minister of Home Affairs and other ZAPU leaders in the wake of the discovery of the arms caches concretized the conviction and perception that the government had that ex-ZIPRA combatants were under threat from the

government. A predominantly Shona speaking military crack unit was formed. The unit consisted of about 3,500 soldiers, most of whom were recruited from the Tongogara Assembly point. Many of them were Shonas, while the few ZIPRA who were there were withdrawn before the end of the training. Training lasted until 1982 with the announcement by Sydney Sekeramayi, who was the Minister of Defense in the Prime Minister's office. He announced that the training of the 5th Brigade was over and would operate in Matabeleland permanently, (Todd 2007: 49). Ndlovu-Gatsheni suggested that Ndebele speaking people who were party of this army unit may have been kept solely because of their knowledge of the Matabeleland terrain and the language, (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 203:25). The Fifth Brigade was different from any other battalion of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA). It was answerable directly to the prime minister and operated outside the normal military chain of command (Ibid). It received North Korean training that was both military and political in content. They were identified by their red berets which are supposed to be worn by military police even today. Its work was similar to that of the Central Intelligence Officers (CIO) in that it was referred to as “*internal defense purposes*”. Taps mentioned that the news that started to come out of Matabeleland concerning the atrocities was consistent with the North Korean and Chinese torture tactics in military books, strategies. These tactics were used to subdue enemies through intimidation, harassments of civilian as target. Surprisingly, the battalion was immediately disbanded after their task was done. At the moment, apart from Perence Shiri who was eventually promoted to be the Air Force commander, no one else is known as having been part of that battalion.

The operations of the Fifth Brigade were marked by bases or torture camps at districts levels, police stations, schools, and boreholes and even in mountains. They also directed their energies to political re-orientation and mobilization. Ndebele people were forced to attend ZANU meetings and ZANLA style night vigils notoriously known as “*pungwes*.”

At these meetings people were forced to speak Shona to carry ZANU political Cards, to sing party songs, to chant slogans that denounce Nkomo and his political party. People were forced to watch brutal torture and killing of their loved ones and to ululate in support of their deaths. Stores and grinding mills were shut down and granaries were burnt under a blanket curfew, (Breaking the Silence 1994:77). Whole families were slaughtered and homes were burnt down and the rest of the people deserted their homes and lived in the bush for a while. Fifth Brigade also engaged in widespread rape of Ndebele women. The Ndebele perceived these rapes as an orchestrated, systematic attempt to create a generation of Shona children in Matabeleland i.e. a shona-lization of the region, (Interview by Ndlovu-Gatsheni with Nontando Sibanda of Kezi 28/4/2002). Enos Nkala, a Ndebele who took over from Joshua Nkomo as Minister of Home Affairs had this to say about the Ndebeles.

“We want to wipe out ZAPU leadership. You have only seen the warning lights. We haven’t yet reached full blast ... the murderous organisation and its murderous leadership must be hit so hard that it does not feel obliged to do things it has been doing,” (Breaking the Silence 1994: 79).

The Catholic Bishop of Matabeleland Henry Karlen phoned a Mr. Todd who was a former prime minister of Rhodesia but was then a senator appointed by Mugabe, informing him that the state was perpetrating atrocities, people were being terrorized, starved, butchered and property destroyed.

The 5th Brigade used Ak47’s with distinctive bayonets; they wore red berets and were unable to communicate with other units because of the nature of their operations and task, (Ibid, 1994: 46). The Gukurahundi wore those red berets which meant that there was no one to police them and as such they were above the law if not a law unto themselves. This was confirmed by the message of impunity given at the unit’s passing out parade when one of the Brigade’s commanders told his troops: *“from today onwards I want you to start*

dealing with dissidents. We have them here at this parade ... Wherever you meet them, deal with them and I do not want a report,” (Alexander and McGregor 1999:240). By dissidents he was referring to the Ndebeles in the unit.

The 5th Brigade was responsible for 1134 murders (78% of total conflict), 169 disappearances (48% of total), 523 instances of property destruction or theft (77% of total), 273 cases of torture (75% of total), 2232 imprisonments (82% of total), 1284 assaults (84% of total) and 128 acts of rape (81% of total). In the same report rape cases were said to have been used as a weapon of ethnic warfare as the 5th Brigade soldiers sought to create a generation of Shona babies in Matebeleland and Tsholotsho. The 5th Brigade was attributed with 2,831 total human rights offences; it’s highest in any single year according to the report made by (Alexander and McGregor 1999: 247) and (Breaking the Silence: 1994). Another person who had direct contact with and influence on the 5th Brigade was Emmerson Munangagwa, who was minister of state security. At a rally in Matebeleland North in April 1983 Munangagwa told a huge forcibly assembled crowd of civilians that the army had come to Matebeleland like ‘fire’ and is in the process of cleansing the area of the dissidents menace and to wipe out their supporters as well. He went on to add in a parody of biblical scriptures that, *“Blessed are they who follow the path of the government laws for their days on earth shall be increased. Woe unto those who will choose the path of collaboration with dissidents for we will certainly shorten their stay on earth,”* (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2003: 30).

The Church

The Church in this research is not amorphous. It refers to the “ecclesia” the believers who have made a conscious decision to follow Christ and do God’s will and work here on earth. These people belong to the various Christian denominations that make up the visible body of Christ and are part the Catholic Christian Church in Zimbabwe. Through out this crisis

the Church was conspicuous by its silence. It held on to its dangerous hypocritical position and attitude of non committal whilst the world around it burns. The Church and the gospel should be seen as a solution to the human ills and national crisis otherwise it has no relevance to the real world. Elaine Graham suggested that “*the mission of the faith – community, is expressed in its diverse practices of ordering the faithful, engaging in social justice, communicating the faith and administering word & sacraments,*” she proposes that the church should intervene in such instances as a transforming agent, Elaine Graham in (Woodward and Pattison (*ed*) 2000: 109).

We live in a land where the poor majority have no hope to find redress of the injustices perpetrated against them. Their anguish of soul and spirit is lost and snuffed out in the noise of abundance of the minority few. It is in this context that we are required by God to reinterpret the mandate and the mission of the Church. Yet Power, in this world seems to be in the hands of the elite and the oppressor. The Bible has an interesting comment that explains this position better than what the researcher would do. It reads “*Again I looked and saw all the oppression that was taking place under the sun. I saw the tears of the oppressed and they have no comforter, for power was on the side of the oppressors and the oppressed have no comforter,*” (ECCL 4 :1). God cares for the poor, weak, marginalized voiceless, defenseless, and the oppressed. The Bible here seems to be referring to the need to care for such people who suffer injustice at the hands of the rich and powerful.

Can we as Christians be witnesses to the transforming power of the gospel challenging and confronting those who oppress and help those who are oppressed? The (*Ecclesia Visibilis*) i.e. church visible, is God’s agent for peace making, the presence of the kingdom of God which is to be felt by all and not just a few. The yeast which permeates all human life is

the Christian practice and influence which brings about a change in the social order. Maggay's book Transforming Society stressed that the Church in academia, the Church in politics and the Church in the market – place is the practical out-reach of all theology, (Maggay 1994: 21). Here Maggay shows the role that a Church should play in society if it is aware of its potential and powerful influence.

The Church has retreated from the world to such an extent that the gospel now lacks a context. The gospel is locked up in beautiful buildings from Monday to Saturday and is displayed on Sunday for the world to admire. In coming up with nonviolent interventions particularly in the crisis in Matebeleland Tsholotsho it gives the Church credence and creates a cradle for interaction. Because we will be using biblical non violent interventions, let me in that context point out to the significance of the allegories of salt and light. These demonstrate the work and influence of the gospel through the Church in the community. Often times the Church seems to be either part of the struggling minority or found on the side of the powerful instead of being a catalyst in the society. Through its symbolism in worship and practice the Church has a potential and power as the kingdom of God is demonstrated as a leavening history in a powerful transforming way.

Problem Statement

One of the survivors asked the researcher this pertinent question, “Where is God when people suffer and when it hurts?” Maggay succinctly put it in perspective when she shared this thought which has become my problem statement, “*The community is hurting and in crisis whilst the church lulls in its comfort of precarious peace and dubious plenty,* (Maggay 1994:9). From a “theology of care and engagement” point of view the **church becomes an accomplice and guilty by virtue of its deafening silence.** Is it possible for this Church, which is the body of Christ and part of the community in Zimbabwe to be a healing agent? The Church in history has been a genuine, alternative centre of power when

it has been most aware and conscious of who it is and to whom it belongs. Its power comes from God and belongs to a kind and kingdom which do not derive their authority from this world and its forces, (Ibid 1994: 35). The church is the salt and the light of the community. Is the church able to transform and heal the community, the researcher wonders. The researcher has come up with these questions below in order to clearly spell out the problem:

- How can the Church, which is part of the community, and has been silent be innocent and be an agent of healing at the same time in the midst of such suffering and pain?
- What can practical theology contribute to the theology of caring in an African Zimbabwean context full of strife, trauma and crises?
- What is the nature and manifestations of trauma and stress effects of the massacres in the survivors in Tsholotsho today?

Research Gap

Very little work has been done to quantify the numbers and the level of devastation in Tsholotsho since the 1980s. The researcher's concern is the lack of intervention from the Church in order to help the people in Tsholotsho. This must come about after the trauma has been ascertained as to whether the effect has resulted in some kind of traumatic stress or any other symptoms. There has not been any attempt to bring about pastoral care, i.e., mitigating and transformational solutions to the community. This may not be a primary research because Tsholotsho is not the first community to be hit by such trauma in the world. Another place in Africa where massacres took place is Rwanda even though there has not been any study of trauma published as yet known to this researcher. This is a gap that the researcher believes the Church can fill and act significantly as a practical catalyst in praxis. What kind of pastoral care and transformative interventions that can be applied as

part of the reparative work is one of the main questions that will be addressed by this research?

Qualitative research has to be first undertaken in order for the reparative work of transforming the community is done. The designing of concrete solutions which should be applied is one of the objectives of this research. The researcher is of the opinion that the church sees itself as privileged and powerful and yet, lacking vision. At the same time it is totally oblivious of and the potential to transform the community. Hessel Dreter in his book Social Ministry made a similar remark regarding the leadership of the church in the community. As he talks about the church and its community he complains that though the churches have been talking poor and picturing themselves as marginalized, the majority of the churches are better equipped than they realize to respond practically to the societal crises in their communities, (Hessel Dreter in Gerkin 1997:238). The gospel message has a definite social meaning. The church covenanted with God through Christ as the “Body of Christ” which should bring about the shalom vision of a comprehensive peace. Therefore the church has a mission and has to be a compassionate, righteous communities working globally for justice and peace.

The church in Zimbabwe needs to find its legitimate space in the community with in which it operates. Christians are members of the wider community who should contribute meaningfully from their Christian beliefs, experiences and perspectives. Alistair Campbell in the “Blackwell reader in Pastoral & Practical Theology” said that even though practical theology seems fragmented it is mostly found in terms of concrete proposal that are transformative for restructuring individuals and communities and society whether within or outside, (Woodward & Pattison (*ed*) 2001 :79).

An incarnational approach to the community should be the church’s strategy. Often times the church has a condescension attitude toward the community. In order for the church to be involved in the concrete issues that people struggle with, it must be part of that same

community. The church should not preoccupy itself with issues of preservation but in self sacrifice.

Research Methodology

The researcher will seek to bring about an awareness of the trauma caused by Gukurahundi to the residents of this community. This will be done by interviews, and interaction with witnesses and victims. The interpretation of the data and the result of the analysis will form the basis for the church's responses.

A narrative approach will be assumed as a methodology. Because of the nature of trauma and suffering, concepts, and insights, correlation will emerge from the inductive approach. The whole idea is to draw meaning from the victims and survivors' subjective perspective. An empathetic approach will cause the researcher to be involved with the survivor's stories and in so doing discover the reality and depth of their emotions. The researcher's interaction with the survivors of this human tragedy will bring about a reconstruction approach to the process of research. This will never the less be an emotionally draining journey as the researcher seeks to be at the center of what actually happened. The question of how objective one can be in such a situation can not be answered in a simplistic manner. Great effort will be made to put concepts into categories in order to effectively analyze the material.

This will be a qualitative approach as data is presented in the form of words quotations from interviews and documents and in some cases transcripts from previous work done on the subject. Data interpretation will be determined by the observations of the emerging patterns and the interaction with some of the people who were involved in the Matabeleland Massacre. There is flexibility in the methodology as inductive and deductive approaches are allowed to interact as a process of getting to the current realities of the

survivors. The researcher will have to interact with the victims and try to interview the authorities in order to come up with a balanced view of what actually transpired.

A questionnaire targeting 100 people have been is designed. The researcher endeavors to get as close as objectively humanly possible to the emotions and veracity of the emotions and world view of the victims. There is need to know the extent of the suffering, pain and damage caused as it manifest itself today. Since much has happened in Tsholotsho since the massacre, how then can one be able to ascertain the directly result of the crises? This question raised here is an emerging complication in the research. Who were the most affected in the community? Bearing in mind that most of these accounts happened more than twenty years ago, it will be quite revealing to observe the extent of the legacy of violence in this community. There should be evaluation of groups assembled to discuss possible way forward for the region. In other words the researcher will form a group which will discuss and evaluate information. The extent of the legacy of injustice to the community must be researched. The trauma must be explained and defined in Zimbabwean terms using its value system. What is trauma in a Zimbabwean context of “ubuntu” that is to say, I am who I am because I belong to a bigger whole which defines me and with which I identify. “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu”? The community must be looked at as a whole and not from an individualistic perspective. In a Zimbabwean context, a sense of identity, history and belonging of a people group is more important than a personal gain or loss.

Aims and Objectives

The objectives of the research dissertation are:

- To demystify the Matebeleland Massacre and highlight it as a national problem.
- To qualitatively ascertain the extent of the trauma for the survivors twenty years later.

- To conscientize and equip the church in Zimbabwe in order to be able intervene positively and meaningfully in such crises.
- To come up with practical theological care methodologies and interventions that can be used as tools by the church in such crises.
- To fulfill the academic and scientific requirements of the department and the university.

The Specific Methods That Will Be Used Include:

- Structured interviews through questionnaire with 100 survivors of Gukurahundi,
- Unstructured interviews with 20 willing survivors will allow respondents to narrate their ordeals and experiences. (This is intended to have a cathartic effect on the people and is expected to commence the healing process)
- The interviewees are people that we have been working with in this process for a considerably length of time.
- Proper documentation will be done first and trust built as basis for the questionnaire.
- Confidentiality will be ensured in order to protect the survivors from possible victimization
- No real names are to be used in the dissertation
- Charles Gerkin (1997) and Melba Maggay's (994) book entitled Pastoral Care and Transforming Society respectively will be used as the researcher seeks to come up with suggestions for interventions. The two authors are chosen in order to assist in bringing about the transformation in the society through the shepherding approaches.

Recruitment

The people who are going to participate in this research will be volunteers from among the survivors. They have to be those who were either involved directly or indirectly through family, neighbors or other social relationships and circumstances. The people will participate on voluntarily. A consent form will be signed before the interviews take place. The sample consent form is presented here below.

Consent form

A consent form will be designed which will be given to the participating survivors to sign before the interviews. This is in line with scientific research and college ethical standards. It has to clarify that any body who will participate in this research will not be paid and they can do so voluntarily. Their identity is going to be kept anonymous and the information given will be safe.

A Questionnaire for the survivors

1. What do you remember about the Gukurahundi Massacre of 1982 – 1987?
2. Where did you live during the disturbances and how old were you?
3. In what way were you affected, as an individual or family during the disturbances?
4. Do you know for sure who did what you mentioned and for what reason?
5. What experiences can you recall and what comes to mind now?
6. Can you describe your feelings then and now about what you went through?
7. Have you been able to deal with this problem?
8. Has the Church played any role in dealing with or helping the survivors of the Massacres?
9. Has the government done anything to help or acknowledge responsibility for the crisis?

10. What do you suggest should be done about the survivors, and the victimizers?

The dissertation in the main is in two pronged, firstly, it establishes the extent of the trauma, the massacre itself and its results and secondly, how the church can respond and the suggested transformative interventions

Contribution to Practical Theology

There is a theological tension in the dissertation. The fragmented nature of practical theology on one hand and on the other hand the practical issues in society that need to be addressed. What significant role and how can the Church be effective in such a tension as an agent for change and healing? But, instead of looking at the tension as two different and divorced aspects, the researcher would like to suggest that the praxis responsibility of the church is channeled through a theology of engagement which is transformative in nature and design because the Church itself is part of the society.

Another theological tension is how we reconcile our stated beliefs in God's sovereign control of Zimbabwe with the call of being salt and light in the society. Here is our theological entry point in which practical theology must have authority as it re-interprets the Gospel in the community and practically live by the values of their confessed faith. There is a debate on whether the focus of practical theology should be upon the religious community alone or whether it should engage wider issues in the communities. The researcher is suggesting an active interpretation practical theology which must take the form of reflection that marries theory and practice and turn them into practical theologizing. Alastair Campbell suggested that practical theology should be found mostly in terms of concrete proposals that are transformative for restructuring individuals, communities and society whether within the Church or outside, (Woodward James and Pattison Stephen ed. 2000: 78). Even though F.D.E. Scheleiermacher in the same book

referred to practical theology as the “crown of theological studies” whose task was to set out the method of maintaining and perfecting of the Church, he limited it to the confines of the Church. He is in stark contrast to Campbell who saw the practical theology as a transforming agent of communities of faith and outside. What Campbell is suggesting is precisely what the researcher would like to be the reason for the second part of this dissertation.

The dissertation takes its clue from Campbell who in many ways saw practical theology as applied theology in all life situations in the Church or outside. The researcher does not believe that the activity and presence of God are confined within the boundaries drawn out by the Church around itself. It is true to say practical theology is concerned with the study of theology and its application to specific social structures and individual initiatives. It is therefore the jurisdiction within which God’s continued work of renewal and restitution becomes manifest. Obviously this is found either inside or outside the life of the Church. Practical theology seems to be the opposite of systematic theologies, yet it is the logical conclusion of the whole theological enterprise. This is so, because, practical theology is constantly looking for and presenting newly emerging situations for considerations. The fragmentation of practical theology demonstrates its pliability and the nature of issues it addresses which are changing all the time.

If it is true that practical theology is constantly looking for and expecting concrete proposal for the restructuring of the Church’s role then this dissertation contributes directly to the field of practical theology. Don Browning proposes that pastoral theology must be understood as “practical theology of care” Don Browning cited in (Woodward, J & Pattison S ed. 2000: 89). This is a theology of caring. Practical theology has a moral obligation to community; it is an obligation to care and give moral and value systems upon which life is based and interpreted. A purely confessional view of pastoral theology is no longer enough to serve in context of crisis, pluralistic and secular cultures particularly in Zimbabwe.

Therefore this dissertation contributes very directly in reinterpreting the role of practical theology and the demonstration of the transforming power of the Gospel through the Church.

Chapter Two - Methodology

Introduction to Methodology

This chapter of the dissertation seeks to give the methodological framework within which the research is undertaken in Tsholotsho, Zimbabwe. Since the first major step in this research is to ascertain the extent of trauma in the district twenty years after, research methodology serves to lay down the apparatus and guidelines needed to accomplish this process. The blurring of terms like methodology and method is a tendency that is powerfully spread in this land of literature and should be explained. How these terms are defined and used in this dissertation will be explained so as to eliminate any confusion.

It should be borne in mind that the research takes a social reconstructive narrative approach. Scholars such as Hoffman (1993) espouse that the principles of social constructionist should see all knowledge as being socially constructed. Epistemology is *“the theory of knowledge and the assumptions about the foundation of knowledge,”* (Chambers 20th Dictionary). Methodology is defined as a theoretical analysis defining a research problem and how research should proceed. Method is limited to strategy and technique of the research. This methodological framework is systematic and logical which would enable the researcher to achieve the required task. This framework provides the rules and guidelines and seeks to give the justification for the rationale for the qualitative research approach. As the researcher tries to define theory and method he is guided by the conviction that knowledge develops simultaneously as theory is formulated. The nature of this research is trauma which requires a qualitative research approach. Since trauma assessment involves psychological/sociological dimensions a qualitative approach best suits this research, (Harding 1987: 22)

Methodology

(Mouton and Marais 1989: 157), define qualitative approach as follows: “*It is that approach in which products are formalized and explicated in a not so strict manner but in which the scope is less defined in nature and in which the researcher does investigation in a more philosophical manner.*” The methodology chosen must suit and guide the kind of research in order to attain to the envisaged objectives. Methodology in many ways is the road map of how this philosophical journey will be undertaken, the kind of terrain to be travelled and what is needed to achieve such a task in a scientifically approved manner.

Qualitative research is different from other approaches because of the object namely; man, his nature the meaning of human situations. The observation of the interactions of men in their context of trauma is unique and therefore requires investigation. Even though qualitative research is not based on fixed procedures, it provides the researcher with a set of strategies with which to organize the research, and collect data in order to process and interpret it.

These are some of the methods and techniques that can be applied within the framework of qualitative research. Concepts capture the meaning of the experience, action or interaction of the research object, i.e. man. Unstructured, i.e. (open) questionnaire and interviews are also used. Participation, observation, ethnographic studies and case studies are also used. Recording of life stories and the use of autobiographies, if any and diaries are all part of the methodology. Data analysis of gathered information can be done by means of a standard procedure of qualitative frameworks and a category system is applied, (Neser et al, 1995: 53-54).

According to (Borg and Gall 1989: 85-387), qualitative research has a number of general characteristics: a holistic investigation must be executed in the context of the

demographical setup. The researcher sets to look and study the elements of the survivors' context that are present within that particular setup. This setup is studied as a whole in order to understand the realities involved and the meanings of the subjects' stories.

Here is one of the most distinctive characteristics of qualitative research. The research seeks to understand a phenomenon within its social, cultural and historical context. Qualitative research focuses on meaning, experience and understanding. These approaches provide opportunity to interact with the individuals or groups whose experiences the researchers want to understand. To really understand people's objective feelings and experience, we need to put ourselves in their shoes. The researchers prefer this method as it fosters a relationship of trust and empathy between the researchers and the research subjects. The researcher should not down play the dangers of subjective approach which can easily undermine and derail the scientific nature of the research.

This is done by way of interviews which are conducted in a way that encourages research subjects not to feel threatened and allows them to speak freely. It is also preferred because qualitative research by nature is cyclical and open-ended rather than linear in the form of general guidelines and does not have rigid definitions. These are broad frameworks that allow the researcher flexibility and prevent or protect him losing his way later in the process. Hence, qualitative methodology provides boundaries, design flexibility and guides the researcher toward the intended outcome without losing the scientific approach. Man is the primary data-collecting instrument in this type of research. In this approach the research relies on human beings as observer rather than measuring instruments. Documents about the massacre in the survivors' possessions and questionnaires conducted provide additional data. Subjects are selected in a purposeful manner which can be observed by the researcher and an inductive data analysis is used in order to bring forth unexpected and expected results. In qualitative research, researchers reconstruct reality

from the people's frame of reference and the object of the study. The people studied in the research are referred to as the subject, (Neser at el: 1995). The emphasis is more on intuitive based knowledge (i.e. it is based on person/subject's experience of the situation). In this particular research (i.e. psycho-social process), the participants focus and attach meanings on social and political situations. (Marshal and Rossmans 1989: 46) suggested that qualitative research can use this method as an in depth inquiry into the complexities of human emotions and how it can be processed. This method enables one to apply relevant variables of which still need to be identified.

The researcher prefers the qualitative methodology due to its strong emphasis on a research of an exploratory and descriptive nature. Context, setup, as well as the subject frame of reference are emphasized. The phenomenon should be self evident, i.e. manifest itself as it is and is recorded as such. The use of words and not numbers is one of the key distinctions between quantitative and qualitative data put in a simplistic manner. An important point is made that qualitative researchers must know about social reality which is rooted in understanding which flows from the shared meaning generated by experiencing social reality, (Reason and Rowan1981: 44-45)

The opportunity to be part of the phenomena that is studied for an example as a member of the group is very attractive to the researcher. This in turn, gives the subjects the possibility to describe their own experience from their own perspectives and experiences in a non-adversarial and conducive environment. Qualitative researchers are therefore open to observations and are more able to pinpoint behavior accurately. Investigations into these situations can not be achieved through other methods of research.

Methodological Framework

The selection of a particular methodological framework is important in giving clarity in the presentation of the research and to conform to the task of scientific process in writing a

dissertation. The interpretative nature of this research and study lands itself well on the need for a qualitative research method. The theoretical framework and objective of this study clearly set a strong argument in itself which constraints the researcher and does not allow much choice for any other method except the use of qualitative research methods, (Babbie and Moutons 1998). Qualitative research refers to any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification. Strause and Cobbin made this point strongly in their book in which they co-authored, (Cobbin and Strauss 1990:17).

Social Constructive of Narratives

In the social constructionist theory perspective, the way in which the world is viewed and made sense of is done through people's stories and memories of the past. As a result the way research is done is also completely transformed by this way of thinking and approach to scientific studies. Bannister alluded that social constructionist research methods are qualitative, interpretative and are concerned with meaning as mentioned before. Another scholar came up with this new innovation in social constructionist in psychology which he developed as a second order cybernetics in constructionist,). The field of cybernetics in the eighties contributed to research by developing constructionist theory further. (Bannister et, al 1994: and Joubert 1987). This new approach social research seemed to acknowledge that all knowledge is by construction rather than reflective. This is not just a presentation of an objective reality. It is believed that one can not know or observe truth about people or phenomena in the world without being affected by it. Therefore it is assumed that we can know our constructions of people and their stories and other world phenomena, (Becvar and Becvar1996). There is a shift from the observed system of reality based on an assumption that it is impossible to have an objective truth about others and the world around you. On the contrary, it is believed that reality can be observed through a personal

objective construction about others and the world. Hoffman (1993) dwells more on this point in his book, "A Reflective Stance for Family Therapy". This is a welcome discovery for the researcher it tends to suit the African culture with its strong social ties of the extended family. A constructionist theory is more comprehensible than a purely nonchalant objective approach which ignores the human side of us all.

The constructionist theory suggests that human hypothesis about the world can never directly be proven. The researchers need to accept this point by acknowledging the active role the researchers play in the interpretation of any perspective or experience. An interesting notion emerges here that the observers or researchers influence the process of observation by their presence and in so doing they form part of that which is observed. This is confirmed by this quotation which says "*we do not investigate nature, we investigate the investigators relationship to nature,*" (May 1958:97). The researcher becomes a constructor of the events and experience of the survivors being researched. This can be appreciated when we consider that people and individuals form part of broader ecology of relationships. Social construction theory strives for some meaning through questions, assumptions rather than seeking closure. The researcher hastens to say that the social constructionist theory is not based on purely empirical evidence alone but on a social analytic process as well.

Ambiguity and fluidity in research must be tolerated rather than be feared. Vance alluded to this reality when he suggested that the future is not as feared but perhaps more open than hoped, (Vance 1989:30). Terre Blanch and Durheim wrote that constructionist supports that language helps to create reality and is often concerned with issues of social meaning. It is true that we make sense of our lives through stories about childhood, our school days, families and working experiences, (Terre Blanch and Durheim ed 1999). It is in this context that the researcher believes the narrative approach works towards enhancing the qualitative research. The gathering of data has become a new trend towards a narrative

form of scholarship in the social science. Richardson proposed that narrative is the best way to understand the human experience because it is the way human being understand their selves, (Richardson 1990:106). Hamilton adds that the idea of narrative needs to be seen within post modernist notions of deconstruction with his concept of the text as fluid which one can engage playfully using a multitude of stories, (Hamilton 1995:29).

The researcher seeks to conclude this issue by using Bruner's idea who said narrative truth is judged by its verisimilitude rather than its verifiability, (Bruner 1991:13). Taking the strong argument above of the social constructionist theory the researcher obviously becomes core constructor of the context that is researched, (Young 2004:103). The reflection of the researcher on the topic is going to form part of the exploration if it is true to say that knowledge is socially arrived at. It also means that it changes and renews itself at each moment of interaction. Here is one of the most important statements in this research '*all knowledge is culturally and historically relative*', (Potgiter 1997:23). The knowledge of the Tsholotsho massacre lends itself in this light and therefore does not impact everyone who hears it the same. The various ways in which knowledge is constructed impact people differently and forms different reactions in different societies at different times.

The conclusion here is critical. A society which sees victimization and traumatization in a simplistic way e.g. as a weakness would react and treat victims of trauma differently to a society which is aware of the devastating effects of the same. This in turn will form the basis of how a community, church or family becomes the first line of support in trauma social crises, (Norwegian Church Aid Report on psychosocial support Program 2004 18).

Qualitative Design

This qualitative design documents what it is like to be a victim of violent crime. Eeden and

Blanche (2000) and Grobbellar (2000:89) came up with a design which the researcher believes helps in explaining and setting up the design of this research. This gives a clear view of how the interviews and questionnaires are going to be conducted.

Description: The researcher conducts in-depth open interviews with a small number of survivors who were directly or indirectly involved to understand the subjective experience of being victimized.

Scope: The researcher may want to generalize his findings, but the main focus is on understanding the experiences of the particular individuals interviewed. Although a limited number of interviews are conducted, transcribing and analysis can be time-consuming but can not be avoided. The interviews will form the basis for revealing the extent of trauma

Flexibility: The general area of concern is determined in advance, but further specific research questions may arise later. The interviews in most cases will be naturalistic and open. The analytic technique focuses on private experiences and subjective perceptions.

Relationship: The relationship is intense and empathetic, with the researcher playing the role of an interested and concerned listener.

Outcome: A conference paper could be presented in which the researcher “brackets” his theoretical and other preconceptions and attempts to “let the data speak for itself,” (Eeden Van Rene and Blanche Martin Terre, 2000:138). This is critical as it separates the researcher’s preconceived ideas from the evidence taken out of the survivors.

Definition

Qualitative research is an umbrella term for several research strategies that share certain

broadly defined characteristics, (Bogdan and Biklen 1992:45). Generally, qualitative research emphasizes that human behavior can not be understood without reference to the meanings and purposes that individuals attach to their experiences, (Crisswell 1998). In some way this approach enhances the researcher' position to examine the whole study, in a comprehensive way but with enough flexibility. The scholars mentioned above and others, advocate for qualitative research, and argue that human behavior cannot be explained through deductive forms of logic and generalizations. The aim of understanding and interpreting meaning and motives that inform everyday human action is a relevant and effective approach. The meanings ought to be derived from the survivors of this massacre in Tsholotsho. As is expected from a qualitative research, reality is often subjective. Meaning is captured and discovered once the researcher becomes immersed in the data and subjects' experiences. The researcher seeks to be informed and consequently understand what happened from the survivors' perspectives.

In chapter four the researcher will develop the chapter to pursue and explore the experiences of the trauma in the context of the survivors of the massacre in Tsholotsho. The people themselves need to express their emotions in a way that will help them to cope with their pain and suffering whether in words or symbolic actions. This is done in order to release the survivors' shackles of the past so that they can move on with their lives. Most of the people in Tsholotsho "*are caught up in a moment of history in their lives and are imprisoned by it,*" (Fr Lapsley; 23/4/2004 interview). The survivors are the sole players who should guide the researcher. Their voices, cries, demands and expectations should be heard without being muffled, (Guba & Lincoln 1989). In dealing with victims of trauma it must be borne in mind that one should not argue with the subjects' emotions whether they seem wrong or right.

The social political and ideological setting in a time frame should never be sidelined or

downplayed. The time frame and the historical background provide the social and political setting within which the researcher can eventually achieve the goals intended without manipulating the information or the survivors.

Multiple Methods or Triangulation

Researchers have come to realize that although qualitative research and quantitative research are different, they can also in some specific areas compliment each other, (Borg and Gall 1989:393). Because of the complimentary relationship in a ‘complex reality’ it is difficult to study or investigate a phenomenon in its totality using one method. In such complex reality, multiple methods, also called (triangulation) afford the researchers a partial solution.

The social scientist uses the concept of “multiple methods” to denote the rate of various measuring instruments for collecting data. The data collection techniques used are tests, direct observation, interviews, content analysis and their purpose is to enable the investigation of the same variables in a specific phenomenon, (Grobbelar Thys 2000:92). It is suggested by Shipman in (Borg and Gall 1989:393) that the use of a single method or technique for a specific phenomenon is like a one-dimensional snap shot of a very wide and deep social scene. (Neuman 1997:151) supports this method by suggesting that the advantage that results from this investigation is more realistic and valid.

The researcher appreciates this piece of information in research because of the nature of the investigations. This research is a qualitative narrative which may borrow from a bit of quantitative approach in as far as data analysis is concerned.

Qualitative research highlights the socially constructed nature of reality, intrinsic relationship between the research and what is being researched. The context and time shapes the inquiry, (Bannister et. al. 1994). Griffin in particular points out that the

epistemology of qualitative research acknowledges that human behavior is significantly influenced by the context in which it occurs, (Griffin 1986). He goes on to add that the emphasis of the socially constructed nature of reality should inform the researcher. By and large researchers now believe that qualitative methods are more suitable for more sensitive and complex topics especially those that involve human phenomena like trauma. These require insight into the social tensions and realities of people's complex lives. Hence (Silverman, 1993: 67) proposes that the flexibility which the qualitative researcher requires is more encouraged in the framework being established here. Self reflection on the dynamics of the research design, process evaluation and the involvement in knowledge construction and dissemination can only be successfully carried out through this method. The idea of flexibility refers to the position and role of the researcher with reference to the definition and formulation of the research topic and with regards to the process of involvement with the participants, (Bannister Young 2004:101).

The research is brought more into focus through the flexibility and recognition of the various dynamics in the research process. Reflexivity is an acknowledgement of the integral role of the researcher in knowledge construction that all findings are constructions. The critical issue here is that instead of trying to eliminate the influence of the researcher's understanding through detachment, the researcher's perspective is embraced as a component of the knowledge generated in the process, (De la Ray 1999 and Wilkinson 1988). The researcher plays an inherent role in the construction of knowledge. The setting is of a rural context with a particular culture and a traditional value system. In Tsholotsho district trauma and related issues have not been researched on or dealt with before this particular research. The challenge is not to import meaning of trauma but to derive it from the people and their experiences. Definitions need to be of African Ndebele cultural world view. Hence the need to come up with an African way of defining these terminologies and phenomena that is in line with the cultural world view can not be over emphasized. Words,

expressions and songs, caricature meanings which must be unpacked e.g. “Kunjenge izolo muntanami”. Meaning, “*the pain is as if it happened yesterday my son how can any one forget?*”

The researcher concentrates on life stories which focus on the events, incidents and calamities that took place from 1982 to 1987 in Tsholotsho. It must be borne in mind that over twenty years have passed since the atrocities. Hence, it is a journey that must be walked and not run. As the roads are overgrown it is therefore easy to get lost in the woods for the trees. It is a human emotional and psychological minefield filled with many various social, political and economic tensions. These stories depend on narratives which help the researcher to pry into the past and make the trauma not only accessible but assessable, (Hoffman1993:18).

People lost dignity, identity and history and were forced to deny who they were for the sake of survival. Here lies the sense of traumatization from an African point of view. “Babefuna ukusiqeda ngenxa yokuthi singa maNdebele” Meaning, “*They wanted to wipe us all out because we are Ndebeles,*” an elderly and now frail man commented looking the other side hiding his emotions. There was an injury to their sense of self, and belonging. The above point will be substantiated fully in the next chapter. Being Ndebele all of sudden became a crime and hence speaking the language was a sign of bravado, defiance and risky at the same time. I survived because I asked them in Shona “tichimboroverwei nhai vakomana?” which means, “*can somebody explain why we should be beaten up gentlemen.*” He was spared from beatings because he could speak to the perpetrators in their. Languages also can become an instrument of trauma. This will be substantiated in the next chapter.

Empathy and Distanciation

In this research it must be understood that the meaning of trauma will be arrived at by

means of empathy and distanciation as proposed by Ricoeur 1982. “Hermeneutical circle” is used to support the fact that the meaning of the parts is seen in relation to the meaning of the whole, (Kelly 2002:406). An elaboration that this should apply to all the stages of research from observations, coding of themes and the synthesis of the final report is made. In qualitative research, the material is collected in the form of written or spoken language or other observations that are recorded, (Durrheim 2002:42).

These accounts provide the text and basis for analysis and interpretation. It is concluded that a text could be used as a record of life kept for later comprehension and interpretation. A word of caution here is that in a hermeneutic tradition a text cannot be reduced to its composite sentences, but is a structured totality. Theselton also uses another hermeneutical perspective called the two horizons. By this he means that it must always be borne in mind that by reading a text there will always be two perspectives of the meaning; that of the writers and that of the interpreter. The two meanings often times are not the same, (Thiselton; 1980). The distance that the interpreter has to travel to get to the meaning of the original writer is the hermeneutical process, according to Thiselton. This leads us to the important issue of how to separate empathy by distanciation. This is crucial in helping the researcher in maintaining a scientific process in research studies. The researcher’s situation in this case is covered with the same pitfalls which need to be avoided. A key principle of interpretive analysis is to stay close to the data to interpret from a position of empathic understanding, (Terre Blanch and Kelly 2002). Be that as it may, Kelly goes on to qualify his views by adding that no matter how thoroughly we understand the context from within there are certain things about the context that are only going to become evident when we look at it from the outside, (Kelly, 2002B:400). Any story or experience therefore, should be understood from both inside and an outside point of view. The researcher believes (Kelly 2002B) hits the nail on the head because the scientific research should include both the empathy accorded by the inside view and the distanciation through the outside

perspective. This also means that even though the researcher may be affected by the horrible painted pictures of emotions and harrowing stories of the survivors of Tsholotsho he can still be a distance in his approach.

Empathy creates room for the understanding of human experience from within a particular context. Distanciation is a process that facilitates the same understanding from an outside experience, (Kelly in Welhelm 2005:98). It is asserted that the mental operation of distanciation ‘mediates’ the understanding of experience in a deeper way, (Ricoeur 1982: 220). The same scholar continues to maintain that perspective as he claims that it ensures that the act of saying is surpassed by the meaning of what is said. The researcher seeks to use the knowledge afforded by these scholars in enriching his understanding of experiences from inside as well as from outside. There is an added advantage in using both empathy and distanciation in that it affords the researcher a balanced range of information coming from two perspectives of the same narrative. In conclusion the interfacing between empathy and distanciation ensures that the researcher can understand the survivor’s subjective experiences. It must also lead to the enablement of interpreting the data collected with a scientific and professional approach. The researcher must understand the subjective experience of the survivor’s interviewed and be in a position to critically analyze it.

The Specific Methods to Be Used

Structured interviews through questionnaire with 100 survivors of Gukurahundi,

- Unstructured interviews of 20 willing survivors will allow respondents to narrate their ordeals and experiences. (This is intended to have a cathartic effect on the people and is expected to commence the healing process)
- An open ended questionnaire will be targeted at literate survivors of the Massacre.

- The interviewees are people that we have been working with in this process for a considerably length of time.
- Proper documentation will be done first and trust built as basis for the questionnaire.
- Confidentiality will be ensured in order to protect the survivors from possible victimization
- No real names are to be used in the dissertation
- A co-researcher is involved for verification and validation purposes.

Charles Gerkin (1997) and Melba Maggay's (1994) book entitled Pastoral Care and Transforming Society respectively will be used as the researcher seeks to come up with suggestions for interventions. The two authors are chosen in order to assist in bringing about the transformation in the society through the shepherding approaches.

Group Therapy

Group therapy has been traditionally viewed as coping mechanism as it provides therapeutic benefits separate from those gained through individual therapy, Yalom, cited in (Basoglu 1997: 386). In his classic work with groups Yalom (1975 again cited in Basuglu 1997: 388) posited the many benefits derived from the group processing and functions which include: 1) instilling of hope, 2) universality of pain and suffering, 3) imparting of information, 4) altruism, 5) the corrective recapitulation of the primary family group roles, 6) development of socializing techniques, 7) imitative behaviour, 8) interpersonal learning, 9) group cohesiveness, 10) catharsis, and 11) existential factors. Here is a wonderful opportunity for the provision of an environment for exposure to trauma related stimuli and the sharing of experiences as the reactivation of painful memories of traumatic incidents, (Hardman and Hart 1996:60).

Group therapy is ideal for Tsholotsho as the researcher seeks to rebuild the community and

the family structures and their roles which were destroyed by the Massacres. It (group therapy) has been proved to be one of the most effective and valuable forum for the treatment of torture survivors, (Basoglu 1997:386).

Group treatment has been successful in treatment of a number of traumatized populations, including Vietnam combatants (Ben- Yaker, Dasberg and Plotkin, 1987) and rape victims Cryer and Beutler 1980. Apart from these examples given above in (Basoglu 1997: 386), the researcher has found these groups and community groups to be most effective. He has been working with family and community structures to rehabilitate shallow graves and conduct memorial services for the family members killed in the Massacres. The researcher would like to close this section by demonstrating the philosophy behind group therapy. Wimberly explains it when he differentiated conversational approach as relational and interactive from the clinical psychological approach. He said,

“the critical point here is that the psychological foundation of this book is relational and interactive rather than Freudian and psychoanalytic. In this case the internalization is more verbal and conversational than preverbal relational emphasis of object relations theory.” (Wimberly 2003:13).

The African way of life is that of open conversational and interactive within the family and community structures. Psychology seeks to ascertain the preverbal relational emphasis of the individual instead. To most of us Africans, once the relational interactive conversations have started to happen then the process of healing has commenced. Wimberly was talking of the Afro- Americans’ struggle of slave trade as they sought to find identity by claiming God in their trauma. The people of Tsholotsho are in the same predicament as they struggle to find God in their trauma caused by rejection and subsequent Massacre by their fellow black government they fought side by side. Conversation with God and with each

other is one of the most appropriate methodologies that is being used to transform the communities.

