

THE IMPACT OF INTERCULTURAL FACTORS ON THE PLANNING OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

By

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(Under the Direction of Ronald M. Cervero)

ABSTRACT

Western theological educators participate in the planning of theological education programs for rapidly growing churches in postcolonial societies like the Dominican Republic. Their work can be self-defeating unless they understand the *intercultural factors* produced by their placement within a postcolonial context. This critical ethnographic case study examined how intercultural factors shaped the planning of the theological education program of the Dominican Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA). Twenty-one participants were selected as a purposive sample. Each participant was interviewed using the Critical Incident Technique. In this study, a critical incident was defined as a key decision that changed the direction and development of the theological education program. Interviews lasted approximately an hour and were audio-taped, transcribed, and reviewed by the participants.

The constant comparative method of data analysis was used during the 16 months of the study. The 21 participants mentioned 43 critical incidents. Data analysis identified five interrelated intercultural factors that impacted the planning of the theological education program in five distinct ways. The first factor was Dominican hybridity and collectivity versus American individuality. The second was Dominican extensive power distance orientation versus American

compressed power distance orientation. The third was Dominican preference for consensus versus American top-down management. The fourth was Dominican acquiescence to American control versus American organizational loyalty. The fifth was Dominican racial and gender inequality versus American racial and gender equality. These five intercultural factors impacted the theological education program by producing communication difficulties, blurring lines of authority, leaving organizational cross-purposes undetected, encouraging unilateral decision-making, and marginalizing the rural poor.

Three conclusions were drawn from this study. The first conclusion was that frame factors limited collaborative planning to the resolution of substantive issues and left key meta-issues unresolved. The second conclusion was that subordinate stakeholders did not have access to the planning table regardless of whether the education committee was American-led or Dominican-led. The third conclusion was that educational planning reproduced Dominican societal inequalities.

INDEX WORDS: Adult education, Dominican Republic, postcolonial studies, planning theory, ethnographic case study, qualitative research, theological education, TEE, Evangelicals, missions, assimilation, functional philosophy of education, critical education, power, resistance, dependency, racism, hybridity, collusion, nationalism, and globalization

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CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Christianity is the world's largest religion with nearly 2 billion adherents. At present, 32.5% of the world's population is identified with one of the five megablocs of global Christianity: Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, Anglican, or Independent. Major changes within Christianity have the potential for global impact. During the 20th century, several sea changes occurred within Christianity (Johnstone & Mandryk, 2001). The growth of Evangelicalism, which is classified as a part of the Independent megabloc, was one such change. McGee (2000) defines Evangelicalism:

In the context of North America, the term denotes a twentieth-century movement committed to the historic doctrines of the Christian faith, the supreme authority of Scripture in faith and practice, the need for personal conversion, and the imperative of world evangelization. In global Christianity, 'evangelicalism' encompasses a broad scope of Christians, movements, and organizations which transcend confessional and ecclesiastical lines. (p. 337)

The Independent megabloc within global Christianity is composed of Evangelical, Pentecostal, and Charismatic denominations and church networks. Independent churches have experienced rapid growth, expanding from 7 million adherents in 1900 to over 300 million adherents in 2000. Independent churches have emerged as a dynamic force within Christianity, primarily because of the growth of non-Western Evangelical Churches (Johnstone & Mandryk, 2001).

A second sea change within Christianity was the shift in Christianity's center of gravity away from Western nations to the non-Western world. For example, in 1900, Christians from Africa, Asia, and South America accounted for 16.7% of the global Church. In 2000, they accounted for 59.4% (Johnstone & Mandryk, 2001). Many of the rapidly growing non-Western Evangelical churches identified by Johnstone and Mandryk (2001) were in postcolonial societies.

Postcolonial societies were once under the colonial rule of Western nations. European powers began to establish colonies in this hemisphere in 1492 when Christopher Columbus arrived at an island in the Caribbean inhabited by more than 400,000 Taino people. Today the island is home to the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Columbus named the island Hispaniola, left crewmen from one of his boats on the northern coast, and returned to Spain to recruit colonists (Cambeira, 1997; Pons, 1995). During the next 450 years, Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, Great Britain, and the United States all engaged in the colonizing process of empire building (Kane, 1986). The world wars of the 20th century brought about the formation of the United Nations and the disintegration of colonial empires. On December 14, 1960 the General Assembly of the United Nations officially ended colonial rule by passing resolution 1514, a *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples* (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1997).

Colonialism was a system of domination that impacted every aspect of society including religion. According to Kane (1982), Western missionaries considered Western civilization superior, were unnecessarily negative in their attitude toward indigenous cultures, and failed to contextualize Christianity. Kane further observed that “even theological education was patterned after the classical kind so common in the West” (p. 163). Growing nationalism and two world wars officially ended colonial rule. The second half of the 20th century has been called

postcolonial. This term signifies “against imperialism and Eurocentrism” (Kottak, 2000). During the 20th century, Evangelical churches have grown rapidly in postcolonial societies across Latin America, the Philippines, Irian Jaya, and in former French colonies in southern and central Africa (Johnstone & Mandryk, 2001).

Western missionaries have been associated with colonial expansion. Tennent (1993) admits that there were examples of missionary abuse and cultural insensitivity but also observes that while “the nineteenth century missionary movement coincided with colonialism, it is not to be equated with it” (p. 241). As colonialism was replaced by independent national governments, colonial leaders returned to the West but missionaries remained, building new relationships with national governmental leaders. Kane (1982) writes, “It is fortunate they did not leave... or the identification would have been complete” (p. 104). Western missionaries in postcolonial societies became partners in ministry, serving the needs of the national church (Kane, 1982). Theological education was a significant area of the partnership (Russell, 2001).

Theological education did not keep pace with the growth of Independent churches in postcolonial societies (Johnstone, 1993). Church members with leadership potential were often placed in areas of responsibility without training (Van Rhee, 1996). Members with natural leadership potential were usually adults with preexisting professional and personal commitments. “Not one in ten ... could ever study in a traditional residence seminary, even with full scholarships” (Kinsler, 1981, p. 29). Reliance on Western educational models such as the traditional residence seminary was one of the reasons theological education did not keep pace with church growth. Imported educational models were not designed to meet the unique economic and social realities of the postcolonial context. Planning effective theological

education programs within the postcolonial context became a strategic need in rapidly growing Evangelical churches (Russell, 2001).

Evangelical churches in postcolonial societies often request that Western Evangelical churches send missionaries to partner in leadership development (Niklaus, 1990; Russell, 2001; Tennent, 1993; Van Rheenen, 1996). Western Evangelical churches and Western mission agencies often respond to these requests by forming International Joint Ventures (Deresky, 1997) and sending Western theological educators to develop theological education programs. The integration of Western theological educators into non-Western contexts creates intercultural factors. Neufeldt et al. (1997) define *intercultural* as “between or among people of different cultures” (p. 703) and define a *factor* as something “that actively contributes to the production of a result” (p. 416). An intercultural factor is a tension created by cultural diversity. Intercultural factors impact planning and the resulting educational program. The placement of Western educators on planning committees in postcolonial societies produces intercultural factors. Understanding intercultural factors is important because churches in the United States currently send more than 46,000 missionaries to work outside the country (Johnstone & Mandryk, 2001). This strategy has produced impressive educational facilities built through Western sponsorship. However, facilities alone will not resolve the leadership crises of non-Western churches (Kinsler, 1978).

Theological education programs sponsored by Western churches have been critiqued as failing to produce leaders that are prepared to minister in the reality of their own culture (Ferris, 2000; Hesselgrave, 2000). These programs have also been critiqued as reproducing social inequalities (Kinsler, 1981). In the 1970s, staff members at the Office of Education in the World Council of Churches “became aware of how church missionary programs had helped construct

elitist structures of higher education around the world” (Kennedy, 1990, p. 113). Paulo Freire served as a member of the Office of Education. Freire found that church-sponsored theological education programs all too easily conformed to and helped reproduce the oppressive ideologies of society (Kennedy, 1990). These critiques, the unique historical development of diverse church movements, and the importance of contextualization, all argue against an uncritical duplication of Western theological education in non-Western contexts.

Globally, international Evangelical cooperation is increasing (Russell, 2001). Western theological educators are actively involved in the development of theological education programs in non-Western countries (Banks, 1999; Ferris, 1990, 1995; Kirk, 1983; Kraft, 1999). The World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF) is one of several international associations of Evangelicals that stress the importance of the local context. The theological arm of the WEF is the International Council of Evangelical Theological Education (ICETE). Concern for local cultural appropriateness, known as contextualization, is the first issue listed in the twelve values of the ICETE. To contextualize, the theological educator must become immersed in the local context in order to develop “theology from within a culture” (Gulan & Mayers, 1988, p. 278). Gilliland (2000) suggests that theological educators should seek to understand all the dimensions of local life. The literacy model developed by Paulo Freire (1997) is an example of contextualization. Freire used indigenous knowledge to construct visuals and manuals that presented literacy as an empowering issue in the world of the learner and he also insisted that indigenous learners actively participate in the planning of literacy programs. Kinsler (1981) reflects upon the work of Freire and writes:

Faced with the radical critique ...theological educators are today being challenged as never before to evaluate and change their methods and programs. We must ask whether

our institutions are vehicles of oppression or liberation, of domestication or humanization, of indoctrination or conscientization. (p. 49)

Responsible planners of theological education contextualize training "to the traditions, conditions, and needs in the local society" (Ferris, 1990, p. 34). Western theological educators have stated their commitment to contextualization (Gilliland, 2000). The documents of ICETE reflect an international consensus among Evangelical theological educators:

Our programmes of theological education must be designed with deliberate reference to the contexts in which they serve. We are at fault that our curricula so often appear either to have been imported whole from abroad, or to have been handed down unaltered from the past. The selection of courses for the curriculum, and the content of every course in the curriculum, must be specifically suited to the context of service. To become familiar with the context in which the biblical message is to be lived and preached is no less vital to a well-rounded programme than to become familiar with the content of that biblical message. Indeed, not only in what is taught, but also in structure and operation our theological programmes must demonstrate that they exist in and for their specific context, in governance and administration, in staffing and finance, in teaching styles and class assignments, in library resources and student services. This we must accomplish, by God's grace. (World Evangelical Fellowship, 1990)

There has been international agreement among Evangelicals for 30 years that contextualization is important (International Congress on World Evangelization [ICWE], 1974). Even with this agreement, Shrenk (2001) assures us that theological education in the non-Western world remains captive to Western tradition and curriculum. Kraft (1999) suggests that progress may not be immediately visible:

During sociocultural change, the adoption of the new usually takes place gradually and unevenly.... Intermediate states may look quite unlike what is desirable. This is normal in the process by means of which a people make Christianity genuinely theirs. This is contextualization, the process of learning to express genuine Christianity in socioculturally appropriate ways. (p. 376)

Kinsler (1981) suggested that at some point the process of contextualization would lead to “a break with the status quo, a reversal of the system, and a return to the people and local values of each region and nation, culture and sub-culture” (p. 43).

Planners of contextualized theological education are negotiating social change. They need a clear understanding of their planning context. Postcolonial societies present Western theological educators with complex planning contexts. Western planners enter a society where colonial dominance was maintained through education (Southard, 1997). The Dominican Republic is an example of such a postcolonial society. Dominicans are proud of their place in colonial history. Santo Domingo, the capital city of the Dominican Republic, is the oldest city established by Europeans in this hemisphere. It is the first place where Spanish culture was introduced in the Americas (Pons, 1995). Colonial undergraduate education began in Santo Domingo. It is the home of the oldest university in this hemisphere called the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo, founded in 1538 (Dominican Republic, 2000). The complexity of the educational planning context has increased during the 500 year history of the Dominican Republic. Dominican culture is an intriguing mixture of Taino, African, and Spanish heritage. Cultural complexity, nationalism, dependency, and resistance to foreign domination are all factors in this postcolonial planning context.

Freire (1997) emphasized that dependency must be challenged because it convinces learners they cannot successfully resolve their problems without outside assistance and encourages them to passively accept the status quo. Colonial oppression not only produced dependency, it also produced resistance, which is a manifestation of mistrust toward foreign presence and assistance. The challenge for Western educators in a postcolonial planning context like the Dominican Republic is to partner with indigenous leaders in such a way that their presence in the society is liberating not domesticating. In theory, intercultural educational planning committees composed of indigenous and Western theological educators could combine forces under the supervision of national church leaders to construct effective theological education programs that address the realities of the local culture and produce well-trained dynamic leaders (Ferris, 1995). In practice, Kinsler (1981) suggests that Evangelical theological education may be “almost entirely domesticating” (p. 49). If the theological education program in a postcolonial society is domesticating, the intercultural educational planning committee will work without solving the leadership crisis of indigenous churches.

Paulo Freire worked extensively in postcolonial societies. His experience in postcolonial societies convinced him that the key to liberating education is linking planning directly to local people and local communities. Freire believed that liberating educational programs should be planned locally in an environment that encouraged mutual support, self-affirmation, self-critique, and allowed for individual difference (Schipani, 2002). Hall (1994) and hooks (1994) both believe that each postcolonial society is unique and must be understood individually. A clear understanding of the forces and systems at work within the planning context is essential in the planning of a contextualized theological education program in a postcolonial society.

Problem and Purpose Statement

Rapidly growing Evangelical churches in postcolonial societies need to develop theological education programs that facilitate the training of effective church leaders. Often Evangelical churches in postcolonial societies request educational assistance from Western churches. Western churches respond by sending theological educators to assist in the planning and development of theological education programs (Russell, 2001). Sending Western educators to plan and develop contextualized theological education programs in a postcolonial society can be self-defeating unless Western educators understand the *intercultural factors* produced by their placement in their unique postcolonial context.

Evangelical theological educators lack studies that examine the impact of intercultural factors on the planning of theological education. Planning materials for Evangelical theological education do not address intercultural factors. These manuals outline principles that are consistent with the classical planning model (Ferris, 1995; Kinsler, 1978; Tyler, 1949). Alternative theological educational planning models focus primarily on the implementation of different pedagogical methodologies (Covell & Wagner, 1971; Snook, 1992; Winter, 1969). While these manuals are helpful, they do not prepare planners to understand the planning complexity created by intercultural factors. The failure of planners to understand intercultural factors in specific postcolonial planning contexts not only mitigates against the Western educator's personal adjustment (Kraft, 1999) and intercultural competence (Lingenfelter, 2000), it also constrains dialogue within the intercultural planning committee and therefore negatively impacts the theological programs they plan (Russell, 2001).

Theological educators recognize the need to identify and study useful models. Ferris (1990) identified and studied models of renewal in theological education. Theological educators

also recognize the benefit of examining specific case studies. Snook (1992) presents African case studies of theological education. Theological educators would benefit from case studies of theological education programs planned by intercultural planning committees in postcolonial societies.

The Dominican Republic is a postcolonial planning context. It shares the island of Hispaniola with Haiti. The capital city of Santo Domingo is the oldest city established by Europeans in this hemisphere and is home to the oldest university and cathedral in the Americas (Pons, 1995). Dominican Evangelical denominations have experienced significant numerical growth and face a continual need for well-trained leaders. In the 1980s, leaders of a Dominican Evangelical denomination invited Western missionaries to partner with them in the training of church leaders (Niklaus, 1990). This partnership produced a theological education program that was recognized by Western supporters as an outstanding example of theological education (Alliance Women's National Executive Committee, 1996).

Case studies of successful theological education models have focused primarily on the process rather than on the planning context. Attempts to clarify the planning process have not addressed the contextual complexity produced by intercultural factors in the areas of power, social class structure, and the ethical responsibility of representing oppressed stakeholders. Adult educators in general have focused on process more than the specific planning context (Wilson & Cervero, 1997). Critical adult educators have developed a body of theory that outlines the importance of understanding the planning context (Apple, 1988).

This study utilized the Cervero and Wilson's (1994a) planning framework to examine the impact of intercultural factors on the planning of a specific theological education program in the Dominican Republic. The Cervero and Wilson (1994a) framework was helpful in examining the

planning context because the authors viewed planning as both a social and political activity. They wrote, "...programs are constructed by people with multiple interests working in specific institutional contexts that profoundly affect their content and form" (p. 28). This study used the Cervero and Wilson planning framework as a lens to view a specific postcolonial planning context in the Dominican Republic.

The purpose of this study was to examine how intercultural factors shaped the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic. Two research questions guided the study:

1. What were the intercultural factors that impacted the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic?
2. How did these intercultural factors manifest themselves in the theological education program?

Significance

The significance of this study resides in the fact that Western educators are regularly involved in the planning of educational programs in postcolonial contexts. The study added knowledge to the planning theory of adult education by highlighting the importance of culture in intercultural work. The study identified specific intercultural factors in the Dominican Republic and traced their impact on the development of a theological education program. It provided further insight into the importance of understanding the planning context through the use of the Cervero and Wilson planning model as an evaluative lens. It added insight concerning how intercultural factors constrained the representation of stakeholders and negotiation in the Dominican Republic.

The study added to the knowledge base used by planners of theological education. The study provided insight into the interdisciplinary training needs of theological educators working in postcolonial societies. Generally methodological issues are not considered strategic but in this instance, the methodology used in this study provided an example to theological educators that planning in post-colonial societies required interdisciplinary knowledge and skills. The identification of intercultural factors required knowledge of postcolonial theory in order to understand the social order that produced hybridity. It required knowledge of planning theory in order to understand responsible stakeholder representation. It also required qualitative research skill in order to uncover the intercultural factors. This study provided an example that Western educators working in postcolonial societies need interdisciplinary knowledge and skill.