- The twenty different groups of survivors will be used to help interrogate and validate different experiences which will be shared. This is a special group because the group's results will be used to compare with what the questionnaires will reveal.

Recruitment

The people who are going to participate in this research will be volunteers from among the survivors. They have to be those who were either involved directly or indirectly through family, neighbors or other social relationships and circumstances. The people will participate voluntarily. A consent form will be signed before the interviews take place. At this point the researcher would like to introduce his work which has been going on for over seven years in the region that includes Tsholotsho. The work involves rehabilitation of shallow graves, memorial services for the dead, work shops on peace building, reconciliation, forgiveness and trauma healing workshops. These workshops are based on community peace building and normally take about two to three days. Most communities now know about the work this researcher does and is now being called to attend to various community issues. Whilst those that attend the group workshops do not have to sign the consent forms those that answer the questionnaire do.

There is a co-researcher in this study. The reason why the researcher believes that it is important to have a co-researcher is that he is from the Shona tribe and the co-researcher is Ndebele. The Shonas are the tribal group from which the government came and the Ndebeles are the victims. The other reason is that whilst the researcher can speak the language of the victims i.e., it is crucial that the co-researcher validates his interpretation of

the meanings, experiences and expressions which are given in a specific cultural perspective.

Consent Form

I _____ declare that I participate of my own free will. I understand that I may refuse to take part in this research and I will not be penalized in any way for not participating and will not be paid if I do so. I have been told that my identity will be concealed and kept as confidential and that raw data will only be shown to the researcher and the relevant supervisor. The published material

will be written in such a way that the identity of the individual participants will be impossible to know.

Signature

Date

(Hardman and Hart 1996: 47)

The researcher will collect data himself. The information will be from Tsholotsho District only from those people that still live and may have lived there during the massacre. There may be others who came from other regions, but were caught up in this disaster. Yet others were affected as they tried to assist victims fleeing from Tsholotsho. The only other people that could be interviewed are those with vital information that can enhance the understanding of what happened and these may include perpetrators and politicians. In that case the researcher will indicate the value added by such piece of outside information. The literature on qualitative research methods requires a decision to be made about the sample size due to the tension between providing an in depth analysis over a general scheme approach. It is suggested that the sample size of the narratives should be

small in order to deal with this tension between generalizations and close attention to narrative detail, (Bannister et al 1994: 20 and Riessman 1993: 89). One hundred survivors will be selected, 60 percent will be male and 40 percent female. The researcher has added another category of people in Tsholotsho that was not originally included, these are the young people who themselves did not witness the massacre but have received passed on information from friends, relatives and the community. This group helps to reveal the extent of trauma in their generation. It is also significant to interpret their emotions and meaning of their understanding of the massacre. The researcher has chosen the age between sixteen and twenty, since these were born after the signing of the “Unity Accord” between ZANU and ZAPU Decemember1987. Conversations that are informal will be conducted within the district. These will be based on conferencing and dialogue. Brunner cited in (Basoglu 1997 377) said, *‘we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative stories, excuses, myths and a rational for and against doing something.’* Through these stories people make themselves intelligible to self and to others, (De la Ray 1999:78). People in normal situations live out the events and affairs of their lives in storied form. This is even more important in African traditional cultural settings especially at social gatherings like funerals, weddings and sporting events. Asking to know what happened is an indication that one cares. It is also an African cultural perspective especially in bereavement that talking to friends and relatives about what happened is therapeutic and cognitive therapy. The illusion that can be created by a skillfully constructed narrative that a story is as and needs no interpretation is produced by two different processes. It is called the one ‘narrative seduction’. He says that great story tellers have the artifices of narrative reality, (Ibid 1999). The construction is well mastered that what they tell momentarily pre-empts the possibility of any that has a simple interpretation, however bizarre it may be. Another scholar collaborates with Brunner by saying that making a story seems self evident and to make sure that it does not need

interpretation is a process which he calls, 'narrative banalization,' (Agger.1986:147).

This means that one can take a narrative as a social conduit. In keeping with the common belief that we can assign meaning to it, becomes a well rehearsed and virtually automatic interpretive routine. Here lies the danger of taking stories at face value without putting them to some litmus test to prove their veracity. If narratives therefore, have this tendency cited above, it is important that the researcher uses scientific approved procedures to subject these narratives rather than believe that what the survivors say is the reality. How the massacre in Tsholotsho is known can be interpreted without any information of the extent of the trauma caused. However, the thrust of the research is the depth of the extent of trauma. It may mean that the survivors' stories need to be scrutinized and interpreted as a whole. This gives the researcher an opportunity to synthesize the outcome and not to just extrapolate the emerging similarities and differences. A questionnaire will be used to enable or encourage people to tell their stories in their own words. Only 10 questions will be formulated and will be designed to encourage openness and transparency.

Matebeleland Massacre Trauma Questionnaire (MMTQ)

These are the questions:

1. What do you remember about the Gukurahundi of 1982-86?
2. Where did you live during these disturbances and how old were you?
3. In what way were you affected as an individual, family member, workmate or neighbor?
4. Do you know for sure who did what you mentioned in number 3 and for what reason?
5. What experiences can you recall and what comes in mind now?
6. Can you describe your feeling then and now?
7. How have you been able to deal with this problem?

8. Has the church played any role in dealing with or helping the survivors of the massacre?
9. In what way has the government helped?
10. What do you suggest should be done about the survivors and the victimizers?

Some scholars' believe that it is possible to define objectivity at a higher level of abstraction even in academic writing. Objectivity is described as "doing justice to the object of study", (Smaling 1992:307). Respecting the participant's accounts is one of the objectives of this research. This may be achieved by designing methods so open that the participants are not reduced to single variables but are looked at and studied in the complexities and entirety of their everyday lives, (Uwe 1998). (Smaling 1992:307)

The issue of reliability and validity has always been a contested area of debate in all empirical studies. The questionnaire will seek to reveal the evidence of trauma in the people interviewed. It must not be left to conjecture or extrapolation but trauma must be self evincing. The researcher prefers the qualitative approach because it transcends rigid formality and objectivity by introducing transparency without compromising the research process. In the process it creates the possibilities for addressing reliability and validity, (Bruinsma and Zwanenberg 1992).

Three stages of interpreting data have been suggested. Kelly called them 'immersion', 'unpacking' and 'associating,' (Kelly K. 2002B:409). The final product will be written by the researcher as he synthesizes the three stages mentioned above. A coherent account is then reconstructed as a process and final stage before the meaning is revealed.

Immersion is the process of the researcher's familiarization with the results of the questionnaires and conversations with the participant. This includes reading through the findings and examining the results in detail. The empathetic understanding is applied, language metaphors and emphasis are of the participants are taken into consideration.

Unpacking is the ordering of the information. Different themes and motifs will be linked and the material coded. Key words and new information will be isolated for further specific attention. These can help to determine the primary characteristics of stories as they emerge.

The last stage in Kelly's process is the stage that requires a more interpretive inquiry into the research material. The aim of this stage is to break the body of research material into meaningful pieces. This helps as information is put into categories according to distinctive codes. The relationship between the groups is scrutinized. The meaning of particular divisions could then begin to be understood and the extent of the trauma ascertained.

In her book, (Kelly, 2002) titled Hermeneutics in Action mentions empathy and interpretation in qualitative research as a significant contribution.

Sampling

The researcher will need an appropriate way of selecting the people, subjects from which to draw research information. The population that interests the researcher is too large, unmanageable and spread out to study directly. It is important for the researchers to define the population sample. In this context, sampling may in fact provide a more accurate picture of the people being researched, than researching the entire Matebeleland and Midlands regions, (Rensburg 2000: 146).

A sample is a part of a whole. The researcher has chosen Tsholotsho as part of the whole in an effort to understand the population in which he is interested, (Bless and Higson Smith 1995: 85) (Brink 1996: 133). It is the process of shifting from the norms of grand theories to testable hypothesis which requires a reduction process that '*atomizes*'.

This process is called atomization as it integrates the web of human life and social behaviour and approximates the complex components which constitute human existence. It is debatable though if it is possible to scientifically validate individual aspects of human

behaviour like attitudes, habits, and aggression. But due to our scientific commitment to achievable outcomes the question should be whether or not our abstract norms and reductive processes can result into real life experiences, Will, (1988) in (Basoglu 1997: 34). It should be borne in mind that scientific experiments must be seen as transforming processes in which the process of generating conclusions inevitably changes the initial premises.

Researchers use sampling because it is a feasible and a logical way of making a statement about a larger group (based on what the researcher knows about a smaller group). A sample is therefore drawn to eventually enable the researcher to come to a conclusion about the accessible population, (Wilson 1993:172). In this particular research a purposive sampling will be used. Purposive sampling (sometimes known as theoretical sampling), is when the research selects a sample that can be judged to be representative of the total population. This sample when used by an expert who knows the population being studied has some value. Purposive sampling is commonly used in qualitative research and is entirely governed by the need to develop additional theories in social science, (Gilbert 1993:74).

Which ever way it is called atomization or sampling the researcher will use the process to reduce the general over view of the picture to amore focused approach for clarity purposes. The whole idea is to deflate and distill these complex substances of human social existence into usable measures and constructs.

Recording Qualitative Data

Watching and listening are crucial part of the process through which the researcher gains greater understanding of the meaning attributed to a situation. Qualitative researchers need to record information they collect. The storing of qualitative data is kept in a variety of forms but the primary format is text-based (Neuman 1997:363). These could be field notes

transcribed interviews and other documents (e.g. personal diaries), maps, drawings, artifacts, photographs, audio tapes and videotape recordings, (Swart 1990). The text based data discussed here in this research is unstructured, open ended and non quantitative but qualitative.

Neuman (1997: 365-366) identifies five types of field notes and all of recorded data on the research process. These are:

1. Jotted brief notes which the researcher takes in circumstances where he can not write a comprehensive report.
2. Observation notes are comprehensive notes that contain descriptive detail of the research subjects, the setting, events, activities and dialogues.
3. Notes are the raw data containing the substantive content for the research report.
4. Research inference notes contain the conclusions the researcher draws from the data.
5. Notes contain new concepts coming from direct observation notes. Normally, the inference notes provide a record of the way the researcher's understanding has developed.

Analytic notes are mental records of the strategies the researcher has followed. They could be written at any stage in the research process. The actual notes contain methodological instructions charting the research process or the theoretical reflections. Personal notes are records of the researcher's personal feelings and subjective impressions of events. These are reflective account of the research and are invaluable in assessing it.

Interpreting Qualitative Data

At this point, the researcher will set up the concept of how qualitative data is going to be analyzed and interpreted. Analysis is the process of using the specific procedures to work through data collected. Interpretation is the process of making sense of the data analyzed, (Putterill; 2000. This qualitative data is information that is expressed non-numerically in words, pictures and /or diagrams. Idiographic strategy which specifies unique characteristics in the data collected is emphasized in stead of nomothetic which verifies universal patterns. In this research, methods that enable the researcher to explore the more subjective and intuitive dimension of knowing are the best methods of generating qualitative data. The researcher plays a significant role in the qualitative research process which gives him more opportunity for close engagement with research subjects. In this case the researcher plays an active role throughout the qualitative research process, which gives them more opportunity for close engagement with research subjects. The flexibility of design enables the research inquiry to be altered as the researcher's understanding deepens or the situations changes. This is referred to as "unstructured methods" suitable for exploring the subjective meanings people ascribe to situations and use to generate an idiographic explanation, (Best & Kahn1993:185) and (McNeill 1990:64-65, 118-119). The aim will be to gain first hand experience of a situation. Social events and processes are said to be understood in the context within which they occur. Burgess (1984:2) suggested that the unique rather the norm or general is emphasized by this type of research. This is supported by this statement, *"In the course of learning more about the research subjects, the investigator sharpens his understanding of the case by refining and elaborating images of the research subjects and relating these to the analytic frame,"* (Ragin 1994:82). Qualitative takes the actual social context into consideration and develops an open understanding of events or actions. Taking a broader historical context and the political conditions into consideration as reflected in different contexts is important, (Coetzee and

Wood 1995).

Grounded theory helps to make sure the research process is open, it starts with broad objectives and then focus on emerging issues as confidence and knowledge grows. Researchers using the qualitative methods immerse themselves in the detail of the context and then develop concepts to describe this detail. In considering the relationship between these concepts, researchers generate explanations. A third order interpretation determines the general theoretical significance of data which in turn will make it clearer, (Neuman 1997:335). At this point (Burgess 1984:25-26) and (Leedy 1997:105) agree that the researcher provides an interpretation by exposing what they called “meaningfulness” of a situation. They said that they do this by way of giving subjective experiences a “voice”. The researcher makes sense of the events that have unfolded by providing a coherent synthesis, (Burgess 1984:35-36).

The life stories of the survivors are the first–order interpretations since these are their own narratives or responses. The second-order interpretations are the outsiders or researchers’ understanding, (Coetzee and Wood 1995). It must be mentioned here that the integrity of the researcher is brought into focus as he interprets the data. A flexible research process with recurring and overlapping steps is called “logic in practice,” (Neuman 1997:330).

In qualitative research the researcher interprets data all the time as he organizes it. He refines his reflections on the possibility of meaning of data, exploring particular themes and hunches and at the same time ensuring that adequate data has been collected to support the researcher’s interpretation. Successive approximation is the refining of concepts and the interpretations by reviewing the data set. Understanding a situation and developing an explanation occurs gradually.

The researcher has to make sure that he has enough data collected because qualitative research depends on data saturation. This happens when nothing new can be obtained or learnt from collecting more information. Research can not simply be anecdotal (i.e. a

collection of stories). There is a need for reflection on the stories before an interpretation is given, (Fielding in Gilbert 1993: 163, 169). Interpreting enables the researcher to explore social meanings which the researcher then assesses in terms of their credibility. Abstraction, which is the formulation of a mental image by identifying common qualities, provides explanations of events by building an analytic framework, (Hammersley 1998:23-24) (Palys 1997: 298-299).

Analyzing Qualitative Data

Although qualitative research has no fixed guidelines it never the less requires a rigorous effort and dedication. The first requirement of analysis is to organize the data by bringing some order or structure to it. Coding or grouping segments of data that are similar in sense and can make a single point put together. Coding is intimately linked with analysis. Qualitative coding is the processing of the data by way of organizing it in order for the researcher to make sense of what is covered. Maintaining the contextual meaning of the data is therefore crucial, (Fielding in Gilbert1993:235) (Mason 1996:112-113) and (Wetherell1996:154). Data set is the collection of all the data obtained in a study and a cross sectional is using coding categories uniformly across a data set.

Qualitative research finds the concepts used in everyday life insightful. These concepts are developed by grouping similar meanings together which signify or identify categories in which information can be grouped together. Looking for ideas actions or events that describe the data is the process of organizing qualitative data, (Sarantakos 1998:203, 315-316) (Bogdan and Bilken1992:153).

Ethics in the Research

Ethics represent certain standards within which a particular community or a profession regulates its behavior. Certain occupations like nursing, teaching and journalism have

codes of conduct. In research once the purpose of the research has been established the moral principles on which the research is based can be judged to be either ethical or unethical. Ethics in research have been developed against the background of professional codes of conduct and the laws governing a particular country. In research, ethics are morally justifiable.

According to Smith (1988:284 – 285) the method's purpose, personal motives and consequences of research are regulated by the following six behavioral norms mentioned below.

Universalism

This norm requires that our research must pass peer evaluation. Our research must be in line with normal and previously accepted methods, thinking and knowledge on the subject.

Communality

This one requires researchers to accurately report the methods, purpose, motives and consequences. The sharing of the research findings including means, ends and motives is done freely and honestly with all other members of the research community (Smith 1988: 284).

Disinterestedness

This norm requires that personal gain should not be a researcher's main reason for doing research.

Organized Skepticism

This standard requires to be critical of their own and others research and to be honest when they spot error, omissions and subjective biases.

Honesty

This one requires researchers to be honest with the participants involved in the research and with the research community.

Respect

This norm requires researchers to protect participants' basic civil rights. This can also be done by making sure that the researcher does not expose the participants to the government. Survivors that are going to be used are those who will give their testimonies freely.

Ethical Issues Relating to Human Rights

It is the primary responsibility of the researcher to protect the participants. In most instances there is need to obtain their permission to involve them in the research. The researcher must take measures to ensure their privacy. These three ethical issues, do no harm, obtain consent and the insurance of privacy must be observed.

Consent must be voluntary. This means that each individual must have the ability and the right to choose whether or not to participate in research. Nobody must be forced, deceived, threatened or subjected to any form of coercion. (Leedy, 1997:116-117) suggests that to safeguard both the researchers and the participants we must make it very clear that the participant can withdraw at any time and that a consent form should be drawn up, that is signed by everybody i.e. researchers, assistants and all participants.

Ensuring Privacy

In social sciences we collect and analyze information about individuals and groups. The sensitivity of the information, the place where the research is conducted and how public we are going to make our research findings are key issues. Confidentiality in as far as the publication of information, is critical due to the fact that it might make participant risk losing their lives, jobs and dignity.

Interpretation of data and reporting findings is directly linked to issues of justice. Interpretation must be accurate and valid. Data must not be fabricated, forged and trimmed or cooked. Trimming is done when the researcher smoothes out irregularities in the data to

achieve a better fit between actual and his or her expected results. “Cooking” means the researcher retains or reports only those findings that fit the hypothesis. Both variations are more subtle than complete fabrication and yet they still represent dishonest science, (Campbell 1987:72). This normally leads to distortion and concealment i.e. a report which may not contain misrepresentations but plagiarism. Plagiarism means that the researcher pretends that the thoughts, writings and inventions of others are his/hers.

In conclusion

The methodological framework for this research is therefore a *qualitative social reconstructive narrative* theory. It does borrow from the quantitative theory in some areas like the compilation of the data. The multiple methods better known as “triangulation” is applied in this case as it is believed that in some cases the qualitative and quantitative theories can compliment each other to bring about the best result in some research, (Borg and Gall 1989:393). The qualitative design which lays down a clear description and scope of the research is given without compromising on the flexibility between the researcher and the survivors. The relationship that this approach in research has with other schools of thoughts is given and the outcome envisaged is clearly defined.

Chapter Three

Historical Definition of Trauma

In this research the trauma that is being investigated is torture related as a unique form of trauma which is a deliberate attack aimed at destroying the individual and/or community. The United Nations declaration and the Tokyo Declaration of the World Medical Association are used. Torture is defined as *a dynamic process beginning with arrest involving a sequence of traumatic events that may take place at different times and places, and ending with the release or demise of the victim.* (Basoglu 1991: 57)

In Latin torture is *torguere*, which means 'to cause to turn or twist' in order to extract testimony and/or evidence or to repress opposing religion or political view. In Cambodia, torture is *tieru na kam*. It is said to have been derived from the Buddhist term for karma. Karma is defined as the individual's actions or thoughts often of an evil nature in a prior existence that affects life in the present. Khmer Rouge soldiers in Cambodia subjected civilian people to starvation and brain washing as a process of subduing extracting information from the population. This was done in order for the civilian not to be able to stand on their own but to depend on the soldiers, Goldfeld et al., 1988 in (Basoglu 1992: 256).

The researcher is surprised by the heinous nature of the word in these languages and the way in which it reveals the evil intentions not only in the present but in the future as well. To the horror of all, it seems clear from the Cambodian language that these thoughts are evil and had prior existence which indicates some form of preplanning. As the researcher continues in this taxing journey he discovers that the approach mentioned in the definition above is similar to that found in Matebeleland Massacre as the government sought to take control, subdue, and manipulates the Ndebele people.

In the last 50 years, concepts like “stress” and “trauma” have become part of a discourse that is used commonly in the media coverage of wars, conflicts and natural disasters. In academic halls of higher learning this has been left to the psychological and medical skills of those responsible for the care of those who have been victimized by adverse circumstances. It has become the domain of physical and mental health professionals who have reduced it to mental problems of individual psychiatry and psychological process (Becker, ed. 2000:12). The western oriented psychiatric and psychological medical studies spear headed the work on trauma and stress and influenced most of the international world and aid workers who face these human crises regularly. The psychological and psychiatry approach perceive a person as egocentric self, i.e. the mind and body,(Losi cited in Becker ed 2000: 7).

It is believed that the concept of trauma has found its clarity in a book edited by Carl Figley, an American psychologist who wrote extensively on the subject. Bracken in (Ibid ed, 2000: 44) suggested that the most important factor in the experience of trauma is what occurs within the individual’s mind namely, the cognitive traumatic processing. This last point that has just been made here is typifies the different between the western world view and approach from the African world view.

The African Point of Departure

On the other hand, in the African world view life is perceived as whole and not in an individualistic manner. There is no distinction between religious or secular life. Contrary to the Western world view the African people view life in a communal way. Harvey Sindima in Magesa (1997; 53) suggested that,

“we can not understand a person as an individual, and we can not have personal identity without reference to other persons ... the notion of being together is intended to emphasize that life is the actuality of living in the present together with people ,other creatures and the earth.” Mulago in Magesa (1997) says, *“The life of the individual can only be grasped as it is shared. A member of the tribe, clan, or the family knows that he (sic) does not live for himself, but within the community”* (Magesa 1997: 64-65).

This is exactly the world view of the people of Tsholotsho and the manner in which they must be understood. Therefore trauma in Tsholotsho is perceived by the survivors as a community disaster as the society failed to provide answers and support to the people who are helpless and desperate. Psychology will not be able to bring about the necessary community comfort and restoration and meet the traditional people’s expectations.

Some cultures of the world hold on to a socio-centric concept of self where individuals exist within networks of social relationships from which they derive their self worth, self-control, sense of belonging and sense of security. In this model of socio-centric concept reciprocal and interpersonal privileges and obligations are more important than the rights of individuals (Losi, 2000:14). The western world view of mind and body dualism separates uncommon events occurring in body or mind into two broader psychopathological categories: organic and psychological disorders. This is a foreign concept to the peoples of Africa especially the people of Tsholotsho. This dualism was made popular by Rene Descartes (1596-1650) a French physicist and philosopher who founded the school of philosophy known as Cartesian dualism. Descartes made a distinction between spirit and matter and rejected philosophical authority and tradition as he relied exclusively on reason (Harvey, 1946: 219). John Mbiti (1969) would violently disagree with Descartes on the aspect of dualism because as Africans our sense of being is derived from our sense of belonging and community in a physical and spiritual sense. A sense of community and

belong is fundamental amongst the Tsholotsho people. In actual fact the researcher would be concerned of this position and approach because it would re-traumatize the survivors. From an African point of view the dualism which is foundational in psychology and psychiatry will lead to mistreatment of survivors as they become alienated from the community. As the researcher steers away from the field of Psychology and medical pathological diagnosis, the African holistic world view and approach should emerge as the most relevant philosophy and a methodology of choice. Most of the world people groups experience any suffering including trauma as an integration of mind, body and spirit. All this would be wrapped in the cultural world view with a spiritual centre. This is the emphasis in the definition that the researcher is looking for because Tsholotsho is based in such a traditional socio-centric setup.

If not properly considered the interaction between psychology and theology can be easily pushed aside in such a battle of schools of thought. Theology can borrow a lot from Psychological results which can enhance pastoral care and counseling if the Africans do not become reactionaries and throw out the baby with the bathwater.

Traumatic Stress

Stress is the non-specific response of the body to any demand. (Hans Selye 1984:74 cited in Rothschild 2000). Generally regarded as a response to negative experiences, stress can also result from desired, positive experiences such as marriage, moving, a job change, and leaving home for college. The most extreme form of stress is that which results from a traumatic incident which persists following a traumatic incident.

In African perspective trauma (ukukhuhlukuluzwa) or (ukuhlulukelwa) which means being traumatised is understood from an event perspective and normally this is a mishap, accident

or something that causes pain, suffering or disharmony in the community. Wrongdoing in the community relates to the contravention of specific moral norms, codes of the community and expectations including taboos. To threaten in any way and to break any of the community codes of conduct of behaviour which form the bases of ethical codes endangers life; it is bad, wrong and even sinful. Trauma is perceived as such in an African view. The responsibility of any African leader is to preserve and protect life. Here is the single criterion for a leader in Africa: *he (sic) is good if he enhances life, he (sic) is bad and ought to be changed if he (sic) causes diminution or destruction of life* (Magesa, 1997:35). To the people of Tsholotsho this means that the political leaders are already guilty as charged for the atrocities. It also places traumatic stress on the realm of the incomprehensible. Twenty five years after the Massacres started there has not been a satisfactory answer to the survivors as to why this was done. There is not even an acknowledgment of any wrong done.

Trauma stress (ukuhlulukelwa) (to be spiritually and emotionally devastated) is experienced when individuals or a group of people lose loved ones and/or resources which are highly valued like possessions, social connections and community resources or when the entire family is threatened (Hobfoll in Green 1991: 17). Researchers are now focusing on trauma stressors that are extremely negative; unexpected and uncontrollable, these are the most difficult to accommodate and often result in most negative reactions in terms of scope and severity, Pearlin in (Green 1982:17). The impact of such events disrupts the peaceful co-existence and harmony of the community. Traumatic stress can be described as (ukhulukuluzwa), a harm, injury, and encounters with death, either by having one's own life threatened, or by experiencing the death of others, van der Kolk in (Green 1987: 18). This is what ukhulukuluzeka and ukuhlulukelwa means in Ndebele. Death through violent attacks and loss of property and loved ones "umonakalo", which is associated with fear, helplessness and horror, are at the core of experiences defined as traumatic. "Umonakalo"

would in this case mean an evil event or irreversible and uncontrollable bad occurrence in the family or community (Interview with F. Moyo 17/08/09). These events are perceived to be extremely stressful and disruptive in nature and should include, war, crime, rape, and abuse. Such stressors which are particularly severe are quiet often disruptive and incapacitates the whole community. (Green, 1982:20) adds to the list given by (van der Kolk 1987:79) by including assault and exposure to the grotesque death of others, multiple violent deaths, witnessing or hearing about death or violence done to a loved one, and/or a known member of the community. Most of the survivors witnessed violent deaths, the presence of human remains buried, dismembered, mutilations or relatively intact bodies were common. This is the reality on the ground in Tsholotsho. Apart from physical injuries which are obvious, sudden and shocking trauma affects the nervous system. This is generally referred to as hyper arousal (ukwethukha) to be terrified or (ukwesaba) or to be afraid.

For an example (van der Kolk quoted by Green 1987: 18) defined the traumatic stressors which are more extreme as, those that emphasize harm, injury, and encounters with death, either by having one's own life threatened, or by experiencing the death of others. He focuses on the sense of safety that is lost after a traumatic encounter and goes on to suggest that trauma involves the loss of faith that there is order and continuity in life. Death and violent loss, with associated feelings of fear, helplessness and horror are at the core of experiences defined as traumatic stressors (ukuhlulukelwa). The people of Tsholotsho have experienced all the above for a period of at least six years from the Zimbabwe National army, central intelligence organization (CIO), 5th Brigade (Gukurahundi), and youth brigades.

Psycho-social Traumatic Events

The researcher would like to open this section by a critical comment made by Mollica. He said, *“The prevention of torture and the clinical care of survivors are a field in need of a new science”* ...he went on to add that, *“over the past 50 years, social scientists and public policy makers have struggled with the lack of useful scientific knowledge for implementing social policies and mental health programs,”* (Mollica cited in Basoglu, 1997:23). The development of social psychology and psycho-social methodologies to deal with these social and political tortures related problems will contribute in a comprehensive way to the study of trauma and torture.

In order to understand the parameters of psycho-social interventions it is worth a while to look at the Oxford English Dictionary definition of “psycho-social,” *“Pertaining to the influence of social factors on an individual’s mind and behaviour and to the interrelation of behavioural and social factors; more widely pertaining to the interrelation of mind, and society in human development.”* This definition suggests that psychosocial programmes would adequately address peoples’ psychological and social needs in an integrated manner and focus on needs identified by the community.

The trauma that is being researched on is as a result of torture. In spite of the relevance of the comment above it is still lamented that recent trends in modern science have diminished the importance and respectability of applied research and have limited access of the research subject and his/her community. This attitude has limited the findings of medical scientific investigations, Hellman and Hellman (1991) in (Basoglu 1992:26). Emphasis in a social and useful research must imply that studies should be directed at determining three aspects. One, why governments and institutions and /or community /individual torture and

what can be done to prevent it? Secondly, what factors can be introduced, manipulated and /or transformed in order to change the social, physical and psychological outcome of torture. The third and final question is who benefits from this research? These questions are pivotal in this research and they are the guiding and motivational factors to the researcher. (Hellman and Hellman in Ibid 1992)

Imposing pre-packed general definitions and approaches to human psychological suffering does not bring about the help needed in a specific group of people. The key is to help the suffering people to discuss their pain and problem in their own terms, language and cultural set up. In a study done in Kosovo the students in a training programme of the *Psychosocial and Trauma Response (PTR)* were asked to define trauma according to their different cultural backgrounds and knowledge. These are some of the descriptions they came up with: *a deeply spiritual disorder, a painful reminiscence,* (Becker, 2000:15). These definitions given by the students above serves to demonstrate the range of meanings attributed to trauma and stress according to different cultures. In this research an understanding of trauma from a socio-cultural perspective will be the objective without necessarily down grading any other method. The same study gave other definitions like Bettelheim's "*extreme situation*", Khan's "*cumulative trauma*" and Keilson's "*sequential trauma*" (Ibid). Becker defines trauma in this way:

"an individual and collective process that occurs in reference and in dependency of a given social context: it is a process marked by its intensity, of extremely long duration in time, and the interdependency between the social and psychological dimensions. It exceeds the capacity of the individual and social structures to answer adequately to the process. Its aim is the destruction of the individual, his sense of belonging to the society, social activities. Extreme trauma is a characterized by a structure of power within the society that is based on the

elimination of some members of this society by other of the same society. The process of extreme trauma is not limited in time and develops sequentially”
(Becker, ed 2000:24.

Here trauma is placed on the social relational level which is relevant and closer to the researcher’s context. In a sense the researcher intends to pioneer an African school of thought: a psychosocial concept as an attempt to overcome the traditional (individualistic, psychological and PTSD-oriented) methods of assessing and dealing with the problem of trauma.

PTSD is a diagnosis given to individuals by medical and mental-health professionals when severe reactions or symptoms of trauma last longer than one month. The Oxford Concise Dictionary (2003) defines trauma as *an anxiety disorder caused by the major personal stress of a serious /or frightening event such as an injury, assault, rape, exposure to warfare or a disaster involving casualties.* The symptoms include persistent re-experiencing of the traumatic event, persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the event, numbing of general responsiveness, and persistent symptoms of increased arousal (Richard in Yoder, 2005). The broad use of the diagnosis is seen by some as pathologizing normal responses to traumatic situations (Ibid).

The psychosocial concept of trauma takes the socio-political context into consideration. It also respects the cultures of the survivors. This brings another dimension to the problem as the researcher studies the predominately Shona drivers of the massacre and the violent Shona language of hate which was an instrument and weapon of torture. This issue is brought into focus when one considers how the Rwanda genocide was driven by the hate language on Radio and television. Here are some of the words used: “we know who they are, what they look like and how they talk, kill these cockroaches.” (Interview with Julian ‘a Hutu from Kigali in Bujumbura 2/6/09) Grouping people as ‘other’ is the beginning of the sowing of the seeds of massacres and genocide the world over, (Stanton 1986). The

survivors still tell stories of how they were told in Shona that “*they are foreigners and dissidents and must be wiped out of Zimbabwe*” (Interview with M. Ncube questionnaire no. 68). When one endures a strongly disturbing event, its outcome is normally limited to the experience itself as well as the characteristics of the individual. Again this misses John Mbiti’s holistic approach to a human being which represents an African sociological perspective, (Mbiti 1969). A human being can not be compartmentalized like an object. African philosophy makes a human being a subject and highlights being human in its emphasis. A human being is current whether dead or alive either by his spirit if he/she is dead or in person (Ibid). An ancestral spirit in the Ndebele culture is not only one who is dead but a grand father or grand mother alive as well. In the African culture the spirits dwell together in the family with the living. This demonstrates the communal nature of the African life and existence.

Figley’s model emphasizes the social and cultural context only as something that impinges upon the mind of the person from outside hence it remains exterior to the trauma of the individual, (Bracken, in Becker ed. 2000:6). The question that arises from this point is whether trauma should be considered or defined from the experience itself or the event or from both? The researcher is inclined to take trauma from the event point of view rather than from the experience itself and its responses. Because the researcher’s aim is to ascertain the severity of trauma he does not believe taking the symptoms alone approach is the best approach. This point is very critical if it is taken into consideration that not much of the original symptoms are still clearly evident after such a long time has lapsed since the massacre in Tsholotsho.

It goes without saying that trauma is a psychological experience, even when the traumatic event causes no direct bodily harm. Traumatic events exact a toll on the body as well as the mind as is well-documented in the various psychiatry reports. Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 4th edition of the American Psychiatric Association

(DSM-IV) bears witness to this fact. Even though the researcher is not taking the psychiatry approach but as has been pointed out the results of psychiatry can enhance pastoral care and counseling skills. The results reached at by the psychologist plus the African social and spiritual dimensions will add to a African holistic world view.

Trauma is something that makes one realize that one could have died and renders one powerless, helpless and paralyzed. Oftentimes it is a moment where one experience extreme fear, even if it is for a shot while or sometimes it seems to last for forever and is more than stress (Hybels-Steer: 1995;23). The community is put into panic and disharmony leaves the whole system family or community in disarray. When cultural support system is disenabled and there is no family or community which is the first line of defense in social support system a sudden and overwhelming force ensues.

Trauma Defined From Symptoms

Symptoms of this condition include trouble sleeping, difficulty in concentration, being easily startled, intensified alertness, increased anxiety, and sweating and rapid heart beat amongst many. Most of these symptoms are found amongst the Tsholotsho survivors even though in some cases in diminishing levels due to the time that has lapsed since the massacre. Twenty to twenty six years have past; this is almost a generational period gone. The most disturbing aspect about these survivors in Tsholotsho is that most of these people are dying due to natural causes and wounds from the massacre (Questionnaire 73). Other bodily reactions are digestive complaints, stomachaches and headaches, sometimes including migraines. Emotions are numbed and memory seems to play tricks as one supposes that it could be a horrible dream which will soon pass away.

Denial is a way of not acknowledging something that exists. Intrusions and denial are said to be emotional responses which are unique to traumatic experiences. Intrusions are a

flood of memories and images. This denial reaction comes when one is unable to cope with the strength of certain emotions in times of great distress especially trauma. It suggested that at the early stages after the event, denial is a friend and not an enemy and it becomes a copying mechanism (Hybels-Steel 1995;34). Disbelief is in many ways an overriding effect on one's thinking. It helps not to believe one's thoughts which may be incomprehensible. Disorientation and confusion are two other ways one's thoughts are impacted. Traumatic memory is perceived as a still shot and a movie mental picture. She (Hybel-Steel) goes on to explain that the picture shot is in living colour and is filled with intensity of emotions (Ibid).

Trauma does not always have physical visible signs, and yet it does not mean that the person is not affected. The hurt is to one's psyche and to one's internal self. The invisible person is as vulnerable to hurts as the physical body. In this case trauma is approached by way of the symptoms that are as a result of an adverse experience/s. One hurts when his /her inside is in pieces and the psyche is shattered. It is the brokenness inside that causes survivors of accidents, massacres, natural disasters and even a loss of a loved one to have difficult in coping. Torture and rape are physical and moral violations of the person. Violation is in fact a synonym for rape. The purpose of the rapist is to terrorize and dominate so as to render the victim utterly helpless. The word used here of rape is (ukubhinywa) means and carry's the sense of being helpless and being suddenly overwhelmed and over powered by an insensitive assailant.

The Nature of Trauma

It should be stated from the onset that the trauma in this dissertation is as a result of political torture and is not defined from psychological and psychiatric medical diagnostic terms. The researcher is not qualified to deal with the clinical psychological approach. Trauma will be examined and understood from psycho-social perspectives.

Two critical arguments must be raised right from the onset of this process. One world view is that torture is an extraordinary life experience capable of causing a wide range of physical and psychological suffering and even related disability. There is a need for medical care for all torture survivors without any doubt. *“On the other hand although acknowledging injuries caused by torture the reactions are normal responses to abnormal life threatening experiences. Torture survivors should not be stigmatized by medical and psychiatric diagnoses and treatment,”* (Mollica 1989 in Basoglu 1992:23). The point these psychiatrists above are making is that by medicalizing the sequelae of basic human rights responses to political oppression and human cruelty, the focus is shifted away from human rights and prevention of torture to the objectifying of a politically neutral diagnosis of modern medicine. The trauma we have to consider in this research is as a result of torture caused by politically motivated and driven soldiers. Some of the short comings of western medicine in caring for the poor, minority, and seriously disabled patients lead to inequities in treatment, quality of care, cultural insensitivity and increased social ostracization. This particular scientific method is said to lack compassion as it extracts information from the survivor and intrudes into the privacy of his/her life experiences. The danger of re-traumatizing the survivor is very real. (Basoglu 1992; 24) confirmed the recent trends that suggest that biomedical science have pushed scientific investigations further away from addressing meaningful and important social problems . The new approaches include issues related to prevention and empirical understanding of torturers and organizations and societies from which they come.

Tsholotsho is in the social situation, a rural and communal set up, with traditional people strong in their cultural beliefs, value system and sense of identity (Richard Rohr: 2005). *“The essence of trauma is precisely that it is too horrible to be remembered, to be integrated into our symbolic universe. All we have to do is to mark repeatedly the trauma*

as such,” (Zizek 1991:272-3). Trauma is some thing that invades human memory and being to the extent that the person can not easily shake it off or ignore and can not be processed like any other thought or incident. When the community has been attacked and rendered non- existent the individual finds it extremely vulnerable and oftentimes fails to cope. The researcher has already indicated that from some African scholars like Mbiti and Magesa individual Africans find their meaning and identity in the group. Hence if the group disappears the individual is hard done by and can not survive. To be called traumatic an event has to be more than just a situation of utter powerlessness. Quiet often trauma has to involve a betrayal of trust. What we call trauma takes place when the very powers that we are convinced will protect us and give us security become our tormentors: when the community of which we consider ourselves members turns against us or when our family is no longer a source of refuge but a site of danger.

There is an argument that is going on between the Western Psychologist and their African counterparts about the reliability of the PTSD approach as the most relevant diagnosis. Apart from Mbiti and Magesa who originated from the African continent there are others from the European continent who are in the African debate team. These are (van der Kolk, Alexander and Weisaeth 2007: 399) in their book entitled Traumatic Stress who argued that the psychological trauma and reactions to it have been legitimized in Western medical diagnostic system. They quoted the American Psychiatry Association, of 1980 and 1994 as their examples. The assertion that the very notion that PTSD occurs as a normal response to an abnormal condition implies that, ordinarily people can have control over their fate, is a decidedly optimistic position. This is not true in the Tsholotsho situation where the survivors are helpless. The argument is that PTSD is defined as having been set in motion by an exogenous event. But other psychopathological disorders are currently aggressively de-contextualized and diagnosed only in terms of signs and symptoms. PTSD can occur after a particular event within a specific historical and ontogenic context. (De Vries in van

der Kolk, MacFarlane and Weisaeth, eds, 2007:399) continues to suggest that PTSD must serve as a model for correcting the de-contextualized aspects of today's taxonomic systems. De-contextualization draws our attention away from an overly concrete definition of psychological illness as a thing in itself, bringing us back to the person's experience and the meaning which he or she assigns to it," (Nemiah, 1989:1528). The suggestion therefore is that PTSD diagnosis proponents should allow us to focus on the life history of the individual in the context of society and culture. PTSD should not be described as an illness process based not on the intrinsic nature of the person alone, but rather on the person's socio-cultural interaction over time (Bromfembrenner, 1994 and Brody, 1994) both these psychologists are in (van der Kolk, MacFarlane and Weisaeth 2007: 399). All this serves to strengthen the researcher's position against the use of PTSD as the only measurement for trauma assessment.

This argument should be a welcome development in the trauma discourse as it grants the African scholars some support and allies who are in the same field of psychiatry will bolster their debate against the PTSD approach.

Severity of Trauma

The severity of the stressor has been found to be related to later symptoms in different traumatized people. This is critical to the researcher because he needs to also ascertain the severity of trauma in Tsholotsho. A number of studies have been made by some scholars on burn victims, combat veterans, refugees and sexually abused women. The conclusion is that the severity of the trauma has been defined differently and several characteristics of an event can contribute to the severity of trauma. These are some of the aspects that contribute and they are, the intensity, nature, and the duration of the traumatic experience, Kilpatrick et al., 1998, Shaley, 1996 and Carlson and Rosser-Hogan, 1991 in (Carlson 1997:68).

Included in these factors is the person's socio-economic environment and family context which determines the level of his /her societal support.

The intensity and nature and duration of trauma will affect a person's perception of the controllability and negative valence of the event. When trauma is intense like in the form of torture it causes overwhelming fear and helplessness. That is why abuse like sexual intercourse will have a more negative valence than fondling, (Browne and Finkelhor, 1996 and Hartman, Finn and Leon 1987 in Carlson 1997:68) have confirmed that the advanced form of sexual abuse like gang rapes result in severe short term and long term mental health problems.