This study is significant because it addressed the lack of knowledge that existed concerning specific planning contexts. Evangelical educators know that contextualization is important. However, there is a lack of knowledge concerning how intercultural factors hinder the planning of contextualized theological education in a specific postcolonial context. This lack of knowledge places the unprepared Western educational planner in a vulnerable position. Forester (1989) states, “ignoring the opportunities and dangers of an organizational setting is like walking across a busy intersection with one’s eyes closed” (p. 7). Members of an intercultural planning committee in a postcolonial society, who lack insight into the intercultural factors of their specific planning context, wear cultural blindfolds to the planning table. Their blindfolds keep planners from identifying and resolving the primary problems faced by the theological education program.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter reviews four research areas that are relevant to the study of how intercultural factors shaped the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic. The chapter begins by demonstrating that the Dominican Republic is a postcolonial society through a review of Dominican history. Several significant themes are identified from the country's colonial past, struggle for independence, and current relations with imperialistic nations. Postcolonial theory is the second area of the literature review. The review identifies several postcolonial theorists that provide insight into the Dominican Republic as a Caribbean postcolonial society. The review of Dominican history and the review of relevant postcolonial writings identify five intercultural factors that exist in the Dominican Republic as a postcolonial society facing imperialistic pressure. Evangelical theology is the third review area. The Lausanne Covenant Statement of Faith outlines the Evangelical doctrinal emphases that act as framing factors for the planning of the Evangelical theological program. The review includes an examination of professional papers compiled by Corbin and Mulholland (2000). These papers confirm that the Lausanne Covenant of Faith continues to frame the planning of Evangelical theological education. The Cervero and Wilson planning framework is the fourth review area. Critical adult education is described and the Cervero and Wilson framework is examined because of its usefulness in examining planning in a postcolonial context.

The Dominican Republic

The Antilles islands are a partially submerged mountain range running from the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico to eastern Venezuela. The smaller islands in the southern half of the range are known as the Lesser Antilles. The term Greater Antilles denotes the larger northern islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Hispaniola. The island of Hispaniola lies to the southeast of Cuba and to the west of Puerto Rico. It is divided between two countries: the Dominican Republic and Haiti. The name Hispaniola reveals the impact of colonialism on this island and her people. Hispaniola is the English version of *La Isla Española* meaning the Spanish isle. This was the name pronounced by Christopher Columbus during his first voyage in 1492 as he claimed occupied territory for Spain (Dominican Republic, 2000).

The island was originally called *Quisqueya* in the indigenous Arawak language of the Taino people. *Quisqueya* meant mother of all lands. The Taino people also used *Haiti* as an alternative name for the island, meaning land of mountains. “Mountains figure predominantly in the geography of Hispaniola. Pico Duarte, at 3,175 meters or 10,417 feet, is the highest mountain on the island and in all the Caribbean” (Cambeira, 1997, p. 21). The indigenous names for *Quisqueya* or *Haiti* were ignored by European colonists who coined their own term for the island as they dominated the indigenous population (Cambeira, 1997). The renaming of *Quisqueya* is the first example of a continual tendency to substitute less accurate Western knowledge for indigenous knowledge. This tendency is such an integral part of Western practice that scholarly writers such as Wiarda and Kryzanek (1992) make inaccurate statements concerning the country. They suggest that “the Dominican Republic [is] barely the size of South Carolina” (p. 1). In reality, the Dominican Republic occupies the eastern two-thirds of Hispaniola (19,386 square miles), which is one-third the size of the state of Georgia (58,977 square miles). The population

of the Dominican Republic (7,998,766) and Georgia (7,642,207) were estimated to be virtually the same in 1998 (Dominican Republic, 2000).

Frank Moya Pons (1995) has written *The Dominican Republic: A national history*. It is the preferred text in university courses within the country and in the international community. Pons outlines the history of the Dominican Republic from the pre-colonial period until 1990. He divides Dominican history into twenty-one different time periods. I have consolidated Dominican history into ten basic time periods in order to highlight key concepts from each of the ten periods. Vedovato (1986) classifies Dominican history in a similar fashion.

Taino Period (- 1492)

Previous to 1492, at least three different indigenous peoples lived on *Quisqueya*. The largest group was known as *the Tainos*. Pons (1995) explains that the Tainos were predominantly monogamous although polygamy was common among *caciques*. The term *cacique* was used by the indigenous people of Central and South America to denote a community leader that had unquestioned political or administrative power (*Diccionarios Everest: Corona*, 1980). Pons (1995) suggests that Taino social organization was stratified based on economic wealth and political power. Both the commoners and the *caciques* were organized in large extended families. Many couples and their children lived under the same roof. The authority and family structures appear to have been predominantly patriarchal. Inheritance and succession of power were predominantly matrilineal. Tainos were exogamous and horrified at incest. Social punishment for incest was ostracism, the worst stigma that could befall an individual belonging to a society that strongly stressed community life. Tainos had developed a rich variety of indigenous foods: yucca (manioc), cassava bread, maiz (corn), batata (sweet potatoes), mani

(peanuts), rodents and guinea pigs, wild birds, shrimp, crabs, fish, worms, snails, sea conch, bats, spiders, and insects.

The Caribs also lived on *Quisqueya*. The Caribs were the most feared people in the region. The Caribbean was ultimately named after this group. Tainos warned Columbus of the Caribs in his first voyage. Caribs were fierce fighters and cannibalistic. They used poison arrows and painted themselves black and red and allowed their hair to grow long (Pons, 1995). The Caribs were moving north from Venezuela. They inhabited most of the islands of the Lesser Antilles. They had already expelled the Tainos from these regions (Dominican Republic, 2000).

When Columbus arrived in 1492, there were five Taino confederations on *Quisqueya*, each headed by a *casique*. Guarionex governed the flatlands. Behechio ruled the western part of the island. Goacanagarix ruled the northern part. Cayacoa held the eastern part. His people were considered the bravest because of their proximity to the Caribs. Caonabo had his kingdom in the mountains. He had been a Carib *cacique*. He married Anacaona, sister of Behechio. This marriage showed that some Caribs had already given up cannibalism. The political organization evident on the island documented the development of the Taino civilization (Deagan & Cruxent, 2002; Pons, 1995).

A third group, the Ciboney were present on *Quisqueya*. They were also found in Cuba (Dominican Republic, 2000). Cambeira (1997) suggests that the Ciboney were the oldest cultural community on *Quisqueya*. Pons (1995) suggests an alternative theory that they may have been a mixed race resulting from Taino and Carib unions.

Quisqueya was a land of geographic, ethnic, and cultural diversity before colonialism. The Ciboney may have been the oldest group, the Tainos were the largest, and the Caribs were destined to become the dominant group had it not been for the arrival of Columbus. The Tainos

would be characterized before the Spanish court as an inferior, uncivilized, and idolatrous race. This characterization would be used to justify their enslavement and supposed civilization. The Spanish would divide the land among colonists and soldiers in a system called *encomiendas*.

Colonial Rule (1492-1789)

Cambeira (1997) observes that “the concept of colonization was, on the one hand, a smart business undertaking; on the other hand, it was clearly an exploratory mission with the supreme objective of exploiting the natural (and human) resources of the conquered territories” (pp. 53-54). Spanish expansion is best understood as a combination of a number of historical factors. The Spanish expansion that occurred in the 15th century was the product of the Iberian reconquest (Deagan & Cruxent, 2002). Cambeira (1997) writes:

The Reconquest was actually a Christian crusade waged by Spain against the invading Moslems, who occupied Iberia for eight hundred years. This grueling holy war was to last ... until the decisive victory by Los Reyes Católicos in 1492, when the Islamic forces were ultimately expelled from the peninsula altogether. (p. 49)

When Columbus returned to Spain, he found that the war with the Moslems had been won. The Spanish monarchs and the Catholic Church had an enthusiastic zeal for conquest. Those who had fought in the war had a desire for continued adventure. Chadwick (1972) observes, “we see the same fanaticism...but with two ominous differences, first that the opposing tribes were weak and unwarlike, and secondly that the fight lay at a greater distance from the control ...of an effective government” (p. 323). These early adventurers who set sail for new opportunities in the Caribbean had a “readily apparent disdain for tilling the soil” (Cambeira, 1997, p. 52). The combination of these factors produced the Spanish system of “*encomiendas*, an institution that gave Spanish settlers the rights to Indian labor and tribute, in

exchange for instruction of the natives in Christianity” (Deagan & Cruxent, 2002, p. 11). There were few individuals during this period in positions of power who sought to challenge the system. Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican priest was the most persistent in defending the Tainos. His father had been a seaman with Columbus. He witnessed the cruelty of the *encomiendas* and became an advocate for more humane treatment of the Tainos. Ultimately, he defended their rights before the Spanish court. The Spanish theologian Sepulveda argued that the backward, unintelligent Indians were nearer to animals than men. They were guilty of gross crimes and must first be subjected to Spanish rule before they would convert to the Christian faith. Las Casas denounced this argument as anti-Christian and believed that “the only way to convert is by peaceful preaching of the Word, and by an example of holy living” (Chadwick, 1972, pp. 327-328). Las Casas defended the rights of the Tainos but failed to recognize that people from Africa have the same rights. In 1519, at the Council of the Indies in Barcelona, he presented a plan to protect the rights of the remaining Tainos in Hispaniola. “The first part of his proposal was to replace this aboriginal group with stepped-up numbers of imported African captives” (Cambeira, 1997, p. 59). His proposal was accepted but when the proposal was carried out a smallpox epidemic completely annihilated the remaining Taino population.

By 1546, 12,000 African slaves were working in the Spanish colony. Gradually, ships from Spain arrived with less and less frequency. Many colonists moved to less isolated colonies such as Cuba and Mexico. Cattle, sugar, and tobacco production all showed potential on Hispaniola but the interest of Spain was focused on gold. The French however did focus attention on the western side of the island. By 1720, there were more than 100 French sugar mills and French colonists were becoming prosperous. In 1790, the population of the French colony reached 520,000. The Spanish colony had approximately 80,000 (Pons, 1995).

It became obvious in the colonial period that Western powers invested in areas that offered high returns. The Spanish search for better returns isolated the Spanish colony on Hispaniola. Sugar production offered French investors an opportunity to make a good return on Caribbean investments. However, the entire economic system was built on the importation and oppression of African slaves. During the colonial period, on Hispaniola, both the colonial plantation and New World African slavery were introduced to the Americas (Howard, 2001).

The Church did not condemn or confront the brutal oppression and ultimate annihilation of 400,000 Tainos, with the exception of Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican priest. The Church did not condemn or confront the growth of a colonial plantation economy based on New World African slavery. In fact, Bartolomé de Las Casas, in an effort to save the few Tainos that remained, suggested that Tainos could be freed by importing more African slaves (Cambeira, 1997; Chadwick, 1972).

Revolution in Quisqueya (1789-1809)

Racism maintained a slave economy that produced a series of massive slave revolts. There was discontent in the French colony with white rule. The mulatto population owned one-third of the colony's property but were treated by whites as second-class citizens. "While the whites sought independence, the mulattos sought political equality and independence. Neither group was concerned with the rights of the black slaves, who comprised the majority of the population" (Pons, 1995, p. 94).

The Great French Revolution of 1789-1792 changed France and Hispaniola forever. The French king and queen were decapitated, destroying permanently the idea of divine monarchy. The social revolution that began in France had unanticipated repercussions in the Caribbean. In the summer of 1791, slaves in Plaine du Nord, "launched a violent, indiscriminant

assault...torched the canefields...robbed, tortured, and massacred any Whites caught in sight” (Cambeira, 1997, p. 130). The Haitian Revolution began as a slave uprising and grew under the capable leadership of Toussaint L’Ouverture. By 1794, Toussaint’s army defeated French forces in the western section of the island. By 1801, his forces controlled the entire island. Toussaint immediately decreed the abolition of slavery throughout the island. In 1802, Toussaint had to leave the main port on the eastern side of the island, Santo Domingo, in order to defend against a new attack from the French army (Howard, 2001). The ensuing 21 months of battle with the French would ultimately cost 100,000 Haitian lives. The racially mixed inhabitants of Santo Domingo were accustomed to identifying themselves as Whites. As soon as Toussaint left Santo Domingo, it became clear that Spanish colonists supported the French as an alternative to Haitian rule. French and Haitian forces fought for 21 months. Toussaint was betrayed by one of his own generals to the French and died in 1803 in a dungeon in France. Haitian soldiers retreated to the western side of the island. They continued their fight against French rule led by ex-slave leader Jean Jacques Dessalines (Pons, 1995). “The eastern side of the island, reclaimed by the invasion of 1802, remained under French colonial rule until 1809” (Howard, 2001, p. 27). French forces could not regain control of the western side of the island. At the end of 21 months of fighting, the French had suffered 52,000 casualties and only 1,200 French soldiers remained on the island. The French officially recognized the independence of the western area on November 18, 1803. French forces reinstated slavery throughout the eastern section of the island (Pons, 1995).

On January 1, 1804 Jean Jacques Dessalines “renamed the new nation by its indigenous name Haiti, an unmistakable symbol of an independent identity altogether from Europe. Haiti thus became the world’s first free Black republic and second independent nation in the Western

hemisphere” (Cambeira, 1997, p. 133). Dessalines ordered the immediate slaughter of all remaining Whites in the western side of the island.

When the leaders of the Haitian revolution decreed the official end of slavery in the western section of Hispaniola, workers left the sugar plantations and violently attacked their white oppressors. The violence associated with the Haitian revolution made a lasting impression on those living on the eastern side of Hispaniola. “Dominican observers have referred to this as *la fobiaantihaitiana* (anti-Haitian phobia)” (Cambeira, 1997, p. 133).

Spanish rule, Unsuccessful Independence, and Haitian Domination (1809-1843)

In 1809, a rebellion against French rule led by Juan Sánchez Ramírez returned sovereignty to Spain. This period of Dominican history is termed the era of *España Boba* (Idiotic Spain). The return to colonial rule did not resolve the territory’s maladies consisting of “illiteracy, massive poverty, cultural and economic isolation and stagnation, feudalism, [and] colonial oppression” (Cambeira, 1997, p. 144). Spanish rule lasted until 1821 when José Nuñez de Caceres declared independence from Spain renaming the western territory *Haiti Española* (Spanish Haiti) and stated that the territory would align itself with the Gran Colombia of Simón Bolivar (Howard, 2001). Nuñez believed Haitian president Jean-Pierre Boyer would support both the western resistance to Spanish rule and the formation of an independent eastern nation. Boyer supported Spanish resistance but for other motives than the formation of an independent eastern nation. Nuñez soon realized that Boyer wanted complete control of the island and that the eastern forces could not win a war against Haitian forces. Boyer arrived in Santo Domingo with an army of 12,000 men. Nuñez wrote Boyer accepting the protection of Haiti. Jean-Pierre Boyer occupied both western and eastern territories from 1822 until 1844 (Pons, 1995).

The actions of Nunez reflected a rejection of the ineptness of Spanish colonial rule but his desire to align the country with the Gran Colombia reaffirmed the identity of the eastern territory with Hispanic culture. The response of Nuñez to Boyer's military presence demonstrated political pragmatism. Negotiation of a practical peaceful solution was preferable to defense of an ideological position that was not practically attainable.

"The Haitian invasion and occupation of 1822 under Haitian President Boyer is one of the most controversial and bitterly argued incidents" (Cambeira, 1997, p. 147). Cambeira argues that the Haitian invasion of 1822, the impact of the Trujillo Era, and the United States military occupation in 1965 are the three most bitterly argued issues in Dominican history.

Dominican Independence (1843-1844)

Boyer's vision for Haiti was the establishment of a network of small farms. He began to divide state lands among people who would grow coffee, cacao, sugar cane, cotton, tobacco, and foodstuffs. This policy motivated business and church leaders to form a powerful alliance:

The Haitian land policy deeply hurt the interests of white proprietors of Santo Domingo. The archbishop of Santo Domingo saw in the Haitian legislation an imminent danger to the conservation of the church's properties. The archbishop could not conceal his anger at the policy of nationalization of ecclesiastical lands and properties, and he was equally enraged by Boyer's order of January 5, 1823, suspending payment of the salaries that the government paid to him and other members of the clergy. (Pons, 1995, p. 128)

In 1838, a group of young professional men met in Santo Domingo to organize resistance to Haitian rule. The group was called *la Trinitaria*. Three of these men would each play a decisive role in winning Dominican independence. They would become the three founders of the

Dominican nation: Juan Pablo Duarte, Francisco del Rosario Sánchez, and Matias Ramón Mella (Pons, 1995).

By 1842, Boyer's ability to lead was in serious doubt. His agricultural policy was not producing the desired results. The Haitian peasantry preferred a peaceful life of subsistence farming without the production of exportable crops. The decrease in rural production negatively impacted the Haitian economy. Boyer's response was to demand that the farmers produce crops for export. The former slave population in the western territory saw little difference between colonial rule and Boyer's demands. Their resistance to the Boyer plan disconnected the Boyer government from its original base of popular support. At this time, an earthquake nearly destroyed Cap Haitien and Santiago. Opponents of the Boyer government argue that he was doing little to assist people in their moment of crisis. On March 13, 1842 Boyer resigned as president and secretly moved his family to Jamaica. It took several months for news of Boyer's resignation and exile to reach the eastern territory.

In late 1842 and early 1843 rebel forces finalized their plans in the eastern territory. Rebels led by Juan Pablo Duarte began armed resistance to Haitian domination in March 1843. On March 30, 1843, Haitian forces in Santo Domingo surrender to 2000 men led by Duarte. There were a series of battles throughout 1843. Ramon Mella led rebel forces in Cotuí. Pedro and Ramón Santana organized a conspiracy to overthrow Haitian rule in El Seibo and Higuey. Haitian President Herard responded to these insurrections by arresting Mella and Santana. Duarte's forces dispersed and Duarte escaped to Saint Thomas. The Trinitarios gradually rebuilt under the leadership of Francisco del Rosario Sanchez. Haitian President Herard announced concessions intended to pacify residents in the eastern territory, assuring them that their religion, language, and customs would be respected and guaranteed. In spite of these concessions, eastern

resistance forces united under the leadership of Sanchez. On January 16, 1844, the Trinitarios issued a call for united rebellion against Haitian rule. A coup was executed rapidly of January 27, 1844 in Santo Domingo. Haitian authorities surrendered to the Trinitarios. President Herard responded to the news of renewed conflict by sending 10,000 troupes to the eastern territories. Pedro Santana gathered 3,000 men and moved toward the approaching Haitian army. Battles occurred near Azua and Santiago. Santana used guerilla groups to ambush the Haitian army as it passed through mountain passes. He defeated the Haitian troops, which were forced to abandon the eastern section of the island.

The Trinitarios had motivated the inhabitants of the eastern territory to resist Haitian domination. However, uniting the eastern territory as a sovereign nation was a much more challenging task. There were various opinions concerning the wisdom of remaining an independent state. The archbishop of Santo Domingo preferred that the state once again become a protectorate of France because the French had resisted Haitian rule while respecting Church properties and maintaining cleric salaries. Individual Trinitarios were well positioned in the existing governmental structure called the *Junta Gubernativa* (Governing committee). The Junta immediately proclaimed Juan Pablo Duarte as the first president of the Dominican Republic, decreed that the official date of national independence was January 27, 1844, and moved to replace Pedro Santana as the principle leader of the army. The removal of Santana was a serious miscalculation. The men with Santana were primarily relatives, personal friends, and workers at Santana's cattle ranch. Santana responded to his announced demotion by rallying 2,000 of his fighters to march with him to Santo Domingo. Santana entered Santo Domingo and surrounded the meeting place of the Junta. He then insisted that they cancel Duarte's appointment as president. The archbishop issued a pastoral letter stating that "it is an offense to God not to obey

the mandates and orders of the General of Division and Supreme Chief Santana as well as the Junta Central Gubernativa” (Pons, 1995, p. 162). The Junta declared that Duarte, Mella, and Sanchez as well as five other high ranking Trinitarios were traitors. The Junta then declared that Santana was president and that the Junta itself was dissolved.

The status of the eastern territory had been established in Spain previous to the Haitian Revolution and the War of Reconquest. The Dominican Republic was identified as a dependent territory less developed than Cuba or Mexico with a mulatto population. Spain and the rest of Europe did not consider the War of Reconquest a significant event. It was considered irrelevant by European historians. By the close of this period, the Haitian revolution had removed the Spanish colony from European and Latin American history. For this reason, Kinsbruner (1994) does not list the Dominican Republic as a part of the chronology of the independence movement in the Spanish colonies. He mentions the Haitian independence movement. He only mentions Santo Domingo in passing. "By 1801 Toussaint was in control of Saint-Domingue, and as a result of having sent an army of ten thousand troops into neighboring Spanish Santo Domingo he was in control of the colony, too” (p. 34). Kinsbruner lists the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo on a map of the Spanish colonies in America prior to independence. In a map of Spanish America at the end of the Wars of Independence, Cuba is listed as Spanish, Puerto Rico is listed as Spanish, and the Dominican Republic is listed as Independent Haiti. Dominicans date their independence from February 27, 1844. By 1844, the vast majority of Latin American nations had declared their independence.

The timing of these events left the Dominican story out of Latin American history. It was not given a significant place in European history. It was largely untold in North American history. National leaders in the Dominican Republic and Haiti were on their own. This isolation

meant that a leader in either Haiti or the Dominican Republic had to maintain popular support by successfully negotiating international trade, implementing agricultural reform, appealing to cultural values, and rapidly resolving natural disasters. If popular support waned, a military coup would occur.

A pattern was emerging in Haiti that leaders would use one-man rule until their defeat was imminent. They would then leave the island taking with them sufficient wealth to live comfortably in exile. The Dominican pattern of leadership was *caudillismo*.

Dominican Caudillismo (1844-1899)

Pedro Santana became aware of a conspiracy planned against him by the friends of the Trinitarios. On January 27, 1845, on the first anniversary of national independence, Santana executed the leaders who had conspired against him. Santana established a precedent that Dominican presidents would rule autocratically and grow increasingly dependent on international assistance. Santana's policy of basing the national economy on the exportation of money crops linked the country to more powerful economies in unequal trade negotiations that ultimately benefited only a small percentage of Dominicans. He ordered the printing of money to resolve the symptoms of serious economic problems rather than addressing the social ideology and fiscal policies that created the problems.

A pattern developed in Santana's move from military leadership to presidency that would be the basic pattern for a series of Dominican presidents. Political leaders would privately build coalitions of support while holding public office. They would demonstrate a certain degree of loyalty to the current regime until there was an opportunity to successfully challenge the current regime. Subversive power struggle became a key component in Dominican political

organization. The ability to always land on your feet in changing political contexts was considered a virtue, described as being a cat, "*el es un gato*."

By 1848, it became clear that Santana no longer had adequate popular support to remain in power. He resigned on August 4, 1848. Santana and the presidents that followed him established a pattern of leadership known as *caudillismo*. Santana was a rancher. A *caudillo* was "a man on horseback, a macho authority figure par excellence" (Wiarda & Kryzanek, 1992, p. 21). This style of leadership would produce Rafael Trujillo, the ultimate *caudillo*.

There are several strategic themes that begin in this period of Dominican history. First, the negotiation of power is an ongoing process among the elite. Second, personal relationships are the key to gaining and maintaining power. Strong relationships combined with power are more useful than knowledge. Power is maintained by alliances not by knowledge. Liberal change toward democratic rule faced strong attack that sought to undermine its popular support base.

Vedovato (1986) writes:

From the gaining of independence from Haiti in 1844 up until Trujillo's seizure of power in 1930, the presidency changed hands 50 times and 30 revolutions took place, according to Daniel Spitzer. The presidency was usually taken by some regional *caudillo* who, while in power, would use the state to increase his wealth and security. However, these presidents did not have a monopoly on violence. This monopoly took form first under Trujillo, which explains the frequent and violent change of rulers. (p. 21)

Vedovato sees the development of the predatory state in this period. The term predatory state denotes that the state is an instrument for the ruling class to increase their share of the national income. Vedovato (1986) writes:

Economic development has not been the aim of the country's rulers. Rulers may very well have implemented policies which, while increasing the wealth and security of rulers themselves, have led to lower national income. Consequently, the behavior of the state can ... account for a significant part of Dominican underdevelopment. (p. 10)

During this period, three distinct economic regions developed in the Dominican Republic: Santo Domingo, the Cibao, and the East. Santo Domingo was an urban business center. Several elite families dominated business and used alliances to consolidate power. The Cibao was an extended plain that ran between two large mountain ranges. The network of farms in the Cibao required communities to cooperate with one another. This community-driven economic base was reflected in the political approach to leadership. Presidents from the Cibao tended to be participatory in their leadership. Strong ranchers and sugar producers controlled the East. Their style of leadership was autocratic and sometimes dictatorial.

One of the last *caudillos* of this period, President Heureaux, strengthened his power but not his popularity, through negotiation with the United States. Foreign companies profited as the Dominican state weakened. "Instead of exporting wood and raising cattle, the South now concentrated on the production of sugar for export to the United States" (Pons, 1995, p. 279). San Pedro de Macoris became a major sugar port. Heureaux privately negotiated the sale of Dominican territory to Haiti. When news of this scandal became public, Heureaux was assassinated (Pons, 1995).

Hartlyn (1998) uses the term *neopatrimonial ruler* to describe the *caudillos* of this period. A neopatrimonial ruler "governs a country as if it were an extension of his household" (p. 3). Hartlyn believes that neopatrimonial rule has been the default Dominican leadership style while democracy has occurred only briefly in Dominican history. Neopatrimonialism often cloaks

authoritarianism with the appearance of democracy. According to Hartlyn, neopatrimonialism is a common form of government in many African regimes. Four practices typically characterize neopatrimonial rule. First, politics become deeply personalized. Political conflict is not generally over ideological differences but between supporters and opponents of the ruler. Secondly, presidential leadership can easily slip into presidential dominance. The third practice is that political opposition members usually unite around an individual to achieve power. Once in power, their unity often fractures. Fourthly, neopatrimonialism inhibits the effective exercise of the rule of law especially in regard to the protection of the accused.

U.S. Imperial Dominance and the Collapse of Dominican Sovereignty (1899-1924)

After Heureaux was assassinated, two other *caudillos* rallied their supporters and battled for dominance during the next 15 years. The followers of Juan Isidro Jimenes were called the *bolos* meaning fighting roosters without tail feathers. The followers of the second leader, Horacio Vasquez, were called the *coludos* meaning fighting roosters with long tail feathers. The impact of more than 50 years of almost continual *caudilloismo* left the country near bankruptcy (Pons, 1995).

On February 7, 1905 and again on May 3, 1907 the U.S. government agreed to oversee the Dominican repayment of debt. During this period the United States became more aggressive in its foreign policy. Pons (1995) writes:

In the past 15 years [1900-1915], the United States had been moving toward a political tutelage over the Caribbean and Central America that left no alternatives other than military or diplomatic intervention. This policy was based on the conviction that only by managing the financial affairs of these countries could the continual political instability and revolutions in the area be suppressed. (p. 313)

In 1898, Cuba was invaded, occupied, and governed by the United States (Veesser, 2002). On July 28, 1915, military forces from the United States occupied Haiti to put an end to that country's financial chaos and political instability. On November 29, 1916, Captain Harry S. Knapp officially proclaimed the occupation of the Dominican Republic (Pons, 1995).

The U.S. occupation of the Dominican Republic changed the country. A new highway system was constructed that facilitated national political unification. Many affluent families imported cars and trucks. The introduction of vehicles threatened the financial viability of the railroads. Mail service improved. Improved transportation allowed large quantities of fresh produce to be sold in Santo Domingo. Improving and increasing travel encouraged rural subsistence farmers to live along the border of new roads. The number of schools increased and the military government made education a continual priority. Sanitation and the quality of drinking water improved.

Not all of the changes in the Dominican Republic were positive. The population was disarmed and the National Police organized. The Dominican people became vulnerable to dictatorial rule because they no longer had the means to resist oppressive government. The economy became increasingly dependent on the world sugar market. The resources of large sugar producers increased while small independent producers struggled. Dominicans acquired a taste for U.S. goods. The construction of highways and other public works increased the national debt to 15 million dollars. The upper class of the Dominican Republic adopted a Western metropolitan lifestyle completely different from traditional Dominican modes of behavior. This produced further tension between the elite and working classes (Pons, 1995).

Many contemporary writers believe that there were few real benefits from the eight-year occupation. Vesser (2002) writes:

The American campaign to bring stability, prosperity, and democracy to the Dominican people...never worked. Only at the end of the twentieth century, after the receiverships, occupations, and dictatorships were over, did Dominicans themselves begin to make progress toward these goals. (p. 161)

Cambeira (1997) writes, “for all the pragmatic and immediate solutions to several lingering, pressing domestic issues and concerns, the ultimate consequences of the invasion were harmful” (p. 175). Some of the harmful consequences of the invasion were a humiliating loss of control over national destiny, the loss of the right to bear arms, and the training of an elite super-efficient military machine. It would not take long for the leader of this military machine to dominate and intimidate the entire nation. “One legacy of the centralization of power achieved by the marines was the rise of Rafael Trujillo to power in 1930, creating a brutal dictatorship that would last 31 years” (Veaser, 2002, p. 160).

The Rise, Reign, and Fall of Trujillo (1924-1961)

Before the United States Marines would leave the Dominican Republic, the Dominican National Guard needed to be in place to maintain law and order and a president needed to be elected. The commander of the National Guard was “an obsessively ambitious young career soldier names Rafael Leonidas Trujillo (Cambeira, 1997, p. 176). Horacio Vasquez was elected president.

On September 18, 1924, the United States Marines withdrew from the Dominican Republic. To some extent the government of Horacio Vasquez was a continuation of the U.S. occupation. All the occupation's programs were either completed or continued during his presidency (Pons, 1995). The highpoint of the Vasquez presidency was the signing of a border treaty with Haiti in 1929. This established the first formal border between Haiti and the

Dominican Republic (Sagás, 2000). The border treaty did not curb Haitian migration into the Dominican Republic. “The coming to power of this ruthless dictator...would lead Haiti and the Dominican Republic to their bloodiest period of confrontation in almost a century: the Trujillo era” (Sagás, 2000, p. 43).

In 1929, Trujillo took advantage of the president’s failing health to plot his rise to the presidency. A popular revolt against the government forced Valdez to resign. Rafael Trujillo was elected president of the Dominican Republic on May 16, 1930. The most noticeable opponents of Trujillo were persecuted, jailed, or killed. Trujillo organized a terrorist band, called *La 42*, to be in charge of persecuting his opponents and spreading fear throughout the country. Writers at the *Listen Diario*, the country’s largest newspaper, were warned to not criticize Trujillo. After six years of freedom, the Dominican people were again subject to tyranny. On August 16, 1930, Rafael Trujillo took office as president (Pons, 1995).

Trujillo represents old *caudillismo* with enhanced training, resources, discipline, and intelligence. "From the beginning, Trujillo's government was a regime of plunder, organized to furnish him with total control of every economic enterprise existing in the country" (Pons, 1995. p. 359). Trujillo was president for four terms. During the times that he was not president, the presidents were men that he selected. Hartlyn (1998) observes that all patrimonial rule incurs some element of arbitrariness; however where patrimonial authority operates primarily on the basis of personal discretion, it is called *sultanism*. Sultanism is a particular form of authoritarianism based on personal rule, with loyalty based on a mixture of fear and reward. What Pons (1995) terms *caudillismoism* is called neopatrimonialism by Hartlyn. Trujillo exercised a charismatic and violent form of neopatrimonial rule called neosultanism.

Trujillo saw himself as "the true savior of the country's Hispanic and Catholic tradition" (Pons, 1995, p. 370). Trujillo was a master at using misrepresentation to build support for his dictatorship. Trujillo presented himself as a messianic leader that esteemed Hispanic culture and Catholicism as the core of Dominican identity. He attacked communism as an atheistic, violent ideology (Sagás, 2000). He developed an anti-Haitian ideology "that perceived Haitians as inferior beings and enemies of the Dominican nation. Haitians were considered blacks with an Afro-French culture, an alien and pernicious presence in the Dominican Republic" (Sagás, 2000, p. 45). Trujillo utilized the fear of Haitian domination and communism to justify his use of absolute power and violent force.

Trujillo was a ruthless leader in business as well as politics. Trujillo's financial empire grew to control 80% of the nation's industrial production, 45% of the country's active labor force, while the state controlled an additional 15% of the labor force. This meant that 60% of Dominicans directly depended on Trujillo. The country grew economically during Trujillo's era, because the state was well organized. In 1930, the national debt of the Dominican Republic was 16 million. In 1947, the Dominican government paid off its national debt. Trujillo successfully transformed the Dominican state into his private business (Pons, 1995).

Trujillo used anti-Haitian ideology to justify his military bases throughout the country. In 1937, he "gave the order literally to kill Haitians wherever they might be found throughout La República Dominicana" (Cambeira, 1997, p. 184). The Dominican army assassinated 18,000 Haitians living in the Dominican Republic on October 4, 1937 (Pons, 1995). It is estimated that approximately 30,000 Haitians were killed during the Trujillo era (Wiarda & Kryzanek, 1992). In 1960, Trujillo's choices cost him his life. In June, he tried to assassinate Rómulo Betancourt, president of Venezuela. This embarrassed Dominicans living internationally. His final error was

the assassination of three sisters who dared to speak out against the imprisonment of their husbands. “The assassination of the Mirabal sisters on November 25, 1960 deeply touched the sensibility of decent people and definitely turned them against Trujillo” (Pons, 1995, p. 372).

Pons (1995) writes concerning Trujillo’s death:

On the evening of May 30, 1961, after several frustrated attempts, the plotters finally killed Trujillo by shooting at him with machine guns in a quick and dramatic car chase on the highway that connects San Cristobal and Santo Domingo as he was going to meet one of his mistresses. (p. 373)

Wiarda and Kryzanek (1992) point out that although many Dominicans state that they do not agree with what Trujillo did, they admire his strength, showmanship, and accomplishments. Trujillo was the living embodiment of the ultimate *caudillo*.

Democracy vs Neo-Trujilloism (1961-1978)

On November 19, 1961, a group of military officers forced the entire Trujillo family into exile for life from the Dominican Republic. Dr. Joaquin Balaguer maintained his grip on the presidency even though he had been appointed by Trujillo (Cambeira, 1997). He accepted the help offered by the Alliance for Progress (2000). The Alliance for Progress was a program of technical and financial cooperation among the Organization of American States. This program was developed with the support of U.S. President John F. Kennedy to benefit developing nations in Latin America (Alliance for Progress, 2000). This help moved the Dominican economy through this time of crisis toward recovery. Balaguer welcomed international advisors that partnered with Dominican leaders rather than pressuring them.

Presidential elections were held on December 20, 1962. The two primary candidates were Balaguer, who was identified with the Trujillo regime, and Juan Bosch, who had spent his adult

life in exile in Cuba and Costa Rica during Trujillo's reign. Juan Bosch won in a landslide victory (Pons, 1995).

Opposition to Bosch grew almost immediately following his election. "His lack of understanding of the Dominican reality after 25 years in exile led him into conflict with almost every social group, including his own party" (Pons, 1995, p. 385). In less than a year, Bosch found himself completely isolated. Trujillo's oppressive ideology continued to dominate Dominican life. Bosch was associated with the communist regime of Castro. On September 20, 1963, a general strike began that led to a military coup d'etat that was planned by military leaders, important merchants, industrialist, landowners, minor political parties, and the Catholic Church. On September 25, 1963, Bosch was deported and replaced by a triumvirate made up of corporate executives and lawyers.

On April 25, 1965 a civil war broke out in Santo Domingo. The Constitutionalists were defeating the National Army troops. They prepared to launch a final attack on the air base at San Isidro. This attack never materialized. U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered 42,000 U.S. soldiers to invade the Dominican Republic, under the pretext of saving lives and protecting U.S. interests in the country. On April 28, 1965 the marines landed and sided with the Trujilloist army. U.S. forces arrived with troops from Brazil, Honduras, Paraguay, and Costa Rica. Many Dominicans believe the United States manipulated the Organization of American States (OAS), to form an Inter-American Peace Force so that the unilateral intervention of the United States appeared legal (Pons, 1995).