Traumatic experiences that last longer would be associated with longer periods of pain or suffering especially when the person feels unable to control the aversive events. These stressful events of longer duration tend to result in anxiety, despair and depression due to the inability to control it, (Seligman, 1975 cited in Carlson 1997:69). It is asserted by Carlson that there has not been any research done to measure the effects of the duration of a single traumatic event on an individual. Longer period of stress will generally be related to greater symptomatology for an example being held hostage for a week or month at a gun point is not the same as just being threatened for one hour.

Torture as a Political and Medical Problem

At this stage the researcher would like to bring in the debate about torture within the medical field and amongst health care givers. He needs to point out the silence and absence of the survivor and his/her voice in the argument as well.

It is believed that the medical field discovery of the torture survivor as a patient has led to some clashes between two opposing sides. The two views from the medical field about torture are given by (Mollica 1989: 23). Torture is accepted as an extraordinary life experiences capable of causing in any individual a wide range of physical and

psychological suffering and related disability on one hand. On the other hand although acknowledging the injuries inflicted by torture, argues that since these injuries and psychosocial reactions are normal responses to abnormal life threatening experiences, torture survivors should not be stigmatized by medical and psychiatric diagnoses and treatment. An equally important argument is that by medicalization of the sequelae of basic human responses to political oppression, injustices and human cruelty, the focus is shifted from human rights and the prevention of torture. The medicalization serves to objectify and politically downplay torture by way of categorizing the diagnosis in mental health terms.

The real problem with this position is that the biomedical science have pushed scientific investigation further away from addressing important social problems that form the context of the problem. The science in the investigation of torture should include issues relating to prevention, medicine's role in torture empirical understanding of torture and the organizations and societies from which they come.

Mollica in (Basoglu 1997:24) emphasised that for over 50 years social scientists and public policy makers have struggled with the lack of useful scientific knowledge for implementing social polices and mental health programs. Here is an example of the point the researcher is trying to respond to, the lack of implementing social policies and generally accepted position within the medical field or the social workers. Franco Basaglia leader of the Italian reform movement in talking about the relationship between psychiatric knowledge and the mental hospital system said,

“And so we have on one hand, a science ideologically committed to quest for the origins of an illness it acknowledges to be incomprehensible and on the other hand a patient who because of his presumed incomprehensibility, has been oppressed, mortified and destroyed by an oppressive system that instead of serving him in its protective role of

therapeutic institution, has on the contrary, contributed to the gradual and often irreversible disintegration of his identity,” (Mollica in Basoglu 1997: 24).

The question is, how can these clinical realities like this one given above be avoided in the process of seeking to develop an empirical research tradition? Mollica’s conclusion in the researcher’s opinion is spot on when he suggested that as far as torture treatment and prevention is concerned medical research is at a cross-road. The researcher is very much aware of this crisis and hopes that this dissertation is scratching where it is itching. The current clash in theoretical position mentioned at the beginning of this section reflects the struggles of each group to achieve recognition and legitimacy within this field.

Unfortunately, successful advocacy on behalf of torture survivors has resulted in lack of expression by the survivors themselves, especially of their medical, political, social and personal needs.

(Foucault 1993 cited by Basoglu 1997: 25) concluded that similar to most oppressed and marginalized populations the voice of the torture survivors is a whisper. Where this voice can be heard is in the literature of survivors, in their art, poems, stories and biographies and not in medical literatures. Here is the source of the researcher’s idea of ascertaining trauma from the survivors by way of stories, songs and proverbs in the next chapter. Torture survivors and their health practitioners are in a unique position to identify new knowledge capable of producing interventions and prevention programs.

Torture research must focus on socially useful methods that are specific set of attitudes and behaviour that affect the individual survivors positively as well as help mediate against society’s production of new victims. Due to extreme victimization and exploitation of the torture survivor, it is ethically correct to assume as a priority a research position which protects the survivor from further hurts and harm as well as provides the survivor with

maximum benefits of the research. The research methodology deals with that section in this research.

The issue here is that in medical and psychiatric approaches to basic human rights due to political injustices and human cruelty the focus is shifted from human rights prevention of torture to the point of objectification and a neutral diagnostic category of modern medicine. Marginalization of social groups: the limited scope of the care provided, cultural insensitivity and increased social ostracization are some of the limitations of the western approach,(Mollica1983 in Basoglu 1997: 23).

The knowledge and awareness of the debate above forms the basis on which this research framed. The researcher is concerned about the prevention of similar events, the contribution to better treatment, and the protection of the survivors from further pain and exploitation.

Limitations of Defining Trauma in PTSD Framework

Torture is a political phenomenon and thus can not be classified in psychiatric terms. It is also alleged that psychiatric labels are stigmatizing and therefore should be avoided. Torture as a traumatic event is often only one in a series of stressful life events experienced by torture survivors, (Basoglu, 1992:7). Adverse events resulting from political repression span a relatively long period of time leading to repeated traumatization of individuals. By definition torture is a complex phenomenon with interacting social, culture, political, medical, psychological and biological dimension. It can not be adequately be dealt with by a single method.

The term “post traumatic stress disorder,” (PTSD) does not also apply to torture because torture is only part of a series of ongoing traumatic situations for the survivors. The short comings of this diagnosis of trauma is the term “post” which in an expert opinion fails and

ignores the survivor's struggles twenty years after the event took place. (Basoglu's 1992: 7)

The same scholar goes on to indicate that adverse events resulting from political repression span a relatively long period of time, leading to repeated traumatization of survivors. This is also exacerbated by the hurt and violent language which is used continuously by the politicians and by the media both print and electronic, in Zimbabwe. The suggestion that perhaps "*ongoing*" traumatic stress should be a more appropriate term for survivors of organized violence is a welcome development in these studies. This is so because violence may seem to have been stopped in the eyes of the general public but to the victims it has not ended due to emotional scars, disabilities, disappearances, destruction, emotional and personal psyche injuries. The world of survivors is normally completely and negatively changed by the violence and they are forced to come to terms with a new reality. It is surely "*ongoing traumatic stress*" if one has to carry the pregnancy of some one who only did not rape you but killed the one who is supposed to father your children. Having to bring up such a child as a normal baby whose personhood reminds you of the most traumatic experience, event and period of your life is not "*post*" but "*ongoing traumatic stress*". Having to look at bullet wounds and living the rest of one's life with one eye, one leg, or having no teeth is not "*post*" but *ongoing* pain or suffering. These are some of the glaring realities in Tsholotsho which need no digging up as they are always there for all to see.

The ongoing discussion about how useful or limited this diagnosis of PTSD and how widely it should be used, especially in large-scale ongoing traumatic events in both the western and non western societies should not distract us from the task ahead. But, instead it should help and spur us on in coming up with an empirical framework that is unique to us as Zimbabwean.

One of the arguments is that in a third world set up it is a luxury to afford a one to one opportunity for counseling for millions of survivors across the continent. Dr Anne Kubai

who is Kenyan spent more than five years in Rwanda working amongst the survivors of the Rwanda Tutsis massacre. It is claimed that more than 800 thousand people were massacred in the Rwanda genocide and there is no way she could use PTSD as the bases for assessment of the trauma experienced (Dr A. Kubai Interview 27/2/2009). There are literally millions of survivors who needed and still need help today. The researcher had another interview with Ms Shari Eppel (4/6/2009) who is a psychologist. Ms Eppel (a Zimbabwean) has been involved in the Matebeleland massacre for over 15 years as Amani Trust and then the Bishop Solidarity Trust concluded that the assessment of trauma as PTSD is limited in its scope because it does not take into consideration other related conditions of the victim or survivor before, during and after the traumatic experience (Interview with Shari Eppel 27/2/09). The social support plays an important part in an African social and family set up in determining and conditioning the traumatic experiences. Africans have a strong sense of community and therefore any threat to that sense of community triggers off other aspects of identity and insecurity.

African countries do not have the kind of expertise that is needed to assess traumatic experience on the bases of PTSD. The impact of the socio-political situation plays a major role in influencing the response to traumatic experiencing. In the Matebeleland case the survivors were denied any medical assistance, soldiers camped at clinics and hospital entrances. They were not allowed to mention government, soldier or Gukurahundi at all otherwise they would not be able to get any medical or government official documents like birth or death certificates. In an interview, Mrs. N. Ndlovu (*not her real name*) on the 12/3/2009 in Vikidhuku Village spoke of how she was nursed by her mother in law after the hut in which she and 20 others were forced into was locked from out side and burnt. When they forced the door open and started running in all direction five bullets were pumped into her small body. A holster in the face is left where the right eye was forcefully removed by one of the bullets. Her husband had run away into the city that very morning

leaving the wife and a seven month old baby vulnerable. To date she does not know what happened to the baby all she could say was “*may be my seven month old son perished in the hut. Only God Knows*”. For three months she did not get any medical help because when she initially got to the nearest hospital by a donkey cart she was told to go back home or face imprisonment. A 6pm to 6am curfew was also imposed on the community hence no one moved. This was a politically charged situation which disabled the community and all the societal support and coping mechanisms were dismantled. This story demonstrates the socio-political nature of the context in which the researcher is dealing with (Questionnaire No 56.)

Research on stress, trauma, and their interaction with psychology and sociology and physiology has demonstrated that the impact of stress and trauma encompasses biological, psychological, social and cultural phenomena, (Herman 1992). Social trauma can best be addressed through psychosocial which is an analysis of the web of social relations and interactions of both the individual and the community in traumatic situations. It is the positive evaluation of the self in the social context, as well as social support, that correct the negative effects of stressful events. Culture plays a key role in how individuals cope with potential traumatizing experiences by providing the context in which social support and other positive and uplifting events can be experienced. The interactions of an individual and his /her environment/community play a significant role in determining whether the person is able to cope with the traumatizing experience that set the stage for the development of PTSD (DeLongis, Coyne, Dakof, Folkman and Lazarus 198 quoted by Basoglu1992: 445). Culture is said to be a double edged sword since human beings depend on it. Its loss becomes a traumatic experience. The power of culture as a protector, integrator, and security system is evident in studies where the degree of culture assimilation

is a key valuable, (Brown and Prudo 1981 in van der Kolk, McFarlane and Weisaeth, 2007: 400).

The argument here is that there is a danger that trauma responses may be underestimated by limiting it psychological trauma which eventually result into PTSD as a measure. Trauma impacts body, mind, and spirit yet still when it is at a community scale the whole immediate society is affected. This is more so in an African set up where life is based on interdependence rather than individual self reliance.

Torture as a Trauma Experience

There is another debate that torture is a socio-political phenomenon and thus should not be classified in psychiatric terms alone. Psychiatry does not adequately address issues of trauma particularly in respect to torture. If torture is considered as such it will mean that the circumstances leading to and around the event of trauma must be brought into the picture before a clear diagnosis is made. This is not possible since psychologists do not want to be involved in socio-political issues. Most of the trauma in Africa and in particular the Tsholotsho massacre is steeped in socio-cultural background which must be realized.

If one considers the wide range of situations in which human induced suffering occur a clear cut definition of torture is not possible. Since this human suffering involves physical and psychological aspects it becomes difficult to have a definition that fits all. Peters in (Basoglu 1992:1) his history of torture observed that since the Romans in the 2nd and 3rd century the legal definitions of torture have commonly referred to the element of “*torment inflicted by a public authority for ostensibly public purpose.*” It is clear now that there is no consensus amongst the scholars particularly because Peter’s definition is narrow in scope. Torture can not simply be limited to physical and psychological pain inflicted by those who in public service or under public orders. Even though a moral definition began to be used in the 17th century the researcher believes that a comprehensive definition should

take the moral and psychosocial aspects of the effects into considerations. This should be so as real suffering is perceived and understood from the context of the victim who responds through his /her moral, psychosocial and own developmental and biological factors as a whole and not in bits and pieces. A person should be looked at as a whole and not compartmentalized.

The Tokyo declaration of (1975), seem to urge closer to a more inclusive position. It says that torture is a, “*deliberate system or wanton infliction of physical or mental suffering by one or more persons acting alone or on the orders of any authority to force another person to yield information, to make a confession or for any other reason*” (United Nations Report 1975 in Basoglu, 1975:36). The researcher does not agree entirely with the definition above because it is not exhaustive and besides, it leaves out the moral and psychosocial effects of torture. Basoglu (1992) mentions Somnier, Vesti, Kastrup, and Genefke Scandinavians whose reports cover the psycho-social consequences of torture. These scholars mentioned the short comings of the western clinical psychologist approach in limiting the definition of trauma to post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Diagnostical and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder (DSM_III) relates to torture related psychological symptoms and the methodological approaches to mental health studies of torture survivors. Punamaki (1989) in (Basoglu 1992: 58) put it in this way, “*PTSD reduces complex political and historical problems into symptoms at the individual psychological level*”. The researcher quotes Basoglu because of his extensive work on torture related trauma which is inline with his research.

The researcher is aware that there is a lack of universally accepted definitions of torture. The mostly used definition is the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Convention of Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment of Punishment (1985). These define torture as;

“ any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally, inflicted on a person for such purpose as obtaining from him or the third person information or confession, punishing him (sic) for an act he or third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any, when such pain or suffering is afflicted by or a public official or third person acting in an official capacity,” (Basoglu 1975:254).

This definition seems to cover adequately the context of the researcher and it primarily emphasizes violence directed by governments unjustly at individuals or communities for political purposes. It therefore means that incarcerations and physical punishment of political opponents of a regime in power would in this context constitute an act of torture. The only problem here is that unfortunately the definition above does not include victims of torture in genocidal cases, gender related victimizations such as rape and other forms of sexual violence and mass destructions associated with military conquests. Due to these diverse forms of torture the physical manifestations of torture are so different and difficult to deal with as the systems and types of torture inflicted.

Torture is a dynamic process beginning with arrest, involving a sequence of traumatic events that may take place at different times and places and ending with the release or demise of the victim. An interesting point was made by (Miller and Baker in Basoglu 1975; 10) which is of interest to the researcher. They both made this conclusion that 40 to 45 years after the infliction of pain and suffering, ex prisoners of war in the Holocaust and prisoners of war in the 2nd world war showed the long term consequences of torture. This is a vital breakthrough to the researcher since he will be looking for any signs of trauma and torture effects 20 to 25 years after the Matebeleland Massacre by Gukurahundi. Subsequent to severe trauma and war experiences residual difficulties are likely to occur even 40 years after the event. It is hoped that a review of the Holocaust and any other

literature on torture will help inform our understanding of how to deal with current problems of torture. Saporta and van der Kolk in (Basoglu 1975:24) introduced the researcher to the complex interaction between biological, psychological, and social factors that converge and perpetuate the long term consequences of trauma. The researcher will use this assessment and understanding of torture to assess effects of torture on the survivors and the subsequent trauma caused. Could it be that the people of Tsholotsho are still suffering from the trauma due to the torture of the early eighties? This is the part of the thrust of this research.

(Herman, 1992: 1) commented on atrocities as violations with a social impact which are too terrible to utter aloud and often has the meaning of the word unspeakable. Again here is another scholar who acknowledges trauma as a social and relational phenomenon within a community set up even though she uses PTSD herself.

To push aside the desire to ignore horrible events and the will to divulge the pain and information is central to psychological trauma. The researcher has observed that the victims often tell their stories in highly emotional, contradictory and sometimes fragmented manner. It will be important to find out what these evidences of torture in Tsholotsho since survivors have not been able to talk and share their experiences.

When trauma happens in political context in which women are battered and raped, victims are beaten and imprisoned with impunity while others disappear and this is done under the tyranny of dictators, the community has no recourse. Such is the case in Tsholotsho.

The most difficult part of trauma is that if the events are natural disasters or “acts of God” those who bear witness sympathize readily with the victims. But if the traumatic events are of human design those that bear witness are caught up in a conflict between victims and perpetrators. Maintenance of neutrality in such situations is often tricky and should be a matter of principle. How come the rest of Zimbabweans and the Church in particular have been quiet in the face of such evil and suffering? The researcher is aware of these pitfalls

and complications and the need to take a scientific approach hence he has taken the method of distancing and empathy suggested by Kelly in (Welhiem 2005:98 and Ricoeur 1982:220).

Conspiracy of Silence

The victim expects the bystander to share the burden of pain and demands action even if it means just listening or remembering with him/her. Leo Eitinger a psychologist who studied survivors of Nazi concentration camps describes the cruel conflict of interest between victim and bystanders. *“War victims are something the community wants to forget and quite often there is a veil of oblivion which is drawn over everything painful and unpleasant. The victim’s demand for action or to listen exists side by side with community’s desire to forget anything that is horrible and painful”.* (Herman 1992:8) Hence, in helping the victims or survivors by way of testimonies and documentation becomes a tool in demystifying the event.

The stories of torture, pain and suffering that shape the conscience of the people of Tsholotsho must be addressed in order to liberate them. There is an elephant in the room and no body wants to talk about it let alone acknowledge it. This is called ‘conspiracy of silence’ by Zerubavel a psychologist, in his book The Elephant in the Living Room The researcher will come back to the issue of conspiracy of silence in his concluding chapter (Zerubavel, 2006:11).

Torture as a Political Tool

There is need to understand torture and related rape experiences from a socio-cultural, and political background as well as from a medical perspectives. Mollica and Son 1989 in Basoglu 1992:256) give examples of Vietnamese women who were raped by Khmer Rouge soldiers. A Vietnamese proverb regarding rape summarizes the severity of the damage in

this way, “*someone ate out of my bowl and left it dirty*”. Most Cambodian women and children who suffered through rape resulted in loss of their dignity (Ibid). As a result the victims did not say anything. This is due to the fact that in their culture those women are dishonoured and bear the pain of shame and the guilt alone. They lost their self respect and self worth as women. Sometimes the rape was not a single incident by one man, but occurred as group rape which was used as misuse of power by the soldiers. A South American woman who was sexually tortured as a political prisoner tells her story,

“I was interrogated five times by men and every single time I was completely naked during each of the five interrogations I started menstruating even though it was not the right time for me. Maybe I was too nervous and it resulted with me always being covered with blood.

There were always five torturers who forced me to always look them in the eyes. They then mauled me all over my body and asked me to walk in front of them as they line up watching me and still making me look them in the eyes. It felt so incredibly humiliating”(Mollica and Son,1989 in Basoglu 1992: 257).

The researcher seeks to highlight the traditional cultural impact on torture in sexual violence survivors due to cultural beliefs and attitudes in primary cultures of the world of which Tsholotsho Matebeleland and Zimbabwe is located. There are plenty of similar cases in Tsholotsho which will be revealed from the interviews later on in chapters to come.

Physical torture aim is to break and destroy the victim’s mind and will. The physical injuries often present for life, have the effect of continuing the torture long after the detention and beatings. This was proven to be true by the researcher as he moved throughout the district of Tsholotsho. Survivors were quick to reveal their scars even on parts of the body that culturally people do not show in public. These scars seem to authenticate the torture and the way they feel.

Pain and scars and deformities will be a continuous reminder of the torture. Hence it is not always easy for victims to move on with their lives after the torture. Torture is aimed at the victims' vulnerable points: psychologically, physically and culturally. Social, political, and behavioural sciences can in many ways contribute to the understanding of the factors that are associated with the prevalence of torture in various situations and different parts of the world (Basoglu: 1992).

The greatest challenge in working with victims of torture is the debate amongst the care givers and survivors concerning the political aspects of the problem. The question that should be asked is can the medical, psychiatric or psychological approaches deal adequately with the problem of trauma caused by torture with out the socio- political aspects? The researcher does not think so. Basoglu (1992:5) refers to the psychiatric and medical approach to torture as *reductionist "medicalization"*. He goes on to allude that there seems to be fears and concerns that the study of torture would amount to a new discipline, which he calls 'torturology'. By accepting this as a new discipline it would imply that the medical and psychological experts in the west are passively accepting the practice of torture. The researcher does not believe that it would result in a new discipline per se but if it does, it is not necessarily wrong. It would give a greater scope to the study of this human made disaster. (Mollica in Ibid 1992: 5) pointed out that barriers to access, inequalities in treatment and quality care, cultural insensitivity and increased social ostracization are well documented aspects of Western medicines' care of poor, minority and seriously disabled patients. This is torture itself.

Torture seems to be most commonly associated with the struggle for social change and reform against militaristic, totalitarian regimes in areas marked by social, cultural, economic and political deprivation. Matebeleland in Zimbabwe would be no different from the rest of the world. Hence the conditions given above seem to fit the researcher's

context. In a number of areas in Matebeleland, Tsholotsho, there are more than three people who are called by the name “Skondo” The name is a derogative meaning of the main word of the song survivors were forced to sing at the bases (torture camps) where they were kept for weeks on end which translate, “aiwa dikondo, di, aiwa dikondo.” These are some of the traumatic stresses that impacted the people caused by torture, in Tsholotsho. In some of the investigations done by other scholars the long term physical and psychological effects of torture on those kept in captivity as political prisoners, there is a pattern of torture syndrome which is characterized by psychosomatic, emotional, behavioural and intellectual abnormalities. These are some of the effects of this syndrome: headaches, nightmares, insomnia, night terrors, dizziness, tremor, fainting, pain, diarrhea and sweating,(Basoglu and Mark, 1988 in Basoglu, 1992:59) and Allodi and Cowgill, 1982, in Basoglu, 1992: 61) in the same book. Effective dysfunction is most often shown by anxiety, depression, fears, phobias, and panic, behavioural concomitants of the syndrome usually show themselves through irritability, withdrawal, aggressiveness, obsessive compulsive disorder, impulsivity, sexual dysfunction, and suicidal ideation and intent. This list is also supported by (Lunde et al. 1980 in Basoglu, 1992:113) who did a similar cluster of symptoms in more than 200 torture survivor victims. Ursano et al. 1987 in Basoglu, 1992: 256) analyzed the debriefing of 324 repatriated prisoners of war shortly after their release. The aim was to obtain measures of stress related to the results in this way: (1) active (torture beatings), (2) passive (forced standing or kneeling), (3) deprivation (denial of food, water, or medical care), (4) psychological (threats of death, observing or hearing others tortured or killed) and (5) isolation. These were all used to innocent civilians in Tsholotsho as will be proved by the questionnaires in the next chapter.

In the Tsholotsho case which is the bases of this research, two more aspects of destruction of property (arson) and disappearance of people (abductions) should be added. Therefore in this research seven categories will be used instead of the five suggested given above.

Types of Torture

Falanga or bastinado; is the beating of the soles of the feet with cables, iron rods, sticks or other instruments of wood or metal.

Foreign Bodies: various forms of torture may leave foreign bodies encapsulated in the connective tissue of the victim. These could be bullets, broken glass, or gravel. The awareness of the presence may give a great mental strain giving a constant reminder of the torture.

Scars: many forms of torture such as cuts, burns of cigarette stubs and plastics, corrosions with acid can leave skin with scars.

Sexual torture: Most forms of torture have some kind of sexual humiliation. Physical sexual torture comprises of direct maltreatment of the genitals and the anal region. Victims of sexual abuse rarely talk of their ordeal because of fear of losing the respect of the family (Lunde: 1981, Agger: 1986).

Asphyxiation: It is a process of putting a plastic bag around the victims head and then tying it around the neck. Sometimes they use a wet rug. The victim struggles to breathe.

Electric shock: The victims are shocked often on the private parts, buttocks and are forced to touch live electricity wire.

Burning with plastics: A plastic is lit and the hot plastic is dropped on the body of the victims, often it's done on the head and back (Abrams 2006: 65). Appendix no. 1

Kidnapping/ Abduction: These are plague of terrorism inflicted by the soldiers on defenceless poor

which seeks to punish, intimidate and subdue. (Cabestrero, T, 1985: 33)

Forced Disappearance of Persons

Thousands of people were kidnapped from their places of work and homes. Others disappeared from public places, social gatherings and even from the fields. Relatives, friends, and colleagues visited hospitals, police stations, jails, and even morgues looking for their loved ones (Breaking the Silence 1994:34). Inter- American Human Rights Commission (CIDH) wrote this report as a result of a visit to Argentina in 1997. They concluded that this practice was cruel and inhuman. Disappearance was not only an arbitrary detention, but it seriously endangers personal integrity, security and the lives of the victims. It is definitely a form of torture for the families and friends of the victims. Due to the uncertainty of the circumstances regarding the fate of the missing persons the families do not have a frame work for morning because they always expect and hope against hope that may be their loved ones would come back, so the suffering of torture continues, (Basoglu 1992: 254). In the Tsholotsho district of Matebeleland many people disappeared during these disturbances and have not been found and accounted for to date. Like in Argentina the families are still affected some how no one has the courage to tell them that they may not be able to see their loved ones again. These disappearances are also a form of torture. This form of torture is more difficult to deal with because there is no way any one can bring closure to it. It is hard to comfort the relatives since there is no tangible evidence of what really happened and often times they continue to hope against hope that one day their loved one will walk in or hear some good news. How do these people explain to the young generation about what actually happened? This is definitely another form of trauma.

Refugee Status as a Result of Torture

The history of torture dates back to the early and mid nineteenth Century where its ultimate form is seen in genocide (Van Geuns, 1983; Peters, 1985). Normally, it is state organized murders of millions of people, and is a crime committed, encouraged and tolerated by the heads of state, Fein, 1979 in (Basoglu, 1992: 90). In most of these situations minority people groups are the inevitable scapegoats and are at the receiving end of genocidal attacks. The most obvious examples of the genocide in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are the attacks on German Nazis against European Jewry as well as on Gypsies, the Turkish genocide of the Armenians, the Pol Pot regime's murder of Cambodians and the Stalin's annihilation of the Kulaks. (Kuper, 1981, Charny, 1882 and 1990 all mentioned in Basoglu 1992:90) The Rwanda genocide of 1994 which killed 800,000 people is another genocide that happened closer home.

Torture and the threat or actual destruction of the family and community has been used to strike terror in the society. The process is total control and dehumanizing to any victim which also is its intended outcome? The United Nation had a convention in 1975 against the use of torture. Amnesty International claims that the use of torture has increased steadily with over one third of the world using it in spite the fact that most of these countries are signatory to the UN convention (Lengyel, 1972; Amnesty International, 1977; Leitner, 1978; Friedlander, 1980; and PinYathay, 1989). The question that is directly related to this research is in what way are the minority communities affected when some of their members are tortured and threatened? When homes, livelihoods, families, communities and tribes are disturbed and are destroyed, thousands of people are displaced and families are separated from relatives. The result is internally displacement, destruction of the cultural fabric, social division and often illegal emigrants which are regional and international human crisis. What are the indelible marks left on the victims and the community? How long do these effects last or linger before a survivor recovers if he/she

recovers at all? Basoglu (1992:85) quoted Reid and Strong (1987, 1988) who made a thorough review and analysis when they researched on twelve rehabilitation centres in Western countries and North America. Their conclusion was that refugees do survive and are not ultimately destroyed nor their personal or group identity. This may be the case in a situation where the violence is a one off event, what if it is repeated for a long time like in Tsholotsho, how does it affect the survivors and the community?

The researcher want to point out this critical fact in the Matebeleland and Tsholotsho situation that most of the torture victims have died and others are destitute. They seem to be foreigners in the land of their birth and are refugees in their own country. The attitude and treatment they receive from government is intended to disable, dehumanize and in many ways dis-enfranchise these communities and people groups of their national identity and ethnicity. When other people are made to feel like they are not wanted they can not meaningful and adequately participate in the affairs of the community or nation. This situation may be worse than some one who seeks refugee status in another country because one can console himself/herself by simply concluding that this is not his/her home.

Meaning

Most of adults survivors of torture continue to be depended on social supports for a sense of safety, meaning and power, and control, (Bowlby, 1969, 1973; and Kohut, 1977; Maclean, 1985 in Basoglu 1992: 153). The need to attach to others increases in times of stress and danger.

It is not only historians of culture who note people are yearning to integrate all their past into a meaningful unity (Miroslav, 2006 23). A good deal of trauma literature echoes the same idea (Van der Kolk, B A and Mcfarlane A C 2007: 221) suggest that since survivors of trauma can not, like any body else change their past , they must place traumatic

memories in the proper context and reconstruct them in a personal and meaningful way. (Miroslav, 2006:184) says “giving meaning is a central goal of therapy.” From this perspective to have segments of one’s life containing significant experiences lost to memory and therefore not integrated into the whole of life is to lose meaning and fail to heal what is broken. It is suggested that the world of certainties “the assumptive world” must be reconstructed, (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze, 1983 in Kleber and Brown 1992: 144). A victim tries to find meaning of his existence after a traumatic event because its order has been disrupted in an initially incomprehensible way. There is a destruction of the notion of living in orderly and meaningful world and this in turn increases the search for meaning (Ibid).

In a study done on 77 women who were incest survivors it was discovered that they continued to look for understanding and meaning even though the incidents happened 20 years before, (Silver, Boon and Stones, 1983 in Kleber and Brown, 1992: 145). The quest for meaning created painful emotions and displeasure. It was suggested by (Freud 1920 in Kleber and Brown, 1992: 76) that re-experiencing is directly related to the search for meaning. This is the tragedy of the Tsholotsho massacre because of the number of illegitimate children left behind by these soldiers as result of their frenzy and orgies. How can a victim come to terms with such horrors of life? At this point it is critical to mention that searching for meaning may be like looking for a needle in hay stake and may not be achieved as in the case of the 77 incest survivors alluded above. They did not find the reason for what had happened to them and why? (Silver et al, 1983 in Kleber and Brown, 1992). What was important in that situation was the need for social support as the determinant factor for meaningful transformation of the trauma.

Holocaust Testimonies entitled “The Ruins of Memory” which are based on video taped testimonies of the holocaust survivors given by Lawrence Langer evince this truth. Written

accounts of the life in the Nazi concentration camps often seek to integrate the holocaust experiences into a larger structure of meaning. He then goes on to suggest that these testimonies stand as “*the indomitable human spirit*” (Miroslav,2006: 180). This seems to be a sign of growing through suffering which in itself is a proof that moral integrity is possible even under extreme duress. Up to now the experiences refuse

to integrate into a larger narrative of meaningful life. The crisis in survivors’ lives on, the people of Tsholotsho included as they are implied here as well.

(Abraham P in Miroslav 2006:188-92), a survivor of the Holocaust tells his story as a testimony. He and his family arrive at Auschwitz in Germany from Hungary. His parents were asked to go to the left side whilst he and his two old brothers and a younger brother were sent to the right. In the process Abraham asked his younger brother to follow the mother and father to the left in stead. At this point no body knew that the left meant death and the right meant life, they all realized it later. He recalls the incident; I told my little kid brother, I said to him, “*Solly, go to poppa and mamma*” And like a little kid he followed my instruction. Little did I know that I sent my little brother to the crematorium? I feel like I killed him. One of my older brothers lives in New York, every time we see each other we talk about our little Solly. And he says, “*No, I am responsible because I said the same thing to you. And it’s been bothering me too.*” I have been thinking whether he reached my mother and father, and that if he did reach my mother and father he probably said to them, “*Abraham said I should come with you.*” I wonder what my mother and father were thinking, especially when they all....went into the crematorium (that is the gas chamber). I can not get it out of my head. It hurts me, it bothers me, and I do not know what to do (Miroslav. 2006; 187). How can one give meaning to such experiences? This is some of the kind of trauma that one can not do away with easily.

The traumatic reactions in death related events have been studied and frequently use the term “*death imprint*” (Lifton 1979 in Kleber and Brown 1992). Survivors in Tsholotsho always mention that the Shonas wanted to kill them all. “At that time one could smell death everywhere”, one of the participants said confirming the above scholars’ assertions. The allegory of the ‘death imprints’ remaining in the community can be used which was introduced to the researcher through this work. In some places dogs and other scavengers are now digging shallow graves around the homesteads. Remains of human bones, skulls or clothes with blood stains are seen being eaten by dogs.

Frankl (1959) agrees with (Lifton 1979 both in (Kleber and Brown 1992: 147) as he states that the quest for meaning, the constant search for the understanding of life events is the central motivation of the human individual and the bases for a community. In case of the community a sense of belonging gives a common identity which is a community badge.

Control

The more control people can exercise on a situation, the less they suffer from diverging symptoms and cope better in general. There is need for a psychological control over a situations or events without which people tend to be anxious. This has been concluded by many scholars whose studies focused on the phenomenon of control and traumatic experiences and these scholars include (Rothbaum et al., 1982; Weisz, Rothbaum and Blackburn, 1984 in Kleber and Brown, 1992: 147). There is a necessity to pursue the quest for control a little more in order to bring out the effects of trauma on individual and community.

There are three closely related propositions concerning control which are given in a book entitled, Coping with Trauma by (Kleber and Brown 1992: 143). These are:

- 1) After a traumatic situation, the person searches for the meaning of what has happened.

- 2) The person attempts to regain control of the situation.
- 3) Social-psychological process plays an important role in the effects and the process of coping with a shock.

It is said that these propositions have been clarified by theoretical and empirical findings of several studies in the field of social psychology and stress research. If it is true to say that a person behaves in accordance with his beliefs and assumptions, it follows therefore that social context plays a pivotal role in providing meaning and control. Without meaning there will not be control and coping which leads to healing.

Seligman (1975) arrived at a classic theory about “*learned helplessness*” after an extensive research on dogs and rats. This research led to the condition of human behaviour of helplessness called depression. Learnt helplessness results in a condition of powerlessness in the victims.

The researcher would like to define control as “*an active command of the circumstances around which one’s life is ordered.*” This definition is in line with scholars like (Freud, 1920 and Taylor et al. 1984) whilst (Rothbaum et al.1982) defines control as “*the influence of both external realities and the personal consequences of these realities.*” The two definitions provide fantastic contributions which give a distinction between primary controls, i.e., the shaping of physical, social or behavioural reality and the secondary control which is the adaptation to the existing reality. It is envisaged that the process of attributing meaning, creates a feeling of control and in so doing promotes well- being.

On the other hand, the coping process can be considered an attempt to regain control over one’s own existence. People strive to reconcile old schemata with new information through a search for meaning. A way of curbing the chaos and of ordering the world is to interpret the circumstances in such a way that a grip on the situation is regained. (Kleber and Brown, 1992:155) This is very helpful since it shades some light on the plight of the

people in Tsholotsho as they try to understand what happened to them in their quest for control of their lives and community.

Damage to Self

The other aspect that is equally critical in understanding trauma is the violation of the autonomy of the person in terms of bodily integrity and the identity of who they are. Combat, torture victims, rape and massacres lead to humiliation and loss of self and a damage to the sense belonging. This is so, especially because at the point of trauma experience the opinion of the victim counts for nothing since the reason of the victimizer is to demonstrate contempt, humiliation and violate autonomy and dignity. It is suggested that doubt reflects the inability to maintain one's own separate point of view while remaining in connection with others. This point is critical as it re-enforces the political back ground of the Matebeleland massacre. Unsatisfactory resolution of common developmental conflicts political suspicions over autonomy leaves the community prone to attacks by those more powerful. Shame is the response to helplessness, the violation of bodily, family and tribal integrity. T. O'Brien reveals his devastation as he demonstrates a pervasive sense of doubt:

"...Everything swirls. The old rules are no longer binding, the old truths no longer true. Right spills over into wrong. Order blends into chaos, love into hate, ugliness into beauty, law into anarchy, civility into savagery. In war you lose the sense of the definite, hence your sense of truth itself and therefore it's safe to say that in a true war story nothing is ever absolutely true," (Herman 1997: 53)

This story demonstrates the effect of trauma on a survivor even though this is a war veteran the effect is probably worse to a civilian who may be caught up in this human disaster. The

shattering of one's sense of connectedness between individual and community creates a crisis of faith.

If one witnessed the suffering or death of other people and he/she was spared, the knowledge that others met a worse fate creates a severe burden of conscience. Survivors of disasters, wars and torture are haunted by images of the dying whom they could not rescue. It was discovered that trauma events bring about pervasive distrust of community and a sense of counterfeit world to be common reactions in the aftermath of disasters, massacre and war (Lifton, in Herman, 1992). The damage to the survivors' faith and to the sense of community is particularly severe when the traumatic events involve the betrayal of important relationships. There is a loss of trust in ones' self, in other people and in God. One's self-esteem is assaulted by experiences of humiliation, guilt, and helplessness. The Soldiers used divide and rule tactics in order to destroy the community trust and loyalty. One can only imagine what the Matebeleland Massacre might have done to Joshua Nkomo, the leader? He was widely considered the father of Zimbabwe's war of liberation and the ideals of the freedom fighters but he was reeling under the pain and trauma caused by some of the people he fought with side by side.

Disconnection

Trauma events normally breach the social attachments of family, friendship, community and nation. The reason why this happens is because trauma shatters the construction of the self that is formed and sustained in relation to others (Herman, 1992:51). Relational life is adversely affected it is asserted strongly that relational life is not a secondary symptom of trauma but primary effect. The effect is not only on the psychological structures of the self but also on the system of attachment and meaning that link individuals and community.

Horowitz defines traumatic life events as those that can not be assimilated with the victims "*inner schemata*" of self in relation to the rest of the world, Horowitz in (Herman, 1992).

Traumatic events destroy the victims' fundamental assumptions about the safety of the world and the positive value of the self and the assumed expected meaningful order of life in the world. Basic trust is foundational in the belief of continuity of life the order of nature and the transcendent order of the divine i.e., the existence of a God.

The family and community are supposed to be the safety net to catch any within that community who will have had any misfortune. Examples of wounded soldiers, raped women, torture victims, injured victims and distressed victims cry for their mothers, family friends and for Divine intervention. Herman states that when this cry for help is not answered the sense of basic trust is betrayed and shattered. A sense of utter abandonment and loneliness set in and cast out of the human and divine systems of care, belonging and protection that should sustain life. Alienation, discontinuity and loss permeate every structure and level of the victim right across the divide of social –cultural and the religion. Traumatic events breach the attachments of family friendship, love and company. Traumas damage the relational side of life and disconnect primary connections that bind human existence like beliefs, trust and faith which are the systems of attachment and meaning that link individuals and community. Shonas and Ndebeles have a wider chasm to cross now than they did before Gukurahundi.

Common Responses to Trauma

As the researcher continues building an understanding of trauma and its effects it is equally important to identify the kind of responses which are common to such events. The researcher is more concerned about the responses not covered in the Chapters before.

Secondary and associated responses to trauma are also very common but are not the major concern of the researcher at this moment. These are symptoms which are not core responses and are called secondary and associative responses because they come after or as a result of other events and are still able to trigger off traumatic re-experiencing of the

event or pain. (Carlson 1997: 54) mentions six responses to trauma which are secondary or closely associated with traumatic experiences. Most of these are not caused by the trauma itself directly but appear later as a result of the cognitive, affective, behavioral, or physiological manifestations of re-experiencing and avoidance. Associated responses occur as a result of the social environment or other circumstances accompanying or following the traumatic experiences. These are the common symptoms that seem to be prevalent: depression, aggression, low self esteem, identity confusion difficulties in interpersonal relationships and guilty. The symptoms are mentioned here because the trauma discussed in this research took place over twenty years ago and as a result some of the responses on the ground could be associative and secondary.

Trauma in cultural perspectives

The developing world, Africa in particular is unique in that inter-dependency of community and family are often more stronger than in the first world. People from traditional cultures are more likely to perceive themselves as part of a larger whole and trauma and illness are viewed as externally caused and ongoing which is linked to the larger society, De Vries, 1995 and Terheggen et al, 2001 in a book, Trauma Interventions in War and Peace (2007: 27)

Family is the first line of defense and culture as the identity provider in the community. If family and culture fail to provide the safety net for protection other ugly models of identity formation and social group formation take their place. The roles and status that had previously organized the system may have no further meaning. When cultural protection and security fail, the individual's problems are proportional to the cultural disintegration. The avenues of vulnerability resulting from trauma follow the routes vacated by culture. Normally, the situation is compounded by the problem that in most areas of the world in

times of cultural disintegration the population is often physically depleted and fatigued as well. It was assumed by (van der Kolk, McFarlane and Weisaeth. 2007) that the people of Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda were physically and psychologically traumatized due to the protracted wars they had been fighting.

Different violent and political incidents can have distinctive cultural meanings and thus also have specific impacts on the people involved. It is said that most of the witnesses at the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) presented a mixture of issues related to social, psychological and medical problems, (Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader 2004: 92) and (Bloomfield, Barnes and Huyse; 2003). Most of the people who experienced past traumas like torture or abuse have been overshadowed by current psychological personal social battles. This makes it difficult and quiet often actually complicates the original traumatic problem. The ability to draw direct causative links between the initial traumatic incident and the present difficulties experienced by some survivors has generally been complicated by the protracted period of time that has passed since the violations occurred. The way the community and individuals interprets traumatic events is vitally important when considering strategies for healing.

Of great interest to this dissertation is the comment made by Wessels Michael a psychologist who is quoted by (Bloomfield and Barnes Eds.2003:69) as he reflected on his experiences of working in the Sub Saharan Africa. He observed that spirituality and community are at the centre of life. An Angolan boy whose parents were killed in political violence may not need to talk about his personal experience of loss but the major stressor of the spiritual discord and lack of the means to provide decent burial for his parents, (Mbiti, 1969). Interestingly, this researcher's context is also mentioned as an example, *"Zimbabwean survivors of the Matebeleland massacre consider the corruption of*

community values more offensive and disturbing than any other aspect of the conflict. It is the loss that is still being mourned years after the massacres of the 1982 to 1987,” (Wessels in Bloomfield and Barnes Eds.2003:78). The reactions depend on a personal pre-traumatic personality structure, temperament and the extended community support structure. The pre traumatic period and the personality have a role to play in the lives of those who find themselves face to face with these experiences. Whilst it is critical the objective of this research is to ascertain the level of trauma in the community therefore that issue will not be pursued at this time. The researcher uses the psycho- social and the cultural approaches. This is a proven scientific approach as argued by many scholars mentioned above like (Saporta and van der Kolk cited in (Basoglu 1992:444).