Between May and September 1965 there were two governments in Santo Domingo. One was called the constitutional government led by military leader Colonel Francisco Caamaño, the other was the government of national reconstruction led by one of Trujillo's men, General

Antonio Imbert Barreras, a declared enemy of Bosch. Negotiations alternated with bloody battles in the streets of Santo Domingo. At the end of August 1965, both governments resigned and a new provisional government was installed with a mandate to hold free elections in June 1966 (Pons, 1995).

Bosch and Balaguer returned to the Dominican Republic to organize their presidential campaigns. The military supported Balaguer. Bosch supporters were terrorized from January to May 1966. The military made it known that Bosch was not allowed to go out of his house to campaign. Balaguer won the election and Bosch went into exile immediately after the election, spending more than three years in Spain. Balaguer led with more public finesse than Trujillo, but clearly was continuing many of his political practices. Balaguer organized a paramilitary force called *La Banda*. More than 3,000 Dominicans lost their lives in terrorist acts between 1966 and 1974. Balaguer remained in power for 12 years. Balaguer ran for president unopposed in two consecutive elections because his paramilitary forces “systematically and randomly repressed the opposition parties” (Pons, 1995, p. 391). Balaguer transitioned the country from neosultanism to neopatrimonialism and then toward democracy (Hartlyn, 1998).

U.S. government officials were aware that the elections were not fair but were more interested in stopping communism in the Caribbean than in developing democracy. Balaguer received economic support from the United States in the form of donations granted for the purpose of staving off national bankruptcy. Financial assistance totaled 122 million between April 1965 and June 1966, 133 million annually for 1967, 1968, 1969, and 78 million annually for 1969 through 1973 (Pons, 1995). Kryzanek and Wiarda (1988) wrote:

When the United States left the Dominican Republic after each of these interventions, economic life, social relations, and partisan politics had changed for the Dominican

people, but not necessarily for the better. In most instances, political reform and political development were sacrificed or ignored in order to ensure some often vague security interest or greater normalcy in the economic sector....in each case democracy was actually held back and political development was seriously retarded because the U.S. interventions valued economic stability and/or regional security as higher priorities that good government and popular rule. (p. 171)

By May 1978, there was growing opposition to Balaguer because of his government's violation of human rights. Balaguer admitted that there was corruption in the government but assured everyone including the international community that corruption stopped at his door. Antonio Guzman won the elections of May 16, 1978 with an overwhelming majority. Military forces entered the election counting facility and began destroying ballots when it became obvious that Balaguer was going to lose. Foreign observers stated that Guzman had won and President Jimmy Carter pressured Balaguer, preventing him from continuing in office. On August 16, 1978, Antonio Guzman became president of the Dominican Republic. Democracy had prevailed in the elections but Guzman did not rule democratically. He appointed his children, relatives, and their friends to high government positions. Corruption became concentrated in the President's inner circle of family and friends. Guzman's administrative payroll consumed 85% of the nation's tax revenues. By 1981, the entire public sector was approaching bankruptcy (Pons, 1995).

In the elections of 1982, the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano distanced itself from Guzman and presented Salvador Jorge Blanco as its presidential candidate. Blanco projected an image of irreproachable integrity. Blanco won the presidency. Guzman's family and friends

transferred large amounts of money to banks in Miami, Brazil, New York, Switzerland, and London. Guzman became acutely depressed and killed himself on July 3, 1982. Vice President Jacobo Majluta ran the country until Jorge Blanco was inaugurated on August 16, 1982. Majluta worked to get military officials who had supported Guzman to support Blanco.

Guzman's financial policies had seriously endangered Dominican solvency. One of Blanco's first tasks was to negotiate a financial plan with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Dominican population failed to see why Blanco had signed such a limiting financial agreement. The agreement stipulated a series of economic changes designed to reactivate the Dominican economy and establish a true Dominican exchange rate. This resulted in the rapid devaluation of Dominican currency. A violent popular uprising occurred on April 24, 1985 that was only controlled after government forces killed 70 people. The IMF agreement stimulated Dominican agriculture, restricted the printing of money, kept inflation under control, generated tourism, encouraged international investment, and increased Dominican foreign reserves. In 1986, Jorge Blanco decided not to run for reelection. His popularity never recovered from signing the IMF agreement, defending police action that killed 70 Dominicans, and firing 4,000 military officers because of their continued loyalty to former regimes. In 1986, the main candidates were Joaquin Balager, Jacobo Majluta, and Juan Bosch. Blanco worked to make the elections free and clean. Balaguer won the election by a narrow margin of 40,000 votes over Jacobo Majluta. Balaguer promised to privatize the economy and to decentralize the state. This political platform helped him assemble a wide coalition of voters. However, once in office his government defended the centralization of political power and economic intervention by the state. The return of the 80-year old former president to power for the fifth time in 25 years was an exceptional event, in view of the fact that he lost the presidency in 1978 (Pons, 1995).

With his return to power in 1986, Balaguer became the elder statesman and champion of the Caribbean Basin initiative. He watched as the Reagan and Bush administrations cut aid to the Dominican Republic from 104 million dollars in 1987 to 24 million dollars in 1990 (Wiarda & Kryzanek, 1992). McClintock (1994) writes that “during the Reagan era, the U.S. instituted a bullying debt-servicing policy toward poorer countries, bolstered by aggressive competition with them on the market, and defended by sporadic fits of military gangsterism” (p. 300). Balaguer responded to this reduction in assistance from the United States by seeking new trading partners in the international community. The Dominican Republic established international and diplomatic relations with over 50 nations. It established trade with Japan, Taiwan, China, South Korea, the European Common Market countries, and all the countries of Latin America (Wiarda & Kryzanek, 1992).

Balaguer severely criticized Jorge Blanco for his inability to resolve the country’s financial crisis. From 1986 to 1990, Balaguer reversed everything that had been accomplished under the IMF adjustment program. Balaguer’s government was repeatedly forced to devalue the currency. In May 1989, the country suspended the servicing of its foreign debt. Many suppliers demanded cash payments on sales with the Dominican government. Venezuela stopped delivering oil. The population faced shortages of cooking fuel, cooking oil, food, and medicines. Blackouts became a daily nightmare with whole communities cheering whenever the power came on in an electric circuit. Balaguer was declared the winner of the presidential election in 1990 and imposed martial law (Pons, 1995).

The elections of 1994 were similar to the elections of 1990. Balaguer was proclaimed the winner amid charges of fraud. Balaguer offered a compromise, stating he would only serve a

two-year term and suggesting that the constitution be amended to not allow consecutive presidential terms of office.

Balaguer's age and blindness did not change his leadership style or ideological orientation. He spent most of 1986 and 1987 working to destroy the prestige and influence of Jorge Blanco. He used his oratory skill to maintain his popular support by praising the aging Juan Bosch as a Dominican literary treasure. At the same time, he questioned the racial background of his strongest political opponent, Dr. José Peña Gomez. He continued his anti-Haitian ideological propaganda through the republication of *La Isla al Revés: Haití y el Destino Dominicano*. In his book, Balaguer (1984) outlines anti-Haitian ideology. He wrote, "The immense wave of color that daily invades Dominican territory, not only exposes Santo Domingo to the loss of its national character, but it corrupts its customs and lowers moral standards" (p. 74). He reiterates Trujillo's representation of Dominican identity by writing that "the Hispanic language and tradition, for more than a century, were the only defensive barriers against the terrifying wave of color and disintegrating force which had been invading Dominican territory in an interrupted, yet systematic manner, since 1795" (p. 63). Balaguer's anti-Haitian ideology was consistent with the Spanish worldview that dominated much of Latin America. The privatized Hispanic home confined married women to the home to ensure the purity of Spanish blood. This practice was imposed after the wars against the Moors. The mother's immobility was related to racism (Franco, 1994).

Balaguer consistently demonstrated amazing political agility. He adjusted to difficult national and international situations and negotiated solutions that maintained his power throughout his political career. Balaguer maintained his political vitality through the intimidating use of power and the ability to produce immediate results. In 1995, Pons wrote that

since the death of Trujillo, "caudilloism still prevails, pervading and corrupting most aspects of institutional life. In this sense, it can be asserted that the Dominican Republic has evolved from a ruthless totalitarian dictatorship into an imperfect democracy" (p. 436).

Privatization, Globalization, and Democratization

The presidential election of 1996 required a runoff between the two candidates with the most votes. This was the first election since the Trujillo era in which Balaguer and Bosch were not running for the presidency. Balaguer was precluded from running as the price paid for his dubious "victory" in 1994. Bosch was sidelined by age. Bosch's protégé, Fernandez trailed Peña Gomez after the first round. Balaguer and Bosch combined their political power to see that Fernandez defeated Gomez in the second round of the presidential election of 1996. In June 1996, Leonel Fernandez Reyna was elected to a 4-year term as president (Deagan & Cruxent, 2002; Howard, 2001; Sagás, 2000).

The 1996 presidential election would be the last for Dr. José Peña Gomez. On May 10, 1998, Dr. Gomez died after a long battle with cancer. Peña Gomez has been the leading advocate of the oppressed in the Dominican Republic since the end of the era of Trujillo. Gomez, a Black Dominican of Haitian descent, was the adopted son of Dominican parents, who raised the orphaned Gomez following the 1937 massacres of Haitian residents. On April 24, 1965, it was Gomez who inspired thousands of Dominican youth to confront the repressive military regime that had taken power away from Juan Bosch two years earlier. Gomez won the 1994 election but Balaguer stayed in power. Gomez was the leader after the first round in the 1996 election. Gomez did not become president because anti-Haitian ideology was used to point out to the Dominican voter that Gomez did not fit the Dominican cultural image of presidential material. "The attack against Peña Gomez suggested that his Haitian ancestry made him an unsuitable, and

potentially disloyal, candidate for the presidency of the Republic” (Howard, 2001, p. 162). Sagás (2000) points out that Peña’s humble background, dark skin, Haitian ancestry, and presumed connection to voodoo were all used in the media campaign against him in 1994 and 1996.

The elections of 1996 and 2000 opened a new era in Dominican politics. It is too early to determine the full impact of the new era. Leonel Fernandez normalized relations between the IMF and the Dominican Republic, lowered importation fees, encouraged foreign investment, improved relations between the United States and the Dominican Republic, and privatized Dominican electric production. He also began the most ambitious road improvements in the history of the Dominican Republic. Fernandez was a popular president. He could not run for reelection because of the constitutional amendment disallowing consecutive terms of office. Fernandez demonstrated that he was an articulate public speaker with ability to work with others in the planning of creative solutions to national problems.

Summary

This review of Dominican history offers educators planning theological programs five valuable insights. First, Dominican culture is a mixture of Arawak-Taino, Spanish, African, and French traditions. Under colonial rule, the Taino society entered a process of complete extinction. Taino heritage continues in Dominican food and specialized vocabulary. Colonists and Catholic priests requested the importation of African slaves following the decline of the Taino population. Hispaniola “received the first blacks to arrive in the Western Hemisphere. It inaugurated both the colonial plantation and New World African slavery” (Howard, 2001, p.viii). African heritage can be seen in decision-making by dialogue, the prioritization of personal relationships, music, and family structure. Spanish heritage is seen in language, ideology, and values. The French heritage is primarily found in the legal system (Cambeira, 1997). It will take

time and Dominican assistance for an expatriate planner to be able to make sense of the complexity of the Dominican culture. Dominican culture is not Taino, Spanish, African, or French. It is all of them woven together.

A second insight is that Spanish colonizers and Dominican neopatrimonial leaders encouraged assimilation in the Dominican colony. The Dominican colony reflected a mix of cultural heritage. Dominicans valued Spanish culture and feared Haitian invasion. World history from a Dominican perspective has illustrated that Europe prevails. Dominican cultural values show preference toward lighter skin (Deive, 1999; Howards, 2001; Sagás, 2000). Howard (2001) concluded that “racial ancestry and the proximity to Haiti underlie a pervasive racial prejudice that devalues the African influence in Dominican society” (p. 182). Class discrimination is one of the most powerful prejudices in the Dominican society. Sagás (2000) views class prejudices as the main cause for the lack of equal opportunities in the country with surveys showing that approximately 75% of respondents see class discrimination as the major cause of inequality and approximately 45% identify racial discrimination as the second major cause of inequality.

The discourse of Haitian domination is a continual part of Dominican identity. The discourse of Dominican independence is constructed as a racial conflict between civilized whites (Dominicans) and savage blacks (Haitians). Differences between the two groups were attributed to racial distinctions. Racist discourse presents the ethnic and cultural differences between Dominicans and Haitians as the cause of and justification for economic and social inequality and exploitation. This discourse suggests that because of inherent racial weaknesses, the Dominican state is obligated to use centralized force to guarantee order and should maintain migratory policies that encourage the whitening of the Dominican population (Deive, 1999).

This ideology can be seen in the works of Joaquin Balaguer (Deive, 1999). The ideology states that the primary cause for the differences between Haiti and the Dominican Republic are racial. Therefore, the mulatto is the primary obstacle to the advance of the nation. The impact of this ideology is that the society is stratified by skin color with black and mulatto occupying the lowest level. This racial ideology is the application of Arian racial theory to the Dominican population. The Spanish are viewed as an inferior Arian race. Their racial strength was weakened through mixture with the Tainos and African slaves (Deive, 1999).

Joaquin Balager's (1984) work, *La Isla al Reves* is a modern example of the continued presence of this racist ideology. African slaves are described as possessing a multitude of defects and vices. Dominicans are portrayed as White, Spanish, Christian, and Western. Haitians are portrayed as Black, African, barbarous, and uncivilized. The solution for a sure future is to impede Haitian migration and encourage Western investment and tourism.

Deive (1999) points out that ethnic identity exists when a group is conscious of the biological and cultural characteristics that differentiate the group from others. Ethnic identity is reinforced through the construction of otherness. This construction of otherness not only impacts Haitians (the other), it also impacts how Dominicans view other Dominicans and has become one of the most pressing social problems in the Dominican culture. The object of this racism is always the same: to protect the privileges of the powerful through reinforcing the myth of racial superiority. Deive views the Dominican Republic as the only Afro-American country where there has not been a strong national movement to appreciate its African heritage.

A third insight is that the United States is seen as an imperial force that decides what other countries must do, and then forces them to do what has been decided. Dominicans view the United States as a powerful empire and respond with both amazement and resentment. Alan

Cambeira (1997) writes:

Since World War II, about one out of every seven living individuals born in the islands now has taken up residence in the United States. Perhaps as much as 25 percent of legal immigrants to the United States, and an even higher percentage of undocumented aliens, originate in the Caribbean. (p. 6)

Caribbean nations share common challenges: economic growth, improved equity, full employment, genuine political representation and responsiveness, and meaningful national autonomy. "Except for Israel and Egypt, the countries of the Caribbean basin are the largest recipients of United States monetary assistance in the world" (Cambeira, 1997, p. 7).

A fourth insight is that most expatriates have treated Dominican knowledge as unimportant. The U.S. government is primarily concerned with maintaining political stability in its region. Even though the Dominican Republic has fallen under U.S. military rule from 1916 to 1924 and 1965 to 1966, few members of the North American population are really aware of the country's location and history (Wiarda & Kryzanek, 1992). Cambeira (1997) writes:

Although La República Dominicana is a mere two-hour flight from Miami, many students and often their teachers know embarrassingly little about Dominican culture, its history, and its people, who are unquestionably a major source today of immigrants to the United States mainland. (p. 9)

A fifth insight is that the Dominican society is postcolonial and neo-colonial. In 1492, it became a Spanish colony and was named Hispaniola. Colonialism comes from the Roman word 'colonia' meaning to farm or settle. It referred to Romans who settled in other lands while retaining their Roman citizenship. Loomba (1998) notes that this definition does not mention the people that already exist in the region. Loomba provides a more accurate definition:

Colonialism may be defined as the conquest and control of other people's land and goods.

But colonialism in this sense is not merely the expansion of various European powers into Asia, Africa or the Americas from the sixteenth century onwards; it has been a recurrent and widespread feature of human history. (p. 2)

Colonialism develops from imperialism. Imperialism occurs in the metropolis. It is an attitude that leads the metropolis to dominate and control foreign territory. Colonialism or neo-colonialism occurs in foreign territory. "Imperialism can function without formal colonies (as in the United States imperialism today) but colonialism cannot" (Loomba, 1998, p. 7).

The Dominican Republic is postcolonial and neo-colonial, as are the majority of Caribbean nations. "A country can be both postcolonial (in the sense of being formally independent) and neo-colonial (in the sense of remaining economically and/or culturally dependent) at the same time" (Loomba, 1998, p. 7).

Neocolonialism played a role in the formation of the Dominican *caudillo* leadership style. The *caudillo* maintained the hope that the Dominican Republic could exist as if the rest of the world didn't impact their economy. Jorge Blanco recognized that the Dominican Republic is both postcolonial and neo-colonial. His government complained about the neocolonial power of the IMF but ultimately had to adjust the Dominican economy to the demands of the IMF in order to compete in the global market. Balaguer continued to use the *caudillo* style, refusing to recognize the dependency of the Dominican Republic on the approval of the IMF. He believed he could make major economic changes independent of approval from the international community. By 1990, even Balaguer could not ignore the impact of neo-colonial pressures on the Dominican economy. Soon after entering office, Leonel Fernandez made agreements with the international

community and the current Dominican President Hipolito Hernandez has sought to guard Dominican sovereignty while continuing negotiations in the global economy.

The Dominican Republic is a postcolonial society. Loomba (1998) believes the word postcolonial is a useful generalization that refers to the process of disengagement from the whole colonial syndrome. According to Loomba, "the Caribbean and Latin America are still struggling with the effects of colonial domination and neo-colonialism" (p. 19).

Imperialism centered in Western Europe 500 years ago. It produced colonialism in the Americas. Resistance to European imperialism produced revolution, first in the United States and second on the island of Hispaniola. Today, the Dominican Republic is located 700 miles to the south of the imperialistic center of the hemisphere. Postcolonial studies offer additional relevant insight into postcolonial struggle.

This review of Dominican history identified five key historical themes that are a part of the Dominican context. First, Dominican culture is a mixture of Taino, African, and European heritages. Second, Dominican nationalism values their Spanish heritage and fears Haitian invasion. Third, the United States dominates the hemisphere as a neo-colonial empire. Fourth, expatriate partners have treated Dominican knowledge as unimportant. Fifth, the Dominican Republic is a postcolonial society in a neo-colonial world.