There is a complex interaction amongst the biological, psychological and social factors that converge to produce and perpetuate the long-term consequences of trauma.

Due to political repression and torture which erodes family life and self confidence Steve Biko vividly depicts in which the ideology works. He said,

“ All in all the Black man has become a shell, a shadow, of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, anger and hate, a slave, and ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity. In the privacy of the toilet his face twists in silent condemnation of white rule and society but brightens up in sheepish obedience. His heart yearns for the white man’s comfort and blames himself for not having been educated enough or being borne black.” (Biko, 1978: 28-29)

Here is a quotation that depicts the anguish of most Ndebele men in the Matebeleland region and country because of the Shona Government treatment of the Ndebele people since the Massacre. The researcher will pick up this idea of the state of a black man in

Steve Biko's book to represent the Ndebele man's position in Zimbabwe today as he concludes the dissertation.

Final Remarks and Conclusion

Traumatic and/or stressful experiences are defined by some scholars as the events and incidents that are physically, emotionally, and mentally difficult to process and are considered as harmful. For most individuals and communities they disrupt lives and have overwhelming levels of negative impact and dangers. Often times it is almost impossible for the survivors to adjust and adapt without external help. Repeated exposure to torture or any stressful circumstances or chains of such events and experiences may increasingly deplete human and cultural resources, so that individuals and or communities experience a downward spiral of response and consequences that are difficult to reverse. This comes from the meaning of the word itself which shows that it has an intention to harm and squeeze its victim with the result affecting the person in his/her totality. It also has strong social and spiritual connotations which can not be easily pushed aside. Therefore the trauma has to be defined in the Ndebele cultural perspective using Ndebele world view and words.

Trauma Defined

Defining trauma will be from the basis of torture due to political violence. Therefore it should not be a general statement that should be accepted by all but must be understood in terms of the event, social context, symptoms and represent experiences suffered and the severity of an adverse impact on an individual or community that has been affected. The experience brought about by the event must be unavoidable, negative, uncontrollable, sudden, and disruptive in nature and have an overwhelming sense of fear, danger, and difficult to cope with and threatens the person's or people's

livelihood. This is what the researcher is looking for as the guidelines for defining trauma in this dissertation.

Having reached some definitive conclusion of what trauma is in this chapter the researcher in the next chapter will formulate a framework for data interpretation from the field and from questionnaires. These will form the basis for the definition of trauma in Tsholotsho coming from the information received and data collected.

Chapter Four - Data Interpretation

The Framework

In assessing the level or degree of trauma suffered by the people in Tsholotsho, it is critical that a clear and scientific framework be found or formulated and applied. (Carlson, 1997: *vii*) mentions that those who have some knowledge of trauma will find a broad review of theoretical issues and specific guidelines on options for assessing trauma experiences and responses. Her book entitled, Trauma Assessments will be used as a guide in this process of coming up with a framework. Tools for assessing trauma that are broad in scope and yet still provide for detailed inquiry are going to be established.

Traumatized people need to know or have some kind of idea of what it is that is wrong with them and any medical doctor must come up with some kind of diagnose before a treatment regime or what ever intervention appropriate in order to alleviate the suffering. This process is enhanced by the availability of assessment tools that are inexpensive, accessible and easily obtainable which are available in the field. Other additional tools may be designed as key to interpret the data collected and ascertain the extent of trauma. As already mentioned, this trauma is not to be determined by way of medical psychological pathological approach, the assessment tools and methods must therefore be different. It is impossible to choose the most appropriate measures in a particular situation and to interpret the results of the survey if one does not have a good theoretical understanding of trauma and its effects. Understanding the meaning of trauma, trauma theories and better methods of assessment will foster and lead to appropriate and effective treatment of traumatized people. Carlson goes on to indicate that the most useful conceptual framework is one that encompasses the entire spectrum of traumatic responses and disorders, (Carlson, 1997: *vii*). It must be applicable to single event traumas and as well as to more chronic traumatic experiences.

Framework Provisions

Once a reliable framework is established it can be used in a single traumatic event or more chronic trauma experiences. A good framework for trauma responses can help the researcher to conduct more accurate and efficient evaluations of traumatized people. In this case the framework will attempt to tease the event, address the effects of traumatic events and the most common responses to trauma. Reasons for persistence of traumatic responses after the event and the factors that influence responses to trauma are also considered in such assessments. A substantial research on response to trauma was only done in the 1980s according to (Carlson, 1997:21). She gives the reason for this as the availability of funding and a renewed interest in (PTSD) post traumatic stress disorder because of the problem of Vietnam veterans. One of the complications in trauma assessment is that survivors may not be able to provide all the information about what happened to them because of amnesia due to the adverse experience. This problem is even worse in a situation like the one the researcher is dealing with because at least twenty one years have elapsed since the massacre took place. The retrieval of information is hampered by memory decay and other incidents that occur in the process. It is generally accepted that obtaining objective records of events that took place long time ago is difficult if not impossible to obtain. Research on long term effects of traumatic experiences is said to be complicated to undertake. It is pointed out that the long term effects of traumatic experiences in adults are considerably greater than information available about the early child abuse trauma experiences (Ibid, 1997:34). Problems brought about by associative and secondary symptoms come to the fore in this kind of scenario. Recognizing and acknowledging these symptoms is the first step in the right direction.

These are some of the questions that can help to conceptualize the framework for the effects of trauma. Why do some people develop post traumatic stress disorders following a

traumatic event while others do not? Why is it that not every one who is exposed to a potentially traumatic event responds with symptoms of trauma related disorder?

Since a lot of work has been done concerning PTSD it will be proper to start this research from what is known (i.e., post traumatic stress disorder) and try to take our research to the unknown i.e., socio-cultural and psycho-social approach. This is an old educational skill and practice which has worked for years and is adopted as a technique here. Estimates are such that the rate of PTSD in those exposed to extreme stressors is about a quarter of the total people involved. On the study done on those involved in the Vietnam War veterans about 31% of those in combat later developed PTSD, (Kulka et al., 1990d in Carlson (1997:23). It is not stated what kind of problems the rest of combatants had if any. Here is part of the problem and limitations in using PTSD as the only measure for trauma because those researchers involved in this work are not interested in the rest of the people except those with the indicators they were looking for. In order to answer the question of why people develop post-traumatic stress disorders while others do not, the framework addresses what makes an experience traumatic. Consideration of the circumstances before and after the event and the socio-political context must be taken into account. This is what the researcher is after and not PTSD results. What are the core symptoms associated with being traumatized? What are the factors that influence and determine the nature of trauma responses? Why do ongoing traumatic symptoms persist long after the event is over? The conceptual framework must offer answers by guiding the researcher to those complex questions asked above. It is done by explaining how aspects of stressful events and additional moderating variables offer the risk for developing various trauma related disorders. The framework here proposed is drawn from some theoretical ideas of various scholars and researchers such as ,(van der Kolk,1987b; van der Kolk, Boyd, Krystal, & Greenberg, 1984; van der Kolk & Kadish, 1987, Herman, 1992 Janoff-Bulman, (1992), McCann and Pearlman 1990) and many others. The critical point here is that the theories

of this framework have evolved gradually over time it is no longer possible to point to a single person as the originator of the framework. Even though there are other frameworks the researcher prefers (Carlson, 1997: 23) framework because it expands upon previous theories by addressing the effects of a wider variety of traumatic events including political torture. The framework also incorporates the causal connections between traumatic experiences and responses and in doing so constructs hypotheses that can be empirically defined and tested.

This framework can be applied to wider variety of traumatic events including events that would not be part of the same traumatic experience due to its flexibility. It can also be used to apply in the very wide range of traumatic events from early and chronic traumas to adult and single event trauma. The researcher has also chosen tools that are flexible and which can be used by any researcher in the field of trauma and not only by medical psychological clinicians. The framework allows the researcher to address the theoretical connection between the traumatic events and later symptoms. The aspects covered in this dissertation account for most dimensions that are considered potential traumatic to humans.

What really causes an experience to be traumatic? In such events that often cause sudden, severe and emotional suffering the researcher must make the defining features clear. (Green 1993 in Carlson 1997: 26) gives generic dimensions to trauma experiences as those that would include threats to life and limbs, severe physical harm and/or injury, receipt of intentional injury or harm, exposure to the grotesque, violent or sudden loss of loved one, witnessing or learning of violence to a loved one, learning of an exposure to a noxious agent, and causing death or severe harm to another. (Ibid 1997: 26) mentioned these experiences which should be considered to be potentially traumatic to humans and they including human aggressions (e.g., physical, sexual assaults and terrorist acts; socially

sanctioned aggression (e.g., war) traumatic deaths, (e. g., sudden death of a loved one); and witnessing death or violence. The likely hood of witnessing violent death and the presence of human remains buried, dismembered, mutilated or restively intact is bound to cause traumatic response in most normal people, (Ursano and Mc Carroll 1994: 54). It should be mentioned that defining the features of potentially traumatic events will not necessarily provide an adequate explanation for their effects. In a way the framework must endeavor to explain why some events evoke a traumatic response in some people but not in others as mentioned before.

One explanation to the above question is given by the (American Psychiatric Association, 1994: 427-428). In that manual they define traumatic event as one that involves “*actual or threatened death or serious injury or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others*” and a response of “*intense fear, helplessness, or horror.*” Most of this conceptualization is contained and defined features of traumatic event as reflected in Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder (DSM) Diagnostic Criterion A for PTSD. (DSD or ASD) dissociate disorders or acute stress disorder are some of the conditions that survivors suffer from mentioned in the same manual but are not part of what the researcher is dealing with in this research. The mental disposition, the socio-political and economic conditions of the victim often have a bearing on how he/she responds.

Traumatic Event

Carlson and colleagues (Furby, Armstrong and Shlaes, 1997 in Carlson 1997: 28) came up with three features which they identified as aspects that would result in an event being traumatizing. These are: The perception of the event as having a highly negative valence, the suddenness of the experience and uncontrollability. The researcher has added two from (Basoglu 1997) which are; the inability of the individual or group to control the events and the unavoidable nature of the event. (Herman 1992) also added one which is the threat to

the individual's physical safety and psychic integrity. The researcher would like to add one more aspects to the list given above i.e., the distraction of property and means of one's livelihood are major issues in traditional cultures. In this study, the researcher has come up with seven aspects that lead him to decide whether an event is traumatic or not.

It must be ascertained as to whether the victims had a way in which they could have avoided the event. In torture as traumatic events the victims have very little room if any to avoid the negative event. The threat to the tribe or community is also such a stressful thing that bring shame and guilty particularly to the men in the community who should defend the family. Stressful negative events occurring after a trauma often exacerbate a trauma response.

All the seven aspects mentioned are part of the qualitative phenomenology that makes up the traumatic experience. These five stand as the prominent evidence of psycho-somatic nature on one side and on the other hand the socio-cultural context of this research and as a result should form the basis of a grid to be used to assess the event that brought trauma in Tsholotsho. An experience should be considered traumatic if it has a severely negative valence, which means causing physical and emotional pain and injurious or causes death. Pain, injury or death is likely to trigger the fear instinct. Fear is an emotion that evolves to facilitate the avoidance of pain injury or death. Not only failing to avoid these negative outcomes but also believing that you are likely to fail to protect yourself or others from negative outcomes results in psychological and emotional pain, (Carlson; 1997).

Lack of controllability of an experience is also defined as a feature of a traumatic event. Because protection from harm is a basic component of human and animal survival, human beings seek to control their environment so that they can protect themselves from harm, (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978 and Foa, et al., 1989; and Mineka & Kilhstrom, 1978 in Carlson, 1997: 32) have argued that a lack of controllability of events is a defining

element of trauma. Coming upon a scene of murder or witnessing a murder or people bleeding profusely and not having any control over the situation or ability to prevent the person's death is likely to be traumatic. (Foa 1992) and his colleagues have argued that lack of controllability of events is a defining element of trauma.

The suddenness of an event can also become an element of potential trauma. The critical factor is the amount of time between the person's awareness of danger and the danger itself because it is the time a person has to act or to process the negative event. It is clear that some similar events may not be traumatic because they give the victim ample time to process the negative event, (Janoff- Bulaman; 1992 in Carlson 1997: 31). Here is one of the reasons why some people may not be negatively affected by an event which affects others badly.

A threatening event may be that a friend, neighbor or parent is hacked down, struck by lightning or by a car, or has a sudden heart attack, it is traumatizing if it occurred rather abruptly. If a loved one, did not afford one time to adapt to the experience cognitively or emotionally one is overwhelmed. This becomes a threat to the individual's or groups' physical safety and psychic integrity or sense of self. An injury to one's sense of self is some thing that normally happens with no clear physical and visible signs outwardly.

As far as the community is concerned like a person it has a group conscience that is cemented by norms and values. This group conscience synchronizes the behaviour and sense of belonging which creates a bond of oneness. Their sense of self is based on ubuntu i.e. humanness that I am by the people who are around me. "Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu," (Mbiti, 1969: 11 and Sonkosi Z 2004). The doctrine of ubuntu is critical not only in the way in which the Tsholotsho survivors perceived themselves but how they respond to Mugabe and Shonas. It is with flabbergast and a sense of heightened surprise as they try to

comprehend what and why it happened to them. The perception that an event has high negative valence often leads to the development of a sense of danger and negatively affects the people. Apart from these effects mentioned above the event does not have any other positive outcome at all apart from those of the perpetrators. The researcher will now go into some of the common response to which is associated with chronic trauma.

Common Responses to Chronic Trauma

Pictures painted by the symptoms of a traumatized person vary because of the characteristics of the trauma and a number of other factors about the circumstances and background of the person affected.

(Carlson 1997: 75) suggested that researchers must consider the pre-trauma conditions of the people involved for an example individual's biological characteristics, developmental level, and social context. Social support following trauma and subsequent life events are critical in determining extend of trauma, i.e. severity of the stressor. The length of time since the trauma and the chronicity of the individual's traumatic experience help in assessing the actual symptoms. One scholar came up with the idea that traumas should be looked at in two ways, one way is to put one time event traumas as (*Type I*) on one side and repeated long standing, or chronic traumas as (*Type II*) on the other, Terr 1991 in (Carlson 1997:75). Examples of chronic traumas are said to be repeated assaults over years, wars, and refugee experiences. The time period under research is about six years and within that period many traumatic experiences were repeated as people were exposed to other traumatic events which concretized the original trauma. The researcher in this case is more interested in the Type II traumas due to their chronic nature. It is therefore believed that chronocity is a critical determinant of the nature of trauma and its responses.

As the researcher continues building a conceptual framework for traumatic experiences and events it is important to identify the kind of responses which are common and tend to follow chronic traumatic experiences. Even though there are plenty of high magnitude stressors and responses to sudden danger or pain there are basically two categories of responses that are considered by many scholars. These are re-experiencing and avoidance symptoms. The symptoms include intrusive thoughts in those involved in combat and war related traumas. The trauma under research also involves civilians who are survivors of politically induced violence and torture. (Hendrix, Jurich & Schumm, 1994 Horowitz, 1993, in Carlson 1997: 85) all support the general position that these responses can be manifested cognitively, affectively, behaviorally and physiologically. In the same list is the inclusion of cognitive avoidance which was observed by (Rynearson & McCreery 1993) as they studied murder of a family member. Affective re-experiencing in the form of high level of anxiety and anger in sexual abuse and war veterans in chronic traumas has been recorded by (Pynoos, 1993 and Keane et al., 1990 given by Carlson 1997: 84). Behavioural avoidance is said to be difficult to measure because it happens without conscious intention or awareness. High levels of aggression toward others have also been observed in chronic traumatic expediencies that have been studied again in war situations and veterans, (Lasko, Gurvits, Kuhne, Orr and Pitman 1994). All these scholars quoted on this page are sited in the book by (Carlson 1997) entitled Trauma Assessment. Physiological avoidance often is revealed by numbing in the form of analgesia especially in individuals who sustain traumatic injuries, (Carlson 1997: 79). These come in as phases of reliving the trauma and a period of denial. During the time of reliving the survivor might experience weeks of anxiety, restlessness intrusive thoughts, sleeplessness and emotional numbness. Avoidance is a defense mechanism to protect one's self from further hurts and pain. The objective at this point in the research is to look for evidence of such common response and the formulation of an empirical method of how to identify them. Avoidance

of physical pain is one of the clear instincts that can be observed in all human beings. If therefore a person or a group of people are not able to control a sudden severe physical pain due to potential damaging to the self or other trauma will result. Fear response is a natural reflex whose function is to motivate the individual or group to avoid further injury or pain.

Secondary and Associative Responses of Trauma

Secondary and associated symptoms are common responses to survivors of chronic trauma and yet they are symptoms which are not part of the core responses. The terminologies are descriptive since they explain what these responses are: secondary or associative responses. They are not the primary responses nor a direct response but response of other stressors which affect the survivor after the original trauma. The symptoms are more overt and can easily be identifiable. (Carlson, 1997: 53) suggested that these normally develop as a result of exposure to all kinds of elements similar or worse to the initial traumatic environment. Secondary responses are a “second wave” of symptoms that follow the initial trauma responses and they develop in response to the core trauma symptoms. Associative symptoms develop as a result of exposure to concomitant elements of the traumatic environment. In some ways these responses show the causal and temporal progression of behaviours rather than clinical response as effects of trauma. Most of these are not caused by the trauma itself directly but appear later as a result of the cognitive, affective, behavioral, or physiological manifestations of re-experiencing and avoidance, (Carlson E, B. 1997). Cases of depression, aggression, lack of self esteem, identity confusion, difficulties in interpersonal relationships and shame are common. In Tsholotsho survivors have problems with guilt and shame because of what was done to them as individuals, family, community and tribe. A sense of being humiliated and dignity stripped off by another tribe seems to be the greater cause of angst amongst many Ndebele men. Shame reflects a sense of responsibility but accompanied by embarrassment and disgrace. That is

part of Mr. R. Mazitsha (questionnaire no. 63) problem with a wife who was shot five times, and in the process lost an eye and a six seven month old son but survived the ordeal. Shame is his main cause of trauma because He does not know how to respond to his wife. He ran away when all these things happened to his wife.

The other equally important problem in the survivors in Tsholotsho is the interpersonal relationships. Most of the people do not trust outsiders especially Shona. As a result they find it hard to develop new relationships and it becomes a double edged sword because they can not cope with themselves and worse still others find them to be cold. Anger and aggression are often the evidence. Identity crises and low self esteem are experienced by combat veterans as a “second wave” response and any other person who was traumatized. In such circumstances either depression or aggressive behaviours ensue,(Briere, 1992, Gil, 1998, McCann and Pearlman, 1990 in Carlson 1997: 54). The (Ndebele) Tsholotsho people struggle to relate to the rest of the tribes because the rest of Zimbabweans perceive them as difficult and aggressive people. Immigrating to South Africa for the Ndebele is a way of dealing with this problem of identity. It is easier to identify with a foreigner than a Shona in Zimbabwe.

Depression is sometimes described as a perception of a loss of control over one’s ability to modulate or control own feelings of anxiety or anger. This comes as a loss of control which results in loosing home, possessions and loved ones. Traumatic situations can also result in lack of control and problems because one has no means of how to get personal safety and be protection from harm. The belief that one has no control over what happens to him/her can lead to despair more so when the events that occur are negative, (Seligman. 1975 cited Carlson 1997; 55) Seligman quoted above goes on to buttresses the researcher’s point by adding that people who are exposed to negative and painful events that are uncontrollable tend to stop resisting the harm. Lethargy, negative thinking, negative emotions and apathy are some of the responses of people who have learnt that they are

helpless and can not prevent themselves from harm. This happened to many women who were raped at the base camps in Tsholotsho. To demonstrate the women's indignation two of these children are given the name of a song which these soldiers used to force people to sing e.i. Skondo.

Evidence of these symptoms in the survivors in Tsholotsho must be sought as a proof. These responses are mentioned here because the trauma discussed in this research took place over twenty years ago and as a result some of the responses on the ground could be associative and secondary chronic trauma. Secondary and associated symptoms have been found to be prominent long term manifestations of chronic trauma responses. These include elevated levels of depression in refugees, veterans and prisoners of war, Carlson and Rosser-Hogan 1993 and Carlson and Rosser-Hogan, 1991 in (Carlson 1997: 85 and 88). The researcher has observed a variety of responses from Tsholotsho survivors which need to be unpacked and ascertained as to whether they are definitely secondary and associative. Questionnaires 72, 84, 54 and 62 reveal some of the secondary and associative symptoms on survivors of Gukurahundi in Tsholotsho.

Factors that Influence Trauma Responses

This issue arises from the fact that survivors do not react the same way even though they may have been subjected to the same trauma conditions. It has been proved that some develop PTSD and others have dissociative stress disorders, (van der Kolk; 1987b in Carlson 1997: 37). These factors help the researcher in ascertaining the actual trauma as a result of a negative event as he considers the factors that cause the survivors to react in different but specific manner. What are the factors that may be fundamental to the unlocking of the traumatic conditions in which the people of Tsholotsho are subjected to since the period of the massacre? Factors which are generally considered are: individual

biological factors, developmental level at the time of the trauma, severity of the trauma, the social context of the individual both before and after the trauma and life events that occur prior and subsequent to the trauma. The last point made in here should help the researcher to look into the current economic, political and cultural factors in Tsholotsho 21 years after the massacre. In discussions with Mr. Ncube (Questionnaire no. 82) he seemed bitter that after having been removed by force by the White settlers from the land of their fore fathers in Filabusi to a wild animals infested area of Tsholotsho by force in the 1960s he could not understand how his own black government could cause such pain and suffering amongst other black people. The social context of the survivors play a part especial in an African closely knit community. If that close family is devastated there is no safety net to support the survivors in the community because the social infrastructure is incapacitated.

It was already clearly stated that the researcher is not seeking to discuss PTSD but ascertaining the scope and veracity of trauma in Tsholotsho. His argument are given in the previous chapter, hence there is no need for elaboration here. What is crucial is to give the framework for the researcher's interpretation of the data he has collected and its validity scientifically. This must lead to the conclusion of what kind of trauma if any is found in the people of Tsholotsho.

Studies of long term course of post-traumatic responses to chronic traumas indicate that these symptoms can persist for years or even decades. PTSD symptoms have been reported up to 50 years following chronic trauma in prisoners of war refugees and war veterans, (Hunter 1993 in Carlson 1997: 93). Elevated levels of affective re-experiencing in the form of aggression have also been observed in persons with histories of chronic trauma. Avoidance is evident in early sexually abused children as a form of dissociation. Secondary and associative symptoms have also been found to be prevalent and prominent long term

manifestations of chronic trauma responses. All these symptoms are of great interest to the researcher because the trauma being researched on happened over twenty years ago. Hence trauma responses, symptoms, duration and the social background must be examined in order to come to some credible and conclusive decision.

Challenges to Assessing Trauma

There are serious challenges to assessing trauma which are critical because the researchers must minimize the likelihood of clients reporting inaccurately for whatever reason and him misinterpretation of data. In the process of assessing trauma, the danger of re-traumatizing survivors is also very real. In order to meet this scientific goal when assessing trauma the researcher must first understand factors which are likely to contribute to error in trauma reports. It must be mentioned right here that the subject of the accuracy of trauma measuring has been an on going debate that has not yet been exhausted and this research will not even try to, (Carlson, 1997: 98). More so in the light of the debate raging about the socio-political nature of torture which is the kind of trauma the researcher is dealing with. Suffice to say that it is important to be aware of it because to be fore warned is to be forearmed. These challenges could be cultural back ground, social conditions and situational factors that influence the symptoms. Sometimes it could be an adult or child affected in some cases it is underreporting or over reporting.

In cases of African cultures and symbols, like the one in question, the various genres of riddles, proverbs, songs, folk tales, historical narratives and myths must be studied in order to be understood, (Shorter 1998:57). If cultural values are understood through these symbols mentioned above it goes without saying that any body who seeks to know and understand the African people must be aware of such aspects. Without understanding the African taboos and symbols which are part of the culture will lead to mis-interpretation of trauma in Tsholotsho. Challenges in language and memory recollection are some of the

problem in trauma assessment. Some survivors develop amnesia which results in underreporting.

In over reporting the adults sometimes tend to embellish as they report their stories. The danger in this situation is glorification or perceiving the survivor as a better person than the victimizer. Whether some body is a victim or not there must be equal assessment in order to avoid unnecessary veneration of other people which will end up giving inaccurate assessment. The other problem is when the researcher does not use properly formulated measures to assess trauma. Here is an example of such measure to be avoided. It is called the “*Shona Symptom Questionnaire*” (SSQ14), this questionnaire is currently being used in and around Harare to assess the level of trauma to the local people due to the stress caused by political violence of 2008 national presidential violent election. Strangely, it has been validated by the United Nations who are using the results from it.

The Shona Symptom Questionnaire (SSQ14)

Musvondo rapfura... (During the course of the past week)

- | | |
|--|--------|
| 1. Did you have times in which you were thinking deeply or thinking about many things. | Yes/No |
| 2. Did you find yourself sometimes failing to concentrate? | Yes/No |
| 3. Did you lose your temper or get annoyed over trivial matters? | Yes/No |
| 4. Did you have nightmares or bad dreams? | Yes/No |
| 5. Did you sometimes see or here things which others could not hear? | Yes/No |
| 6. Is your stomach aching? | Yes/No |
| 7. Were you frightened by trivial things? | Yes/No |
| 8. Did you fail to sleep or lose sleep? | Yes/No |
| 9. Were there moments when you felt life was so tough that you cried or wanted to cry? | Yes/No |
| 10. Did you feel run down (tired)? | Yes/No |
| 11. Did you at times feel like committing suicide? | Yes/No |
| 12. Were you generally unhappy with things you were doing each day? | Yes/No |

13. Is your work lagging behind Yes/No
14. Did you feel you had problems in deciding what to do? Yes/No

Total Score _____

(UN approved Shona violence questionnaire 2009)

This is a United Nations Health Questionnaire validated for Zimbabwe. Whilst validation is important the researcher does not see how this questionnaire which is shallow and so general could be chosen and be accepted as appropriate to be used, more so by the United Nations (UN). This questionnaire could have been for anything including HIV and AIDS, hunger, or even work related abuses. How on earth it can be used to validate trauma caused by violence in Mashonaland is a mystery. The researcher does not believe that this kind of questionnaire is able to ascertain the extent of trauma and therefore should not even be used.

Trauma Measurement

Researchers and clinicians are supposed to be aware of the various scientific developments of standardized instruments with acceptable psychometric properties. These instruments must be capable of measuring traumatic events and symptoms which are associated with the modern day trauma, PTSD and torture. The researcher has communicated his decision not to use PTSD as a diagnosis but *chronic 'on going' trauma* based on the psych-social approach. Here are the reasons for not using PTSD.

They are five fold:

1. The individualistic or self centred/egocentric approach is not culturally sensitive and relevant to Tsholotsho where a socio-centric and cultural approach would work better.

2. There is a lack of medically trained and skilled human resources in Tsholotsho and Africa to deal with millions who are traumatized.
3. PTSD is limited in its scope in that it does not seriously consider the event itself and the duration.
4. PTSD assesses of trauma emphasizes the symptoms perspective and down play the socio-political causes of trauma.
5. The word “post” is misleading in that the trauma stress is not post but may be on going in all these situations.
6. It does not recognize that torture is a form of trauma which must be considered on its on.

The initial majority instruments used have focused on the assessment of American combat veterans. It is no surprise that recent validation and development of instruments for assessing torture survivor have been influenced by that initial research on the veteran, (Calson, 1997). Developing an assessment plan and strategy for the researcher has adapted the strategy below which seems appropriate to the work and context he is dealing with.

This seems to be the first or pioneer work in this direction hence it may not be as conventional as others that have already been developed. The main attraction is its inclusivity in considering both the symptoms and the event and the additional social and cultural conditions including the biological aspects in assessing trauma. (Herman 1992) stated that the biological, psychological and social factors that converge often perpetuate the long term consequences of trauma. (Saporta, van der Kolk, Mcfarlane and Weisaeth 2007: 151) collaborate Herman’s inclusion of the social and cultural conditions as determinant of the extent and perpetuation of trauma.

It is discussed that the incomprehensibility of the event will lead to the person's inability to make sense of the experience which can easily overwhelm a person's psychological capacity to cope. Due to extreme physiologic arousal traumatic stress is induced. Torture is inherently incomprehensible and is compounded by the fact that the torture structures the environment to maximize confusion.

Unpredictability sets in and the victim is removed from the known to the unknown which is a conducive atmosphere and territory that suits the torturer. Human beings have a biological based need to form attachments with others. When that attachment is rent away from you anxiety is created. Torture often takes away people from the familiar surroundings and they are normally blindfolded. Yet it is in times of stress and threat of danger that our need to attach to others is greatly increased (Becker, 1973, in Carlson 1997: 153).

Selecting a Trauma Measure

A standardized instrument with acceptable psychometric properties capable of measuring traumatic events and symptoms is a requirement. They are instruments measuring trauma events even though they are designed for events associated with PTSD. It therefore means that what the researcher is trying to do may be new in the psycho-social but is not unique in trauma research. Here is an example of traumatic event measuring instrument.

Obtaining a highly precise report of past events is neither necessary nor particularly useful at the time of assessment. The researcher evaluating trauma history of the survivor for purely objective purposes is more interested in the memories about traumatic events than in factual account of past events. In discussions, the survivors' perceptions of events are more influential in development of symptoms than the actual events themselves. (Herman 1992 in Carlson 1997:99) reported a long and on going tendency to ignore and forget

victims of traumatic events that were man made and the societal forces that seems to encourage them as they concentrate on natural disasters.

Researchers must bear in mind that survivors' reports of their experiences are not always wholly accurate and sometimes they are patently false. This is done in order to get compensation or leniency when accused of a crime sometimes the survivor does not want to give information about that particular incident. It is not always easy to tell whether he/she is lying, delusions, or misperceptions of experience. Survivors' reports may be inconsistent because of gradual increase in access to memories of abuse, pain or mixed feelings about facing the reality of what happened to them. The subtleness of the connections between experiences and symptoms are not always clear in the survivor's presentations. In most of these cases survivors must be given ample time to talk about their experiences of abuse and trauma. Issues of amnesia are very real and the researcher must take them into consideration. Over-reporting and under-reporting are other problems encountered by the researchers. Forgetfulness is very common in some survivors and hence they do not remember as much. Others would like to embellish in their reporting by adding more to the stories. As the researcher develops this assessment strategy a decision has to be made on which domain of experience and symptoms to assess. Secondly the survivor's level of comprehension, language to be used, content, format, reliability and validity of the measure are all important aspect to be considered. Self help and interviews have several advantages in the assessment of traumatic experiences and responses. They are readily available to the researchers and they require no special equipment and are relatively little training to administer.

Issues to be consider are again as have been mentioned before are, the domain of experiences, how traumatic the event was, what are the symptoms available currently, the common responses, the length and complexity of the situation. Reliability and validity have been covered in the previous section.

Developing an Assessment Strategy

Self-Reports and Interviews

As the research discusses and chooses the framework and an assessment tool kit to be used in this study he has chosen (Carlson 1997) as the spring board for his research. Carlson 's book Trauma Assessment has a variety of frameworks and different assessment tools that will be able to assist him. Even though (Carlson, 1997: 132) does not specifically deal with torture as the basis of the trauma her book has enough examples to cover it. She explained in her own words that *“in this book, I focus on measure and interviews that can be used with most clients, regardless of the type of trauma.”*

This kind of approach to research has a lot of advantages for the assessment of traumatic experiences and responses. The self report measures are readily available to clinicians and researchers, need relatively little training to administer and do not require special equipment. The researcher prefers this self reports measure because of its reliability and validity.

In this case the role of co-researcher becomes a critical issue in terms of validation and reliability. Obviously with such intense emotions involved there is need for a clear strategy to be developed. It must be taken into consideration that the researcher's case happened over twenty years ago.

At this juncture the researcher is jumping into a novel territory since there has been no one known to the researcher who has developed a psycho-social assessment strategy for trauma. The psycho-social approach is based on the community and their world view without

necessarily referring to the individual. This psycho-social assessment strategy has to be reliable and validated.

Reliability and Validity

The importance of reliability and validity of the measurement can never be over emphasized when designing and developing a framework and toolkit for interpreting trauma. Reliability and validity of the measures used in a research do matter and have a bearing on whether the researcher has accurately assessed and effectively measured the experiences and events in question. The need for scientific compatibility with other studies in similar research is safe guarded by a standard measure used, (Carlson 1997: 136)

Reliability of a measure refers to the consistency of responses to the measure used and there are different reliability indices that address consistency of scores. These reliability tests are across time: test-retest reliability, across different items in the same measure (internal reliability) and across different scores (inter-rater reliability.) On test retest the measure is given twice to the same person in not less than two weeks apart. If the results are consistent it shows that the measuring trauma history and trauma symptoms to be the same. If a measure shows good internal reliability it means there is consistency in people's answers to questions across different items in the measure. This is normally done by calculating the average correlation of all possible pairs of items in a measure or subscale. This reliability is especially used in psychological phenomena. If the measure shows inter-rater reliability it means that the scores determined by two different interviews of the same measure would be consistent with one another. Sometimes an inter-rater is used when two researchers administer the same structured interviews to a survivor and each should come up with the same score. If the score come up very different then there will be a problem.

The validity of a measure refers to whether the measure accurately assesses the construct or set of experiences it is designed to measure. Even though there are so many kinds of validity and what is most relevant depends on the purpose the researcher has for the measure. The validity on trauma measures trauma responses including convergent validity and concurrent validity. Convergent validity is used to determine if two scores on two different measures of the same construct are strongly related. Obviously this depends on whether the two were meant to measure the same thing.

Concurrent or criterion related validity is used to determine whether scores from a measure are consistent with some other criterion related to the construct you are measuring. An example of this validity is used in order to determine whether the diagnosis of PTSD made from a brief self report scale was the same as that made by a very lengthy and thorough diagnosis process. The researcher is really encouraged by this validity because it brings the findings made by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) in 1994 side by side with the results of this research. The validation on this research is by bringing it side by side with other research results of the same event or any other as the trauma responses are considered to give it authenticity. The researcher has found out that the work done by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace was more general in scope than what he has endeavored to do. His findings are more than that of the Catholics, may be this is due to sampling of Tsholotsho and an in depth nature of the research.

The Allodi Trauma Scale (Allodi, 1985)

This event measure has these aspects:

-Structured interviews designed to document the torture experience.

- It is a 41 item questionnaire to assess traumatic experiences associated with political persecution, imprisonment disappearances and death of individuals and families.

-Seven other aspects are included are: non-violent persecution, arrest history, physical torture, deprivation during imprisonment, sensory manipulation and psychological torture and ill treatment and violence of family members. A respondent can receive a subtotal score for each section as well a total score between 0 to 40 measuring his/her total trauma/ torture experience. (Basoglu 1992:269) This measure is very much what the research is trying to produce with the social chart measure in this chapter. This can be done as centres in the home area of the survivors but they emphasize the social responsibility of the community. In South Africa they had Appropriate Social Services (OASSA) during the apartheid period. It was composed of psychologists, psychiatrists' nurses and social workers, Dowdall T, in his article Torture and the Healing Professions in South Africa in (Basoglu 1997: 466)

At this point the reason for selecting a measure is for reliability and validity purposes. Carlson (1997) mentioned that it must be kept in mind that the trauma field is relatively new and is rapidly evolving. It therefore means that information about the reliability and validity of measures of trauma will continue to accumulate and change as more studies are undertaken. The researcher has chosen this measure below because it fits more appropriately with the context of this research.

Trauma Assessment for Adults (TAA) Self Report

Recommended Use;

Brief screening for trauma history in clinical or research settings

Special features

It includes detailed assessment of childhood/adult sexual assault or any physical assault, including probes to assess threat, injury, and penetration to allow evaluation of severity of incidents. The destruction of property must be included here.

General Descriptive Information

Events assessed: traumatic events, high magnitude stressors, combat, accidents, disasters, serious illnesses, sexual assaults, physical assaults, assault with weapons, witnessing death or serious injury, friend /family member killed/murdered or disappearance.

Number of Items; Time to Administer

13 items depending on traumatic experiences

Response format:

Yes/No and other open ended questions

Training required administering:

None specified

Sample item;

Can you tell me what happened when they arrived at your village and where were you?

How did you recognize the people that you are describing to me write now?

Type of outcome measure provided:

Count of stressor events and count of stressor events with threat or injury.

Aspects of traumas assessed:

These include; the event, age and time when this last happened and perceptions that subjects had about the threat of being killed or injured.

Time frame assessed:

25 years and more

Development notes:

(H. Resnick, C, Best, D.Kilpatrick, J. Freedyand S. Falsetti in Carlson 1997: 203-4)

This measure profile has been adapted from the Potential Stressful Events Interview (Kilpatrick et al, 1991)

This trauma assessment measure for this research looks at the event, the symptoms and responses of trauma, the length and the complexity of the situation. Event assessed, event measured and types of trauma give information about the range of symptoms a measure covers, (Norris & Riad 1996). Response format also determines the freedom with which the survivors response to the structured interviews. Even though most of the traumas in this category are assessed for the entire life time the researcher is looking at the period from the day of the event to date. This is about a generation if one takes the life expectance of 37 years for an ordinary Zimbabwean, (United Nations Report on Human Rights in Zimbabwe November 2008).

Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (HTQ)

The (HTQ) was designed to measure the trauma events and symptoms of Indochinese refugees, most of whom had survived torture and the trauma of mass violence, (Mollica et

al 1991). Basoglu (1992: 322) explained that this instrument was developed in three languages using methods of cross-cultural instrument. It includes three sections and the first one is, a 17 trauma events historically accurate for assessing the Indochinese refugee experience. The second section consists of an open ended question which asks respondent to describe the most terrifying events that have happened to him/her. The third section includes 30 symptoms related to the torture and trauma experience. The initial validation of the questionnaire revealed the ability of the HTQ to correctly classify Indochinese patients with PTSD. Even though the author talks about PTSD here the researcher accepts it as that which represents trauma in the questionnaire which is the subject objective of this chapter and research. The HTQ was primarily developed as a clinical tool to assist the screening of refugees, (Basoglu 1992). It also provided a culturally sensitive instrument for measuring torture, trauma events and symptoms which can be adapted for use with other non-English speaking populations.

People find it difficult to discuss their pain and troubles in a foreign language because some of the emotions can not be verbalized but can only be exhibited. If they speak of their pain and suffering in alienated language it means that the particular individual, social, cultural and historic characteristics of their suffering could be lost. There is therefore the danger that the power and influence of 'science' and in particular the influence of international scientific community is so strong that it tends to marginalize local knowledge. It can easily over whelm and over shadow the small and emerging truth and voices in the field of study. A community based and culturally sensitive approach is what the researcher is looking for.

There are three provisions of this assessment measure which are critical which have persuaded the researcher to use this measure as the bases for trauma assessment in this research. This is what the researcher calls the three fold assessment approach: the events,

the questionnaire and the symptoms consideration. As the research moves into the instruments to be used this three fold assessment approach must always be borne in mind. The Gukurahundi Trauma Questionnaire has been developed along the same lines as the Harvard Questionnaire.

Matebeleland Massacre (Gukurahundi) Trauma Questionnaire (MMTQ)

1. What do you remember about Gukurahundi Massacre of 1982-1987?
2. Where did you live during the disturbances and how old were you?
3. In what way were you affected, as an individual or family during the disturbances?
4. Do you know for sure who did what you mentioned and for what reason?
5. Can you describe your experience and how it happened?
6. Can you explain your feelings now about what you went through?
7. Have you been able to deal with this problem?
8. Has the Church played any role in helping the survivors of the massacres?
9. Has the government done anything in acknowledging the problem?
10. What do you suggest should be done about the survivors and victimizers?

These are optional questions which are not asked every interviewee but are normally given to informal discussion groups.

1. Did you feel any threat to the family or community?
2. Do you discuss or talk about these things at home or not and if not why?

Because of the Harvard questionnaire and its cultural sensitivity the researcher is convinced that profiling trauma in the language of the victim is the most effective and relevant way of assessing trauma.

Language is the central organ or vehicle of culture. “Language is to culture what DNA is to reproduction,” Jane Collier and Rafael Esteban in (Shorter, 1998: 24). Survivors’ language must be used to consider the complexities of human life and its emotions.

Trauma Defined in African (Ndebele) Context

In coming up with an African (Ndebele) definition the researcher is trying to express trauma in the same way the survivors are putting it and not impose his on or borrowed terms, feelings and perceptions. The trauma the researcher is studying is like any other it is in a context within a cultural set up and has a distinct world view. The stories and symbols carry and capture the essence of the pain and suffering caused hence words and expressions used must be observed and analyzed in that context, (Shorter 1998). Meaning in any African culture is found in words, stories, symbols and songs they sing, (Mbiti 1969). What are the kinds of words, stories, songs and plays which the people of Matebeleland Tsholotsho use that can point us in the right direction. Stories are given in historical narratives which are not just symbolic stories like myth but factual accounts of past events based on first or second-hand evidence usually told for a human interest or prove a moral truth, (Bozongwana, 1983:52). Shorter in his book titled “Songs and Symbols of Initiation” elaborated on this point as well, (Shorter: 1987). (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2003) used the same approach as well as tried to bring the extent of suffering and not necessarily trauma in his writings. It is reported that when people were asked about the soldiers and what they did, their quickly respond would be, “*basibulala mntanami*”, which means, “they killed us my child”.

Words

Words like “*ukhulukuluzeka*” which means to be traumatized and “*ukhululukelwa*” meaning anguish of soul or spirit are used in times of death of a loved one and when people

are experience excruciating pain.

Ukuhlukuluzwa emoyeni, meaning spiritually traumatized

Ukuhlukuluzwa enhlizweni, meaning emotionally traumatized

Ukuhlukuluzwa engqondweni, meaning psychologically traumatized

Ukuhlukuluzwa emzimbeni, meaning physically traumatized.

These are some of the ways in which people express their feelings

In speaking to a lot of people in Tsholotsho they say, “amanxeba eGukurahundi lokhu silawo kapholanga” (Questionnaire no. 60) and this means literally, “we still have the Gukurahundi wounds.”

This does not necessary mean they are physical and visible even though others may be quick to show you. One elderly lady who is 95years old (questionnaire no) said to the researcher, “kunjenge izolo mthanami” (Questionnaire no, 19) which means “it feels as if it happened yesterday my son.” Yet another person says, “kubuhlungu” (Questionnaire No. 4) which means “what they did to us is painful” One man put it in this way, “babefuna ukusiqeda” (Questionnaire no, 59) here the man was saying, “these people wanted to wipe us out.”

Ukuhlulukelwa is often used when people are talking about emotional pain or anguish this would include loss of a loved one, friend or property. Structured interviews give the opportunity for detailed information about the feelings of the survivors and their experiences. Questionnaires and informal discussions afford the researcher a door to pry into past and current lives of the survivors. The traumatic events check list or self report scales for traumatic events can be used to determine whether the survivor has been exposed to a traumatic event. The key here is that the survivors use their mother language to

express themselves. American Psychiatric Association (1994) uses Criterion A to assess survivors. To fully meet Criterion A the survivor must have experienced both an event that involved actual or threatened death a (Criterion A-1) and he/she must have had a response involving intense fear, helplessness, or horror (Criterion B-2) (Carlson 1997: 179). The majority of survivors in Tsholotsho fall in the categories described above by both words of *ukuhlukuluzwa* and *ukuhlulukelwa* hence their trauma should be graded Criterion A-1 and Criterion B-2.

Stories

In a psych-social program in Kosovo a student contributed to the researcher's understanding of the past events and their importance by the story below. In that testimony given the past and its recollection were both characterized by affliction, pain and anguish. Here is a conversation with Valon a 12 year old boy that survived a firing squad but was seriously wounded:

“What is bothering you?” he was asked.

“Everything”, he replied.

“For example, Can you be more precise?”

“I always wander around in my memory.”

“What do you think about?”

About that day only Salvatici emphasized that the narration of these memories are infused with pain and become a way of expressing anguish. To see and face its consequences in the present could be as traumatizing, (Salvatici in Losi 2000: 126).

As far as stories are concerned in this community there is no one without a story to tell. It is these stories that lead the researcher to the pain and trauma as survivors lose sight of the presence and of other people as they look inward and get lost deep in their emotions before

they would emerge to continue with the story. Sometimes they would change the details to another situation. As one person shares her/ his story he/she calls some relative or someone sitting nearby to affirm or verify what he/she is saying. “*Kwakungu 1983 sivuna umumbu, lapha kwakule iziphala ezimbili zingcwele amabele Za thunqa zatsha zaphela du.*” (Questionnaire no, 12) This means , “it was in 1983 was it not, when we were harvesting maize, on that spot were two store rooms full of millet which they lit and burnt to ashes.” One man said to the researcher “*Angithi umalume bamubulalela konapha egumeni Himi engamqibela laphana okulematshe kona.*” (Questionnaire no, 26) Isn’t it that they killed uncle here and I am the one who buried him there where there are those stones?

A lady whose husband was taken away said,

“I was pregnant and we were going to the mission station when all of a sudden they stopped us and asked us where we were going. They beat us with logs and the butt of their guns and kept us for more than five hours. I wet my self as they beat us because I was petrified and I thought they were going to kill us. In the evening they asked me to go home but they kept my husband whom they took with them to the Tank. “As I walked home I went past the dam wall and there were dead bodies and blood every where people had been killed and left in the open. I could not eat meat for some time.”

The Tank is a place where two main roads cross in the area. It is popular because that is the place where most of the people were dropped off by Ian Smith as they were forcefully removed from their fertile rural lands to be dumped in this tsetse fly infested area and wild game park during the time of colonialism. The Tank was the only source of water for every body including animals.) (Questionnaire No. 57)

These stories are so revealing and riveting to any listener as if one is watching a horror move unfolding right in front of your eyes. The trauma is in the eyes, mannerism and

intensity with which the people narrate their stories. Another lady told the researcher this story, she said, “at the borehole we were more than twenty where we were kept for three weeks. Women were raped and most men were tortured and others lost their teeth and some were killed in front of every body. One man was asked to fetch water whilst his wife was being raped by one of the soldiers. Chickens, goats and in rare cases a cow that belong to people who run away and abandon their home because of fear are taken and eaten at these base camps.” (*Questionnaire no. 62*)

Proverbs

There is a proverb in Ndebele which is applicable in our situation of trauma in Tsholotsho. This proverb reveals in some way the emotional position of the survivors’. It says, “*Ihloka eligamulayo liyakhohlwa khodwa isihlahla khasi khohlwe*” The interpretation is that “the axe that cut the tree will forget but the tree that is cut can not forget.” This is the feeling of the majority people in Tsholotsho that the government has forgotten what they did to us but we have not forgotten. In Rwanda they say, “If one (member of the family) eats a dog the whole family is called dog eaters.” This proverb reveals the communal sense of responsibility with which Rwandese attach to the relationship. What ever befalls or happens to the individual happens to the rest of the family or community. It also implies that if the individual is blessed the whole family or community is blessed (*Interview with Julian 2/7/2009 in Bujumbura*). One of the survivors said to the researcher, “*umphefumulo kauxoliseki*” What this means is that one can not bring the dead back with verbal words even if he/she apologizes. The loss of the dead is permanent.

Songs

Like in the Afro-American spirituals in which music played a role in their history of slavery both before and after emancipation, music continues to play the same role in their

cousins in Africa Tsholotsho today. Music becomes the barometer of the mood of the people: in times of tribulation it is exhortatory, defiant and supplicatory (*Pongweni, 1982:45*). (Du Bois 1903), an African American in (*Pongweni 1982: 50*) suggested that the Negro Spirituals are representative of a period of time in their struggle for survival during the slave trade. Like the Jews in captivity, underneath the broken words lay the epic intensity and a tragic profundity of emotional experience which is captured in the

Psalms. They may lack the grand style, but never the sublime effect, Locke 1969, in (*Pongweni 1982: ii*). The role music plays in the life of the African people is not a case of imagination but of certainty. *Cumbaya ma Lord Cumbaya. Cumbaya. Cumbaya ma Lord Cumbaya. Oh lord Cumbayo*. This song is an example of the Negro Spirituals which has been adopted by Africans. It is often sung in times of deep emotional crises situations. This song is an emotional cry for help from the almighty God.

Mbiti says, “Songs are another rich area to find repositories of ideas, wisdom and emotions” (*Mbiti, 1969 67*). He added that music and singing reach deep into the innermost parts of African people, many things come to surface under musical inspiration which otherwise may not be readily revealed. Music is often the voice of disappointment, it tells of death and suffering asks deep questions and unvoiced longing toward a truer world (Du Bois, 1903). There are instructional and informative songs that are refrains built around symbols for that purpose. The people of Matebeleland to which the people of Tsholotsho belong also sing songs with such rich meanings that need to be understood.

There is a song which is sung when Ndebeles are watching soccer in Bulawayo the second largest city of Zimbabwe and the capital city of the Ndebeles under Mzilikazi and Lobengula his son. The song says, “*ngilamlele mama nanka amaShona bayangibulala.*” “Here are the Shonas they want to kill me please mother help me.” This song is sung especially when Highlanders football club the team they support is under pressure or is

loosing. To them a Shona person is no longer any body who speaks the Shona as a language because there are Shonas in the team and amongst the supporters but any body who causes anguish of soul and pain. This is so because it reminds the Ndebeles of Gukurahundi. Another song the researcher would like to use is a song used at funerals. The song shares this message that, *Inzima lidlela ilameva iyahlaba guqlu uthandaze*. It literally means, this road is difficult it has thorns in order for one to walk in it one has to pray. The main thrust of the song is deep pain and trauma experienced by people. Song depicts life complexities which are unpredictable and often do not make sense and are unexplainable.

In defining trauma therefore the researcher had to bring together and consult with Ndebeles themselves. The names of these people are Mr. Peter Zwide Khumalo a 5th generation great, great grand son of Mzilikazi the founder of the Ndebele tribe and Felix Moyo a former teacher who is now into academia. The reason for the interpretation of these words, stories and songs is look for the trauma experiences and responses that are consistent with traumatic events. The symptoms and in some cases pain is still real to most of these people who have failed to move on with their lives. Anger and hatred simmers inside and come out only when there is an emotional event or experience that stirs it up and pushes it out. This is what Father Lapsley meant when he said, “*some people are caught up in a moment of history in their lives because of an incident, experience or event which has imprisoned them.*” (Seminar notes with Father Lapsley Bulawayo 3/10/ 2004) Trauma comes when a person or a group of people feel threatened as individuals, families, community or tribe and the event and experience is sudden, negative and unavoidable. (Mineka 1997 in Carlson 1997:42) African people in general live communally hence what affects an individual affects all, whether good or bad. This is the essence of “ubuntu” African humanness.

Ubuntu

An African (Ndebele) person has a world view that has as its core his or her spirituality. Ubuntu is the bases and the tie of a sense of belonging together in the community which forms this African spirituality. Ubuntu means “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu”. I am what I am by other people, (Nabudere 2004:12). Life is looked at as a whole and not compartmentalized. Gukurahundi seemed to have struck at the heart of that ubuntu. How can a black leader and a Zimbabwean do this to another black Zimbabwean? Why would he be that cruel and why did he want to annihilate us from the face of the earth? The perception of being attacked and sense of threat are enough reasons to feel insecure and in danger not necessarily as an individual but as a group.

Making a Decision on the Diagnosis

In getting to this point the researcher was aided by (Newman et al, 1996 in Carlson, 1997: 180) who suggested that researchers must look for convergence in the results from several measures and sources of information when a decision on diagnosis is made. Hence the researcher has taken the general factors that cause an event to be traumatic, the general responses to trauma and isolated the secondary and associated symptoms to come to a decision. This decision is then used along side the social chart for interpretation of data to come to a final decision

Five levels of Assessment in this Research

I -The event itself, analyzing what makes an event traumatic

II -General symptoms to trauma

III -The Questionnaire: Personal testimonies, allowing the survivors to tell their stories of what happened to them in terms suffering and loss.

IV –The secondary and associated responses to trauma

V – Social chart for data interpretation, How did the social political context play a role in causing survivors to suffer and a sense of threat to the tribe, community and family.

It is envisaged that in this way there is a concurrence of results and it will demonstrate without doubt the reliability and validity of the assessment and the results. The complexity of torture and its consequences cannot be adequately captured in a brief review. A multidimensional approach dealing with all aspects of torture and their effects is needed. (Basoglu 1992: 66) This is therefore the researcher's attempt to provide a multiplicity of aspects from which trauma caused by torture can be assessed

A New Grid for Trauma Assessment in this Research

A, What Makes an Event Traumatic?

- The event must be a sudden experience.
- The event must be extremely negative.
- The event must be uncontrollable.
- The event must be unavoidable. (Carlson, 1997; 44)

Key to interpretation: (SNUU)

General Symptoms

Mode, Re-experiencing and Avoidance

- Cognitive: *intrusive thoughts and images*. Amnesia/de-realization/depersonalization
- Affective: *anxiety and anger*. Emotional numbing/isolation of affect
- Behavioral: *increased activity & aggression*. Avoidance of trauma-related situations
- Physiologically: *reactivity to trauma reminders*. Sensory numbing

- Multiple modes: *flashbacks and nightmares*. Complex activities/dissociated states
(Carlson 1997:44)

Key interpretation CAPBM

Secondary and Associative Responses

- Depression
- Aggression
- Low self esteem
- Identity confusion
- Problems with int
- Guilt/Shame

Key to interpretation: D/A/LSE/I/PIR/G

This framework is adapted from (Carlson’s 1997) book, Trauma Assessments (A Clinician’s Guide)

Social Chart for Interpretation of Data

MAN	Physically	Property	Relative	Friends	Family	Results
Woman	hurt/injured	Destroyed	Killed/affected/	Affected	Community	M/W/C/23456
Children	Present		Disappearance		Tribal/clan	
1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	Threatened 6)	
Man	Pp	Pd	Rka	Fa	F/C/T	M_____

Woman	Pp	Pd	Rka	Fa	F/C/T	W_____
Children	Pp	Pd	Rka	Fa	F/C/T	C_____

Key: Social keys

- 1) M/W/ C
- 2) Pp/ Pd/ Rka/Fa/FCT
- 3) 23456
- 4) Typical result- M23456 this means the man was affected by all the five aspects tabled above.
- 5) W46 would mean that the woman only had friends affected and felt the community was under threat.
- 6)

Key to Data Interpretation

What makes an event traumatic = (SNUU)

Symptoms, Common General Responses to Trauma= (CABPM)

Secondary and associated symptoms=D/A/LSE/I/PIR/G

Social keys for interpretation gender and age= M/F/C

Injury to self /relatives or property= S/R/P

Personal injury, Death of family/relative members, Destruction of property and disappearance of relative and family/community and tribal threat=23456.

The associative and secondary symptoms are included in the framework as a way of safeguarding the results from any other symptom that may arise or influence the assessment which may not have been caused directly by the event in question. Taking these symptoms into consideration helps to protect the process and assures the validity of the results. The researcher has added another crucial aspect to the measurement tool for traumatic assessment which is the social dimension. He has called it the Social Chart for Data Interpretation. This is the socio-political milieu within which the atrocities took place and its cultural perspective. Added to the already established framework a much more comprehensive measurement tool for assessment which covers the event, symptoms and the socio-political context is conceived. It is believed that such a measurement is what is relevant and acceptable in the researcher's African context.

Coding and Analysis of Data

These are two tools of interpretation that happen simultaneously. In coding the researcher has assigned or grouped data in segments for analysis purpose. The researcher was inspired by Prof. Papadopolous of Tavistock Clinic and Essex University in England who suggested a chart for the interpretation of data as an assessment tool for trauma even though he was not dealing with the psycho-social aspect of trauma. The researcher has come up with six aspects on which to ascertain trauma and its severity on survivors. These are the consideration of men, women and children as they were affected separately in their own rights without down playing their gender and age. The gender and age reveal how people are affected by an event especially involving trauma. Whilst men can leave and disappear from the scene, women stay with their children and as a result bear the full brunt

of the violence and trauma (Questionnaire no. 53). Children can not fully understand why some body can come and threaten to kill the whole village without any provocation. The conceptualization of meaning and reality in trauma circumstances is quite a task to ask a child of about twelve or even ten years old. On the other hand, there were those who were physically present and got injured or who were exposed to gruesome and grotesque killings and torture of relatives, friends and neighbours. Yet still they are others whose relatives and family members disappeared and have not yet been found. The destruction of property should not be down played as a minor issue in this instance since it takes away people's livelihoods and source of sustenance. Lastly the researcher considered how the survivors were affected by the threat on the family, community, tribe and/or all of the three. Each questionnaire is scrutinized by being placed against all the six aspects chosen as means of assessing trauma in this research. The six aspects under consideration are: the event, the symptoms, associative and secondary symptoms, the questionnaire and social chart which include the gender and age as one aspect and finally the injury to self property or family.

Towards a conclusion of Trauma in Tsholotsho.

Trauma is therefore realizing you could have died and the same person who wanted to kill you is still alive and wields more power now than when he initially attempted. The hate language and attitude is repeated every four years during election campaigns. The sense of threat to life as an individual, group community and tribe is real. There is an insecurity and vulnerability brought about by the attack on the sense of self with the fear of death, disappearance and torture. If one considers the number of people who died, disappeared and maimed by Gukurahundi from the province it is not surprising that there still is fear, anger, and suffering in the province. This can hardly be classified as *post* but *on going* chronic trauma.

Most of the symptoms mentioned above fall in the category of common chronic trauma response which are; behavioural, cognitive, affective, and physiological and multiple modes. Re-experiencing and avoidance which are the core responses to trauma are evident in Tsholotsho. De-realization and de-personalization as survivors speak as if they are talking about somebody else yet they are talking about themselves is still common. One can easily tell how anxious they are as they remember the horrid stories of their lives that have refused to go away. The common reaction is not to talk about it. Ever so often in narrating their stories survivors pose and are lost in thought as they introspectively get lost in their memory of pain and hope. At this point they do not look you in the eye, but look aside and once in a while they take a glance to see if you are still there. They will be in a world of their pain, the anguish of soul and the complexities and incomprehensibility of the memories of what happened i.e., the condition in which they suffered and still suffer alone which is what trauma does. It seems as if oftentimes they feel alone in public. The majority of survivors interviewed in Tsholotsho do not want to be associated with any violence. This explains the reason why they have been voting ZANU PF in elections since 1990. It is because they do not want to be involved in violence in any way as a result the only way to avoid violence is to vote for them so that they can leave them alone. This is the avoidance of any trauma related situations. Many of them have injuries that remind them of what happened in the past. Flashbacks and nightmares, easily arousal, palpitation and flash backs particularly when they see any one in army uniform, carrying a gun and or here some one speaking in Shona are still common. This is because all these things remind them of what happened to them and they often trigger off trauma and pain. Women are constantly nervous and irritable and they say that they can not help it. Mrs. E.Sindaba (not her real name) has a major problem of phobia at the moment. Her husband is partially blind and if any thing requires attention in the evening the blind man has to do it because the wife can not go out in the dark at all (Questionnaire no, 62). She is 65 years old and

she takes a chamber with her in the bedroom since she was beaten up by the Gukurahundi in 1983.

Mr. R. Mazitsha (not his real name) has a problem with anger. In the interview he said that he wanted to meet Mugabe and ask him “why he wanted to kill us?” This is the man (*Questionnaire No; 83*) who ran away into town whilst his wife was shot by five bullets and lost the right eye and a seven months baby is not accounted for up to now. This man seethes with anger and the anger could be caused by his cultural perspectives which he failed to live up to. As a Ndebele man he failed to protect his wife from Gukurahundi attack instead of defending his family he ran away. He does not know how to respond to his wife and other people like the researcher who want to know what happened.

Cultural meaning of trauma

Culture is perceived as a double-edged sword because it can be depended on and its loss becomes traumatic, (van der Kolk, McFarlane and Weisaeth eds, 2007: 25). Culture could be viewed as a protective and supportive system of values and lifestyles. Indigenous social security systems are the mainstay of the community response to trauma and any other threat. All societies provide rules for emotional expression and illness behaviour which are the pointers to others to facilitate interpersonal responses and in doing so inviting support or rejection, (deVries, 1995).

It is at this point that trauma in Tsholotsho should be perceived. By enlarge; the Ndebeles do not exhibit out right emotions as Shonas do at funerals. It is about the way they go about in preparing for the funeral and burial of their dead that one can see their attitude and sense of loss. In the case at hand namely Gukurahundi they were no funerals no burials no social gatherings as if nothing happened. In some sense they have been shut in and no emotions have been exhibited in any way except in silence or anger. At one of the memorial services in Tsholotsho where a shallow grave was rebuilt and secured the widow

of the murdered man looked the researcher straight in the face and said, “*now we can be human beings too, other people now know that we also lost a father and a husband and are now sympathizing with us.*” When disappearances of loved ones (which were plenty in Tsholotsho) are brought into the picture it is not hard to imagine the emotional devastation, “*ukuhlulukelwa*” the anguish of soul and a sense of loss in the community. Trauma and traumatic stress is the order of the day and yet people can not express it openly. The society’s support and affirmation is a source of strength and provides a sense of identity and belonging.

During massive upheavals, a culture is not capable of doing its protective work and can not adequately fulfill its function of regulating emotions and provide identity, support and services. Traumas that occur in the context of social upheavals, such as civil wars and uprootings create profound discontinuity in life predictability and often normal situations are removed. When this upheaval happens, conservative elements of ethnicity, tribalism and fundamentalism become means of survival. These aspects listed above are destructive and regressive moves to release individual’s behavioural and ideological complexities which can not be used productively, (Turnbull, 1972 in van der Kolk, McFarlane and Weisaeth eds, 2007: 407). These are some of the experiences of the people of Tsholotsho which the researcher found through the questionnaires.

Conclusion

Chronic On-going Trauma Type II

In conclusion the severity and veracity of trauma in Tsholotsho has been ascertained in scientific methods using the framework developed. Severity of the stressor has been found to be related to the period within which survivors were subjected and the intensity of the

experiences, (Shirley. 1996 in Carlson1997: 68). It is said that researchers have found the relationships between severity of trauma experiences and later *on going* trauma symptoms in crime victims, (Kilpartick et, al.1989) combat veterans (Sutker, Allain, Albert & Winstead, 1993), burn victims (Perry, Difede, Musingi, Frances & Jacobsberg, 1992), refugees (Carlson and Rosser- Hogan, 1991), and sexually abused children (Wolfe et,al, 1989). Several characteristics of an event can contribute to the severity of trauma including the intensity, nature, and duration of the traumatic experience, (Carlson 1997; 68).

(Herman, 1992) concluded that there is a direct relationship between the severity of trauma and its psychological impact, whether that impact is measured in terms of the number of people affected or the intensity and duration of harm. In Tsholotsho the duration of trauma was for six years during which the same people were besieged by Gukurahundi, Support Unit soldiers and then the youth brigade in their combat gear. This explains why the people of Tsholotsho are always alarmed by soldiers in uniform even walking about in town.

Duration of the trauma and the intensity of it would affect survivors' perceptions of the controllability and negative valence of the event. It is no wonder those traumas that are more intense causes overwhelming fear and helplessness due to it negative valence. Several studies have found that some forms of sexual abuse result in long term mental health problems (Questionnaire no. 86). Here is an example, Ms Tshuma having been raped repeatedly for more than a month at the base camp said, "*I saw my nephew being as they gunned him down point blank*". As they shot the nephew blood spilt onto her dress and she was forced to lick the blood right there. "*She has not been the same since that day*" her mother Mamthombeni reported in tears, "*my daughter lost her mind and is still*

mentally disturbed even today". The point here stressed is that the intensity of the trauma seriously influences later symptoms of trauma. (Questionnaire No.44)

Longer duration of trauma may also lead to despair and depression because of ongoing inability to control or deal with the causes of the negative event. (*Seligman, 1975*) As long as this inability to control own situations persists victims continue to be traumatized. The persistence of the conditions and the existence of the people who caused the initial trauma also strongly influence the *ongoing* stress. This is due to fear of a repeat of the events or being watched. Many survivors think that the soldiers are coming back again. One survivor said "*they are waiting to catch us off guard in order to come and finish us off don't you here their language.*" (Questionnaire no. 76) In the context of Tsholotsho ZANU is still in power and Mugabe is still in control twenty years later. They are still under siege as far as their emotions are concerned. They say, "Nothing has changed". (Questionnaire no. 15) There has not been any acknowledgment of any wrong doing against the people of Matebeleland. (Carlson, 1997: 69) alluded to a fact that may have a bearing on what the researcher here wants to zero in. She concluded that no studies have been done to measure the effects of long duration of trauma on a single traumatic event and went on to say that if intensity is held constant, longer duration will generally be related to greater symptomatology. In the researcher's case as he studies the Tsholotsho survivors, it transpired that they were kept for weeks and sometime months at these base camps where the people were being abused, tortured and witnessed killings on daily bases. Again very little work has been done in examining the relationship between social support and long term *on-going* trauma symptoms.

Stressful or negative events after a trauma can exacerbate trauma response. Coping with negative life experiences such as living in poverty, marital discord, stressful work life, political instability and lack of development are likely to impair the individual's recovery from trauma. Again apart from the research on the effects of social support, (Carlson;

1997) does not know of any published studies on the influence of negative life experiences subsequent to trauma which is the point in question here.

Tsholotsho trauma according to (Terr 1991 in Carlson (1997: 75) could be categorized as chronic trauma “Type II”. Chronic Traumas are those that occur continuously over a long period of time such as repeated assaults and unchanging adverse circumstances over a long period of time. It seemed that chronic traumas indicate that chronicity is a critical determinant of trauma response. (Buydens- Branchev et al, 1990 in Carlson 1997: 87) concluded that chronicity of *on going* trauma and severity of symptoms have been found to persist for years and sometimes decades after the trauma in combat veterans (McFall, Mackay and Donovan 1991) and in adult survivors of chronic sexual abuse (Herman et al, 1986 in Carlson 1997: 88). It is therefore conclusive that many years after the trauma *on going* symptomatology is greater in those who had longer periods of repeated traumatic experiences. It is suggested that repeated or *on going* traumatic experiences like death of loved one, combat exposure, witnessing killings and torture would trigger off more severe and long term and protracted responses. According to (Foa and Kozak’s 1986 in (Carlson 1997: 88) cognitive model for the emotional processing of fear, trauma victims develop memory banks in which a variety of cues are associated with threat or danger. Foa (1989) in the same book quoted above goes on to indicate that the exposure of survivors to similar feared events would strengthen the connections between the cues for the events and anxiety which lead to more traumatization as in the case of Tsholotsho.

Consequently symptoms seen in chronic trauma victims could be the results of the combined effects of trauma, chronic stress and emotional deprivation. The researcher would suggest an observed phenomenon in Tsholotsho of a cumulative effect of these aspects as a factor that complicates the traumatic experiences over the years.

The instruments used to assess the trauma in Tsholotsho are six fold and these are:

- The event itself and how stressful it was.

- The symptoms as general responses to trauma in the community.
- The associative and secondary symptoms of trauma.
- The questionnaire results.
- The gender and age from the social chart
- The injury to self, property and relatives

The results were subjected to the validation and verification using other well established tools like the (HTQ) Harvard Trauma Questionnaire and the Trauma Assessment for Adults (TAA). These tools were specifically chosen because they do not need medical training to use and are suitable for researchers and students in social studies. The research done on this massacre before this research was also considered and taken as the primal work but used in this research as verification and validation tool. The area of concern in this research is the lack of research done and available on the effects of social and cultural impact on the victims or survivors. This should be an area of further research but not in this particular dissertation. Because the social and cultural impact have been taken into consideration and used extensively in this research should not be scoffed at but appreciated as a break through in this field of trauma research. Scholars like van der Kolk, psychosocial scholar and psychologist like Shari Eppel who have worked with survivors and victims particularly survivors of politically motivated violence and torture have acknowledged this position. Dealing with such trauma without addressing some of these political and social issues does not lead to permanent solution to the problem and the threat they pose to the community.

Social transformation in Tsholotsho is achievable only as we deal holistically with the trauma. *Chronic (on going) Trauma Type II* or *Psycho-social Crises* is the researcher's conclusion and it is what the interventions need to address in the next chapter. If the time within which the survivors struggle with this crisis has to be captured in the definition of

trauma, it would be called *Long-term Psycho-social Crisis*. This means that the people of Tsholotsho have been subjected to *chronic on going traumatic* or *long-term psycho-social crises* caused by multiple events which are not yet healed. This also implies that the psycho-social crisis could be temporal or short term. What can the Church do and how can it deal with this *psycho-social crises* which has been ascertained above is the subject of the next chapters. The researcher has deliberately avoided the much more preferred and in many ways appropriate name which could have been Mental Health Crisis. The reason is that the word mental when used in connection with health of a person in Zimbabwean and in an African culture it has serious negative connotation. It normally refers to some body who is mentally disturbed. Without any doubt this would be insensitivity and would lead to re-traumatization.

The researcher suggests that this trauma would be referred to as *Lon-term Psycho-social Crises*. The researcher believes that this is in line with the Afro socio-centric world view.

Chapter Five - Interventions for the Transformation of the Community.

The Church

The Church is an agent for change in society and its proximity to the people and their real life situations is an invitation to be involved. It is in this world but not of this world. If the Church could realize and understand its potential it could be a catalyst in transforming society from a hurting and traumatized to a peaceful and participatory society.

The Role of the Church in Social Transformation

The Church is an incredible powerful institution within society and has influence on the majority of the population especially in Zimbabwe. It is believed that 70% of Zimbabweans are Christians, (Zimbabwe We Want. 2006). If the above statement is true what is wrong then with this church which failed to intervene when the massacre took place? While it is important to try and diagnose the illness of the Church this research is concerned more about the interventions to be applied in order to deal with the trauma and in some way prevent it from happening again. The diagnosis could be the work of some further studies in the future.

What is the role of the church in society and what are the reasons that often incapacitate it from fulfilling its God given mandate? The researcher is going to use two scholars to guide him in his quest for the transformation of the people of Tsholotsho. These scholars are Milba Maggay and her book entitled Transforming the Society and Charles Gerkin and his book, An Introduction to Pastoral Care respectively. Maggay emphasizes the mandate and the mission of the Church whilst Gerkin majors on the shepherding model based on the three roles of pastoral care namely: priestly, prophetic and wise guidance, (Gerkin, 1997) and Maggay 1994).

The researcher is cognizant of the fact that the Church has influence in every sector of society and therefore is better placed to lead. The Church is meant to draw people from all walks of life, all races, tribes, tongues, rich and poor etc. This is the context in which the Church is used and the convictions of the researcher in this dissertation.

Gerkin's shepherding Model

Priest, Prophet and Wise Guide Gerkin in this book gives a brief history of pastoral care, and takes the traditional stories of the community, the Christian traditions and the family and individual stories in order to come up with a model of Pastoral Care which is interpretive.

He proposed three roles of priest, prophet and wise guidance which the Church can use in order to transform the community in an interactive way (Gerkin, 1997:79). By applying the three roles of pastoral care to the survivors in Tsholotsho the people can reclaim their sacred identity as (Wimberly, 2003) suggested. The interaction of the Christian story, the community story and the individual/ family story in the society is meant to generate an interactive action as the Church mediates and reconcile in ritualistic leadership of care and sacraments in the community. The Church in Zimbabwe failed to play this role in Tsholotsho before and it is envisaged that these new innovative models and ideas would bring about the desired results. The Church is meant to be the moral conscience for society and a source of encouragement as it fulfils its prophetic role.

In the bible it was only Samuel who held the three offices of priest, prophet and wise guide as he led Israel as a nation before the monarch was established. The Church is the only institution on earth that truly represents God in this way as prefigured by Samuel in the Old Testament.

The role of the pastoral leadership must intentionally be prophetic in both word and action and proclamation and demonstration as a theology of praxis. The Church interprets the

conflicts and pressures, the contradictions and pitfalls, the lures and tendencies in the fragmentation of contemporary context (Gerkin, 1997:114). Pastoral care thus schematized always involves placing the caring ministry some how between loyalties to representation of Christian story on one hand and emphatic attention to particularity of stories / tradition of the community on the other. Often times the Church is irrelevant because it is too removed due to its lack of engagement and too spiritual that it is of no earthly use.

The researcher recommends that one of the major roles of the Church is caring which leads to transformation of communities like Tsholotsho within which it exists. The church is confused and incapacitated by lack of understanding of its God given role to shepherd the community (Gerkin, 1997). Shepherding acknowledges that Christians live within the community but have a different role to the rest of the community. The Church in Tsholotsho and Zimbabwe must shake off its colonial, noncommittal and holier than thou attitude and be part of the answer as it transforms the society by adopting Gerkin's model of shepherding.

Maggay's Church Influence

The Church as an agent for change may sound strange to many who normally see it as a moribund institution on the side of the gilded, privileged and powerful in the community (Maggay, 1994: 15). Historically, the Church conjures images of the Inquisition, the militancy of the Crusaders and the colonial expansion of Spain and the Western Protestant empires. Generally, the Church has a corporate company and condescension attitude towards the society or as (Melba Maggay 1994: 39) called it "*a cult of the strongman in politics*" meaning, it has a dictatorial and an oppressive nature.

The researcher has chosen Melba Maggay because of her strong concern for the Church's noncommittal position in the midst of the poverty, victimization and politically motivated suffering in her country the Philippines. She believes that God can be found in such

situations and such communities can be transformed by the Church through the non-violent ‘*proclamation*’ and ‘*demonstration*’ of the true Gospel. The “Good News” means “Immanuel”, God with us, from the time of creation God has not left His creation He has always been involved in it and with it. God never left the people of Tsholotsho He was with them in their suffering because He is faithful to His promises. God promised never to desert His creation. God is both transcended and immanent. This is the answer to the problem question, where is God when it hurts? (Psalm, 23: 4 says, “Yea, even though I walk with in the valley of the shadow of death I fear no evil because He is with me”. “He promised never to leave me nor to forsake me.” Hebrews 13: 8

Mandate and Mission of the Church

How can this same Church which has been victimized and polarized as part of a strategy to render it ineffective by the political system be an agent of change? The researcher believes that it is possible, because of its mandate and mission. The Church’s mandate comes from the great commandment; “*love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your mind and all your soul and love your*

neighbour as you love yourself (Matt22; 38-39). The mission is equally important because it is the one that connects Christ with the community as the Church demonstrates God’s love and compassion. The Great Commission says, “*go you therefore and make disciples of all the nation teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you and behold I am with you all the time. Even to the end of the age.*” (Matt28; 19-20)

Jesus Christ came into a politically charged world in Israel over 2000 years ago which is similar to what the people of Tsholotsho find themselves in today. He changed the culture of violence into a non-violence ethos. The whole Sermon on the Mount (*Matt. 5-7*) is a practical lesson on non-violence and how to transform society by changing people’s heart

first. Jesus talked about a number of things which are demonstrative of what this non-violence meant to the Church as he talked about how to turn the other cheek, how to go an extra mile, and how to love your enemy. This part of the Bible has been a source of inspiration, and it has transformed victims of political injustices and atrocities through out the centuries from Mahatma Gandhi, William Wilberforce and Martin Luther King Junior (Ghandi: 1951) and (Branch: 1988). Martin Luther King Junior in a book by Branch called “Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-64” said this in one of his speeches, *“millions of Africans seeking the bread of social justice have either been told to wait till later –which always means never”* (Branch, T. 1988: 68). Martin Luther King Junior recognized the need for the Church to place the social justice issue on its agenda. The story of the Exodus from bondage to the Promised Land and the story of Jesus suffering on the cross are clear reminders that God cares and does not forget His people.

These biblical stories represent hope, truth, influence, encouragement, preservation, protection and self sacrifice. There is a side of the Church which once in while breaks into the public domain and arena of history which needs to be highlighted. A small community of believers is fed to the lions and is charged with being subversive to Caesar. A band of ordinary Christians spreads like a wild fire amongst the face of the Roman Empire bringing freshness of faith to the general populace of the medieval Christendom. A handful of Christ’s followers in England led by William Wilberforce set to overturn a class-ridden society by influencing policy and attitude change and managed to introduce a bill abolishing the institution of slavery and the policy on which it was built.

The researcher himself has participated in some of these self sacrifice and prophetic actions of the Church and is privileged to be counted as a state criminal who was incarcerated as a consequence of choosing to follow God rather man. Could this church which in many instances has been ambiguous in its actions serve as light that can transforming society?

The extent of poverty and prevalence of social vices in our world is due to the acquiescence and noncommittal attitude of the Church (Maggay 1994:15). The same could be said about the Church in Zimbabwe. Could this be true that evil prospers because good people do nothing?

The only recorded work of the Church in Zimbabwe was done by a Roman Catholic Bishop Henry Karlen who used his Church throughout the Midlands and Matebeleland to gather evidence of the atrocities from their network of Churches, schools and hospitals. He was the only one who played his rightful role during the massacre. He was “*a lonely voice in the wilderness*” that confronted some of the government ministers in order to stop the violence and bring about medical assistance to the victims, (Todd, 2007: 49).

Church as an Alternative Source of Power

When the source of the church’s power comes from God himself it becomes definitely a centre of alternative power. The Church becomes an alternative centre of power when it is most truly genuine, faithful and obedient to its calling. This is demonstrated by the fact that Jesus becomes liable to a political charge which implies that there is something subversive about this evasive kingdom which does not derive its legitimacy and authority from this world order. There is no need for the Church to beg for acceptance by seeking state legitimacy.

In Acts 5; 29 we encounter the first civil disobedience by the Church which has been followed by many others throughout history where the Church was forced to challenge the existing powers as it responded to a higher power and higher moral principle. The Church worked as the conscience of society for many years right through the corridors of history (Maggay 1994: 36). It is a constant sign to authorities that there is a new order, a kingdom that while it is not of this world is in this world. The people who belong to it are law abiding citizens who pay their taxes and love peace. But, when tested choose between

good and evil and right and wrong, the members of this kingdom reach within themselves for the highest and deepest allegiances to follow God led by their conscience and conviction rather than men. It is when the Church takes this stand of unflinching loyalty to God and to what it believes that it ultimately becomes subversive to all evil, rulers and all that is wrong.

The Church and the Gospel of the Kingdom

The church must not dichotomize the world by making unbiblical distinctions between what is secular and what is holy. Social action is said to belong to the realm of the temporal and the physical and evangelism to the realm of the spiritual and eternal, in so doing dichotomizing life. In this way there is no longer any sense that “*all of life is lived in the presence of God and is sacred,*” (Maggay, 1994). Can an act of giving a cup of water to one whose is thirsty become a sacrament that will always be realized as the same as supernatural acts of casting out of demons? (Mark 9: 38-41) The researcher does not believe that these two aspects of the gospel, meeting a social need and evangelizing are different. They are two sides of the same coin which are complimentary to each other in order to give a full meaning of what the gospel should be.

Preaching the gospel is more than verbal exercise, but *an engagement with the whole person and living among men and women that serve notice of the kingdom that has come* (Ibid 1994: 13).

If evangelism is heralding the Good news, the Good news is “*preach as you go saying the kingdom of heaven is at hand.*” The preaching of the gospel encompasses both the proclamation and demonstration of the truth. Healing the sick, raising the dead cleansing lepers, casting out demons and feeding the hungry demonstrated Jesus’ compassionate ministry here on earth. (*Matthew 10: 7-8*) The Messiah who was to come has now come

and He lives among us. The kingdom is a political term and Jesus' Messiahship was understood by his hearers as having to do with more than the 'soul' but to do with the nationhood of Israel. It had a context, location and relevance which could not be miss understood. The only difference was the way He went about implementing His rule.

The Magna Carter of the Gospel

When Jesus Christ appeared to the religious leaders in the Temple to preach his first message, he made an announcement of great significance for the Church. This announcement the researcher believes must be the magna carter of the Gospel. In Luke 4; 18 Jesus said,

“the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He has anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set free those who are downtrodden, to proclaim the favourable year of the Lord.”

In this passage of scripture the bible is clear in what Jesus called the Gospel, it included all that a human being is, whether free or in bondage, believer or infidel and physical or spiritual it does not make any distinction. When Jesus Christ had finished reading the scroll He gave it back and said to the people that were listening, *“today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing”*. This should be the proclamation that the Church needs to make today in the hearing of those who are traumatised.

The question in the problem statement that says, where is the Church when the people need it the most, is partly answered here. The Church has always been there except that it was not aware of its mandate from God and its role on earth. Jesus announced his Messianic career in an unmistakable context: practical and holistic terms, good news to the poor, release the captives, sight to the blind and liberty to those who were oppressed (Luke 4; 16-

21). Jesus was not just a spiritual king over the human heart but the King of the Jews, a nation seething with oppression under the yoke of imperial Roman rule. Maggay makes an interesting point when she pointed out that Jesus never made the point that His kingdom was not *in* this world He simply mentioned that it was not *of* this world (Maggay. 1994; 38) (John 18; 36). She (Maggay) goes on to make this telling statement in declaring that when the bible says '*Jesus is Lord*' it is not just a confession but is a cosmic and social fact. It is true since the lordship of Christ is supposed to affect not only those that believe but all those within its influence.

T.S. Eliot in Maggay (1994) argues strongly that the Church's message to the world must be expanded to mean '*the church's business to interfere with the world*' (Ibid 1994:21). The context of the "*word becoming flesh*" requires the whole "*body of Christ*", the Church and its entire gamut of gifts must come into play in praxis. "*The ecclesia visibilis is God's people making the presence of the kingdom felt in all areas of life, e.g. the church in academia, the church in politics the church in the market place*" (Maggay, 1994:21). The researcher has been drawing his inspiration from such truth in order to continue with his work as a minister of religion in Zimbabwe in spite the dangers that are always lurking on the way. .

The gospel of the kingdom is about '*show*' and '*tell*' there a holistic quality to the growing awareness that evangelism is not just testimony to God's acts in Christ, but a participation in those acts. The Church gives the gospel the context, a setting in which the reality of life may become truly incarnate. (*John1; 14*) From this verse above the Word must not become ghostly but must be seen with the eyes and must be touched with hands for people to be moved toward it and embrace it.

Preferably the word to use is "*witness*" in stead of evangelism particularly in the traditional cultures like in Tsholotsho because in using the word '*witness*' the researcher denotes all

that the church does to make itself visible in the society. The word also carries with it the need to have a ‘*presence*’ as well as ‘*proclamation*’ in our ‘*preaching*’ of the kingdom, (Maggay 1994: 22).