Postcolonial Studies

The principal aim of this research was to examine how intercultural factors impacted the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic. Postcolonial criticism and postcolonial theory both describe the intercultural tensions of a postcolonial context. For the purpose of this research, it is sufficient to note that postcolonial criticism and postcolonial theory are distinct. Both are subsets of the larger field of postcolonial studies. Postcolonial criticism

reveals and resists oppressive power in the colonization process. Postcolonial theory combines postcolonial analysis with the perspectives of Derrida and Foucault. The best known postcolonial theorists are Said, Spivak, and Homi Bhabha (Moore-Gilbert, 1997).

In this review of postcolonial literature, I selected works from both postcolonial criticism and postcolonial theory without differentiation because my purpose was to identify issues relevant to a study of planning in the Dominican context. I will begin the review by defining a few key concepts in postcolonial thought. I then review the relationship between imperialistic oppression and the violation of basic human rights, the Black diaspora and cultural hybridity, the growth of neocolonialism through turbocapitalism, and the struggle of Christianity to address the significant issues in postcolonial societies.

Definitions

Colonialism is the implanting of settlements on distant territory. It is usually a consequence of imperialism (Said, 1994). Sugirtharajah (2002) describes imperialism as:

the control exercised by one nation state over another and its inhabitants to exploit and develop the resources of the land, for the benefit of the imperial government. It is often accompanied by an imperial propaganda in the form of ceremonies, coronations, parades, pageants, and military supremacy. (p. 24)

Five hundred years ago, the colonial process began on *Quisqueya* when Columbus claimed the island as Spanish territory and named it Hispaniola. Later, Spanish colonists arrived, the Tainos were exploited, and their resources developed to benefit the Spanish Empire.

When distant territory like the Dominican Republic is controlled by an imperial power such as Spain, the vast majority of residents are subalterns. A subaltern is a non-elite, rural, oppressed peasant. The elite may be a small percentage of the total population, but their voice is

so pervasive in a colonial system that according to Spivak (1994), “the subaltern cannot speak” (p. 104). On Hispaniola, the subalterns were originally Tainos and the children produced when one parent was Taino and the other Spanish. These children were called *mestizos* or *indios*. As the Taino population declined, the Spanish Empire authorized the importation of African slaves. By 1550, the subalterns on Hispaniola were African slaves and the children produced when one parent was African and the other *indio* or Spanish. These children were called *mulattos*. The voice and ideology of the elite in the Spanish colony was so powerful that color classification became almost synonymous with social class. *Blancos* (White-skinned Spaniards) and *café con leche* (coffee with cream) were colors identified with high level status. *Indio* (Taino-colored/mestizo) was a third color classification. The original *indios* were Taino subalterns who died under Spanish oppression. The children of Taino-Spanish marriages were also described as *indios* but because of their Spanish ancestry, few individuals with this color classification were considered subalterns. The majority of subalterns were classified as *morenos* or *prietos* (a Spanish-speaking black). *Moreno* had a more positive connotation than *prieto*. (Sagás, 2000; Howard, 2001).

Relevant postcolonial works offer rich insight into Dominican history. For example, the concept that the strength of the elite voice does not allow the subaltern to speak highlights the significant role that Peña Gomez played in Dominican culture. It also explains why he was threatening to Balaguer and many in the upper strata of Dominican society. Gomez gave voice to the subalterns of the Dominican Republic. Sagás (2000) writes:

So not only was Peña Gómez a lower-class candidate (with no elite family ties) aspiring to national power, but he was also a *black* lower-class candidate.... Peña Gómez was, however, even by the loose Dominican racial standards, a pure black; that is, he had dark

skin and no “fine” features, making his acceptance into light-skinned circles more difficult. Furthermore, he was not a musician or a baseball player but a presidential candidate, aspiring to the highest office in the nation, and with a good chance of winning. These characteristics made Peña Gómez a very threatening figure for his political opponents. (p. 107)

Postcolonial theory is a diverse interdisciplinary heterogeneous collection of scholarly works with no single unifying philosophical orientation. What identifies these works as postcolonial is that they reflect the struggle of people in a postcolonial world to value their own history, culture, and identity while resisting hegemonic representation. Postcolonial theory does not speak with a unified voice. It resists classification. It does not correspond to the traditional view of theory. Theoretical insight is usually defended for its generalizability. Postcolonial theory resists this distinction and classification (Hallward, 2001).

Postcolonial works reflect the struggle of people in a postcolonial world to critique oppressive power structures. However, postcolonial critiques are not limited to oppressive power structure. Postcolonial writers critique each other. There is no unified voice or a unifying epistemology or methodology. For example, Said (1985) applied discourse analysis to colonial texts in writing *Orientalism*. Said critiqued Western economic, political, and global domination as well as Western intellectual production. Other postcolonial writers have critiqued Said for trying to combine Gramsci’s Marxism with Foucault’s post-structuralism. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1994) uses deconstructionism to make the most forthright assault on Said's work accusing Said of compromising with the metropolis and its values. Other postcolonial writers such as Aijaz Ahmad use a Marxist orientation and critique other postcolonial writers for their lack of commitment to change oppressive structures (Williams & Chrisman, 1994).

Postcolonial writers begin with different orientations and use different methodologies. Homi Bhabha asserts that *Orientalism* inaugurated the postcolonial field (Moore-Gilbert, 1997). However, Bhabha does not use the methodology of Said. He uses psychoanalytical theory to examine Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (Williams & Chrisman, 1994). Mishra and Hodge (1994) seek to provide some clarity by separating postcolonial studies into the categories of oppositional and complicit. Oppositional postcolonial works center on racism, hegemony, and political struggle. Complicit postcolonial works discuss the oppressive nature of imperialism, relieving the pressure without working for change.

Cultural complexity is an additional key concept in postcolonial thought. Postcolonial theorists assert that the traditional view of culture is inadequate to describe the complexity of the postcolonial world. Appadurai (1994) believes the complexity of postcolonial societies require a multi-faceted analytical lens:

The global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which can no longer be understood in terms of existing center—periphery models....I propose that an elementary framework for exploring such disjunctures is to look at the relationship between five dimensions of global cultural flow which can be terms:

(a) ethnoscap; (b) mediascap; (c) technoscap; (d) finanscap; and (e) ideoscap.

The suffix -scape allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes.

(p. 328)

Ethnoscap are the shifting ethnic diversity of persons who constitute our changing world.

Mediascap are the images produced and distributed through print, media, and Internet sources.

Technoscap change at high speed as informational technologies ignore international

boundaries. Finanscap describe the transactions and economic pressures of global capitalism.

Ideoscapes are the confrontational ideological arenas where state supported political ideologies and counter-ideologies battle for popular allegiance (Appaduari, 1994).

Imperialistic Oppression and the Violation of Basic Human Rights

Postcolonial criticism often emphasizes colonialism's and neo-colonialism's resistance to the granting of basic human rights to all people. Postcolonial theory outlines the cognitive processes that produce and defend this resistance. Said critiqued Western colonial and neo-colonial biases in *Orientalism*. The specific examples used in his book do not apply to the Dominican Republic, but the formation process of Western ideology is applicable. "Orientalism was the distillation of essential ideas about the Orient" (Said, 1994, p. 144). Western scholars studied and sought to accurately document their findings concerning the Orient. Said (1994) writes, "it would be wrong to conclude that the Orient was essentially an idea, or a creation with no corresponding reality" (p. 132). In spite of Western researcher diligence, Said sees three flaws in the Western perspective that produced the biased representations termed *Orientalism*. First, Westerners failed to realize that their position of superiority biased their findings. Said (1994) writes:

Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the upper hand....The scientist, the scholar, the missionary, the trader or the soldier was in, or thought about, the Orient because *he could be there*, or could think about it, with very little resistance on the Orient's part. (p. 134)

The second flaw was that Westerners failed to study power. Said (1994) commented that "ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their configuration of power, also being studied" (p. 133). The third flaw was that

Westerners avoided political issues. "Most knowledge produced in the contemporary West (and here I speak mainly about the United States) is ...nonpolitical, that is, scholarly, academic, impartial" (p. 136).

The impact of Said's critique can be devastating, however it does not have to lead to the conclusion that Western research should stop. Margery Wolf (1992) responds to Said's critique by writing:

On the whole, I accept the accusations of colonialism, ethnocentrism, racism, and imperialism that we have grappled with in recent decades, but without cutting off the debate, I hope we can now get on with the work of creating a more equitable world. (p. 13)

Said's observations were relevant to this study. Did the Western theological educators involved in the planning of theological education recognize their position of superiority within the planning context? Had they studied the power dynamics inherent in the Dominican context? Had they realized that determining who would be represented at the planning table, whose needs would have priority, who would have access to training, and which doctrines would be emphasized were all political decisions? Did they consciously use their position of superiority to enact positive change within the power dynamics of their context so that the oppressed had greater access to knowledge? Were the elite made aware of the oppression inherent in a postcolonial context? Were Western theological planners positioning themselves in organizational structures to make indigenous ideas and indigenous leaders successful?

One of the key values embraced by postcolonial writers is that people should be given the right to value their history, culture, and themselves. Homi Bhabha (1994) points out that colonized people did not have this basic human right. They lived in a state of absolute

depersonalization. This depersonalization was the result of believing the master's description of one's otherness. Ideological oppression convinces the oppressed that they are identical to the master's misrepresentation. The final result of colonialism is that "the Negro enslaved by his inferiority, the white man enslaved by his superiority alike behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 116).

Bhabha's perspective sheds new light on the oppressive nature of the ideology presented by Sepulveda in his argument before the Spanish throne. Sepulveda argued that the backward, unintelligent Indians were nearer to animals than men (Chadwick, 1972). Bhabha suggests that Sepulveda's dehumanizing ideology not only convinced the Spanish that the Tainos were inferior, over time it formed part of the self-identity of the Tainos. The Tainos were not given the right to value their history, culture, or themselves. Is it any wonder that Tainos preferred death to colonial rule? Bhabha (1994) also provided insight into the horrendous massacre of Haitians ordered by Trujillo. He writes, "the fantasy of the native is precisely to occupy the master's place" (p. 117). Trujillo gave the order to slaughter the subaltern as if they were animals, but it was Western ideology pronounced by a Spanish theologian that suggested that the subaltern was nearer to animals than men. The Spanish, when they gained power, destroyed the Tainos. Trujillo, when he gained power, destroyed the Haitians.

The Black Diaspora and Cultural Hybridity

Stuart Hall (1994) is a Caribbean postcolonial author. He writes concerning identity formation in a post-colonial setting. His theory of identity formation is built on Fanon's (1986, 1994) observation that the search for a past cultural identity is a common result of colonialization. Colonial hegemony controlled not only economic production but also systematically reprogrammed the subaltern's cognitive schema. Hall agrees with Fanon's

assessment that the search for this lost cultural identity, in and of itself, will not provide an adequate identity for those suffering the effects of colonialization.

Hall's (1994) theory of identity formation in a postcolonial context begins by defining two different ways of viewing cultural identity. The first view sees culture as a product of shared history, cultural codes, and ancestry. This traditional view categorizes the dominant social, political, economic, and religious organizational designs in the culture in an effort to ascertain the underlying cultural ideology. In the Caribbean, this traditional concept of culture is used to reconstruct original African and Taino cultural identities in an effort to clarify the current Caribbean cultural identity. This view of culture presents a homogenous composite cultural identity that would be defined as Caribbeanness or Black experience. It is the central vision of poets like Aime Cesaire in "Negritude." Frantz Fanon (1986) critiqued this search for shared cultural identity as passionate research that falsely hopes to find some splendid hidden ancient cultural unity that can rehabilitate the oppressed. Hall (1994) agrees with this critique noting that cultural identity is a matter of becoming not just a sense of being. Hall (1994) suggests that Caribbean cultural identity must be viewed as a production rather than as an established fact. "We should think, instead, of identity as a 'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (p. 392). Hall notes that Caribbean people share many points of similarity that are highlighted by the traditional concept of cultural identity. However, there are also "critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute 'what we really are'...'what we have become'....[and] these ruptures and discontinuities ...constitute precisely the Caribbean's uniqueness" (p. 394).

Hall (1994) believes that the study of lost cultural identity may be helpful but will not in and of itself give final answers to current cultural identity. He suggests that a second way of

viewing cultural identity is more useful. The second viewpoint is that Caribbean cultural identity undergoes constant transformation. The identity is not so much what one has been, but rather what one is choosing to be. This perspective sees cultural identities as being formed in "...the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (p. 394). Hall believes that this second way of viewing cultural identity can help us understand the traumatic character of the colonial experience. He writes:

The ways in which black people, black experiences, were positioned and subject-ed in the dominant regimes of representation were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalization. Not only, in Said's 'Orientalist' sense, were we constructed as different and other within the categories of knowledge of the West by those regimes.

They had the power to make us see and experience *ourselves* as 'Other.' (p. 395)

In the Dominican context, the power of colonial thought to make people view themselves as *Other* explains why large portions of the population have remained under oppressive regimes. The subalterns in the Spanish colony were constantly told that they needed Spanish or European assistance. When Dominican independence was achieved, many Dominicans sought to return to colonial status. This same mentality produced passive acceptance of Dominican *caudillos* and the reign of Trujillo. It explains why many Dominicans see their only viable escape from this structural and cognitive tyranny as immigration to the United States. Juan Luis Guerra (1996) expresses the thoughts of the modern-day Dominican subaltern in a song entitled, *Visa para un sueño* (visa to my dream):

I am looking for a visa: so I can realize my dream,

I am looking for a visa: its my reason to go on existing

I am looking for a visa: so I don't have to return

I am looking for a visa: so I can realize my dream

I am looking for a visa: its an absolute necessity

I am looking for a visa: how angry it makes me

I am looking for a visa: my powerful act

I am looking for a visa: what other alternative do I have

I am looking for a visa: to get off the island

I am looking for a visa: to cast myself out to sea

I am looking for a visa: its my reason to go on existing

I am looking for a visa: so I don't have to return.

Hall (1994) writes, "this inner expropriation of cultural identity ... [produces] individuals without anchor, without horizon, colourless, stateless, rootless" (p. 395).

This second view of culture is not a search for a lost cultural essence but a cognitive tool to understand how identity formation is an issue of ideological positioning. Hall (1994) writes:

We might think of Black Caribbean identities as 'framed' by two axes or vectors, simultaneously operative; the vector of similarity and continuity; and the vector of difference and rupture. Caribbean identities always have to be thought of in terms of dialogic relationship between these two axes. The one gives us some grounding in, some continuity with, the past. The second reminds us that what we share is precisely the experience of a profound discontinuity: the peoples dragged into slavery, transportation, colonisation, migration, came predominantly from Africa. (p. 395)

Hall (1994) sees Caribbean cultural identities as continuously positioned in relation to African, European, and American cultural influences. Caribbean people ultimately define and construct their current identity from African, European, and American presence. The Africa

presence in the Caribbean identity is a site of oppression. It is an unspoken, unspeakable presence in Caribbean culture. The European presence is a site of power, underdevelopment, poverty, and racism. It "is about exclusion, imposition and expropriation" (p. 400). While Hall describes the African presence as unspoken, the European presence is characterized as constantly speaking. It is the dominant cultural force of globalization. The American presence is the site of ground, territory, and place. Hall (1994) believes this presence is barely knowable:

It stands for the endless ways in which Caribbean people have been destined to 'migrate'; it is the signifier of migration itself—of travelling, voyaging and return as fate, as destiny; of the Antillean as the prototype of the modern or postmodern New World nomad, continuously moving between centre and periphery. (p. 401)

Hall (1994) classifies the majority of Caribbean peoples as Afro-Caribbean people of diaspora:

I use this term metaphorically, not literally: diaspora does not refer to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other people into the sea....The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. (p. 420)

Hybridity is the process used to negotiate Caribbean cultural identity. It is a postcolonial term used extensively by Bhabha (Moore-Gilbert, 1997). It creates an in-between space for people who live in the borderlands created when two or more opposing cultural systems collide.

“Bhabha argues that hybridity and mimicry were strategies forged by the colonized as ways of responding to colonial rule” (Sugirtharajah, 2002, p. 22). Hybridity is “the mixing together of different cultural elements to create new meanings and identities. Hybrids destabilize and blur established cultural boundaries in a process of fusion or creolization” (Barker, 2000, p. 385).

Hybridity allows Caribbean people to negotiate their cultural identities in the midst of powerful opposing forces. Caribbean music illustrates this ability to creatively fuse elements from diverse systems. Aparicio (1999) writes about Celia Cruz, a Latin American, Afro-Cuban who crosses cultural and racial boundaries by collaborating with Anglo musicians to tropicalize rock music. “Celia Cruz serves as a complex and intriguing icon of the relational nature of nationalism and transnationalism” (p. 223). One of her recordings expresses her personal hybridity. It is *Azúcar negra* (black sugar). Aparicio (1999) comments:

while sugar is white, the seemingly oxymoronic metaphor of ‘black sugar’ foregrounds the traces of slavery behind the national economy of the plantation ... she states her blood is black sugar and that her skin is marked by the rumba and the bongó. (p. 226)

In recent years, Dominican artists and musicians have increasingly recognized their cultural hybridity. Garcia, Rueda, Francisco, and Oviedo (1987) honor the African and Taino heritage through a beautiful photographic journal that honors Dominican hybridity. Singer, musician, and songwriter, Juan Luis Guerra (1996) writes that Dominicans are like an *agujero*. An *agujero* is a hole in coral rock. When an incoming tide pounds the Dominican coast, it forces water through these *agujeros*. Ocean water surges skyward forming white fountains along the coral coastline. Guerra uses this metaphor to speak of his people. He states that Dominicans are like an *agujero*, hung between heaven and earth, after 500 years. Strong forces have created a dynamic race: a mixture of Black, White, and Taino.