The Church in Tsholotsho which had been conspicuous by its deafening silence should have been a witness and seen as it demonstrates the presents of the King and His pervading kingdom. The ‘*theology of engagement*’ and incarnational engagement without which the Church will not be effective and relevant must be taught. The French sociologist (J Ellul in Maggay 1994: 24) was right when he said “*the Church is summoned in the course of human history to speak a discerning word to each concrete situation. These are the rights of man (sic) here now and then. This is what man (sic) may demand. This is what he needs to be protected from.*

This discerning word is part of the church’s proclamation and it should not be left to political movements to assert human rights. Rather, the church should proclaim them before people are driven to despair. In the past the church had the courage to do it even though done by a few representatives but it seems to have some how lost its voice. These are some of the examples used in the Bible, Moses confronting Pharaoh in Egypt, Elijah confronting Ahab Jeremiah the prophet confronting the national leaders of Judah, Jesus transforming a nation full hate, anger and abuse and the disciples challenging the powers that be by their actions.

Practical Theology as a Transforming Practice

If the practical theology has to be relevant it has to demonstrate how it should be critically and dynamically related to contemporary issues. Elaine Graham has impressed the researcher as she specifically wrote about practical theology as a transforming practice, Elaine Graham in (Woodward and Pattison 2000:74). Whilst the researcher does not

necessarily agree with everything that Graham suggests he nevertheless submits that she does represent his views on certain issues.

Elaine Graham rejects the obsession of pastoral theology with its clerical concerns only as she suggests that practical theology must be primarily undertaken by the communities of faith. Her aims are exactly as the sub-heading alludes to as “a Transforming Practice.” It is true the ultimate end of practical theology is praxis that enables a Faith community to give a public and critical account of the truth claims that they enact in real life through therapeutic actions. It is expedient to mention the South African “Kairos Document” of 1987 which clearly spelt out the theological position and action during the apartheid era (The Kairos Document; 1987). In the midst of darkness there was a standard to follow and clarion call by the Church to guide the nation on a hazardous journey. Practical theology enhances the faith community both to articulate and practise what they preach or believe (Lyotard 1984). Even though Graham (1996) here uses the term ‘*faith community*’ she is referring to the Church in its entirety and not as a denomination which is exactly the researcher’s opinion.

Due to the erosion of cultural values, the common good, truth, freedom and justice the prospects of articulating responsible Christian witness in this world is not only daunting but almost impossible (Farley in Graham (1996). The field of pastoral care, social action and worship are not just offshoots of these propositional theories but the way the Church organizes itself in the world. (Mowbray in Graham 1996) goes on to add that *pastoral care in social action is the enactment of ritual, care and spirituality and a practical language of real identity of which the Church is part*, (Graham, 1996: 46).

One of the aspects that Graham deals with as key to unlock the age of uncertainty is what she calls the gender analysis and does this to expose the shortfalls of clerical paradigms of Christianity in pastoral care. This is crucial especially when one takes into consideration

that the majority of the victims in most of these atrocities are women and children. How can we approach pastoral care then if we have to use the gender analysis and gender profiling approach and what would be the differences? This question should be dealt with as it reveals and leads the researcher into some of the fragility and inadequacies of the current trends of pastoral theology. As the researcher seeks to transform the community this question of crisis of modernity and post-modernity becomes critical in that it is no longer just an issue of faith but change, through civil participation and access to resources (Hall et al 1992). Here is a case of holistic transformation to the community by way of empowering the disadvantaged and vulnerable members of society. The question of whether poverty is or should be linked to development has become topical in social studies as well, (Tear Fund, 2003).

The on going question in practical theology is how we can come up with solid practical pastoral care principles if the pastoral theology (*philosophy*) theoretical framework is uncertain, and abstract due to its nature and changing times? In the face of such collapse of the “grand narrative” of modernity what values and obligation may inform purposeful Christian action in our society today? (Graham 1996: 109) If the Church has to transform the community these are some of the practical challenges it has to deal with. The Church has to make an impact on society by evolving and embracing change by not limiting pastoral care to the ordained alone but the whole faith community. The word *pastoral* does not refer to a person but to a gifting and a ministry of the Church. Hiltner in Graham(1996) puts it in a better way when he said, ‘*pastoral theology deals with whole mission of the faith community as expressed in its diverse practices of ordering the faithful, engaging in social justice, communicating the faith and administering word and sacrament*’ (Graham, 1996: 108). The whole work and any activity of the church is a mission of the whole Church, whether it is social concern, social justice or preaching from the pulpit it makes no difference.

As a working definition practical theology is, “a *purposeful activity performed by the embodied persons in space and time as the subjects of agency and objects of history*” (Graham 1996:110). The researcher prefers this definition as it implies that purposeful practices of the faith community should be the bearers of the Christian story including its values which are handed down and are subjected to scrutiny of time as a creative re-rendering which means reinterpretation. The aspect of re-interpretation of the gospel in every generation is a must and often if it is not done leads to apostasy

(Eisland in Graham 1994) confronts some of the Church’s misinformation that vilify the vulnerable and victims in stead of empowering and affirming them as the authors of their own narratives of Divine disclosure in their situations. Often times it is a matter of deductive analysis of the experts without giving the victims/survivors opportunities to speak for themselves. Though Eisland was not speaking about the people of Tsholotsho nevertheless the truth he pointed out is also true in Tsholotsho. He said the care and theology that is needed is,

“a liberatory theology which can sustain our difficult but ordinary lives, empowers and collaborates with individuals and groups of people with disabilities who struggle for justice in concrete situations, creates new ways of resisting the theology of symbols that exclude and devalue us and reclaims our hidden history in the presence of God on earth,(Eisland 1994:89 in Graham 1996:111).

This statement should not be limited to physical disability only but is applicable to trauma survivors as well who have been disabled emotionally and psychologically, since they are as desperate and vulnerable as those that mentioned in the quotation. Theological truth claims are “*acted out*” i.e. lived out and will be tested by their ability to animate a renewed practical wisdom for the Church. Truth claims of the Gospel are thus incarnated in the worshipping community that seeks to embody and identify with the suffering as the body of Christ which was broken for us all. (Eisland 1994: 111) writes in her book entitled The

Disabled God writes about the transfigured Christ who has retained the wounds even in his risen state not only in solidarity but in fellowship with God and human beings in all circumstances. This realization speaks directly into the problem statement of, where is God when it hurts? God does not leave us nor forsake us.

Transforming the community occurs when we look at specific social structures and individual initiatives within which God's continuing work of renewal and restitution becomes manifest. (Alastair Campbell 1986) added his bit by declaring that this may happen and can be found either inside or outside the life of the church. This he believed because the influence of the World Council of Churches 1967 deliberation on the nature of the Church. The council concluded that God is constantly active in the world in establishing His rule and His Shalom it is the Church's task to point the world to the signs of this taking place. The Church, the Council agreed "*it is always tempted to believe that the activity and the presence of God are confined within the boundaries it draws around itself and to think that Shalom is only to be found within them*" (Campbell in Woodward and Pattison, 2000: 36). The quest to extend God's Shalom by assisting the people of Tsholotsho to know that God was there with them when they went through all those horrible things is bringing God's Shalom into their lives.

The Role of Religion in Trauma Healing

Churches and religions can contribute a significant role in peace building, trauma healing and even in preventive measures in potential political volatile situations. Specific and active repudiation of war in peace time would make it difficult for those who are tempted, in war and violent conflicts to use religion and religious people who are in the majority. There is a great deal of power and influence in religious language. If used constructively it can strengthen the peace building and lead to sustainable transformation. Religious rites

and symbols can be used as expression of traditional norms and values which can bring connections and continuity to traumatized people.

Many survivors are religious and although religion may have less prominent place in contemporary thought in the westernized world it is not so in other societies. It is a reality in many traditional societies and most of these survivors here discussed. A good number of survivors find solace in their faith in God and religious texts that address humanitarian issues and emotional anguish. Such issues are brought into focus during a time of torture and trauma. Survivors may want to discuss eternal questions such as guilt, sin, and suicide as they relate to religion. The reason behind some of these inquiries is a search for basic ethical and moral values in religious texts in order to regain a basic belief in humanity or to find faith again, (Vesti and Kastrup in Basoglu 1997: 360).

Church services for peace can give people opportunity to turn their back on violence and allow peace to work. Ethnicity and religion are linked together through cultures and hence they sometimes get entangled in the process. And yet religion is supposed to represent diverse people in the society and not only people from the same ethnic group. In many countries religions represent the best-organized and most extensive social institutions in society. Religious leaders enjoy considerable trust and influence of the societal broad and diverse groupings in the population and exercise a form of moral leadership over them.

In Rwanda in the 1994 genocide the Muslim did not get involved in the crises at all. A case study of the Muslim community actions in the genocide reveal that no Muslim religious leader has been charged or arrested for participating in the genocide. Not even one person who sought refuge at the Mosque was killed both Muslims and non-Muslims. The study done showed that there was a constant message of hope, moderation and peace in and during the period leading to the massacre. *“It is clear that the vast majority of Muslims believers followed the teachings and ideology of their religious leaders in Rwanda over the*

state leaders regarding the genocide,” (Ntambara and Doughty .2003 in Akerlund A. 2005:112).

Christianity is the majority religion in the Great Lakes region and includes people on both sides of the conflicts. How come the Church was caught on the wrong side of the moral divide and conflict? This is the same question that the researcher raised in the problem statement. How can this Church in Tsholotsho and Zimbabwe which has been silent during the massacre be able to be an agent of transformation in the society after the massacre? The next section seeks to provide part of the answer for this question.

Religious faith is a primary coping strategy for many people suffering from trauma with one half to three quarters of PTSD suffering indicating that their faith helps them cope, (Weaver Koenig and Ochberg: 1996 in Weaver, Flannelly and Preston, 2003). In spite the fact that religion plays a significant role in the life of torture survivors and trauma patient not much work in terms of research has been done, Pargament a Christian psychologist has written extensively about religion being good for our health. His coping strategies draw on religious beliefs and practices to understand and deal with life stress. He also designed a questionnaire called RCOPE to measure religious coping strategies. He has set the stage for a large scale program of research on this subject. Currently it is believed that there are over 250 published articles on religious coping strategies. (Pargament 1997) came up with three types of coping with stress from religious points of view which are: collaboration- cooperate with God, deferring which means leaving it all in the hands of God and lastly, self-directed people who try to solve their own problems by their own efforts. In his analysis people have four stances which have been adopted by psychologists in their work with survivors. The view points are; religious rejectionists, exclusivists, constructive and the pluralists. Most of these scholars are Christians who have proved that religion can help in

times of trauma and stress, (Pargament K, I. (1997) Religious Coping Research, and Contemporary Personality Theory. www.springlink.com 28/04/2010).

Even though there are psychologists who have found that surveyed combat veterans (Green, Lindy and Grace, 1988) natural disaster survivors (Weinrich, Hardin and Johnson, 1990), adult survivors of severe child abuse (Lawson et al., 1998), and young people in a war zone (Zeidner, 1993) frequently use their faith as a positive coping strategy it seems that scientifically religion is a taboo more so in psychological medical studies. Fathers of children being treated for cancer in a hematology hospital clinic were asked about various methods of coping. Among twenty nine separate coping strategies used prayer was both the most common and the most helpful for the fathers, (Cayse, 1998). This has also been confirmed by the researcher who discovered that a number of the people interviewed sighted religion as the means of coping with their trauma. (*Questionnaires nos. 5,11,14,15,19,21,22,23,36,44,45,57,63,64,65 & 85*)

However it seems clear that while the world's religions provide inspiration and consolation for many who are traumatized, this claim to offer solidarity with those in pain is rarely borne out by all believers. The believers are quite often caught up in tribal cultural values and as a result miss out on the opportunities to be light and salt in the community because it is easier to conform than to be transformed. The problem in many cases is that believers show little difference in behaviour from their cultural mainstream attitudes. This is clearly evinced by the Churches in Rwanda before and during the 1994 genocide who did not behave like Christians. Most of the priests, nuns, and ordinary church goers participated willingly and actively in the atrocities, Yusuf Bangura in (CSVR, 2004). Down the centuries Christians and their leadership have shown a tendency to reflect the racial tribal and cultural values instead of their Christian values. As a result, scriptures have at various times been used to justify apartheid, slavery, racism, women's subordination and pacifism.

Religion and culture are often key elements in political movements in what Yusuf Bangura often refers to as cultural and political groups (CSVR, 2004).

Religion and culture are at the centre of most of the conflicts in the greater part of the African continent. Apart from offering the spiritual and moral support to the community religion is meant to provide a healing means of addressing a traumatic experience. Faith can facilitate faster and more effective emotional recovery (Pargament, 1997). Religion seems to provide these trauma stricken people with an effective means of making sense of their loss and also enhances well-being. The researchers in United Kingdom found that people with strong religious beliefs coped better with the loss of loved ones or close friends over a fourteen –month period than did those without faith (Walsh et.,1999). The researcher uses the African American community as they journeyed that God’s grace was at work in their lives restoring their spiritual, emotional, and relational health and it is God who affords them the capacity to privilege with God in conversation. (Wimberly, 2003: 10) The researcher is using the Church as an instrument for change and believes that because of its nature and mandate it is more likely to bring about cohesiveness and unity of purpose than any other institution on earth. It is envisaged that the Church should play an influential role in all the activities that are proposed for the transformation of the community. If the Church is aware of the African people’s sensitivity and passion about culture and religion it would strategize around those issues for its effectiveness.

Unique Role of Clergy

The clergy has a unique role and is invested with a moral authority which enables them to speak directly to the people and to easily get audience. The church has a more wide spread presence even in places where there is no government representation that is why it is possible to find a Church building or Church organization in remote places. If the clergy are adequately trained they are in an ideal position to recognize and assist those suffering

from trauma. Pastors are in a long term relationships with individuals and their families, giving them on going contacts by which they can observe changes in behavior that can assist in the assessment of trauma or any other problem (Fairchild, 1980 in Weaver, Flannelly and Preston, 2003: 45). Clergy are often called upon in crises situations associated with mishap, grief, depression, or trauma reactions such as illness or injury, death of a close family or a close friend. The researcher is not convinced that clergy and Church leaders themselves are aware of this need and expectation from the society. In training the clergy or any other religious professionals there is need to know how best to prepare people who would help those affected by traumatic events. Pastors are accessible helpers within communities that offer a sense of continuity with centuries of human history and experience of being a part of something greater than oneself. Clergy are visible and available leaders, who communicate with a language of faith and hope in communities and in most situations, speak the local language. There is no doubt therefore that the religious faith can play a significant role in alleviating the suffering of people and become a second line of defense in dealing with traumatized people. Faith communities can offer both the prophetic role and healing means of addressing traumatic experience. Dr Joshua Nkomo in the context of Tsholotsho and Zimbabwe had this to say at the funeral of a ZPRA commander Lookout ‘Mafela’ Khalisabantu Vumindaba Masuku,

“some of you are tempted to give away your principles in order to confirm. Even the preachers are frightened to speak freely and they have to hide behind the name of Jesus. The fear that pervades the rulers has come down to the people and to the workers. There is so much conformity.--We can not go about like this. People must be free to be able to speak and I invite the clergy to be outspoken. Tell us when we go wrong-----the young people who do research will one day unveil what Lookout did ” (Todd 2007: 165).

This is the kind of inspiration that spurs the researcher in this work especially when he encounters such statements from Zimbabweans who bore the brunt of the pain, suffering and paid the ultimate sacrifice for their country by their own lives. Could this researcher be one of those mentioned in this quotation? Some people fight with guns others use their lives but this researcher chose to use research and the pen. At the end, the battle is won if we do not lose hope but close ranks and use all the available nonviolent means to overcome evil with good. Here was one of the most respected sons of Zimbabwe (the founder of the first Zimbabwean political party ZAPU and the liberation war) affectionately called “*Father Zimbabwe*” acknowledging the role of clergy, who rebuked and indicted the Church for its conformity.

The researcher would like to make this submission that if the clergy are adequately trained they are better placed to assess trauma than any other expert in the community. The clergy is more easily accessible and available than the PTSD experts particularly in Zimbabwe in which Tsholotsho as located. Dr Joshua Nkomo was right in his call and indictment of the clergy who had taken a non-committal attitude by not getting involved in any way may be except as victims themselves. The Church has a prophetic role of wise guidance that is God-given and unique (Gerkin, 1997).

The Afro-American Example

(Wimberly,2003) talks about Claiming God Reclaiming Dignity in his book of the same title as he gave an Afro-American emotional journey in reclaiming their dignity as a means of regaining their sacred identity which transformed them in the midst of their suffering and injustices caused by the slave trade. He was using the suffering of the African American people during slave trade and in modern America and how they found identity in their conversation with God as an ever present tool to help understand how people can come to a renewed sense of personal worth and dignity which leads to social

transformation. The basic message of this book is that there is hope for today's troubled world like Tsholotsho. If the people can build an intimate relationship with God it can lead to a renewed identity, purpose of living and could be the beginning of a social transformation. (Wimberly 2003: 68).

God shares with his people in their journey if people choose to allow God to be in their situations and talk to Him about it. In talking to God they are building trust and rapport with Him which in turn will become the basis of who they are and give confidence of how to regain a sense of belonging and purpose. The rebuilding of human life must include God who created them in the first place and they can only get a sense of wholeness as they relate to Him in a spiritual manner.

Sacred identity formation is a means by which God through the support of the faith community leads society as we sort out the various socio-cultural conflicts about human worth and value (Wimberly, 2003: 122). Wimberly suggested that in fellowship and identifying with God we learn to resist being recruited into negative identities conversation and stories in wider culture. This is a pastoral care methodology and strategy in handling socio-cultural problems within communities that have been devastated by division, war, discrimination, hatred, abuses, injustices and even natural disaster. Here is a practical example of people who have been in similar situations like that of the Tsholotsho people who have found solace and help in their relationship with God.

Non-Violence as a Paradigm Shift

Non-violence is a way of life and a system of personal, social, and international change based on the force of truth and the power of love to overcome evil, and to obtain justice and reconciliation. Non-violence seeks justice, respect for humanity and to create positive change. Here is a critical aspect of empowerment to the communities that can contribute creatively and positively to the transformation in a sustainable way. The researcher is

suggesting this because of the culture of violence that has prevailed in the country from the time of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) of 1965 by Ian Douglas Smith the last white colonial political leader in Zimbabwe (Government Gazette 11/1965). This declaration in the researcher's opinion is what ushered overt violence between the White imperialists and the local Black people. Rhodesia was officially at war from that time until today and the war has not been won yet and people are still being abused and dying. There is need for a paradigm shift in terms of how people think and deal with conflicts and perceive their future.

In Brazil, the words used to describe active non-violence are "*firmeza permanente*", which literally means, "relentless persistence". Non-violence is a relentless persistence, creative and effective philosophy of how to deal with conflict in a way which seeks to address and resolve conflict in a humane, efficient and permanent way. Conflict occurs in all situations and at all times and can not be avoided but every one has a choice in how he/she responds to it (Butigan and Bruno, 1999; 34). Non-violence seeks to break the spiral of violence and to create options for a more human alternative means especially in Zimbabwe where violence has been the number one method of resolving conflicts.

It is an act of faith in a God who is powerful and a means of experiencing Him. This ethos recognizes that human beings have been created in the image of God (Imago Dei) and therefore marring any of these images is an attack on the one who created them (Bishop Mutume Interview 3/8/ 1992). Ghandi in His philosophical approach he proposed the satyagrah principle which says in any encounter with those you oppose you as a non-violent practitioner have to treat your enemy with love and justice as seeking the opponent's truth, (Ghandi, 1951: 41).

The non-violence practitioner therefore yearns to transform all that separates human beings from themselves, from one another and from creation. Non-violence acknowledges the

woundedness of every human being, the potential for violence, the virtue in all of us, and the sacredness of ourselves and others (Nouwen, 1979). Any one who is seriously looking to transform the community must be persuaded that non-violence is a force more powerful and persuasive than war and leads to transformation which results in sustainable peace.

Philosophy of Nonviolent Struggle

We don't have to be perfectly non-violent since non-violence is something we develop and grow in our lives through discipline and nurture. A good point to start from is the fact that every one knows that the world is violent and that evil is real. Therefore non-violence begins with taking responsibility of our own state of mind, feelings and actions. Active non-violence is a spiritual, personal inner resolve and a journey and is a force more powerful and persuasive than war. It moves people from fear, despair, anger and greed to compassion, balance and wholeness (Butigan and Bruno, 1999). The costly results of war are too gruesome to pay for where as non-violence is slow in bringing about results but has better outcomes, (Sharpe G. 1973: 90, Butigan and Bruno 1999 in Karl Stauffer 2006: 23) (Prof Harris Kwa-zulu Natal University Interview 17/8/2009). The choice between war and non-violence may be a matter of debate for some but a worthwhile one to engage in at this stage of development in Zimbabwe. Non-violence is a way of life for courageous people as its rational is based on truth, justice and love. In an endeavour to resist violence and evil in society, non-violent always seeks to keep the righteous cause as an incentive and is passive in its non-aggression towards its enemy. Non-violence seeks to win friendship and understanding with its end result as redemptive, reconciliation and a sense of community. One of the main objectives of non-violence is that it seeks to defeat injustice and evil but not people. Evildoers are ordinary people like any of us who are victims like any other person.

Non-violence teaches that suffering can educate and transform and therefore can be accepted without retaliation. A sense of responsibility is taught in non-violence by assisting people to be responsible for all their actions and the consequences of those actions in spite the fact that one could be a perpetrator or a victim. This is done by giving everybody a choice, the victim and the offender to respond positively. Non violence affords everyone an opportunity an alternative approach to violence in its various forms latent or overt. Conflict resolution, settlement, management and transformation are aspects of non-violence which must be understood as a means of bringing accountability and responsibility. The main choice and motive must be a conviction and love instead of hate and revenge. Love restores community and resists injustice and it takes into considerations the African ethos that all life is interrelated and sacred (Mbiti, 1969).

Most of the People that are involved in non-violence actions are motivated by the New Testament biblical discourse of the Sermon on the Mount given by Jesus. (*Matt. 5-7*) The principles that are taught in these passages help us to know how to turn the tables on the perpetrator of violence or injustice by loving one's enemies, turning the other cheek, going a second mile and forgiving those that trespass against us. In all these examples the victim should be in control of his destiny because the victim has a choice and a higher moral ground than the perpetrator. Morally, the victim always has an upper hand and alternatives to perpetuate the violence or to decide to say the buck stops with me.

The Significance of Non-violence Community

Non-violence nurtures, mends and celebrates the relationships that make our lives possible. Its vision is one of connectedness, not of rugged individualism. Ultimately, non-violence seeks to create healthy and flourishing communities.

The heart of non-violence is the process of building communities of care and respect. For emotional, spiritual and logistical reasons, it is the non-violence community - perhaps a

handful of people - who create the support system for this work. In many ways non-violence communities give a safe-place to reflect and grapple with dilemmas, to laugh, to mourn, to debrief about real life issues. Part of the original vision of Church was to create a place to support the task of proclaiming and living out the Gospel of love and justice. The ministry of non-violence in the communities will become increasingly important as we struggle to create alternatives in a world where violence is pervasive.

In addition the Church has the prospect of actively dissociating and extricating itself from the conflict as another source of power in the community and become the priest, prophet and gives wise guidance. Non violent ethos must be the whole mark of the Church's work. Christian symbols, festivals and themes could appeal to many people and be used to a greater extent to unite people over the dividing lines of a conflict. The possibility that religious communities and institutions can actually act constructively in relation to violent conflict should increase if they deliberately work with the aim of building positive peace in all its endeavors.

The Community

Community is the basis and context for life in society in Ndebele (African) culture. A community is defined by Shorter (1998) in this way;

“a group or community is a relationships of individuals founded on common factor, or factors. These factors can be classified according to social experiences as defined by the group and the grid,” (Shorter 1990: 12).

(Mugambi and Kirima 1976) define community almost in the same vein as Shorter as; *“made up of individuals who are directly related to one another, either through blood through marriage. Kinship system is like closely woven network which stretches in every direction including all who live in the community,” (Mugambi and Kirima 1976: 13).*

The two scholars give an African world view of what a community is. It is amazing to find how the gist of what they are saying is similar to each other even though Shorter is from the western world. John Mbiti says this about community as a confirmation of what others have already said about the African community. *An African community is based on kinship through blood and betrothal. It is the kinship which controls social relationships between people in a given group which makes a community,*” (Mbiti 1969: 102)

Scott Peck a Christian western psychologist and Shorter who is a western but African anthropologist understand community in the same way that binds an individual to the rest of the family, community and tribe.

“a group of individuals who have learned to communicate honestly with each other whose relationships go deeper than their masks of composure and who have developed some significant commitment to rejoice, mourn, together delight in each other and make other people’s conditions their own” (Scott Peck, 1990).

The community fosters fairness, equality, and basic rights for its members and encourages and promotes cultural diversity. Mbiti an authority in African traditional values explains the community in this way: in traditional life the individual does not and cannot exist alone except corporately. One owes his/her existence to others including those of past generations and his contemporaries. One is part of the whole. The community makes, creates, or even produces the individual. The individual depends on the corporate group (Mbiti, 1969). Only in terms of others does the individual become conscious of one’s own being, duties, privileges and responsibility towards one’s self and others.

The whole concept of “mundu” in Kiswahili or “ubuntu” in Ndebele is what Mbiti is explaining. Whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group. The individual can only say, *“I am because we are and since we are, therefore I am”* (Mbiti 1969:11). Here lies the African view of an individual. Individualism is intertwined with the whole tribe and community and cannot be separated.

Often the western view misses the African perspective because it does not realize that issues of guilt and shame exist in a sense of collective responsibility. It is alluded to in Shorter (1998) that the individual appear as the passive object of an external agency which becomes the diffused image of selfhood. (Ibid)

It is out of this understanding that the researcher can conclude that when an individual suffers the whole community suffers corporately and when one rejoices the whole community rejoices. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2003) suggests that space for dialogue and co-existence is created due to the diversity of the composition of the community. The aim of this community based reconciliation process would be to strengthen peace at the community level. Obviously this mechanism would build on existing laws and customary processes for dispute resolution, consistent with the existing value system.

Conditions for Community Transformation

By recognizing the role of the community any intervention to redress trauma must seek to empower survivors by promoting community participation in the restorative processes. The complex challenges facing communities in rebuilding social capital and the social fabric torn by violence caused by the massacres is complex and cannot be taken in isolation. The western world social medicine is said to be in its infancy compared to the African cultures in as far as community approach to trauma healing is concerned (Shorter, 1998). It could be easier to pursue this African reparative and restorative approach in dealing with the Tsholotsho survivors as it does not victimize the people again but builds trust, belonging and a sense of community.

In an environment steeped in spiral violence and where often violence is a natural reflex and knee jerk response to resolving disputes, an alternative non-violent culture of healthy conflict resolution mechanism needs to be developed within community structures. A sense of personal security is equally important and not just national security but personal

safety and security which is not there at the moment. If this personal security is threatened or destroyed the people are vulnerable and unstable hence no meaningful development can take place. The sense of insecurity incapacitates and undermines the community's ability to work together and often leads to social mistrust and disharmony.

There must be a clear pattern of cooperation with other communities as the community exists in relationship with others within the society. Cooperative interaction between communities is a must for the sake of survival. Trade and social interaction are forms of cementing relationships among the communities. Family elders, headman, ward leaders and chiefs are the sort of institutional authorities available in the communities. The transformation of community issues of conflict is the responsibility of all the community leaders and not an individual. Peace is a dynamic process which often requires institutional reforms to be sustainable.

On issues of mutual acceptance, reconciliation and the process of problem solving should be transparent and meet fundamental needs and expectations of the people. The acceptance of each other and of other communities is fundamental in dealing with giving up elements that negate others and sow seeds of strife and angst. This then leads to the respect of life, other people's welfare and dignity as it is articulated by tradition and culture. The world view plays a significant role as the rational behind behaviour and attitudes of people in the communities.

Relationships are also dynamic and the readiness to engage is hindered by many problems in any community that is the reason why there is a multifaceted approach for traditional problem solving. Following an adversarial root will bring the family and the community into disrepute.

Ubuntu

Somebody's problem is our problem. This is the essence of ubuntu. Reconciliation appeals to *ubuntu* the essence of being human. It means that I am human because I belong, I participate, and share. *Ubuntu* underpins the African attempts to settle disputes and conflicts from time immemorial and is central to the ideas of community and social reconciliation. Nabudere suggested that typically, in African Customary Law, the principles of communal restoration, compensation and prevention were paramount, Nabudere in (Vicencio and Doxtader 2004: 11-13).

Security

Security is a matter of mutual and corporate concern and not a state prerogative alone. Fears have a realistic basis in the history of violence and people need to take a serious look at the fears that the community reveals. This is so because security is based on mutual trust. Therefore positive removal of structural violence requires efforts to find security arrangements that help build trust. This may mean institutional reform, de-escalating the process of hate messages, de-militarization, de-politicization of the army and the police. There is need for reassurance through actions and positive gestures of strategic intent, Harris in (Theories and Issues Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies Programme University of Kwa-zulu Natal 2003: 32). Both state and personal security are important and should be upheld.

There must be genuine functional value in meeting real needs and dynamic practical conception of community cooperation. Awareness of sensitivities and anxieties that people groups bring to the table is critical in trying to deal with people's problems. Lastly, Loss of personal security, social cohesion and lack of a sense of belonging instill fear and strike a death blow at the very heart of traditional African communities like Tsholotsho.

Critical Issues in Community Peace Building

The issue of power is a critical one in building positive peace and contributes greatly to the state of affairs in the community. Power has a number of meanings like: force, legitimacy, authority or the ability to coerce. It must be realized that whatever power the people involved has contributes to the outcome of what needs to be achieved. Power is intangible and therefore lays latent and cannot be seen except its influence, (Harris & Lewis, 1999: 44).

Power

Theorists in conflicts have two distinct and the first one is coercive or hard power. The second one is the persuasive or soft power which is the ability to bring about cooperation, to provide legitimacy and to inspire. Hard power is dominant in violent conflicts e. g. armies and militias struggle for victory. On the other hand soft power is vital for genuine peacemaking and peace-building and it is more suitable for the Church. For the purpose of transformation soft power is the ideal and can be divided into exchange power and integrative power. Exchange power is used in compromise and bargaining as the rule. Integrative power is used when the main strategies are persuasive and problem solving. There are all kinds of sources for power in the society due to the various natures and depending on the situation and relationship in question.

The researcher believes that issues of gender and age profiling need to be given prominence in dealing with the community. This is also critical as women; children and the elderly often bare the brunt of the violence and pain in community or societal conflicts and yet are not often included or heard in the resolution discussions. This continues to go on in spite the United Nations Security Resolution 1325 which reiterates the importance of bringing the gender perspective to the centre of attention of all (Mazurana, Raven-Roberts and Parpart et al, 2005:16).

Rights

Various human rights abuses were perpetrated against defenceless and vulnerable civilian members of the community. Definitions of human rights in this dissertation encompass these aspects:

“God given rights which are concerned with the dignity of individual and sanctity of life, the level of self-esteem and all that is required to secure personal identity, rights, freedoms and promote a sense of community.”

The gist of this definition came from the (CSVR, 2004:50) manual but adapted by the researcher to meet the objectives set at the beginning of this research. Basic rights are not simply just a prescription of the United Nations but are given by God who created the world and all that is in it which includes human beings who are created in the “*imago Dei*” the image of God. This ‘*imago Dei*’ is not limited to the Christians only or to those in one’s Church but to all human beings hence all human life is sacred including one’s enemies. Human dignity must be upheld by all and human life is sacred. While the field of ‘human rights’ may be a subject for political debate the term ‘God given rights’ which the researcher prefers suggest that there are fundamental rights without which other rights cannot be accessed or enjoyed. In brief these are:

1. Right to life and to a livelihood
2. Right to protection from violence
3. Right to safe water, food and shelter
4. Right to health and education
5. Freedom of association and expression (CSVR 2004; 13)

Nobel Prize winner economist Amrtya Sen (1997) once said “*a deprivation of basic capabilities due to a lack of freedom, rather than merely low income is what is called*

social deprivation.”(*Ibid* 2004; 13) People that are socially deprived lack freedom of choice, opportunity, political voice and dignity. Through the

process of domination and oppression they are denied the most basic human rights to food and housing education and work healthy and safety and an equal share of the benefits of social progress, Bassuk and Donelan (1996) in (Green, Freidman, de Jong, Solomon, Keane, Fairbank, Donelan and Frey-Wouters 2003 : 34).

It is so sad to notice that all these rights were violated in the context of the massacre in Tsholotsho. Therefore in trying to bring the community to normalcy attention must be paid to issues that build a sense of self and aspects of common belonging and identity.

Women are the majority but their subordinate status, lack of voice, limited access to the public domain, and their political marginalization have meant that they experience wide scale abuse of their rights. Women must be profiled and their opinion must be solicited as a target group in the process of intervention. These abuses happen at every level of their lives and yet they still face obstacles in obtaining redress. The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 1979 and the subsequent Vienna Conference 1993 made provision for women’s rights as unequivocal and it must be stated that the rights of women are inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights, (CSVV 2004; 13).

Freedom is an integral part of everyone’s being. (Paul Tillich in Cone 1986: 89) aptly said, “*To be is to participate in Being which is the source of everything that is*” as he talked about freedom. He went on to add that “*Freedom is an existential reality and not just a matter of rational thought but of human confrontation.*” The point from this quotation is the essence of freedom which means that every human being ought to be free and participate in

life situations. (Petrovic in Cone 1986: 87) confirmed Tillich's position as he put it in this way, "*the question of the essence of freedom, like the question of essence of man, is not only a question. It is a participation in life and societal structure for the production of the same and an activity through which this freedom is released and experienced.*" These two authors mentioned above agree on the importance of freedom for all in which we all participate. This same freedom is lacking in the lives of the people of Tsholotsho due to the trauma caused by the Massacre.

Transforming the Community

There is a lot of documentation of the responses of trauma events from the Western and industrialized societies. In these western societies the values tend to be toward autonomy and individualization (Losi, 2000 and Berker, ed, 2000). The developing world is very different in that inter-dependency of community and family values are often preferred and prioritized (Mbiti, 1969). People from traditional or primal cultures are more likely to perceive themselves as part of a larger whole and trauma and illness are viewed as externally caused and ongoing which is linked to the larger society (De Vries, 1995). The world view of any society is important and must be incorporated into planned interventions in order for the plans to be accepted and be effective. The industrialized nations are likely to prefer the individual interventions of psychotherapy. Spirituality and socio-cultural values may play a larger role in non-Western cultures and could provide an important avenue for intervention (Terheggen et al, 2001). One of the ways of transforming the community is a psycho-social service provision.

Definition of Psychosocial Service

The Medical fields and psychiatry research have an assumption of a human being as egocentric self; the mind and the body on one hand and the conception of culture as an

epiphenomenon. This perspective disregards the social origins and quite often the path of mental illness according to (Lewis-Fernades and Kleinman, 1994). Mental illness has as much outside as it has inside influences which if ignored limits or down plays the comprehensives of the scientific authority of the results.

The rest of the world population however holds a different view than that given above by the egocentric approach. This is not with standing recent development which shows that many western psychologists are shifting their position as far as the role of the society, culture and world view are concerned on stress and trauma impact, (De Vries, 1995, De Jong, 2002, and Green, 1993). Socio-centric concept of the self, where individuals exist within networks of social relationships from which they drive self worth, fulfillment and a sense of belonging is becoming common. The African notion of socio-centric does not separate uncommon events occurring in the mind and body into two categories of psychopathological: organic and psychological disorders. Suffering is considered as an integrated mind and body reaction with a spiritual dimension as its core and key to the process of unlocking it (Mbiti, 1969 and Magesa 1997). The western thought considers culture but as beliefs, superstition or secondary elements which are superimposed on the tangible reality of biology (Green, 1993 and 1994). Culture is defined by the ‘Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation’ as *“the particular practices and values common to a population living in a given setting. It is a collective product that provides a repertoire of actions and a standard against which to evaluate the actions of others”* (CSVR, 2004: 41). This definition is pregnant with meaning which must be considered if one has to build a positive and sustainable peace in the community.

Cultures should not be generalised, hence they may become an obstacle of diagnosis, treatment compliance and outcome (Losi, 2000). This approach to the interventions to be applied in the context of Tsholotsho is critical due to the fact that these people have a culture of their own and are in a specific socio-political context.

A community and its demographical structure is the social and psychological foundation for the individual, not just the physical environment, safety, living, work, education and health service. In psychosocial service all the mental and socio-cultural dimensions to the traditional concept of humanitarian aid are considered. Understanding of psychosocial service is built on the knowledge and awareness of the need to provide both the psychological and social support to people involved in a disaster situation. To meet the needs of people during and immediately after traumatic experiences is as essential as creating venues where people can meet and share experiences and spiritual life. Psychosocial service is not about individual therapy alone but it is comprehensive work done when assisting affected communities in their collective recovery. Psychosocial service is a method of intervention that includes medical and social services and the mobilization of resources in order to alleviate the impact of trauma in the community in a holistic manner.

Psychosocial programs

The foundation of all community base psychological work is the belief in the affected community's capacity for recovery and resilience. The objective therefore for psychosocial workers are to assist the affected people and facilitate their efforts to regain their full functioning by building on their strengths and what remained behind. It is understood that relief workers themselves become part of the stories they hear and the reconstruction of the stories emerge with the researcher as being part of the final narrated story (May, 1958 Bannister et, al 1994 and Joubert (1987).

Some of these programs are being used in countries like Uganda, Kosovo and in Rwanda (CSV, 2004). In Rwanda they use a program called 'Healing and Rebuilding Our Community' (HIROC). This is a community based peace building program started by the

faith based organizations to deal with the trauma survivors within their communities. Often they have both the perpetrators and victims in the same group for two to three days, (Uwimana Julienne Interview 2/7/2009). Group therapy is used to help the protagonists, the hurting, and the depressed to face their worst fears in a familiar, conducive environment and in the midst of caring people.

One of the strategies in the new approach to trauma healing is to change the focus from the symptoms to the traumatic event or situation itself. This is done in order to recognize the wrongs and aspects that cause trauma so as to avoid them in the future. At this level the accountability is with the people involved within that social set up. Leaders can have the task of facilitating collective recognition of the psychosocial dimensions of the community's problems by helping identifying key situations.

Psychotherapists, aid workers and researchers should leave their classrooms, surgeries and offices and be in the community promoting processes of empowerment rather than perpetuating a sense of self pity and victim hood.

The aims would be: to assist affected people to attain stable life and integrated functioning in order to restore hope, dignity, mental and social well-being and a sense of normality.

Psychosocial programs include training, education, and development of back up support systems, organizational structures and network. Care program and post disaster training, advocacy and awareness campaign with all the service providers within the community must be co-coordinated.

Some of the emergency needs are basic needs like, sanitation water, food, shelter and medical care. Families must be kept together, reunite members who are separated, find safe places for women and children and be sensitive to genders and age. Legal aid must be available because justice should not simply be heard but must be seen to be done. These people are normally disenfranchised by the disaster and trauma. Therefore all the efforts of the Church and other helpers must be aimed at rebuilding the people's lives through the

community structures by either restoring them to what they were, or making them better in order for the community to function again.

Testimony

To testify means to bear witness and give truthful evidence or to state formally that something is true. In most cases particularly in a court of law or Church it is accompanied by an oath that signifies a commitment to the truthfulness of one's story. The oath links the person to his or her word in so doing, holding person and word hostage to a higher force, (Ross, 2004). It is implied that both testimony itself and the information it conveys are significant and worthy of public attention and that the testifier agrees to be accountable for the veracity of his or her story. Whilst the researcher agrees with the above position he would like to add that testimony can be a means through which a survivor can get in touch with his/her emotions of what actual happened. It could be the first time he/she is verbalizing the experience. A Ghanaian lawyer collapsed and died as he gave his testimony of how he was mistreated by the president of the country, (Interview with Rev, Dr S. Ayete-Nyampong Counselor with Ghana National Reconciliation 8/9/2008).

Truth-telling or testimony as it is generally known weighs heavily on witnessing particularly an eye witness to the events or experience in question. Truth is therefore identified through a relation of proximity to an event and experience. Foucault in (Ross 2004: 58), pointed out "*frank speech (truthfulness) was not an attribute of the information conveyed but of the teller's character.*" Because testifying to the truth involves risk, people must have specific moral qualities particularly courage or bravery since it frequently requires and involves speaking critically of institutions, authorities and people who wield some form of power. Truth tellers have to be citizens who have a well developed sense of duty to the nation and a high moral value system. This sense of duty is what the researcher hopes to bring about in the survivors in Tsholotsho because it has been inconspicuous.

Witnessing is now a central element of our judiciary system. Testimony practices have taken on a significant role in public life especially in conditions of oppression or political instability. It has played a crucial role in garnering information about wrongs committed and not acknowledged by the state like in the case of the Matebeleland massacre. Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa are good examples.

Testimony collecting can be a way of collating data about abuses creating room for the nation to breathe during the transitional justice period especially after unjust rule.

There is a debate if not a contradiction about the models of testimonies. One assumption is that talk heals and that there is a positive relation between speech and recuperation. It is also taken for granted that testimonies accurately represent experience. In this regard words are accepted as neutral and as an accurate reflection of events; and that the healing effects which may accrue to the individual will also accrue to the society as a whole. As the researcher suggests testimonies as an intervention this is one of the assumptions that must be taken into consideration. Does testimony involve a universal ritual healing which can unite individual experience with national process? Testimony is thought to relieve individual suffering by giving voice to experience; a process that it is hoped will promote healing at an individual and social level, (Ross, 2004). Learning from the TRC in South Africa it is concluded that it is not ideal to equate testimony with truth and truth with healing at the levels of both individuals and society. This is because not all testimonies heal even though many testified that they were able to reach toward healing by telling the painful stories of their past, (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, 1998). The other side of the debate is that extreme torture and absolute horror are on the other end that language itself, may fail to convey experience and meaning because some experiences

remain 'unsayable'. When experiences run contrary to the ideals that the society holds more often the victims choose not to divulge their emotions. This point can easily be demonstrated by cases of women who are raped or men who are forced to have intercourse with their daughters or mothers who choose not to speak out for fear of being humiliated publicly. Language does not always adequately allow for the description of such experience, there is sometimes conflict between the urge to identify facts and the desire to tell to the fullest extent of one's experiences.