There are a variety of postcolonial writers who offer relevant insights concerning the African and European heritage of the Dominican people. Senghor (1994) views the African worldview and the European worldview as diametrically opposed. The European concept is static, objective, and dualistic. It makes an absolute distinction between matter and spirit. The African perceives the world to be mobile and unique. Reality seeks synthesis not division. These ideological differences are seen in the resulting societies. Black society seeks synthesis between the individual and the community. Dialogue and reciprocity are the foundations of Black society. The group has priority over the individual without crushing the individual. Dialogue allows individuals to express their perspective and build their own space. The virtues of community and dialogue can maintain peace through cooperation, "if only the dualistic spirit of the whites would open itself to dialogue" (Senghor, 1994, p. 32).

Gilroy (1994) continues this comparison between African and European worldviews: [Black] expressive cultures which prize non-work time and space have articulated a political and philosophical critique of work and productivism—the ideology which sees the expansion of productive forces as an indispensable precondition of the attainment of freedom. The critique of work in general and the capitalist division of labour in particularcan be more accurately summarized in this three points for a utopian political

programme: work less; consume better; and reintegrate culture with everyday life. (p. 413)

Collins (2000) contrasts Black feminist epistemology with the Eurocentric knowledge validation process. Eurocentric knowledge is validated by a group of experts well versed in accepted theory. Ideas are validated through methodologies that reflect positivist assumptions.

Ideas that are consistent with the canon of popular culture gain rapid acceptance. Ideas that are not consistent are formally presented with strong statistical evidence.

Black feminist knowledge is validated through lived experience, community dialogue, an ethic of caring, and personal accountability for the knowledge claim. Black women assess knowledge claims through lived experience. “Knowledge without wisdom is adequate for the powerful, but wisdom is essential to the survival of the subordinate” (Collins, 2000, p. 257). Black women assess knowledge claims through the use of dialogue. The connectedness of the Black community is a fundamental part of the knowledge validation process and is maintained through dialogue. Dialogue is rooted in African-based oral traditions. Black women assess knowledge based on an ethics of caring. “Ideas cannot be divorced from the individuals who create and share them” (Collins, 2000, p. 262). This ethics of caring is expressed through individual expressiveness, appropriate emotions, and empathy. Black women assess not only the ideas but equally “the way knowledge claims are presented” (p. 264). Black women evaluate the individual’s character, values, and ethics in light of the knowledge claim being made. Collins (2000) explains:

Traditional Black church services also illustrate the interactive nature of all dimensions of this alternative epistemology. The services represent more than dialogues between the rationality used in examining biblical texts and stories and the emotion inherent in the use of reason for this purpose. The reason such dialogue exists is to examine lived experiences for the presence of an ethic of caring. Neither emotion nor ethics is subordinated to reason. Instead, emotion, ethics, and reason are used as interconnected, essential components in assessing knowledge claims. In this alternative epistemology,

values lie at the heart of the knowledge validation process such that inquiry always has an ethical aim. (p. 266)

Dominican hybridity allows the individual to continuously modify their cultural identity by choosing to emphasize various aspects of their rich African, European, and Taino heritage. This blending can be seen in language, dress, architecture, and music. Some postcolonial writers warn against trying to determine what is essentially African or from African heritage. bell hooks (1994) writes that "African-American struggle must be rooted in a process of decolonization that continually opposed re-inscribing notions of 'authentic' black identity..." (p. 425).

Postcolonial criticism and postcolonial theory reveal the complexity of cultural identity within a postcolonial society. Expatriate planners would be well advised to exercise caution before assuming that they understand a postcolonial context. Its complexity suggests that the expatriate does not fully understand. bell hooks (1994) warns against essentializing cultural heritage in an effort to understand cultural identity.

The Growth of Neocolonialism through Turbocapitalism

Hybridity allows Caribbean people to negotiate their cultural identities in the midst of powerful opposing ideologies. Although colonialism has ended, the presence and power of colonial ideology continues. Most postcolonial writers agree that imperialistic oppression continues today in the form of *neo-colonialism*. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, coined the term *neo-colonialism* to explain that a neo-colonial state has the outward appearance of international sovereignty, but in reality its economic and political systems are controlled from outside. This new form of economic hegemony is exercised through international banks and multinational corporations. Former colonies currently face this new form of indirect control.

Sugirtharajah (2000) identifies neo-colonialism with current U.S. power and interventionist policies:

Recently, with the former colonial European countries losing their hold on the international political scene, the term has been transferred to indicate principally the influence and intervention of the United States in the economic and political affairs of the world. (p. 25)

Loomba (1998) wrote “the Caribbean and Latin America are still struggling with the effects of colonial domination and neocolonialism” (p. 19). The power behind neo-colonialism is turbocapitalism. Finger and Asún (2001) have written a chapter on turbocapitalism that accurately describes the conflicting economic forces in the Caribbean. They write:

The project of development is being replaced, both ideologically and practically, by the imposition of a new model of free trade. Such free trade, and the corresponding adjustments needed in order to participate in it, are said to be a precondition for development in the South, as well as a necessity for prosperity in the North....The effort and attention are therefore no longer put into development, but into fostering conditions conducive to trade. This is particularly evident in the case of basic infrastructures, which are being privatised and bought up by transnational corporations. (p. 107)

The privatization of utilities in struggling nation-states dependent on tourism or international business ventures is a mixed blessing. Elected officials find themselves forced to privatize utilities in order to respond to public demands for progress produced through globalized media. Transnational corporations provide jobs and can improve basic public services. However, once utilities have been privatized the nation-state no longer receives the income from utilities that previously funded developmental projects. Transnational corporations that run utilities are

often stronger than the nation-state in which they operate. The fundamental motivation of these corporations is to produce a profit. Any upward adjustment in the cost of utilities produces severe hardships for subalterns, those already enduring the lowest social and economic status. Public protest over the rising cost of living is vented either at elected officials or directly at transnational corporations. Transnational corporations threaten to suspend services until the government ensures complete safety. Global press reporters are anxious to report any civil uprisings. The reporting of protest in the global press can have devastating effects on tourism and international investment. Elected officials use military force to silence subalterns while transnational corporations make a profit. Subalterns are the losers in the battle between turbocapitalism and nationalism. The few that manage to speak are silenced for the sake of progress (Finger & Asún, 2001).

This scenario has been played out repeatedly in Dominican history. The struggles of former President Jorge Blanco were directly linked to the conflict between turbocapitalism and nationalism. Dominican subalterns continue to face growing marginalization as transnational corporations gain increasing control of the national economy.

Individually, Dominicans resisted colonial identity through hybridity. It allowed Dominicans to select from African, European, and Taino heritage in the construction of their cultural identity. Hybridity continues to provide a satisfactory resolution to the ideological conflict between turbocapitalism and nationalism. Vincanne Adams (1996) has documented an alternative identity strategy used by subalterns under similar economic pressure. Adams wrote an ethnography of the Sherpas. Western climbers hire these economically oppressed people to guide them in their exploits to conquer Mount Everest and the surrounding mountains. The Sherpas

responded to their situation by constructing what Adams describes as a virtual identity. The Sherpas have become the exotic *other* that Westerners envisioned.

The Dominican Republic is a postcolonial society existing in a neo-colonial world. The neo-colonial world places economic pressure on dependent nations to become part of the globalized economy through mass media. The Dominican government responded to this pressure by diversifying the economy and attracting transnational corporations that invested in tourism and industry (Wiarda & Kryzanek, 1992). Dominican utilities were privatized and cost increases were passed on to consumers. Dominicans that work in transnational corporations find themselves under many of the same pressures that led the Sherpas to construct virtual identities, becoming the *other* that Westerners envision. Oppressive colonial ideology, societal stratification, and the power of turbocapitalism pressure Dominican subalterns to accept whatever assistance is offered. Expatriate planners working in the Dominican Republic will find Dominican subalterns very flexible and genuinely appreciative for whatever assistance is offered.

This review of postcolonial studies began by emphasizing that postcolonial societies are complex. Stuart Hall (1994) assures us that each postcolonial society in the Caribbean has its own unique identity. Expatriates in the Dominican Republic will struggle to understand the fluid interplay between African, European, and Taino heritages. Imperialistic ideologies, cultural diversity, hybridity, neocolonialism, and turbocapitalism are only some of components in this complex postcolonial society.

A Postcolonial Critique of Christianity

This study focused on the planning of theological education in a postcolonial society. Postcolonial writers often point out that Christianity worked hand-in-hand with colonial powers.

Cesaire (1994) asserts that Europe is morally and spiritually indefensible because of colonialism and identifies Christian pedantry as the primary cause of colonial abuse:

The chief culprit in this domain is Christian pedantry, which laid down the dishonest equations *Christianity = civilization, paganism = savagery*, from which there could not but ensue abominable colonist and racist consequences, whose victims were to be the Indians, the yellow peoples, and the Negroes. (p. 172)

History provides evidence to support Cesaire's assertion that Europe is morally and spiritually indefensible. That applies not only to European governments but also to European religion. Spain began its colonial conquest of the Americas by claiming ownership of *Quisqueya*, a land already inhabited by more than 400,000 people. Spanish colonialism is responsible for the complete destruction of the Taino people on the island of *Quisqueya*.

At the beginning stages of colonial conquest, Sepulveda and other Catholic theologians had the opportunity to address racism, the significant ethical issue of the day before the Spanish monarchs. They failed to defend the innocent and instead defended colonial conquest on the basis that it was necessary to use force to Christianize pagans (Cambeira, 1997; Chadwick, 1972; Deagan & Cruxent, 2002). Bartolomé de Las Casas, a Dominican priest, spoke in opposition to the colonial genocide of the Taino people. Sugirtharajah (2002) writes:

In this pursuit, the Bible played a vital role. First, it was instrumental in modifying his thinking. Second, it provided him with sufficient ammunition to challenge the dominant views of the age in his theological debates at Valladolid (1550-1551) with Juan Gines de Sepulveda. (p. 45)

Las Casas is an example of a church leader challenging Spain's unethical political policy. Las Casas and Sepulveda argued the case of the Tainos before the Spanish monarchs. They both

endorsed the view that native Americas were pagans, separated from the true faith, and should come under Spanish jurisdiction. Sepulveda cited Deuteronomy 7 and the book of Joshua as scriptural examples of God destroying nations because of crimes. This was his justification for waging war against the indigenous population. Las Casas cited Matthew 22:40 "You must love your neighbor as yourself" and 1 Corinthians 13:5 "love is not selfish." He believed that native Americans should be invited to the Christian faith through the preaching of God's word and through observing the good example of Christian colonists (Sugirtharajah, 2002). To his credit, Las Casas argued that force was never a part of the ministry of Christ. However, Las Casas was a product of his culture, which was founded on racist ideology. He suggested that by augmenting the importation of African slaves, the Spanish monarchs could continue colonial conquest while protecting the remaining Tainos (Chadwick, 1972). The actions of Sepulveda and the Spanish monarchs are indefensible. Their colonial practices resulted in the death of more than 400,000 Tainos. Las Casas defended the last remaining Tainos but failed to defend the rights of Africans.

Postcolonial works critique missionaries as being so linked with European colonial conquest that they fail to challenge the status quo (Sugirtharajah, 2002). Sugirtharajah cites an early postcolonial novel, *Africa answers back* (Nyabongo, 1936), to illustrate how missionaries enjoyed a monopoly of authority in the area of Biblical interpretation, were handicapped by a lack of fluency in the native language, and refused to dialogue with indigenous converts who challenged their authority. The combination of their unquestionable authority and their lack of cultural knowledge may help explain their failure to address ethical issues. Perhaps they were so limited in their cultural insight and so focused on proclamation that they did not recognize their power and responsibility to help the oppressed.

This failure of Christian missions to disassociate itself from colonial regimes has been noted by missionary scholars. Kane (1982) writes:

Through no fault of their own missionaries were part and parcel of the gigantic outward thrust of the European nations in the nineteenth century, whereby they acquired empires in all parts of Africa, Asia, and the South Seas. The colonial administrators and the Christian missionaries traveled on the same ships, served under the same flags, worked in the same countries, and were mutually helpful. The missionaries carried on a “civilizing” mission among the “natives.” They helped to create a middle-class bourgeois society susceptible to Western influence and amenable to Western laws, thereby making it easier for the colonialists to administer the territories under their rule. The colonial governments reciprocated in kind, giving the missionaries land for their stations, subsidies for their schools, and protection in times of danger. From many points of view this was the greatest mistake made by the Christian missions in the nineteenth century. (p. 164)

In the Dominican Republic, like other postcolonial societies, the failure of Christian leaders to adequately address ethical issues is undeniable. The Christian conquerors planted the Spanish flag jointly with the cross on *Quisqueya*. Catholicism has been associated with Spanish culture and political power throughout Dominican history. The highest Catholic leaders consistently reinforced the hegemonic ideology of the state. Evangelicals have not traditionally been associated with Dominican political power. Few Evangelical churches have received any governmental assistance. However, Evangelical missionaries are often citizens of an imperialistic nation and may unknowingly reinforce hegemonic ideology through their actions.

If missionary actions reinforce hegemonic ideology, indigenous Christians from oppressed segments of the population may resent and resist missionary influence because of residual colonial frustration. Boahen (1987) writes:

If colonialism meant anything at all politically, it was the loss of sovereignty and independence by the colonized peoples. This loss of sovereignty, in turn, implied the loss of the right of the state to control its own destiny; to plan its own development; to decide which outside nations to borrow from and associate with or emulate...and above all to manage or even mismanage its own affairs. (p. 99)

The combination of the missionary's unquestionable Biblical authority, limited cultural knowledge, and the historic association between Christianity and colonial power produced multiple barriers to effective dialogue and negotiation. However, missionaries were also associated with community progress. "The spread of Western education was due mainly to the activities of the Christian missionaries" (Boahen, 1987, p. 103). The positive assessment of Boahen is not universal. Sugirtharajah (2002) writes, "the world of biblical interpretation is detached from the problems of the contemporary world and has become ineffectual because it has failed to challenge the status quo or work for any sort of social change" (p. 26).

Sugirtharajah's criticism may not receive a hearing among Evangelicals because he goes beyond suggesting that the Church contextualize its theology. He also suggests that it update its source of authority. Sugirtharajah (2002) writes, "What postcolonialism attempts to do is to demonstrate that the Bible itself is part of the conundrum rather than a panacea for all the ills of the postmodern/postcolonial world" (p. 100).

Sugirtharajah's critique that biblical interpretation is so detached from the contemporary world that it has become ineffectual and has failed to challenge the status quo or work for any

sort of social change merits serious consideration. The review of Dominican history identified racial inequality as an essential part of hegemonic ideology in the Dominican Republic.

According to Sugirtharajah's critique, if the theological education program of the Dominican C&MA is typical of conservative Evangelical biblical interpretation, it will not address racism. If the Church failed to adequately resist racism, its biblical interpretation was detached from contemporary Dominican society.

Kraft (1999) identifies a clarifying question for the evaluation of such situations:

The question faced by Christian witnesses is, however, whether any undesirable state is but a step in a continuing process or whether the changes have virtually come to an end and the people are settled in their present beliefs and behaviors. If the latter is the case, some sort of renewal is called for. (p. 376)

Paulo Freire (1970, 1973) challenged adult educators to address ethical issues, use indigenous knowledge, and resist colonial racist ideology. Paulo Freire saw injustice, felt Christian compassion for the oppressed, and used education to challenge hegemonic ideology. Christian leaders can learn from Freire's radical identification with oppressed people and his insightful use of their knowledge base to effectively contextualize education programs. However, Freire's use of neo-Marxism and support of liberation theology reduces the possibility that Evangelicals will study his works.

This review of postcolonial theory described the cultural complexity of a postcolonial society and suggested that the Church lacked the insight to address significant ethical issues. Sugirtharajah suggested that the Church move away from its dependence on Scripture. Freire encouraged the church to embrace liberation theology. The majority of Evangelical leaders will

not seriously consider the insights of Sugirtharajah or Freire because the conclusions they offer fall outside the boundaries established by Evangelical theological frames.

Theological Frames

This third section of the literature review seeks to outline the frame factors that constrain and enable the theological educational program of the Dominican C&MA. Sork (1996) used the Elgstoms and Riis's (1992) definition of frame factors: "factors that constrain the intellectual space and the space for action within a process, which the actors at each point of time during the process cannot influence or perceive that they cannot influence in the short run" (Sork, 1996, p. 104). Frame factors play a significant role in limiting the options that planners will consider. There may be many ways to meet the needs of learners in a planning context. Frame factors limit the options planners will consider as they design a program to meet the needs of learners within a planning context. The review of Dominican history and postcolonial studies provided insights into Dominican frame factors (see Table 1).

Table 1

Characteristics of the Dominican Republic as a Postcolonial Planning Context

From Dominican History	From Postcolonial Studies	Dominican Planning Context
Taino, African, French, & Spanish heritages	Hybridity	Expatriates struggle to understand Dominican identity
Assimilation favors Spanish & fears Haitians	Anti-Haitian racism	Dominicans privilege lighter skin
Neopatrimonial leaders U.S. dominated 1900s	DR dictatorial leadership U.S. is a neo-colonial empire	Dominican subordinates collude
Dominican history not globally significant	Foreign knowledge is valued	Dominicans privilege foreign knowledge
Postcolonial society	Neo-colonial world	Dominicans enter partnerships as dependents

The literature suggests that Dominican identity is complex, Dominicans privilege individuals with lighter skin, Dominicans in subordinate positions silently accept the decisions of

their superiors, foreign knowledge is privileged, and Dominicans enter partnerships with expatriates as dependents. This review of Dominican history and postcolonial studies supports the integration of Dominicans in every part of planning. Expatriate planners must depend on indigenous planners in order to understand Dominican culture, hybridity, and the daily impact of the imperialistic foreign policies of the United States. If expatriate planners do not want to follow the Western pattern of viewing Dominican knowledge and history as inferior, Dominican voices must be heard and expatriate dominance avoided.