As a form of Truth-telling testimony has also generated a great deal of suspicion among historians and social analysts. The question of what is truth in academic halls of higher learning and social studies is not the same as in the Church and it is queried as to what evidence suffices to make truthful claims about events and experiences. Psychologically, it is understood that memory and its reference to self can not be fully trusted. It is assumed that memory is not the simple transference of experience into a transparent record but is complicated by the contexts of recall, (Ross in Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, 2004).

A global view of the function of torture serves as an instrument of political repression against dissent. This therefore can help place the traumatic experience in a political perspective and thereby depersonalize it. The survivors must be helped to know that they are not at fault and should take positive action such as standing for human rights which may provide a meaning for the trauma and dispel feelings of helplessness. This is called constructive survival hypothesis and has been a successful coping strategy for concentration camps, (Baker in Basuglu; 1992) Testimonies are a witnessing of the void or the impossibility of closure and telling of a testimony has the capability to reconstruct the individual and inwardly fortifying him/her. It is a sign of defiance and strengths on the part of the survivors as they seek to make sense of what happened to them and rebuild their lives. By virtue of its structure a testimony is a challenge to evil, wrong and the powers that be. There are some similarities between cognitive behavioural therapy approach and

the testimony method. This method was developed by (Agger and Jenson; 1990) in Chile in the 1970s.

The method involves the following procedures, informing the survivor of the process and explaining the symptoms, the client's consent is obtained; the client relates his story from the beginning with an imaginary exposure, background, events that led to the incidents of traumatic experience, dates, time and places, torture methods, personal reactions to torture and specific stimuli. Drawing pictures that come to mind in the process and vivid imagery of the past helps to bring out some of the issues imbedded in the sub-conscience. A successful lawyer in the Ghanaian Reconciliation Commission collapsed and died as he mentioned the name of his torturer in his testimony before the commission. (Ghana National Reconciliation Commission 1980-1999) He had refused counseling before his testimony to the commission. This point demonstrates the phobia and bondage that survivors are subjected to for the rest of their life unless they find assistance. Testimonies help in dealing with such problems provided there are counselors to prepare the survivors before and after giving their testimony.

After the initial testimony the therapist goes through the testimony again with the survivors. The bearing of testimony is seen as a cathartic healing process during which the traumatic experience is reframed. (Figley, 1988) The testimony approach has the same therapeutic ingredient as the cognitive restructuring process. More often the new meaning which emerges during treatment is closely related to the process of regaining control over abandoning the victim role. It is believed that it is possible that

cognitive intervention procedures have an effect through marginal exposures. Social support may be helpful to the extent that the survivor is able to access and utilize it. (Basuglu, 1992: 424)

The testimony approach has not been researched in Tsholotsho and yet in most African cultures especially at funerals and accidents every one who is close to the bereaved family who arrives asks the question of what transpired. The bereaved without failure repeat the story over and over at each point and it is considered as normal. The researcher wondered what purpose it served and why that should be allowed as it seems to be re-traumatizing the survivors. It was only when he came across the testimony as a tool to heal the wounds of trauma that it became clear that it is therapeutic. In grief one has to go through the process of bereavement which by nature is harmonizing the reality of loss with personal emotions that want to hold on to the *now past*. (Kubler-Ross, 1969) Telling the story over and over helps the process of bereaving without which the bereaved would normally be in denial.

Currently, there are two main models of the testimonial form. The first one suggests that testimony is the natural expression of intrinsic truths. At least this is true from a Christian perspective. “*With the testimony of two a case is sealed.*” (Jn, 8; 17) When testimony is tied to psychotherapeutic interventions, it anticipates that stories of pain already exist intact within which the sufferer and all that is required is a safe space within which they can be released. (Ross, 2003) The Church takes this view seriously in its pastoral care approach to the community. The researcher is biased towards this position even though he is ware of the arguments for the other side of the coin.

The second model holds that testimonies are genres of speech and that their effectiveness rests on their adherence to the implicit rules associated with these genres. In the TRC in South Africa some people spoke in ways that would be associated with courtroom proceedings: clear, to the point, direct and factual. Others drew on models more commonly associated with African traditions of story and speech: elliptical, full of pause and repletion, their cadence and rhythm were different from the normal court procedures. Some people were able to wield words with great effect, confident of the story told with words that spoke powerfully. Others were hesitant in speaking of violence and suffering. The

difference between these modes draws attention to the complexity of listening to testimonies. (South African TRC, 1999) Therefore, it requires training and a little of experience to do it properly.

The social narrative story telling approach is chosen to allow this kind of process to take place amongst the people of Tsholotsho. More about testimony will be given in the next subheading of the commission and its role. As a result of the lack of a comprehensive research on testimonies in Africa the researcher recommends this as an area of further studies.

Commission

A commission is an arrangement that seeks to address challenges that confront societies as they move from an authoritarian state to a form of democracy. These are societies emerging from serious conflict and violence that often include widespread human rights violations, genocide and crimes against humanity. This period is characterized by the breakdown of legal services, polarization, apportioning blame, institutional collapse, and economic downturn, (Boreine, A. in Villa- Vicencio and Doxtader 2004). In such situations transitional justice is necessary as a deeper, richer and broader vision of justice which seeks to investigate and confront perpetrators, address the needs of victims and start a process of reconciliation and transform society. Commissions started in Latin America in the 1970s and have been used the world over as a tool and method to gain a collective memory and to unite divided nations, Schlunck in (Nhema, 1992). The researcher believes the idea can be used for the same purpose in Zimbabwe since transitional justice is not a contradiction of criminal justice but the best way to jump start the process of democratization.

The way from an extended conflict and oppressive regime to a democracy in countries in transition is complex and filled with political and psychological landmines. In such situations it is quickly realized that a systematic prosecution of those guilty of gross

violations of human rights could plunge the country back into war. Often the need for justice must be counter-balanced by a pragmatic imperative to seize and maximize the emerging chance for peace and social reconciliation. (Villa-Vicencio, 2004) Peace i.e. the cessation of violence is traded for commodities such as political opportunism (elections) or economic advantage e. g. land. (Grenier and Dauden 1995: 350)

A commission is a structure put together under an act of parliament to investigate an issue or event of the past with a specific mandate, cut off date, time frame, and clear objectives. At the end of the inquiry/investigation it is supposed to make submissions to the powers that be as record of their findings and recommendations for a way forward. (The Truth and Reconciliation of South Africa, 1998) and (Ghanaian National Reconciliation Commission 1999) Commissions are one of the frameworks or structures of how to officially but publicly deal with the past as we confront state atrocity and terror. (Hayner, 2001)

These testimonies need to be in recorded accounts, films, videos literature and second generation accounts. There have been a number of commissions in the world and oral testimonies including Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa and National Reconciliation Commission of Ghana, and National Reconciliation of Rwanda called the Kacacas. These were based on people's testimonies and stories they told publicly of what they did or what happened to them or their community. Commissions must allow both perpetrators and survivors or victims a voice as a way of emptying their pockets of what has been stashed for some time. This process should not result in either traumatic events being rendered a spectacle, monstrosity or alternatively the trauma being legalized. A commission can facilitate a measure of accountability and truth-telling from the perpetrators while providing some form of reparation for the victims in the conflict. It can also lay a foundation for the rule of law in an emerging democracy within which a culture of human rights is cultivated and given a legislative priority (Ibid). When a commission is properly constituted it should not be an alternative to prosecution but must be complementary and

should not circumvent international human rights law or the demands of the international criminal law but be consistent with national laws and expectations, (Villa- Vicencio, 2004). These are some of the minimum requirements for a commission: convincing evidence that the majority of citizens endorse, the disclosure of truth as far as is possible concerning gross human rights violations and holding those responsible for the human rights abuses accountable and that they fully recognize that justice may not need to take the form of retributive system. Restorative justice in terms of reparation to the victims whose rights will have been denied or abused is a key element. One of the main controversial provisions of the commission is the suspension of prosecutions in a transitional situation. This divides the nation into victims and victimizers, the victims prefer to see prosecutions while the victimizers would normally choose general amnesty.

The researcher is excited with this next point as it affords the victims an opportunity and forum in which survivors may tell their stories and be allowed to ask questions. Prosecution must remain an option both during and after the commission even though it is a last resort.

Some of the realistic goals of a commission are as follows: breaking the silence on past gross violations of human rights, counter such denial of such violations by the perpetrators or the authority and the emergence of a common collective memory. The creation of a safe and non-adversarial environment and space for victims to engage their feelings and emotions through personal story- telling which help to bring the community under moral scrutiny, is a good national gesture. This will lead to the uncovering of the causes, motives, and perspectives of past atrocities, (Legal Monitor, ZLHR News, July/2009) and (Zimrights New, August/ 2009).

The process of reconciliation provides important symbolic forms of memorialisation which is dealt with in the following section of the dissertation. Reconciliation is a process and not an event hence it will take time, and needs political will. But lastly, a commission provides

space to address the issues that thrust the country into conflict with itself while promoting restorative justice and social reconstruction, (Villa-Vicencio and Doxtader, 2004).

People need to be realistic in setting up a commission, since it does not always address comprehensively all aspects of past abuses, and will not uncover the whole truth about the atrocities or answer or solve all outstanding national issues. There is no mechanism in place to help all victims to bring closure, or force all perpetrators to account for all they did as a result of the process. Be that as it may, the creation of openness, public discussion and public participation brings about democratic legitimacy. The role of the media as a source of balanced information and accurate reporting with no party political agenda or bias is critical in order to give the nation confidence and confirm the new dispensation.

In conclusion, the commission must be led by the Church and Civic organization. This is because the Matebeleland massacre in Tsholotsho the government was the perpetrator; hence it can not play the role of a prosecutor in the case. It is critical that whoever leads the commission must be seen to be neutral and credible nationally and in the eyes of the international world. Again the Church should be playing a significant role of facilitation, reconciling, providing transparency, encouraging and influencing with its wise guidance.

Memorialization

Memorial or remembrance of an event, life and death of a person or group of people in a Church service, grave securing and /or building a memorial monument or placing a plaque is a process of bringing about healing through acknowledgment, (Herman, 1997). The whole aim here is to create an opportunity to mourn, and be in solidarity with those who lost loved ones, or lost part of themselves, and to build a site of common mourning for the family or community. The survivors like war veterans can easily start to resolve the impact of grief and lack of control when the community acknowledges the sorrow of its loss, (*Ibid*). It helps the traumatized to know that they are not mad, and what they are struggling

with actually took place, and the society agrees. Public validation of wrongs committed, achievements made are critical to the survivors and victims as a way of support by the public.

In Australia a study drawn showed that memories that veterans had relate to and depend on interaction with the public as contestations in remembering. Memory must be discussed as an integral part of how survivors can recover from traumatic experiences. There is an ongoing debate as to whether memory can be healed or not. This is more, so in the light of the fact that it has been established that memory is not straightforward especially in traumatic phenomena, (Edkins; 2000). In America the process of remembrance in the case of Vietnam veterans is to depoliticize their memories which are a form of disciplinary control instituted. The problem here is that hegemonic powers seek to capture, control and subjugate memories.

In memorialisation of war or traumatic events the researcher realized that it is an inauguration of a practice that reproduces stories of heroism, resilience and survival against all odds. Obviously from the perpetrator's point of view this is a reminder of the wrongs, evil and crimes committed and as such it would be better to let the sleeping dogs lie. The only problem is that unexpectedly these dogs often wake up from their sleep and jump up and bite anybody nearby. This is the contestation of politics in trauma healing and assistance to the victims. Cenataph in Whitehall in London and US Vietnam veterans Memorial in the Mall in Washington, the Vietnam Wall. In both cases it turns out that the role of the form of memorial were contested. The argument and the struggles were over the processes of bearing witness to the horror of war or forgetting it or how to inscribe a narrative of sacrifice and heroism at the same time. This is exactly the situation in these communities that suffered traumatic events, there is deep sense of sacrifice intermingled with heroism. The researcher suggests that both are two sides of the same coin and should be acknowledged and given attention even though emphasis should be on the survivors and

victims whose lives have been devastated. (Herman 1992) believes that the most significant public contribution to the healing of the Vietnam veterans was the construction of the Vietnam War Memorial. She appropriately calls the monument which simply records by name and date the number of the dead, “*a site of common mourning*”. The “*impacted grief*” of soldiers is easier to resolve when the community acknowledges the sorrow of its loss. This acknowledgment will help survivors and victims to come to terms with their pain and loss as a fight for survival and begin to process their memories. The selecting and filing of thoughts is a normal human process and failure to do that is a cause of anxiety and often results in traumatic symptoms of hopelessness and vulnerability. The function of these memorials in London and Washington seem to have changed with time, but both have been involved in bringing about certain openness to the many unanswered questions of the war. This is true due to the reason that there has to be some conspicuous pillar that will help to keep the problem real and as a result force survivors to process it.

Memorials to war, even to defeat and humiliation as in the case of Germany in the 2nd World War can be inscribed in the national myth and the imagined community. The question the researcher should ask is what happens in cases of genocide or massacres like those in Tsholotsho which was not a war? There are a number of memorials from the world over the Irish Famine, American Slavery, the Holocaust by the Nazis and the Rwanda genocide and the controversies of how these could be commemorated and remembered is still raging. In some cases memorials become abstract, some are designed to disappear or are inverted and buried and others are never built. The Berlin memorial is now complete after more than 50 years of lobbying, where as in the Rwanda genocide as soon as the post conflict period was ushered in the work on the memorial sites started. Israel has a large Holocaust Museum.

Fine art and installation of work attempts to find other languages and forms of remembrance. Museums, archival work, films and drama are some of the ways in which

trauma, genocide and wars have been remembered. This is critical in terms of the posterity; they need to know what happened in order for them to learn from history and never to repeat the same mistake by adopting different methods of resolving conflicts. Trying to find refutable proof of testimony may negate the importance of dealing with and listening to the stories of the people themselves and what they are saying. (Edkins 2000) concluded that if memorials support the imagined community, bring about some kind of normality and testimony is generally expected to function as a criticism of the perpetrator, state power and its abuse. These monuments are looked at by the repressed as a symbol and a protest directly in the face of the authority and as symbolism of their fight to gain that which was lost. These protests in their mind reclaim memories of trauma and rewrite them as a form of resistance. The stories are only completed by the scripting of memory that those in power can be challenged and very often at moments and in places where the foundations of the imagined community is based. The challenge takes the form of self-consciously non-violent protests. The process of telling the story encourages the story teller to get it off his/her chest and in so doing start coming to terms with what happened. Thoughts of the past must be processed properly in order that they may not become a *sword that will harm us but a shield for protection*. The past should not be allowed to rob people of their future. The Church can provide the support by conducting memorial services for the dead and survivors. Liturgy often becomes handy in affording the nation symbolic expressions that point in the right direction and bring about moral and spiritual support.

The Archives of Memory

The archives of memory come from the experience of individuals to the collective conscience of the group. Silvia Salvatici originated with this term in her work with International Organization for Migration (IOM) of Psychosocial and Trauma Responses

(PTR) in Kosovo. The original aim of this project was to create a structure of response for the emerging psychosocial needs of the population following their experiences of war, exile and return. The Archives of Memory are places devoted to both the preservation and dissemination of the different kinds of documentation and information of the conflict.

At its inception the project, the production and collection of the documented memory was the idea that the material could serve as a necessary preparation that precipitates into further sharing of painful stories. These stories had generally been restricted to the experience and memories of their individual actors. The project was intended to ensure that the stories of suffering and distress created by war and displacement could be expressed and preserved within their social context. This relates with the researcher's context in the sense that even though the problem was not war but the effects of violence, pain and displacements is similar. The Archives also served as open, lively and dynamic places and ways of how to relate to their social context in a mutual exchange as they reflect and interact with their changing environment. The information came from the interviews, group talks, focus group interactions, videos, discussions and other activities which can inspire in order to bring forth violent experiences from individuals and groups. In the case of the Ndebele and Tsholotsho people, documentation must come from all the places where these people are scattered, in South Africa, Botswana, United Kingdom, Australia and America to mention but a few countries. These different memories, voices and narratives add to the power of a common, complex memory. When all these are put together the monolithic approach is hindered and a comprehensive collective memory is formed and gives these individuals and groups a chance to know themselves through the perception of others. This will in turn strengthen both the individual and the collective identity in their awareness of their own identity.

One of the objectives of the Archives of Memory was the collection of and preservation of documents already produced during or after the massacre, war genocide or violence in

other parts of the world. People are eager to share their experiences with others. Diaries could be kept as archival material, doctors' prescriptions and letters received from a loved one in danger or expressing their plight.

Memories are important in more ways than many of us would admit. Initially psychopathology and post war trauma were only understood in clinical definitions and related theories, but in Archives of Memory lived experiences and recollected pasts serve to redefine these theories into concrete terms of healing and sometimes understanding illness better. The benefit of this program is that it can be extended beyond the context of war exile and returnees which is the reason why the researcher has selected it as one of the interventions that can be applied in Matebeleland Tsholotsho. Archives of the Memory are places where past experiences might be re-experienced as a new way to understand the present, and yet this *library of retrospection* also holds hopes for the future. The researcher has discovered this as he talked with the survivors in Tsholotsho. It seemed that the survivors inadvertently discover that in externalizing their experiences of sorrow they are enabled to process them in a logical way which begins to make sense. The recreation of itself is also something one should learn from, so that we might apply our understanding to the changes brought about by the massacre. The Archives are meant to eventually become the reason for the justification of their suffering and makes the pain more tolerable and turns it into a supportive force as they begin to build their identity. This should happen from the transformation of social roles and power relations to the weighty presence of the so-called international community.

Importance of Mourning

The use of rituals during death and loss are to regulate behaviour, time, and emotions and to provide guidance for fragmented social relationship. Normally cultures organize emotional expressions in manner appropriate to the level of the personhood of the sufferer.

Ways of expressions can be stoical perseverance, withdrawal to flamboyant, highly emotional acting due to grief and pain. In (van der Kolk, Mcfarlane and Weisaeth eds 2007) book entitled Traumatic Stress (The Effects of Overwhelming Experience on Mind, Body and Society) it is said that key emotions related to bereavement that receive special cultural attention are those associated with anger and aggression with the aim of reducing harm and facilitate restitution. It is without doubt that culture in mourning, patterns behaviour and provides organization during a chaotic period of transition and helps to cut ties or come to terms with some things that are harmful or will never change again. The death of a loved one is never easy, and results in strong emotions and marked changes of behaviour.

Feelings of anger, fear, anxiety, guilt and loneliness are common responses. These are some of the symptoms that can be expected when one is grieving, loss of appetite, loss of weight, depression and decrease in sociability and disrupted sleep or disruptive dreams. These problems are greater when the loss is unexpected, or occurs at times of uncertainty and all of these disrupt familiar patterns. Overwhelming and intense anger in facing one's loss and giving up emotions is not easy. (Hybels –Steel, 1959) recommends that one has to mourn to move on rather than avoid or fight it. The whole process of grieving and mourning is normal and necessary in an African culture. (Kubler- Ross, 2005) confirms this in her book the “Five stages of Mourning.” However long it takes, this is a period of mourning which must lead to acceptance.

The situation in Tsholotsho was bad in the sense that the community and the culture which were supposed to work as a bulwark to protect the people were destroyed. There were no rituals performed and people had no time to mourn their loved ones, since many were in the surrounding bushes hiding and others had deserted their homes. Since grief rituals are designed to help bereaved people return to a position of normality and reasonable contribution in the society and productivity they are an integral part of the mourning

process. If therefore such an integral part of human life was overlooked in times of such social upheaval there is a breach in emotional processing which in turn renders the people of Tsholotsho helpless. This intervention seeks to recreate an opportunity to work through the bereavement and is jump-started by the cultural and traditional rituals which were initially skipped.

Rituals and Church Services

The researcher has been involved in the community for over five years as a minister, securing shallow-graves of some of the victims killed and holding ritual re/burial services. On one such occasion Woka Ncube said, *“I can now start mourning for my father officially. I did not know how to do it since the shallow grave is in front of the homestead. People thought I was mad.”* Mr. W Ncube slaughtered a cow the day we had a Memorial Church service which is what is suppose to be done when a father or an elderly person dies in the family, (Questionnaire no.6). Mr. W. Ncube’s mother an elderly Christian lady who is the wife of the man who was murdered by the Gukurahundi said, *“I did not know that I am a person , but from today I can laugh with the neighbour,s how could I laugh when I had never mourned my husband.”* Questionnaire no.50)

The transformation in the life of the survivors that is brought about by these cultural rituals of mourning is unbelievable. Lindemann (1944) confirms this fact by his affirmation that customs and rituals channel and facilitate the working through process of bereavement. The traditional cultures of mourning of the Dinka people of South Sudan are not different from the survivors in Tsholotsho. The researcher had an opportunity of spending three weeks with the Dinkas in a Trauma Healing workshop in Yei south Sudan in March 2009. He can confirm the finding of (van der Kolk, Mcfarlane and Weisaeth eds, 2007: 404) about the Dinka refugee quoted in their book. Cultures and rituals help by providing structure and formula by which a survivor can return to normal function by moving

him/her from shock, to grief and ultimately to no-bereavement. In the absence of culturally regulated process the rehabilitation of the survivor to normalcy is not likely to happen.

Physical violence, dissipation and divine punishment are linked to human wickedness which contributes to social sin, (*Shorter 1989: 23*). The question that needs to be answered is, does God share in human suffering, as God, and is not divine compassion inconsistent with divine impassibility? This question is linked to the problem question in the dissertation. The Bible says, “*He will never leave you nor forsake you.*” (Heb.13; 5)

Customs, by excusing people from social role obligations during a period of mourning decrease the amount of grief in bereavement. The researcher describes bereavement as the process of one trying to reconcile his /her memory about the dead with the reality that he/she is gone. This is a process which normally starts at the point when the news is received which leads to the burial, and if there is no burial people struggle to come to terms with their loss. One can just imagine how difficult it is for a person to process the loss of a person who was abducted and has not been found.

There are many cultural spiritual rituals that are performed after burial which continue to keep the living in touch with their dead like (“umbuyiso”) cleansing the spirit of the dead in Ndebele language. Without a formal burial ritual all the subsequent events cannot take place. Death customs are rites of passage and initiate a change in a status for both the dead and the living. As the dead person is passed on ceremoniously from the realm of the living to that of the dead, the bereaved person is passed from the state of mourning into a normal member of the community. Customs and rituals attempt to maintain social solidarity by regulating potentially disruptive dispositions, (*Rosenblatt et al, 1976*).

Culture, customs and rituals are important in facilitating individuals to deal with their emotions, order their behaviour, link the sufferers to the social group and rituals become signposts for their continuous journey. The reactions to trauma differ from person to person and community to community. If culture loses value and its ability to direct grief or to

provide support, individuals and communities are left vulnerable and unprotected, (*deVries, 1987b*). Rituals and the processes of mourning should be incorporated in rehabilitative programs especially in Africa and Tsholotsho.

Here is an open door for the Church to walk in as they help the community in dealing with their grief. What an opportunity for the Church to get involved with the community in times of need. Pastoral care is given a practical expression as the Church takes a lead in this regard. The researcher believes that this is an opportunity for the Church to shake of its colonial mentality of non committal and take a more biblical approach of engagement and incarnational Christianity as it cares for the bereaved.

Breaking the Silence

An ‘elephant in the living room’ is metaphorically evocative of any object or matter of which everyone is definitely aware of, yet no one is willing to publicly acknowledge it. This illustration is how the researcher would like the Matebeleland Massacre to be taken, as it represents a common socio-cultural open secret which has become a “*conspiracy of silence*”. (Zerubavel, 2006)

It is the researcher’s conclusion that since the Hebrew words for silence and paralysis are strangely from the same root this demonstrates that people are normally silent about such issues because they are culturally or politically paralysed. It was Martin Luther King Junior who said “*we will have to repent in this generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people but for the appalling silence of the good people,*” (Zerubavel 2006: x). There is a glaring incongruity between interiority and exteriority, perception and expression that make any *conspiracy of silence* like the Matebeleland massacre intriguing and continues to sustain it.

A *conspiracy of silence* is when a community or a nation tacitly agrees to outwardly ignore something of which they are all aware for whatever reason. Essentially, these public

secrets revolve around common knowledge that is never discussed in public, undiscussables and unmentionables that are generally known but can never become formal national agenda. It is believed that what is ignored or avoided socially is often also ignored academically, and conspiracies of silence are therefore still somewhat undertheorised as well as an understudied phenomena. It was one of the researcher's objectives to place this massacre on the national and international agenda since in most cases what is not discussed socially in public is not delineated only by normative pressures but by those with political power to suppress. This research is a systematic and scientific attempt to do just that.

By enlarge it is the by-standers as enablers who by implicitly exemplify the undiscussability of atrocities and abuse who collaborate with the powers that be by their silence. Whistle blowing, breaking the silence, lifting the rag and naming and shaming are some of the ways of how to unravel some of the conventionally unnameable public secrecies thereby making the foregrounding 'elephant' more discussable. Breaking the conspiracy of silence involves making the elephant's presence part of the public discourse. Publicity plays a critical role in efforts to prevent, as well as counteract denial by the authorities.

Breaking the silence is considered by many as a moral act par excellence to invoke the Church to always be the vanguard of truth and the conscience of society in its shepherding role. Martin Luther King once said, "*the day we see the truth and cease to speak is the day we begin to die.....we may come to remember the holocaust not so much for the number of (its) victims as for the magnitude of the silence surrounding it,*" (Jasper J. J.1997:139). Nelson Mandela the South African iconic leader speaking openly about people who die of AIDS said, "*Silence = Death.*"(CBS News January/06/ 2005). Even though Mandela was talking about HIV and AIDS he was never the less making a point which is a fact for all time that the public silence surrounding an immoral or mishap event makes it even more lethal.

Dostoyevsky Fyodor said “*much unhappiness has come into the world because of things left unsaid.*” (Zerubavel 2006:79) The intense feelings of loneliness often experienced by incest and rape victims are largely a product of such conspiracies of silence by families and others. In stead by-standers who should have been credible witnesses in a normative moral court become collaborators in the conspiracy of silence and are accomplices in the same crime. The trauma caused by such conspiracy is further compounded by family and community isolation which the victims in some way subject themselves to, as a result of their self imposed silence. Silence is morally corrosive and it opens the door to abuse as it often becomes the wrong doers’ main weapon. Both cruelty and corruption thrive in the dark therefore to make it go away there is need to shine on them the biggest possible light. In order for its presence to be acknowledged the “elephant” has to be actively noticed. It has to be pulled from the “background” and brought to the “fore-ground” for explicit attention. Foregrounding the “elephant” presupposes enhancing its visibility by both turning the proverbial spotlight on it and opening people’s eyes so that they become aware of it. This requires a certain straight forwardness and truth telling which only the Church can provide as it breaks the conspiracies by calling” a spade a spade.” Protest songs and drama/play by artists exhibit an effective way of foregrounding these “elephants”.

There are social movements and activities whose entire *raison de’ etre* is to raise public awareness of otherwise background social problems. The public demonstrations held by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo to protest Argentina’s “Dirty War” against its political dissidents in the late 1970s and the Kairos Document by the South African Council of Churches 1970s are an example of such collective elephant foregrounding. For the conspiracy of silence to end there ultimately needs to be no more conspiracy left to keep it alive. As many people join the silence breaking process, the dynamics of the situation reach a “tipping” point where the increasing social pressure on the conspirators to acknowledge the elephant’s presence, overrides the social pressure to keep denying it. This

in the researcher's opinion is what happened to the apartheid in South Africa. As more and more people joined the demonstration and protest both locally and internationally there were less and less secrets about apartheid to keep it alive.

The researcher is of the opinion that the Matebeleland Massacre is like an "elephant in the living room" and he is playing a whistle blowing role to foreground it. He also hopes that the Church, institutions of higher learning and artists will join in as pressure mounts on the conspirators that will eventually tip over and destroy the whole conspiracy. As the researcher concludes this dissertation he confesses that this is one of the most important social processes that can be played by the church in order to bring about transformation to the Tsholotsho people.

These are the interventions which the researcher proposes in way to alleviate/ ameliorate the psycho social crises in Tsholotsho. They are transformational interventions with a strong community bias due to the cultural context of the events and can be led by the Church in a facilitator's role.

Chapter Six - Dissertation Conclusion

Researchers Conclusion

This chapter is about the researcher's findings, the issues that emerged and his personal perspective of how the research has impacted him. The researcher is now evaluating himself whether the whole exercise of researching the extent of trauma caused by the Matebeleland Massacres and the interventions suggested have or have not met the objectives originally set. It must be mentioned that the findings of this research on Gukurahundi was truly "the first rain that washes away the chaff before the spring rain," in terms of its nature and modus operandi. (Breaking the Silence 1994: 45). The nature of trauma that was brought about by the Massacres indeed did not leave any aspect of the survivor's lives unaffected. It was also the beginning of a protracted onslaught on the innocent civilians that has not yet come to an end. This research has sought to make clear the real cause of this Massacre by way of a well organized political plan by the Shona Elite which was a one party state. The dissidents' problem was a smoke screen since dissidents menace was all over the country at that time of Zimbabwean independence including all provinces.

The indomitable human spirit of the people of Tsholotsho must be commended as an example of the resilience of human spirit under extreme emotional, physical, and psychological, spiritual and community torture and devastation caused by the Matebeleland Massacre of 1982-1987. Death imprints and highly charged emotional tension are all over the district as a result of the atrocities in Tsholotsho which can not be erased in a long while. (Teofilo Cabestrero 1985: 1-2) in his book, Blood of the Innocent (Victims of the Contras' War in Nicaragua) had this to say;

“The country is awash with the blood of the innocent...It is inundated by violations committed on the human rights, property, and lives of civilians.

Unintentionally, the researcher stumbled on somebody from another continent, and almost at the same time, standing in his shoes as it were, and writing about the people of Tsholotsho.

“I treated the words of these people with the sacred respect due the blood, death, grief, terror, desperation and tears of the poor, innocent defenceless victims of a truly “dirty war.”

“Dirty war” is an expression first used by Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo to protest Argentina’s “Dirty War” against its political dissidents in the late 1970s, (Basoglu 1992: 17). The war was unjustified and had political benefits to a few elite. This scenario fits the Tsholotsho Massacre as hand and glove in terms of motive and operations. Hence ,

“this chronicle is an attempt to gather up the innocent blood, their murdered or violated or shattered lives, their unknown tragedy. The researcher believes that the Matebeleland Massacre qualifies to be classified as a “Dirty war.” Cabestrero continues;

“The innocent blood on the ground has a name – first name and last name, place name and the name of events which can be summed up in a voice, a voice demanding that this so called “war” stop and should never be allowed to happen again.”

Even though Cabestrero is talking of the victims in Nicaragua the truth he brings out is still true for the people of Tsholotsho dead or alive and he represents the researcher as he magnifies the voice of the victims and survivors. These were real people and some of them are still alive today except that they are under perpetual sanctions from the Government never to mention a word about what actually took place. Hence no meaningful healing will

never commence earnestly. Surely, if this was “a moment of madness” as mentioned by Robert Mugabe the master mind behind the massacre it means he needs to be examined in order to be certified. Other wise he must be held accountable so that this kind of madness should never be allowed to happen again.

Definition of Trauma

Trauma is defined as any symptom, event, accident, incident, occasion or any social and cultural conditions that cause wanton infliction of physical, emotional or spiritual suffering by one or more persons acting alone or on the orders of other or any authority. (Basoglu 1975: 36) quotes the United Nations Charter and the researcher included (Herman, 1992) because she also takes the social and cultural aspects into consideration.

There is a constant search for meaning of life after Gukurahundi as a central motivation for human survival. But this meaning for life is elusiveness in Tsholotsho. A sense of vulnerability, alienation and loss permeates every structure and all levels of the survivors’ life across the social, political and spiritual divide. When cultural protection and security fails the individual and community problems are proportional to the cultural disintegration. The other major point of the trauma in Tsholotsho is the secondary and associative nature and symptoms of trauma which seem to be pronounced than the original. From the time of the original trauma, there have been a lot of other events like the constant reminders by politicians of Gukurahundi during national elections, the deployment of soldiers and Youth Brigade, the hate language and the disappearance and mysterious death of influential political figures which have led to the re-experiencing of trauma. Due to the prevalence of this social and political environment, the people of Tsholotsho have not found help or solution to their trauma. Hence the researcher’s conclusion that the type of trauma in Tsholotsho is chronic “on going” trauma

Lack of control in human life leads to powerlessness which in turn results in frustrations caused by the inability to self determines one's life. If survivors can not have an active command of the circumstances of their lives they can not recover from trauma. At this point the researcher would like to bring Steve Biko's remarks quoted earlier in the dissertation. He said:

“ All in all the Black man has become a shell, a shadow, of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, anger and hate, a slave, and ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity. In the privacy of the toilet his face twists in silent condemnation of white rule and society but brightens up in sheepish obedience. His heart yearns for the white man's comfort and blames himself for not having been educated enough or being borne black.” (Biko, 1978: 28-29)

The researcher would like to invite the reader into a small exercise. Suppose we substitute in the quotation every where it mentions black man with Ndebele man and every where it talks of white man we substitute with Shona Elite we will get a statement that will clearly depicts the true state of the Ndebele man in Zimbabwe today and the trauma caused by the Massacres.

All in all the Ndebele man has become a shell, a shadow, of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, anger and hate, a slave, and ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity. In the privacy of the toilet (home or office) his face twists in silent condemnation of Shona Elite but brightens up in sheepish obedience. He consoles himself by imagining going (egoli) to Johannesburg where he thinks he will not be forced to here and/or see these people again.” As one young man retorted in Johannesburg, *“Sebesilandele futhi lapha madoda manje sizabalekela ngaphi?”* It literally means, *“ they have followed us here in South Africa again where are we going to run to now?”*

This quotation demonstrates the humiliation the Ndebele man has gone through at the hands of the Shona Elite who stripped him naked beat him in front of the family. They forced him to sing, dance, to fetch some water and prepare food whilst they rape his wife and daughter. According to the Ndebele culture the man is the king and chief at his home and no man fights without a weapon in his hands. (Ranger 1999: 205) If that is taken away he is lower than a woman.

The researcher wonders what the Ndebele men are afraid of or what they are running away from that causes them to disregard the barbed wires, not be afraid of electric fences and crocodile infested rivers to get to South Africa. Could this be the evidence of or a symptom of trauma in Tsholotsho? The researcher believes it is. Those of the Ndebeles who have joined with the Shona Elite are doing so for economic reasons and not because of convictions and ideology. They have sold out their soul, dip down they know the truth because they have not dealt with the hurts and pain caused by the massacre.

The process of attributing meaning to life creates a sense of control which in turn promotes personal and community well-being. Trauma is a violation of the autonomy of the person and the community in terms of bodily integrity and community character and identity. Negative and painful events bring about pervasive distrust in the community and a sense of counterfeit world. The survivors' trust and sense of community is severely damaged. If it is true to say that relational life is the way people live, it is also true to conclude that relational life is a primary effect of trauma and not secondary. This is the reason why the researcher chose the use of psychosocial approach to ascertain the trauma in the community and not post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). There is no need to labour this point it has been explained already earlier in the researcher. The decision is in line with the African world view of "Ubuntu" which fosters a sense of community that says, "I am because I belong to a bigger whole which gives me identity" (Mbiti, 1969).

Qualitative social re-constructive narrative theory has been used to ascertain the extent of trauma on the survivors twenty years after. The whole process is attempting to demystify the massacres by making it public and pushing it on the national and international stage. Conscientizing and equipping the church in Zimbabwe in order to come up with practical theological care methodologies and interventions that can be used as tools in such crises have been done. Non-violence as a philosophy has been suggested instead of the violence which has caused this problem in the first place.

In this dissertation the social constructionist narrative theory approach has been used. The world is viewed and made sense of through people's stories and memories of the past. Bannister suggested that social constructionist research methods are qualitative, interpretative and are concerned with meaning, (Bannister et, al 1994).

The researcher has chosen Tsholotsho as part of the whole in an effort to understand the population in which he is interested, (Bless and Higson Smith 1995: 85 Brink 1996: 133). Researchers use sampling because it is a feasible and a logical way of making a statement about a larger group (based on what the researcher knows about a smaller group).

Trauma (*ukuhlulukelwa*) or (*ukuhlukuluzwa*) (to be spiritually, emotionally or/and physically devastated) is experienced when individuals or a group of people is/are injured lose loved ones and/or resources which are highly valued like possessions, social connections and community resources or when the entire family is threatened (Hobfoll, 1991). Researchers are now focusing on trauma stressors that are extremely negative; unexpected and uncontrollable, these are the most difficult to accommodate and often result in most negative reactions in terms of scope and severity (Pearlin, 1982). The impact of such events disrupts the peaceful co-existence and harmony of the community. Traumatic stress can be described as harm, injury, and encounters with death, either by having one's own life threatened, or by experiencing the death of others (Van der Kolk, (1987). This is

what (ukuhlukuluzeka) trauma means in Ndebele. Death through violent attacks, loss of property, and loved ones “umonakalo”, which is associated with fear, helplessness and distraction of the community infrastructure, are at the core of traumatic events. “Umonakalo” would in this case mean an evil event or irreversible and uncontrollable bad occurrence in the family or community.

The researcher has realized that how trauma is experienced depends upon its predictability, suddenness, duration and the extent of damage that it causes. (Levin 2001: 3) made this conclusion in his research entitled The Holocaust and Meaning Three Generations of Experience in which he studied the extent of trauma on the survivors of the Holocaust in South Africa. The researcher’s conclusion is the same as that of Levin even though he went about it in different way. His conclusion was that the trauma of the Holocaust can never be forgotten even though the survivors can move on with their lives because it leaves generational scars. Secondary trauma is one that is witnessed and not experienced. Secondary trauma most prevalent in Tsholotsho at the moment even though victims are there but they are dwindling in number due to the passing on of time.

Emerging Issues from the Research

It is critical to raise this point from the onset of this section. The researcher is a Christian and a minister of religion hence the issue of the role of clergy and/or religion in trauma healing is a relevant one to him. He has been encouraged by such psychologist like Pargament, Lindy, Weaver, Ochberg Green and Grace to mention but a few who have taken the bull by the horns and invested time, effort and expertise to research on this. In one of their books entitled, Post Traumatic Stress; Mental Health Professional and the Clergy, a need for collaboration, training and research this issue was clearly spelt out. The summary of the book says,

“The need for improved clergy –mental health professional collaboration in assessment and treatment of PTSD can not be over emphasized. Tens of millions of North Americans with personal problems seek the counsel of clergy. There is an absence of research on the function of clergy as helpers with traumatized and on the psychological dynamics of religious coping among the traumatized. Psychological training presents the mental health and the religious communities with unique opportunities to work together in the best interest of those they serve.”

(Green, Lindy, and Grace 1988) Post traumatic Stress Mental health Professional and clergy a need for collaboration, training and research. www.goliath.econext.com.

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Here is one of the emerging issues from this research that needs further research. The researcher is fulfilled as he is right at the epicenter of the debate and is contributing in a direct way.

These are some of the key issues that emerged from the research which are pivotal in trying to understand the context and conclude on the extent of trauma.

-Not being able to mourn for your dead, not being able to give respect to the dead does not afford one closure which is not surprising if one considers that in many African cultures the dead are not necessarily separated from the living, (Mbiti, 1969).

-One observation by the researcher is that the level of anger and hatred seem greater in those people whose friend, relative, or and neighbour were abused or murdered in their presence or absence but could do nothing about it. The researcher is not so sure as to whether this is a sense of guilty or a psychological pain on behalf of others. Again it may need others to ascertain in further studies.

-The state of vulnerability and helplessness due to lack of control of one’s life situation continues to be a source of pain.

-The nature and actions of Gukurahundi hardened ethnic prejudice and created a strong link between ethnicity and political affiliation. The massacre prejudiced the region from the rest of the country in terms of development.

-It has been observed that the survivors see their trauma at the social and community level and the event is in their mind rather than the experience of their personal injury and loss.

- The number of the people killed by the Massacre must be increased to about 30 000. The researcher did an in depth study by way of sampling in Tsholotsho. The researcher has made a this conclusion after having spent over five years in Tsholotsho doing research on the massacre His main reason is that most of the studies done before were general studies and his was qualitative, sampling, and specific to determine the extent and gravity of the massacre in the district. (Basoglu,1992: 2) gives a reason for the general estimates of the figures of victims and the extent of torture due to the difficulties in obtaining reliable information because of either suppressed or denial by governments concerned or authorities in charge.

-The disappearance of relative and friends is likely to be worse in terms trauma in the Ndebele culture than having your loved one killed. At least if one knows where a loved one is buried one can visit where the person was buried. If one has no clue as to where to start looking for his/her loved one, the trauma is unforgivable and unbearable.

-The other emerging aspect is the distraction of property by arson, theft and other means which has worsened the hatred and anger.

-It is not surprising that almost every one in the community felt the threat to the tribe as the most common effect. It could be because the soldiers used ethnicity as the reason for their action. This was the most unfortunate because it implicated innocent people who are totally oblivious of what was going on.