It is not easy for an expatriate to avoid dominating educational planning sessions when expatriates are viewed as superior because of light skin and are financially able to offer assistance. Existing frame factors will lead Dominicans to accept subordinate roles and silently accept the help that is offered because dependency is their default subordinate response. The Dominican Republic has been a dependent nation throughout its history and dependency will characterize the theological education program if planners are unaware of intercultural factors (Kryzanek & Wiarda, 1988). Expatriate theological educators are positioned for dominance. They were sent to assist in theological programs because they had completed graduate degrees in accredited educational institutions. Indigenous leaders themselves may argue for expatriate dominance in planning because of the advanced educational qualifications of the expatriate. Kennedy (1990) believes that yielding to this argument is a serious mistake.

If the goal is to plan a contextualized theological education program, planners with the best knowledge of the context must be involved from the initial stages of planning. The correct application of biblical truth continues to be one of the most important issues in mission today (Anderson, 1997; Whiteman, 1997). Evangelical planners are slow to open up planning to others because they believe obedience to Scripture is non-negotiable. Evangelicals have clearly

established theological frames that begin with an emphasis on the authority of Scripture. Thomas (2000) writes, “our mission must be rooted in theology, and our theology must be rooted in Scripture” (p. 63). Ferris (1995) presents both issues in balance. He writes, “this is not—and must not become—a one-person task. The programme developer should be much like an orchestra conductor” (p. 3). He also writes, “any assumption or value which is inconsistent with God’s Word, or which is contradicted by the reality of the world God created must be abandoned” (p. 5).

It is not surprising that Evangelicals insist that Scriptures are reliable. Ferro (1993) points out that “every religion has an authoritative source from which it receives inspiration and guidance and to which it appeals for answers and direction” (p. 35). Evangelicals evaluate everything by the Scriptures. Evangelicals at the ICWE (1974) agreed that Scripture itself critiques every culture. The Lausanne Covenant Statement of Faith states:

Culture must always be tested and judged by Scripture. Because man is God's creature, some of his culture is rich in beauty and goodness. Because he is fallen, all of it is tainted with sin and some of it is demonic. The gospel does not presuppose the superiority of any culture to another, but evaluates all cultures according to its own criteria of truth and righteousness and insists on moral absolutes in every culture. Missions all too frequently have exported with the gospel an alien culture and churches have sometimes been in bondage to culture rather than to the Scripture. (§ 11)

In 1974, Evangelical theological educators embraced a clear statement of Evangelical theological frames reached by consensus at the ICWE held in Lausanne, Switzerland. The Lausanne Covenant Statement of Faith provides the specific frames that constrain and guide the development of Evangelical theological education programs.

The Lausanne Document

The Lausanne Covenant Statement of Faith (ICWE, 1974) outlines the consensus of leading Evangelicals worldwide concerning the purpose of God, the authority and power of the Bible, the uniqueness and universality of Christ, the nature of evangelism, Christian social responsibility, the Church and evangelism, cooperation in evangelism, churches in evangelistic partnership, the urgency of the evangelistic task, evangelism and culture, education and leadership, spiritual conflict, freedom and persecution, the power of the Holy Spirit, and the return of Christ (see Appendix G).

I have summarized the 15 statements into direct sentences. I have combined these sentences into the general themes of God and humanity, the Bible and humanity, the Church and humanity, and guidelines for missionaries. I have included a fifth theme that is woven into each of the other themes. These themes outline the basic theological frames for all Evangelical theological education programs that support the Lausanne Covenant Statement of Faith. These are the theological frame factors of the American planners.

God and humanity

God is calling out a people to serve Him in the world. God invites all humanity to believe in Jesus Christ as the only God-man who provided atonement for human sin and is the only mediator between God and man. The highest priority of the Church is that every person on earth would hear the gospel. Christian presence and purposeful dialogue is indispensable in evangelism, which is the proclamation of the historical biblical Christ as the only savior. Since God is creator of all humanity, Christians should share his concern for justice and liberation from every kind of oppression because every person has intrinsic dignity. Evangelical Christians believe that human rights are universal and call on national leaders to guarantee freedom of

thought, conscience, and religion. Evangelism and sociopolitical involvement are both part of Christian responsibility, therefore becoming a Christian should make one more socially responsible.

The Bible and humanity

The Bible is the only infallible measure of belief and behavior for all humanity. Biblical absolutes evaluate all cultures. The gospel does not presuppose the superiority of any culture. Missionaries have failed when they have exported alien cultures and instructed new Christians to be in bondage to alien cultures.

The Church and humanity

The whole Church is to take the whole gospel to the whole world. Denominational and international cooperation is encouraged. A church that is not a missionary church is not fully obeying God. A reevaluation of the missionary role and responsibility is continuous. Christians should live simply to contribute as much as possible to relief and evangelism.

Guidelines for missionaries

Christians are involved in constant struggle on a spiritual and ideological level. The gospel will be heard by all the people groups of the world and then Jesus Christ will return. Missionaries have been slow in equipping national leaders. There is a need to improve theological education using creative local initiatives rather than imported methodology.

These four themes contain all the sentence summaries of the Lausanne document but the emphasis of the document is not clearly conveyed without the addition of a fifth overall theme.

The Centrality of Christ for Evangelicals

The third statement of the Lausanne Covenant Statement of Faith (ICWE, 1974) concerns the uniqueness and universality of Christ. It contains the following statements:

There is no other name by which we must be saved. All men are perishing because of sin but God loves all men not wishing that any should perish but that all should repent. Yet those who reject Christ repudiate the joy of salvation and condemn themselves to eternal separation from God. (§ 4)

Evangelicals believe in the uniqueness of Christ as the only means of reconciliation between God and humanity. Evangelicals also believe that people without Christ will face eternal separation from God. These beliefs compel Evangelicals to emphasize evangelism.

These core theological beliefs have remained intact since 1974, especially among those Evangelicals most active in cross-cultural ministry. A current review of Evangelical missiologists reveals continued commitment to the emphasis of the Lausanne Covenant Statement of Faith. In 2000, at regional conferences, North American Evangelical theological educators presented professional papers that were published by Corbin and Mulholland (2000). These papers fully support the theological frames of the Lausanne document.

Many Evangelical authors who are committed to doctrinal orthodoxy challenge Evangelicals to stay connected to their cultural context. They believe contextualization is a central issue that must continuously be addressed (Anderson, 1997). Blackaby (2000) believes that Evangelicals must determine what God is doing in a given context and follow God's lead. Tom Sine (2000) suggests that Evangelicals must see their work as extending beyond addressing the immediate spiritual and physical needs of individuals. Evangelicals must work for the transformation of communities through education because Evangelicals have a valuable

alternative to the message of capitalistic globalism. While Sine sees Evangelicals combating capitalistic globalism, Shrek (2001) views Evangelical missionaries as spreading capitalistic globalism. Shrek believes the current transition in global church leadership will highlight and impact Western dominance in non-Western theological education. Western theological educators involved in non-Western theological education must ask indigenous Christian leaders, “What kind of theological education will best serve their church in their culture?”

Based on these factors, one would expect expatriate planners in the Dominican Republic to have difficulty identifying intercultural factors. This review of Evangelical theological frames indicates that Evangelical planners establish functional and culturally detached theological programs with a predetermined curriculum regardless of context. Evangelical theological planners committed to doctrinal orthodoxy and the contextualization of the gospel must identify intercultural factors in order to be culturally relevant and socially responsible. The critical perspective of postcolonial studies focuses attention on the planning context and provides insights into possible intercultural factors produced by the entrance of Western planners into a postcolonial context.

The Cervero and Wilson Planning Framework

Critical adult educators have suggested that the role of education is to critique cultural assumptions (Brookfield, 1987), challenge oppressive social structures (Giroux, 1982), and promote appropriate political action (Freire, 1970). Other adult educators have maintained that adult education must be apolitical. This neutral position “is a well argued one, but it is not one that all adult educators have maintained” (Elias & Merriam, 1995, p. 199). Wilson and Cervero (2001) write, “we can no longer maintain our neutrality, our innocence, our supposition that we have no stake in any of these struggles except to facilitate adults’ learning in whatever guise they

choose” (p. 273). This perspective challenges Kane’s (1982) assertion that expatriate theological educators were excused for their association with colonialism.

There are various perspectives on the role of education and its relationship to politics, society, and culture. Not all of the foundational concepts of critical adult education are relevant to a study of this particular theological education program. However, the Cervero and Wilson (1994a) planning framework is relevant because it sees the act of determining whose interests will be served in an education program as a political decision, not an apolitical one.

The Philosophical Diversity of Adult Education

Is adult education fundamentally neutral or political? There is no one answer that is supported by all adult educators. This reflects that adult educators operate from different philosophical orientations. Elias and Merriam (1995) identify six philosophical orientations in adult education. These generalizations provide an overview of the adult education movement. Several of these philosophical orientations produce similar perspectives on the relationship between education and politics, social structure, and culture. Cervero (1988) has identified three primary viewpoints. The terms functional, critical, and conflict are used to denote these viewpoints.

Functional educators see the role of education as limited to the development of intellectual powers and skills in the learner. Cervero and Wilson (2001) have summarized this position as “the political is personal” (p. 4). Functional educators believe that learners, not educators determine how best to employ their newly acquired skills. Analytical, liberal, and behavioral educators would generally support this viewpoint. Knowles (1984) reflects the functional perspective. He emphasized that teachers should be interested in their students as persons but does not go beyond this suggestion. Many Evangelical educators would follow the

functionalist position (Ford, 1991). However leading Evangelical educators recognize the impossibility of continuing to assert that educational choices are apolitical. Ferris (1995) writes, “programme development is political in the sense that it builds on shared—and thus negotiated—values (p. 16). This apolitical position faces increasing critique. Cervero and Wilson (2001) write, “adult education is not practiced on a neutral stage. Rather, it happens in a social location that is defined by a particular social vision in relation to the wider systems of social, economic, and cultural relations of power” (p. 6).

Critical educators view the role of education as the development of critical thinkers. Critical thinkers evaluate themselves and their culture. Educators with either a humanistic and critical orientation generally support this viewpoint. Reflection upon the literature reveals that there is no universally accepted boundary between humanist and critical orientations. Mezirow presents “a humanistic theory of adult learning” (Elias & Merriam, 1995, p. 221). Yet Mezirow (1992) also affirms Lindeman’s belief that “adult education will become an agency for progress if its short-term goal of self improvement can be made compatible with a longtime, experiential but resolute policy of changing the social order” (Mezirow, 1992, *The Evidence*, ¶1).

Many Evangelical educators are committed to cultural critique and constructive social change. The primary difference is that Evangelicals see Scripture as the ultimate standard while critical educators use reason, consensus, or some other method to critique cultural assumptions. The purpose of critique is to facilitate constructive social change. Cervero and Wilson (2001) summarize this position as “the political is practical” (p. 6). Sine (2000) urges Evangelical missionaries to work for the transformation of communities. Vencer (1983) is a non-Western Evangelical author living in a postcolonial society facing significant social change. He believes that civil obedience is a Christian duty and suggests that Evangelicals must pursue non-violent

actions because violence produces more violence, victimizes the oppressed, and does not justify the death of innocent victims. Stott (1984) warns Evangelicals to make sure that their methods do not violate the very human rights that they seek to protect.

Conflict educators hold a third perspective that focuses more on social change than critique. They view the role of education as the development of a more equitable society and work to construct alternatives for oppressed groups. Conflict education uncovers cultural reproduction, promotes fundamental social change, and organizes appropriate political action and advocacy. Some critical and all radical educators generally hold this viewpoint. Cervero and Wilson (2001) summarize this perspective as “the political is structural” (p. 8). Planners holding Evangelical theological frames would not generally identify themselves with the conflict viewpoint (Vencer, 1983). Conflict educators organize appropriate political action that addresses social inequality and resists cultural domination. Evangelicals generally do not want to be seen as associated with political activism that could escalate to violent action.

The categories of critical and conflict do not provide easily defined borders. In this paper, the term critical will describe both viewpoints. Currently, “there is a strong impetus...to use education to reshape these systems to a more just and equitable life for all people” (Cervero & Wilson, 2001, p. 9).

The Relevance of a Critical Perspective

Researchers position themselves within a particular orientation even though they may not fully support all of the tenets of the orientation. In my 10 years in the Dominican Republic, I worked primarily as a functional educator, only occasionally challenging learners to be more critical in their perspective. In this research, I position myself to take a critical view of the theological education program in the Dominican Republic. There are several reasons why I have

selected the Cervero and Wilson planning framework to assist me in capturing a critical perspective. One reason is that it will allow me to see theological education in the Dominican Republic from a different perspective than the functional perspective. A second reason is that many of the adult learners in the theological education program come from economically and socially oppressed groups. Cervero and Wilson (2001) write, “The common cause of adult education in this strand is not the generic adult learner but adult learners who are oppressed by socially structured power relations and economic, racial, cultural, or gendered lines” (p. 8). The third reason is that the framework will focus on issues that should ultimately promote dialogue among the planners of the theological education program. I will share my findings wisely and selectively with indigenous and expatriate leaders. I am sure that some of the leaders will think I have it all wrong. Wolf (1992) writes, “I may not have gotten it right, but Taiwanese *women* were taken seriously as agents because of my research and writing. Now they can speak for themselves...” (p. 14).

This study researches how intercultural factors shaped the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic by allowing American and Dominican planners to speak for themselves. The study uses a critical perspective that sees social structure and hegemonic ideology as significant factors in the struggle of learners from oppressed groups (Giroux, 1982). A critical perspective allows the researcher to examine if the program is reinforcing the status quo through “the reproduction of class cultures, knowledge, and power relationships” (Weiler, 1998, p. 6). A critical perspective considers what cultural messages are being resisted or reproduced by the Theological Education by Extension materials, Bible Institute curriculum, education faculty, educational committee composition, and overall planning process. Michael Apple and Henry Giroux are two of the best-known North American cultural

reproduction theorists. Apple (1988) believes educators need a thorough understanding of the connection between education and cultural ideology. Both Apple (1988) and Giroux (1982) see schools as more complex than simply centers of social reproduction. They both believe that reproduction occurs in education but they also believe it is contested in the process.

In researching a critical perspective, I found that the origin of current critical analysis and theory can be traced to the Frankfurt School (Cunningham, 1998; Dander, 1996) and ultimately to the work of Karl Marx. This connection to Marx troubles Evangelicals. Marx initiated the development of two different social theories. One theory analyzes society focusing on economic production. It led Marx to reject capitalism and promote communism. A second theory analyzes society focusing on cultural messages (Barker, 2000). Critical theory developed from this second type of analysis. Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci provided a further development of Marxist analysis (McGee & Warms, 2000). Weiler (1988) writes, “Gramsci was concerned with the way individual consciousness is constituted through ideological means, he never lost sight of his assertion that consciousness is capable of critique and transformation” (p. 13). Gramsci articulated the concept of hegemony. Hegemony is the dominant culture’s practice of controlling consciousness as a means to gaining legitimate consent from the oppressed for maintaining oppressive social structure (Weiler, 1988).

Paulo Freire (1970, 1973) applied neo-Marxist theoretical constructs in his analysis of Brazilian literacy. He developed a literacy approach based on the belief that hegemonic messages in Brazilian culture and education were the primary reason for illiteracy in Brazil. His literacy approach focused on the affirmation of personal value and the development of critical thinking skills, which he called *conscientization* or critical consciousness.

Critical theory developed from the second type of Marxist analysis. It provides conceptual tools for the analysis of industrialized, stratified societies. However, in my opinion, critical theory makes an inadequate diagnosis of the origin of oppression. Capitalistic systems can be oppressive, but I do not believe that capitalism or even power structures are the primary problem. Forms of oppressive structure exist in all human societies. Humans deconstruct one oppressive system only to construct another. The origin of oppression is the human tendency to be self-centered. I believe that the problem of self-centeredness is only remedied through being God-centered. That is why I am interested in theological education. I also believe Evangelical planners often have inadequate assessment tools particularly in evaluating their planning context. That is why I am interested in critical theory.

Critical theorists did not immediately recognize their need for a planning framework designed to facilitate the critical perspective on education. Critical planners have used the classical planning model (Tyler, 1949) that views education as politically neutral. Others have used a modified classical model (Cafferella, 1994) that includes an evaluation of the social context as one of the steps in planning but maintains the classical focus on substantive planning.

Cervero and Wilson (1996) became convinced through their research that these planning frameworks did not provide adequate “guidance for making the political and ethical decisions that are a constant component of ... planning” (p. 6). Cervero and Wilson (2001) believe there is a need to understand adult education’s “role in the distribution not only of knowledge but also of social, cultural, and economic power” (p. 2).

The Cervero and Wilson framework does not negate the necessity of substantive planning. “Procedural principles are certainly important—in fact, good planning depends substantially upon the technical ability of adult educators to design needs assessments, formulate

objectives, select content, manage programs, and evaluate results” (Cervero & Wilson, 1996, p. 6). They believe that a planning framework “must address both power and responsibility in order to be of any practical help in the everyday world” (p. 9). Cervero and Wilson (1994a) developed a planning framework based on the thesis that "planning must be seen as a social activity in which educators negotiate personal and organizational interests" (p. 6).

Cervero and Wilson (1994a) believe planners must identify stakeholders and understand power, interests, negotiation, and responsibility. Planners use these concepts “to work out whose interests will be represented in the planning process” (Cervero & Wilson, 1996, p. 9). Power is the socially structured capacity to act. It has been distributed to planners by their social status and organizational position. Cervero and Wilson (1996) define interests as complex sets of “predispositions, embracing goals, values, desires, expectations and other orientations... that lead a person to act in one direction or another (Morgan, 1986, p. 41)” (p. 10). Programs are formed at the intersection of organizational, planner, and stakeholder interests. Planners always negotiate simultaneously on two dimensions. Planners negotiate substantive issues and meta-issues. The negotiation of substantive issues involves planners negotiating particular interests based on organizational and personal vision. It involves representing the needs of stakeholders and negotiating which interests will be addressed at the planning table. Negotiations concerning meta-issues involve the reconstruction of power relations.

Cervero and Wilson (1996) believe that planning should be a democratic process. They write, “nurturing a substantively democratic planning process means, simply, putting real choices before people about what collective action to take in constructing a program” (p. 11). Cervero and Wilson (1994a) believe that "learners, teachers, planners, institutional leadership, and the affected public" (p. 143) must be represented in negotiation in some way.