- Most of the people who embraced their religion found solace and were able to cope with the trauma far better than those who did not. Questionnaires: 11, 19, 21, 51, 52, 56, 64, 84

and 99 -It has emerged that the study of and care of tortured individual and communities is not merely a humanitarian concern but an effective political statement against the most abhorrent form of human rights violation. (Basoglu 1992: 3)

Outstanding Issues

The researcher strongly proposes a study of political and cultural influence on effects on trauma as it has a bearing on the outcome and the process of the nature of trauma. On a social level, the way in which people in the survivors social system or circle respond to the survivor have power and influence to impact positively or negatively on the outcome of trauma. The researcher is glad to make this discovery since it confirms and strengthens his argument which he has made throughout this research. Herman (1992)

-Lack of substantial research done and available information on the effects of social and cultural impact on the victims or survivors is suggested as a hindrance to relevant interventions. There is need for further, comprehensive and conclusive study to be done in this aspect. As other atrocities are unraveled and occur this kind of study is needed if not long over due.

There is need for an in depth study to be done on specific kinds of torture and their effects in Tsholotsho since this research only sought to ascertain the trauma in general and the extent of it.

One other goal that is yet to be realized is whether this research will manage to bring the problem of the massacre to the national agenda even though issues that can be debated have been raised remains to be seen.

How the massacre could have been kept a secret and yet the evidence is all public knowledge is one of the intriguing phenomena in this social and human studies of this nature. This might serve to indicate how difficult if not impossible to speak out about issues

that involve atrocities, intimidation and the abuse of power while the perpetrators are still in position of authority. It can only therefore be suggested as a subject for further studies, suffice to say that it is definitely a conspiracy.

Genocide

Here is one of the outstanding issues that emerged from this study. A question is posed as to how the international community and the United Nations did not declare the Matebeleland Massacre as genocide in the same bases as many others in the world?

As the researcher examined the facts and figures of what make and define genocide he is convinced that Matebeleland massacre qualifies to be categorized as such. Prof. Stanton one of the great experts in genocide defines genocide in this way.

Aspects of genocide

1. Killing members of the group
2. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
3. Deliberately imposing on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction in a whole or in part.
4. Imposing measures intended to prevent births in the group
5. Forcibly transferring or killing of children in the group (*Stanton, 1996 .Eight Stages of Genocide, www.Genocidewatch.org accessed on the 22/10/2007*)

It seems the general stages of a genocide which in all fit the context under scrutiny in Matebeleland and Tsholotsho were followed. These are: classification, symbolism, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, extermination and denial. Be that as it may, this is not a research on genocide but on trauma hence that issue will be set aside for further studies or for others to pursue, suffice to say the Matebeleland Massacre should be up graded to genocide. There is no way the massacre would have been undertaken without planning or strategic intent and a clear goal. The researcher is convinced that the

aim was to destroy the only base for the only credible opposition political party with war credentials like ZANUPF. The Ndebele people and any body else who supported ZAPU was any enemy of ZANU PF therefore Ndebele people were dissidents and dissidents were Ndebeles. Here was the classification and the polarization which led to the extermination.

Other commissions on Gukurahundi

For validation purposes there are three commissions done on Gukurahundi in Zimbabwe since 1986 only one privately done by Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP) is published. The others by Enoch Dumbujena 1992 and the Chihambakwe Commission 1995 are kept under lock and key in some government office in Harare. The CCJP's report is the one the researcher has used for validation on the bases of it being the only authentic and available work done prior to this research.

Conspiracy of Silence

An Elephant in the living room

An 'elephant in the living room' is metaphorically evocative of any object or matter of which everyone is definitely aware of, yet no one is willing to publicly acknowledge like the Matebeleland Massacre around which *conspiracy of silence* revolve. Essentially, these public secrets revolve around undiscussables and unmentionables that are generally known but can never become formal national agenda. It was Martin Luther King Junior who said "*we will have to repent in this generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people but for the appalling silence of the good people*" (Zerubavel 2006: x)

The researcher is convinced that what is ignored or avoided socially is often also ignored academically and *conspiracies of silence* are therefore still somewhat undertheorised as well as understudied phenomena. The researcher's objective to place this massacre on the national and international agenda since in most cases what is not discussed in publicly is

not delineated only by normative pressures but by political power is noble but risky. Studying the social and political conditions that help produce *conspiracies of silence* can help to appreciate why there have not been many who attempted to tackle this whole massacre as a national disaster. Hence survivors have not been able to find assistance in dealing with their trauma and the researcher's decision and approach not to use PTSD pathological process. It brings the researcher to a surprising question as to why the Matebeleland massacre has not been declared a national disaster status. This seems to be a deliberate a glaring omission or crafted amnesia which explains why the massacre is couched in serious political controversy.

Because of power, political leaders are able to classify and control the dissemination of information and what the public should and should not hear, (Abrams, 2006). Through repressive laws which cover both electronic and print media, controlling and dictating the national agenda gagging and castigating any voice of dissent the powers that be particularly authoritarian rulers keep a lead on such conspiracy. Silence is used as a weapon of subjugation and the suffocation of the voices of dissent. In the case of Matebeleland Tsholotsho the secrecy was eventually sealed by confidential agreements like the Unity Accord of 1987 which was designed to prevent any divulging of information to the public, (The Chronicle 18/12/1987). In dealing with massacres agreements which exclude the opinion of the ordinary people must be avoided. Here in lies the danger of private agreements or elite pact because they do not take the victims and the majority into consideration.

Breaking the silence is a moral act which behooves the Church to always be the van guard of truth and conscience of society in its shepherding role. Martin Luther King once said,

“The day we see the truth and cease to speak is the day we begin to die.....we may come to remember the holocaust not so much for the number of (its) victims as for the magnitude of the silence surrounding it.” (Jasper J. J.1997:139) Dostoyevsky

Fyodor said “*much unhappiness has come into the world because of things left unsaid,*” (Zerubavel 2006:79).

The researcher’s conviction of the role of the Church is collaborated by the writers quoted above as they alluded to the prophetic and wise guidance which must always be present in the society but has been absent in Tsholotsho. The researcher is of the opinion that the Matebeleland massacre is like an “elephant in the living room” and he is playing a whistle blowing role to foreground it.

Practical Theology

Mowbray has alluded that pastoral care and social action are the enactment of ritual, care and spirituality and a practical language of love and of real identity of which the Church is key, (*Mowbray in Graham 1996*). The church must demonstrate the practical love and care in its compassionate ministry to the community in its theology of engagement which is a theology of praxis.

Empathy stems from the comprehension and sharing of another person’s emotional state, which is a key form of mentalizing. Martha Nussbauma in Allen (2006) a philosopher constructed compassion as an emotion directed at the suffering of another person but emphasised the complexities of the judgments that go into the feelings. This compassion is experienced to the extent that people believe that suffering is not deserved and is facilitated by a sense that any one can and might suffer similar fate. Those that are suffering must be encompassed within the sphere of concern as we all believe that the sufferer’s well- being is important since we are all created in the image of God.

Theology of engagement which is incarnational Christianity is what is required in Tsholotsho and any thing short of that does not fit the bill and can not be effective in traditional cultures where relationships and community are more important than individuals. Practical theology must also transform itself from an armchair undertaking to

a truly practical involvement of the faith community in the society. It must also involve itself with the relevant issues of gender, age and firm up its loose construction of its philosophy in a way to deal with change in post modern and post Christian era.

The failure of the Church to respond to the trauma in Tsholotsho can also be attributed to the failure of practical theology to deal with such practical and social issues in its current state. Elaine Graham was right when she concluded that practical knowledge, i.e. pastoral theology should exhibit a bias towards alterity, diversity and inclusivity, (*Graham, 1996*). Here in lies the truth-claims of the Gospel as it is incarnated in the faith community that seeks to embody the suffering in its pastoral care as a witness of God's kingdom upon us.

From Chronic 'on going' Trauma to Psycho-social Crisis

Psychology and medical research has gained major strides in ascertaining PTSD as a diagnosis in their field. Be that as it may PTSD does not adequately cover the scope of trauma in traditional cultures. The research would like to firm the discovery made by some psychologist including (van de Kolk, Marcfene and Weisaith eds 2007: 404) about the role that the social and political context play in determining the extent of trauma in victims or survivors. The social and political context must be taken into consideration as one of the causes of trauma as one deals with traumatized people. In the context mentioned above trauma is often shrouded in religious, social and political context. This is true for the people of Tsholotsho. Trauma can not be effectively dealt with when the threat to their lives is still very real due to the silence of what happened to them and intimidation by government and ZANU PF.

The researcher has now concluded that in spite of the interventions suggested and what others may do to assist the people of Tsholotsho chronic trauma or psycho-social crisis will not necessarily go away. The interventions will help survivors to cope with their trauma and move on with their lives but the vulnerability of life remains. Two things have

convinced the researcher to conclude this way: firstly the trauma has been on going for over twenty five years such that it has become part of their lives and psychic. Secondly, there is nothing that can be done for the survivors to forget what happened with Mugabe R. G. who sent Gukurahundi (“*the first rain that washes all the dirt*”) to wipe all the Ndebele people is still in power, (*Breaking the Silence 1994*). To the survivors it seems the danger is always lurking around the corner which is an indication of years of deep seated fear, intimidation and harassment which result in chronic trauma / psycho-social crisis. Many scholars agree that if people, victims or survivors of a massacre as in the Tsholotsho situation have not been able to have full control of their lives there is no way they can recover completely. The quest for meaning is not fully realized because the damage to self, sense of identity and belonging is likely to be permanent, (*Herman, 1997*) (*Freud, 1920*) (*Taylor et al.1984*) and (*Rothbaum et al.1982.*) Hence, *chronic “on-going” trauma* is the conclusion of the kind of trauma arrived at by the researcher in this dissertation. He has already suggested as a conclusion from Chapter four that this *Chronic ‘on going’ trauma* should be referred to as *Psycho-social Crisis*.

The Quest for Closure

In their quest for closure the people of Tsholotsho have been extremely generous to the perpetrators even though some talk passionately about compensation for their loss of property. However the majority demand an acknowledgment of wrong done to them from Mugabe himself. The researcher proved the point made above which was confirmed by van der Kolk, MacFarlane and Weisaeth eds. (2007: 31) when they determined that, “*contrary to general perception, few victims make shrill demands for compensation and special privileges.*” This issue of acknowledgment is major and critical to the Tsholotsho people since it helps them to process their emotions as to what actually happened to them and for what reason. If therefore some body accepts responsibility it means they can channel

emotions and thereby build meaning without which there is no closure. One elderly lady said this to the researcher “umphefumulo kauxoleseki” which means, “*there is nothing one can do about the dead person’s soul*” no compensation or “*amount of money can replace some body’s life.*”

Acknowledgement provides an opportunity for a cathartic public curing as a first step towards a healing process in a hurting and divided society. Has public acknowledgment and validation of personal suffering of traumatized people in Rwanda, Bosnia, Lebanon, Cambodia and apartheid in South Africa useful social process? Has it been able to create and promote a shared sense of trust, empathy, personal and corporate responsibility? In a way, it is meant to create a conducive and non-adversarial environment stop the revenge cycle.

There are some perpetrators and victims who prefer blindness, the illusory innocence of those who have not paid the heavy price of the awareness of wrong doing. It must be reiterated that people get upset when confronted with information challenging their self delusional view of the world around them. The majority of people especially victims prefer such delusions to painful realities and thus cherish one’s right to be an ostrich keeping their heads in the sand in spite of the hate, anger and anguish.

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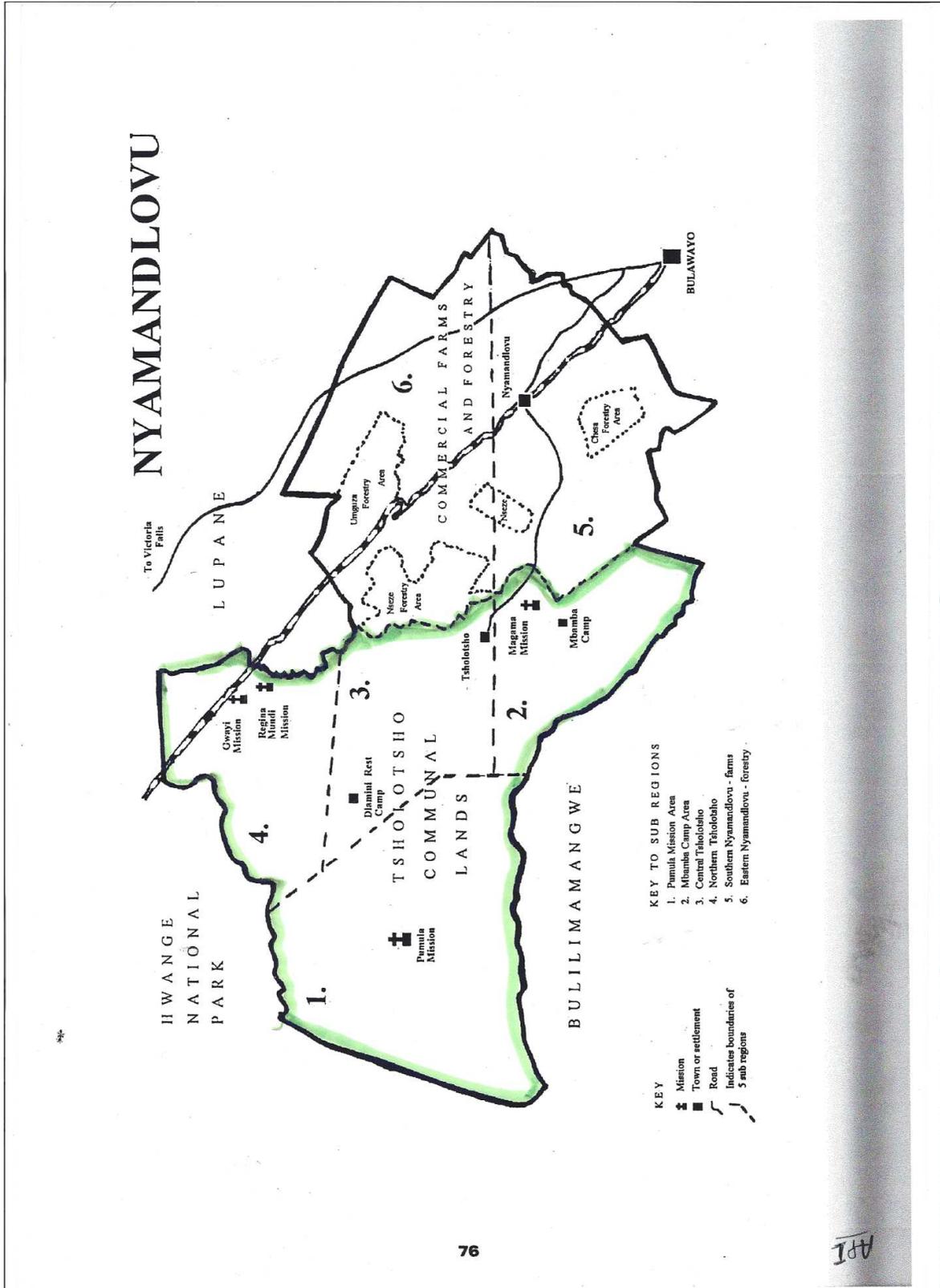
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Interviews

- a) Interview with psychologists Jane Fisher and H. Pidcocke 2/7/2009

- b) Interview with Julian (Rwandese Tutsi) 2/7/2009
- c) Interview with P.Z. Khumalo 6/6/2009
- d) Interview with N. Ndabengwa 6/2/2008
- e) Zimbabwe Government Gazette 18/4/1988
- f) Zimbabwe Government Gazette 3/5/1988
- g) Interview with the then Minister of Information 10/10/2008
- h) Interview with Dr. A. Kubai 17/2/2009
- i) Interview with N. Ndlovu 12/3/2009
- j) Interview with S. Appel 4/05/2009
- k) Interview with Taps 11/8/2009
- l) Interview with Felix Moyo 5/10/2009
- m) Interview with Prof. Harris G. 17/8/2009

Appendix 1



API

Appendix 2

APPENDIX 2

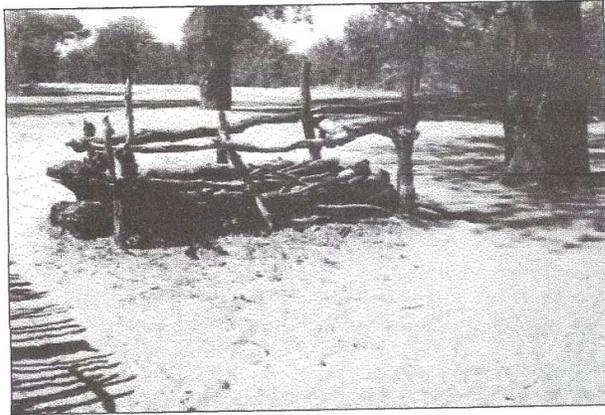


Photo 12: A 5 Brigade victim buried where he died, near a school gate in Tsholotsho

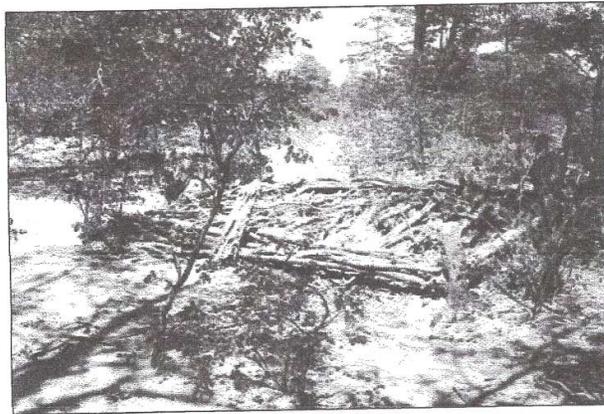


Photo 13: A mass grave in Tsholotsho, western area: Thirteen 5 Brigade victims were buried here, February 1983

Appendix 3

Ⓟ 45 AP. 3

Tshuma's rehabilitated grave June 2009

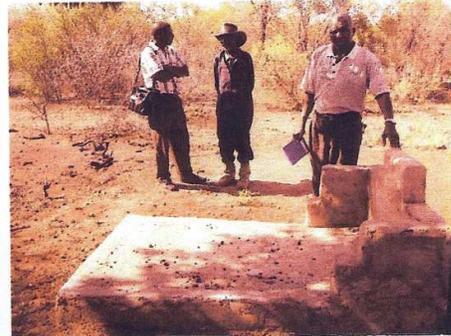
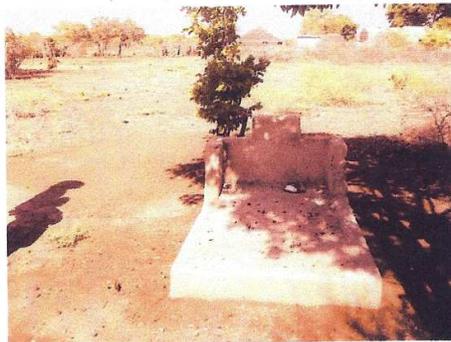


Moya Tshuma points to his nephew's grave which lies in a shallow grave among bushes



Nkosilathi's resting place

Tshuma shows scars from his gun shot wounds



Nkosilathi's grave after refurbishment

Max, Tshuma, Mosti standing by Nkosilathi's grave

Appendix 4



Appendix 5

APS

I

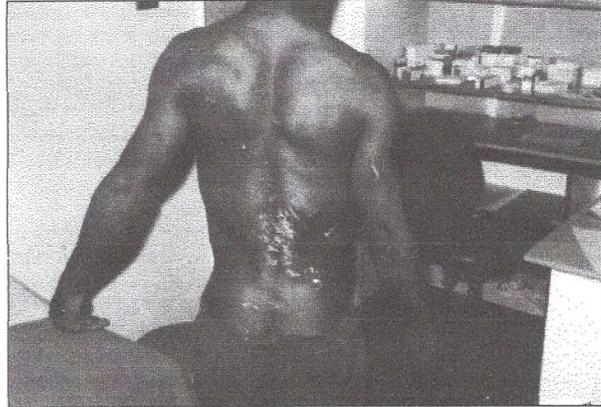


Photo 10: A Tsholotsho resident showing scars from burning plastic, February 1983



Photo 11: This Tsholotsho 5 Brigade victim suffered permanent paralysis in both forearms as a result of being tied up with wire, February 1983

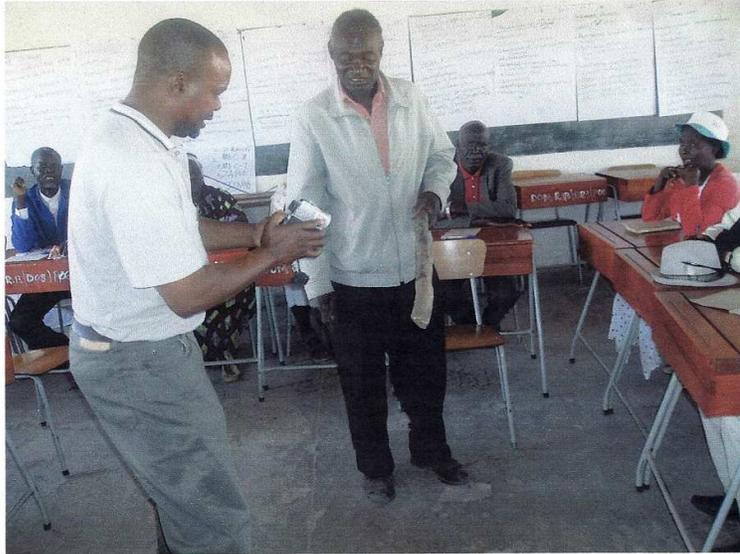
144

Appendix 6

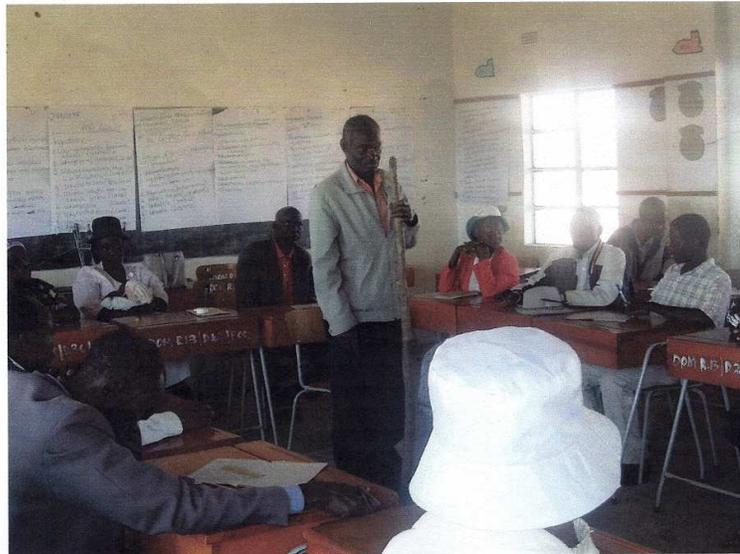
AP-6

SIBANDA WITH HIS 26 YEAR OLD STICK.
AT A PEACE BUILDING WORKSHOP THE

RESEARCHER
ORGANISED FOR
THE COMMUNITY



~~AP-6~~
MAY/2009. IN
TSHOLOTSHO.



Appendix 7

AP7

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

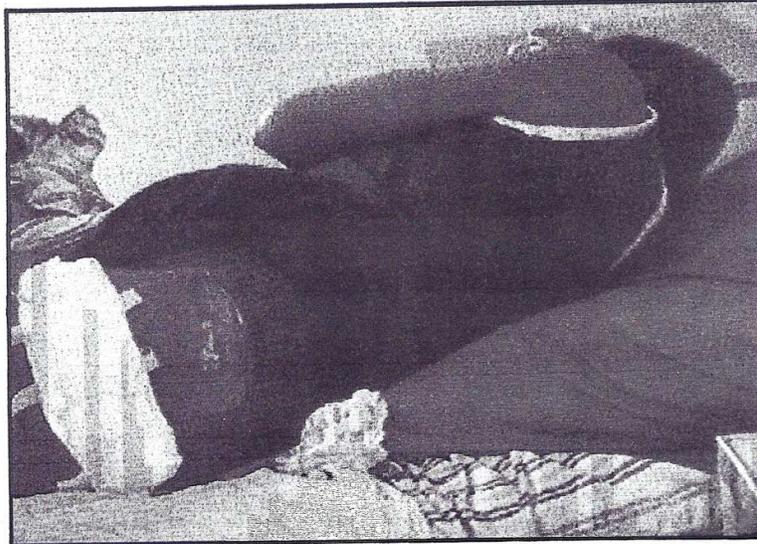
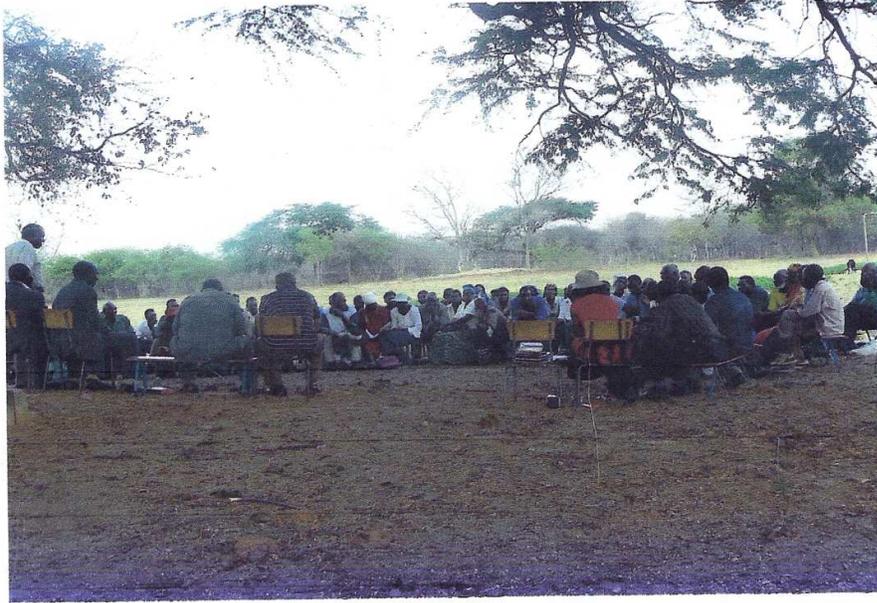


Photo 4: Victim of a mass beating, February 1983

Appendix 8

AP8



R. Motsi conducts a trauma healing session with the people of Dlamini-Tsholotsho



Life's journey presented using a rope at Dlamini- Tsholotsho

Appendix 9

AP 9



MKHONYENI CONSULTATIVE MEETING

1. Introduction

Mkhonyeni is a village where some 26 or so women and children were burnt in 3 huts by the fifth Brigade in 1983. According to two witnesses, one young man whose mother perished was 9/10 years old and the other, one of the 3 women who were spared the ordeal because she spoke Shona.

Mkhonyeni is approximately 20km NNE of Pumula mission. The CCJP report states that all villagers were forced to witness the burning to death of 26 villagers in three huts and these were women and children. There was only one survivor. The names of the victims are said to be written in the CCJP H file,(2001:88). However, the CCJP got the name of the site wrong and the number of the victims is not clear though they will be verified on the ground.

2. Event

The events are that in January 1983 the fifth brigade came into the area and most of the men were rounded up and killed by the dam where the army was camping, some 8 or so men.

On 16th March 1983 the women and children were herded into the huts and were burnt, one managed to escape through a window and is alive today although we have not been able to visit her yet as she now stays elsewhere. Two others in another hut managed to get out through the window but they were so burnt, they died not long after, and were buried nearby. After 3 days some men who had escaped came back and collapsed the huts over the charred bodies, before they ran away.

This is still the state of the “graves” to this day, unfortunately due to weathering and erosion, bones and pieces of clothing are beginning to show. This is of great concern to the villagers and those with family buried there.

3. Meeting details

On 24 November we held a consultative meeting with 30 villagers to discuss what needs to be done to preserve these sites. The level of mistrust and suspicion of outsiders is still present; thankfully one of the team members is from that area and so we were cautiously

“...And He has committed to us the message of reconciliation.”

1

Appendix 10

AP 10

accepted into their world, on condition that all the information we gathered including images taken were not to be used against them.

The level of pain, hurt, and anger is still very high among these people, and while we are working to preserve the grave sites our ultimate aim is to be able to work with individuals and members of the affected family through trauma processing and the mourning process in order that they might move on with their lives. In addition many of them have been unable to obtain Death certificates, because they officials wanted to misrepresent the cause of death, as “caught in cross fire”. While others were forced to accept this in order to access their relatives’ pensions, etc, others have refused. This has affected not only them by their children as well since they are unable to get birth certificates and identity documents for their children and themselves. Which means officially they ‘don’t exist’ and can get proper jobs or continue with schooling beyond grade seven. This in turn affects their economic status, they can never be what they want to be, this causes them to resent even more they people they blame for the deaths of their families, and this has an impact on the level of peace sustainability in their lives and community. The system has created a lot of angry and vengeful people and the challenge for GTH is how best to mitigate this situation for the sake of peace.



One of the 3 huts in which 26 women and children were burnt

“...And He has committed to us the message of reconciliation.”

2

Appendix 11

AP 11



Villagers discussing what needs to be done to prevent erosion and the Exposure of the remains

The community decided that they wanted to construct walls around the ‘graves’ and fill them with soil. We noticed however that the issue was emotive and was dividing them over the issue of when to do this. One elderly men in particular felt that since this was time for ploughing it was best to wait till after, the younger men wanted to do it immediately and felt that the older man didn’t care much for the dead. We feel that such a process should unit and be healing to the community, rather than be hurtful and divisive and we are concerned about that and believe we need to work through with the community to achieve this. We now feel that perhaps the best approach is to construct sheds over the graves and fence them to prevent animals from walking over them, while were work with the community on a longer lasting solution.

“...And He has committed to us the message of reconciliation.”

3

Appendix 12

AP 12

(2) 281.M:PL

CATHOLIC COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE IN BULAWAYO

MISSING PERSON J N

DATE 1984 CURFEW

NAME OF INTERVIEWEE L N

RELATIONSHIP TO DECEASED/MISSING/INJURED PERSON BROTHER

AGE 36 YEARS

MARITAL STATUS MARRIED

CONTACT ADDRESS CARANYEMBA SECONDARY SCHOOL

NAME OF DECEASED/MISSING/INJURED PERSON J N

DATE OF BIRTH ALL PARTICULARS TAKEN BY C.I.C

IDENTITY CARD NUMBER TAKEN BY C.I.C

MARITAL STATUS AT TIME OF INCIDENT MARRIED

SURVIVING SPOUSE SI N

NAMES OF SURVIVING CHILDREN AND AGE C N 23 YRS

V N 21 YRS M 18 YRS T 12 YRS

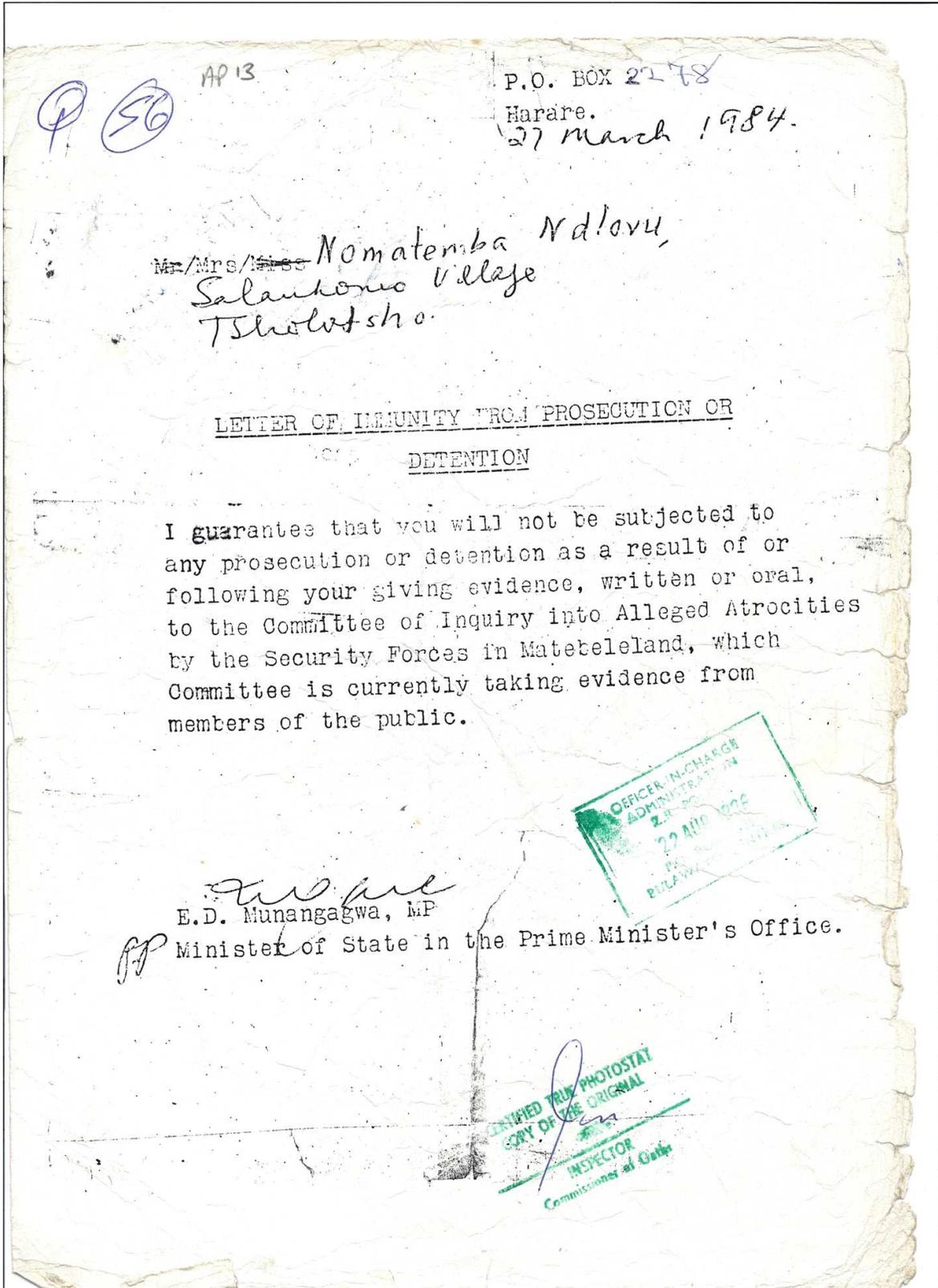
K 9 YRS K 7 YRS

EMPLOYMENT STATUS/EARNING AT TIME OF INCIDENT JOINTER WITH Sisk Builders #280-00 p.m.

POLITICAL AFFILIATION/ACTIVITY OF DECEASED/MISSING/INJURED PERSON (IF ANY) Z.A.P.U. MEMBER

PARTICIPATION IN LIBERATION WAR (RECRUITED/TRAINED WHERE,

Appendix 13



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AP 13

P.O. BOX 2178
Harare.
27 March 1984.

~~Mr/Mrs/Ms~~ Nomatamba Ndlovu,
Salankhono Village
Tsholotsho.

LETTER OF IMMUNITY FROM PROSECUTION OR
DETENTION

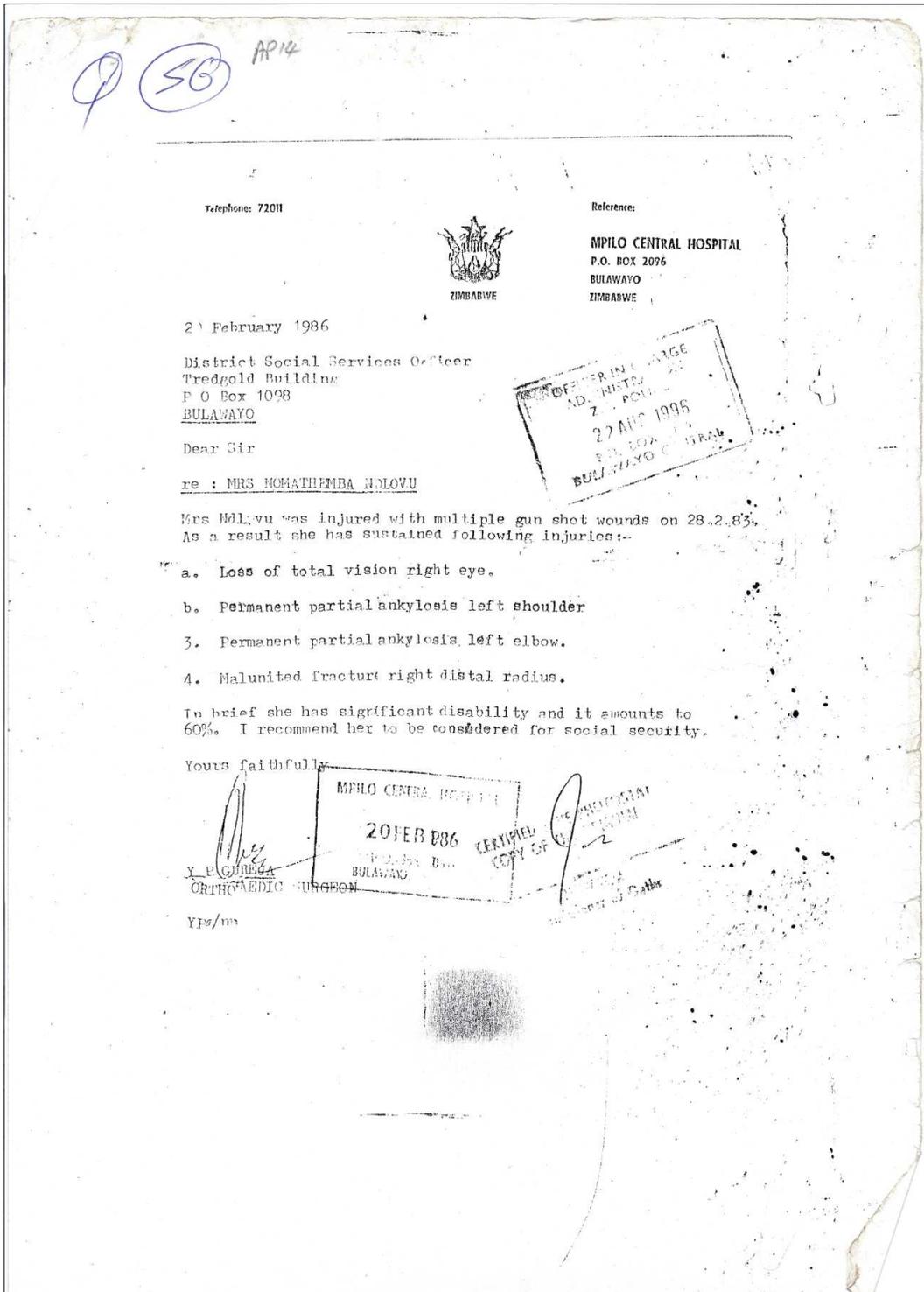
I guarantee that you will not be subjected to any prosecution or detention as a result of or following your giving evidence, written or oral, to the Committee of Inquiry into Alleged Atrocities by the Security Forces in Matabeleland, which Committee is currently taking evidence from members of the public.

E.D. Munangagwa
E.D. Munangagwa, MP
Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office.

OFFICER-IN-CHARGE
ADMINISTRATION
22 APR 1984
BULAWAYO

CERTIFIED TRUE PHOTOSTAT
COPY OF THE ORIGINAL
INSPECTOR
Commissioner of Oaths

Appendix 14



Q (56) AP14

Telephone: 72011



Reference:

MPILO CENTRAL HOSPITAL
P.O. BOX 2096
BULAWAYO
ZIMBABWE

21 February 1986

District Social Services Officer
Tredgold Building
P O Box 1098
BULAWAYO

GENERAL MANAGE
AD. INSTR. 21
Z. POL.
22 APR 1986
P.O. BOX 2096
BULAWAYO ZIMBABWE

Dear Sir

re : MRS MCHAMBEA NDOLOVU

Mrs Ndlovu was injured with multiple gun shot wounds on 28.2.85.
As a result she has sustained following injuries:-

- a. Loss of total vision right eye.
- b. Permanent partial ankylosis left shoulder
3. Permanent partial ankylosis left elbow.
4. Malunited fracture right distal radius.

In brief she has significant disability and it amounts to 60%. I recommend her to be considered for social security.

Yours faithfully

Y. P. Gumbi
Y. P. GUMBHI
ORTHOPAEDIC SURGEON

MPILO CENTRAL HOSPITAL
20 FEB 1986
BULAWAYO

RECEIVED
COPY OF
2

YPS/mv

Appendix 15

APIS

MOSE SIBANDA

97

GIBI ~~X~~ GU / ULIPHANDE
GWABAZA BULA

DISTRICT MEDICAL OFFICER
TSHOLOTSHO
DISTRICT HOSPITAL
14 MAY 1990
P.O. TSHOLOTSHO
Telephone 216

To
Social Service
Tsholotsho

Re: Mr. Mose Sibanda

Mr. Mose Sibanda developed a bridge between ulna and radius of the right forearm. Rotation is now impossible.

In the left hand a fracture of the 5th finger has not healed well making the use of this hand imperfect.

A tumour / swelling on the dorsal side of the left hand shows, that there was also a fracture of the basis of the hand.

With both hands seriously restricted he is unable to work in the normal working process.

The degree of injury has to be considered 90%.

Dr. Vinkelmann
(Dr. Vinkelmann, DMO)

EVIDENCE
COURT / WITNESS