The Study of Intercultural Factors and Planning

This study examines how intercultural factors shape the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic. I approach this study as a *bricoleur*. Crotty (1998) writes:

The ability needed by the *bricoleur*, requires that we not remain straightjacketed by the conventional meanings we have been taught to associate with an object. Instead, such research invites us to approach the object in a radical spirit of openness to its new potential for new or richer meaning. It is an invitation to reinterpretation. (p. 51)

As a *bricoleur*, I have constructed my perspective from Dominican history, postcolonial studies, and critical planning theory. Dominican history and postcolonial studies reveal issues of power. The interests of rural, urban, Haitian, Dominican, working class, and middle class women and men have all been negotiated in the planning of a theological program. The Cervero and Wilson (1994a) framework provides a lens to evaluate how the interests of stakeholders were negotiated in planning adult education. As a *bricoleur*, I will use the lens of Dominican history, postcolonial studies, and critical planning to examine the planning context, "making sense of the apparent noise of daily work" (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a, p. 31).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to examine how intercultural factors shaped the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic. The assumption of this study was that understanding “ethnic identity and cultural style can matter enormously” (Forester, 1989, p. 114). The researcher paid attention to ethnic identity, cultural style, and the social power structure because “reconstructing power relationships and interests is often as important an outcome as the program itself” (Cervero & Wilson, 1994, p. 159).

This chapter describes the qualitative design of the study, case selection criteria, case description, sample selection, data collection, data collection methods, fieldwork, data analysis procedures, validity and reliability, the researcher's stance, and the limitations of the study.

Design of the Study

The study was qualitative in design, built on the assumption that realities were multiple and constructed socially by individuals (Merriam, 1998). The philosophical foundation was social constructionism, emphasizing the hold that culture had on each planner. Culture “shapes the way in which we see things (even the way in which we feel things!) and gives us a quite different view of the world” (Crotty, 1998, p. 58). This study assumed that indigenous and expatriate planners had diverse perspectives. It also assumed that the planning context itself influenced planning. The study identified the intercultural factors that impacted the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic. These intercultural factors were produced by the diversity of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors that existed between

Dominican and American planners. The study examined how intercultural factors manifested themselves in the theological education program.

This was a case study of a single social unit such as a particular organization, or group (Singleton, Straits, & Straits, 1994). Stake (1994) writes, “case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used” (p. 236). This approach offered “a means of investigating complex social units consisting of multiple variables of potential importance in understanding the phenomenon” (Merriam, 2001, p. 41) and was an appropriate method for real-life research (Merriam, 2001; Robson, 2002).

The study was ethnographic because it was characterized by “concern with the cultural context” (Merriam, 2001, p. 14). It described the culturally constructed perspectives of planners and sought to understand the implications of those perspectives within the planning context. The study was not a written ethnography in the anthropological sense. Its goal was not to reconstruct or describe “intact cultural scenes and groups” (Goetz & Lecompte, 1984, p. 2) but rather to gain insight into the impact of intercultural factors on planning. The study required ethnographic quality in order to produce description with contextual completeness (Mason & Bramble, 1997). Merriam (1988) writes, “An ethnographic case study, then, is more than an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a social unit or phenomenon. It is a sociocultural analysis of the unit of study. Concern with the cultural context is what sets this type of study apart from other qualitative research” (p. 23).

The study was a critical ethnographic case study that described the diverse perspectives of planners and positioned these perspectives within the planning context of the Dominican Republic. The study’s philosophical base was social constructionism, which not only emphasized the importance of understanding socially constructed perspectives but also fostered a critical

perspective (Crotty, 1998). The study examined planning in the Dominican Republic, paying attention to the power relationships and cultural messages within Dominican society because a critical approach is “suspicious of the constructed meanings that culture bequests to us” (Crotty, 1998, p. 59). Cervero and Wilson (1994a) state that “putting planning into its social context inextricably links planners’ actions to the complex world of power relationships” (p. 28).

This study was a critical ethnographic case study of educational planning that recognized the influence of macro-level power structures in micro-level planning (Apple, 1988; Banks, 1999). The study examined theological education as a site of struggle for knowledge and power (Cervero, Wilson, & Associates, 2001) and evaluated if educational planners intentionally represented culturally oppressed groups or if planners unknowingly produced educational programs that reinforced oppressive social structures. The literature of postcolonial theory suggested that certain themes should be explored when investigating a theological education program in a postcolonial context. The postcolonial themes of oppressive power structures, resistance, dependency, residual racism, nationalism, globalization, cultural hybridity, collusion, and the role of dialogue in knowledge formation informed the study.

Sample Selection

Purposive sampling was the most appropriate sampling strategy because generalization based on statistical significance was not the purpose of this study (Merriam, 2001). The first step in selecting a purposive sample was the selection of the case. The second step was the selection of participants within the case.

Case Selection

The purpose of the study established several criteria for case selection. The study’s purpose was to examine the impact of intercultural factors in the planning of a theological

education program in the Dominican Republic. The program would need to be a stable theological education program in the Dominican Republic with a culturally diverse planning committee that included American theological educators committed to contextualization. These criteria limited case selection to programs with an interest in understanding intercultural factors.

The theological education program of the Dominican Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA) met the criteria for case selection. This theological education program was produced by an International Joint Venture (IJV) between the Dominican C&MA and expatriate missionaries of International Ministries (IM) of the C&MA in the United States. The program offered theological education to the pastors, official workers [a leadership level between pastoral and laity], and lay leaders of the Dominican C&MA, which is an autonomous Dominican Evangelical denomination with approximately 4000 adherents and 52 churches (*Official Directory of the Christian and Missionary Alliance*, 2002).

In the 1980s, organizational changes and a leadership crisis caused leaders of the Dominican C&MA to ask the C&MA of the U.S. to send expatriate missionaries to assist in the theological preparation of its pastoral and lay leadership (Niklaus, 1990). Three components together constituted the theological education program of the Dominican C&MA. The first component was a Pastoral Seminar program held twice a year at an interdenominational church camp. The Pastoral Seminar program was underwritten by IM and provided free training to all official denominational workers and their spouses. The second component was Theological Education by Extension (TEE). Each week TEE study groups met in each geographical region of the country to discuss the course work they had completed during the past week. TEE was a two-year program in basic theology. The third component was the Alliance Bible Institute, which began in 1995 to provide additional theological education to TEE graduates.

The theological education program of the Dominican C&MA met the criteria for case selection. It was a stable theological education program in the Dominican Republic planned by a culturally diverse planning committee, which included Dominicans, North Americans, and Chileans. The program had operated continuously for the past 15 years with a stable student enrollment. Archival data in the form of historical documents, educational training materials, and denominational reports were accessible. American theological educators had established residency and planned to work for multiple years in the Dominican Republic. This was consistent with the third global objective of IM, which is to produce effective national leadership for C&MA churches through theological education (*Missionary Handbook for International Ministries*, 1999). All IM missionaries involved in the educational program of the Dominican C&MA planned on working in the Dominican Republic for a minimum of four years. The theological educational program of the Dominican C&MA fully met the criteria for case selection.

There was one additional issue to consider in case selection. Ethnographic research requires researchers to immerse themselves in the culture. Silverman (2000) writes:

Anthropologists argue that, if one is really to understand a group of people, one must engage in an extended period of observation. Anthropological fieldwork routinely involves immersion in a culture over a period of years, based on learning the language and participating in social events with the people of that culture. (p. 37)

Ideally, ethnographic researchers develop specialized cultural knowledge over a period of years.

Practically, few researchers can dedicate years to the acquisition of cultural knowledge.

However, if they could it should strengthen their research because “in a qualitative study the investigator is the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing data and, as such, can respond

to the situation by maximizing opportunities for collecting and producing meaningful information” (Merriam, 2001, p. 20). I acquired knowledge of the Dominican Republic through cultural immersion, having lived for 10 years in the Dominican Republic. I worked as the senior pastor in a Dominican C&MA church, a regional coordinator for leadership development, and as the director of the IM staff in the Dominican Republic.

Sample Selection within the Case

Merriam (2001) affirms that the investigator “must select a sample from which the most can be learned” (p. 61). The purposive sample of this study was made up of individuals who had been involved in the planning of the theological program of the Dominican C&MA. Two preliminary interviews were conducted in January 2003 with the American couple that planned and led the initial expansion of the education program. The theological education program of the Dominican C&MA was produced by an IJV between the Dominican C&MA and the Alliance Mission of the Dominican Republic. The Alliance Mission refers to missionaries sent by IM of the C&MA of the U.S. to the Dominican Republic. The specific members of the complete sample were determined in consultation with the director of the Education Committee of the Dominican C&MA in May 2003. A twenty-one member purposive sample was selected (see Table 2).

The sample included 13 Dominican participants and 8 American participants. Five Dominican participants were members of the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA. Five Dominican participants were members of the Education Committee. Three Dominican participants were TEE practitioners. Two American participants were from the Field Leadership Team (FLT) of the Alliance Mission in the Dominican Republic. Three American participants

were members of the Education Committee. Two American participants were leaders of the Bible Institute and Pastoral Seminar program. One American participant was a TEE practitioner.

Table 2

The Purposive Sample

Dominican Planners (13)	American Planners (8)
The Dominican Executive Committee (5): Fernando, Jaime, Efrain, Alejandro, & Lorenzo	The Mission Field Leadership Team (2): Oliver & Bob
The Ed. Committee (5 Dominican Members): Dorcas, Carlos, Guillermo, & Laura Henrique	The Ed. Committee (3 Mission members): Nathan, Rosemary, & Mary
	The BI and Pastoral Seminar Leadership (2): Isaac & Jennifer
The Dominican Practitioners (3): Gladys, Heidi, & Ingrid	The American Practitioner (1): Kelly

Pseudonyms were used when referring to sample members in order to maintain participant confidentiality. The sample was evaluated to insure that participants represented the diversity of the planning committee. This evaluation included the gender, skin color, regional origin, and national origin of the participants.

Data Collection

Data was collected primarily through interviews. Archival data from TEE materials, training materials, and official publications of the C&MA provided additional background material for understanding interview data. A research journal documented research decisions and archived various drafts of the study.

Archival Records

Two reports that the Bible Institute director gave at the Annual Assembly of the Dominican C&MA provided background information concerning the restructuring of the Bible Institute in 1999. The purpose statement of the Alliance Mission provided insight into

organizational priorities. The *Missionary Handbook for International Ministries* outlined the global strategy of International Ministries. The *Official Directory of the Christian and Missionary Alliance* listed the missionary staff and their individual assignments. *Time for TEE* was a publication of the Alliance Women of the C&MA in the U.S. It highlighted the educational program of the Dominican C&MA as an example of a successful International Joint Ventures in theological education. The official history of the relationship between International Ministries and the Dominican C&MA was described in *To All Peoples: Missions World Book of the Christian and Missionary Alliance* (Niklaus, 1990). These archival sources provided background information for understanding interview data. Those sources that provided significant information were cited in the findings of the study.

Interviews

Interviews using the Critical Incident Technique (CIT) were the primary method of data collection for the study. Flanagan (1954) developed CIT. His research participants were asked to write accounts of critical incidents. A critical incident was defined as “any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predications to be made about the person performing the act” (p. 327). Originally Flanagan collected written accounts from participants. Researchers critiqued the practice of asking participants to produce written accounts without interviews because it did not provide adequate insight into what participants were thinking, feeling, and doing (Lambrecht, Hopkins, Moss, & Finch, 1997).

In 1978, David McClelland modified CIT to be used in an interviewing format. The usefulness of CIT as a qualitative interview technique has been repeatedly demonstrated (Lambrecht, Hopkins, Moss, & Finch, 1997). CIT is effective in face-to-face interviews and phone interviews (Stitt-Gohdes, Lambrecht, & Redmann, 2000). CIT has been applied to the

investigation of intercultural factors (Stauss & Mang, 1999). It is an effective method for case study research (Angelides, 2001).

In this study, a critical incident was defined as a key decision that changed the direction and development of the theological education program. Each participant was prepared for his or her interview in a pre-interview session. The session included a full explanation of the study and the participant's rights. I presented a letter to each participant and together we read and discussed the letter. Dominican participants reviewed the Spanish letter (Appendix D) and American participants reviewed the English letter (Appendix C). The participant's consent form was explained. I asked each participant for permission to audio-tape the interview and I showed each participant the tape recorder and the cassette tape I would be using if he or she granted me permission. Dominican participants reviewed and signed the Spanish consent form (Appendix B) and American participants reviewed and signed the English consent form (Appendix A). Time was given to answer any questions that each participant had concerning the study. All participants agreed to have their interviews audiotaped and signed a consent form.

Each interview lasted approximately an hour. The Critical Incident Technique (CIT) focused the participant on key decisions that he or she believed had changed the direction and development of the theological education program. I emphasized that the participant should tell me about a decision that they felt was really important. They could talk about any decision that they felt had impacted the program in either a positive or negative way.

The purpose in selecting the Critical Incident Technique (CIT) was to encourage participants to identify and discuss key decisions. CIT operates from the assumption that participants will speak freely about issues that they feel are important. The CIT provided an opportunity to use probing questions about the decision-making process. I used the discussion of

critical incidents to identify key decisions, study the decision-making process, evaluate the tensions produced by conceptual diversity, and outline the existing power structures (see Appendices E and F). Participants enthusiastically talked about the incidents. As a critical incident was discussed I probed with questions like:

1. When exactly did this decision take place?
2. Who made this decision?
3. Please describe the decision-making process that produced this decision.
4. Who was in favor of this decision and who opposed it?
5. How has this decision changed the education program?
6. Who benefited from this decision and how did they benefit?
7. Who did not benefit when this decision was made?

All participants spoke freely in interviews. I assured participants that they could review the transcript of their interview and delete sections if they desired. Each participant received his or her interview transcript. I asked them to read, correct, and approve the transcript. This validation of interview transcripts was important because 13 of the 21 participants were Spanish speakers. I insisted that each of the participants verify the accuracy of his or her transcript and all participants cooperated. None of the participants suggested any deletions. Participants were encouraged to add information that they felt was needed to clarify their responses. All participants verified that the transcripts accurately recorded their interview. Some participants returned a copy of the transcript noting typographical corrections. Lorenzo and Heidi were the only participants who provided additional information to clarify their interviews. Lorenzo typed his answers adding additional information. Heidi provided two additional handwritten pages of suggestions for the education program (Appendix H). All suggested changes and additions were

made to the transcripts. Participants were told they could remove any section of their interview that they wanted to remove. None of the participants wanted any part of their interview data removed. Each transcript was approved by the participant and filed with a copy of the participant's consent form.

Interviews occurred immediately after the introductory session, once the consent form had been received. The first two interviews occurred on January 1, 2003 in Toccoa, Georgia. The other 19 participants were interviewed during May 2003 in the Dominican Republic. All interviews were face-to-face interviews.

Transcripts of Spanish interviews were not translated in their entirety. The specific sections of interviews that were used in the study were translated and checked by Dale Garside, a college professor of modern languages specializing in French and Spanish; Belkis Ferris, a Dominican working as a high school Spanish teacher in Franklin county; and Ramona Sandoval, a Dominican public accountant living in Georgia. They each concluded that the translations were accurate. Various English sections were back-translated to verify accuracy. Ramona Sandoval stated that the study was "an excellent translation of the ideas presented by the people who were interviewed."

Data Analysis

Interviews and corresponding archival data formed the database of this study. Analysis began with the first two interviews in January 2003 using the constant comparative method and was ongoing throughout the 16 months of the study.

Data analysis was a "cyclical process and a reflective activity" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 10). Analysis began with the first two interviews. Initially data was open-coded to identify themes. In this first coding, the two categories of bridges and barriers emerged from

the data. Bridges facilitated intercultural communication and barriers produced faulty communication. Learning the language, visiting each pastor, building relationships, and establishing a joint planning committee were bridges. Poorly defined organizational structures, planner isolation, overwork, and hegemony were barriers. These themes were assessed and updated during subsequent interviews to verify that they accurately described key issues.

In May and June 2003, I visited the Dominican Republic. During my four weeks in the Dominican Republic I interviewed 19 additional participants bringing the study total to 21. Each interview last approximately an hour. All participants approved the transcription of their interview and I noted any suggested corrections. In July and August 2003, I completed all suggested corrections and coded all interviews. I looked specifically at the 43 critical incidents mentioned by participants. I identified the actual planning decisions related to each critical incident. I then reread the interviews looking specifically for intercultural factors that impacted the decision-making process. By September 2003, I compiled a list of 19 intercultural factors. After examining these 19 factors, it became obvious that several were describing different aspects of the same intercultural factor. For example, three of the factors were Dominican hybridity, Dominican collectivity, and American individualism. These three factors were consolidated to form Dominican hybridity and collectivity versus American individualism. The list of intercultural factors went through repeated revisions. The 19 factors were consolidated to 14 factors. Originally I endeavored to differentiate between conceptual and structural factors. Factors originating from cultural diversity were classified as conceptual factors. Factors originating in the power relations of the planning context were identified as structural factors. The 14 factors were composed of five conceptual factors had been mentioned in the literature and were supported by interview data, five factors that were identified in the data even though

the literature had not specifically mentioned them, and four additional structural factors. The categories of conceptual and structural reflected the process used to identify factors. Data was first coded looking for conceptual diversity. Data was recoded looking for power dynamics. The use of these two coding perspectives was helpful but after reviewing these 14 factors, the designation of a factor as primarily conceptual or structural was dropped. This designation had assisted in the identification process but made the description of factors unnecessarily cumbersome. The removal of these categories allowed the list to be reduced to nine factors.

In October 2003, I took a step back from the intense analysis process to focus on how best to describe the intercultural factors. It was clear that intercultural factors were impacting the planning context, however accurately describing those factors was difficult. I reviewed Mayers (1997) and Hofstede (1997) for ways to accurately describe intercultural factors.

By November 2003, it was necessary to make sure that the intercultural factors identified in data analysis were answering the study's research questions (Glesne, 1999). The first research question was, "What were the intercultural factors that impacted the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic?" Participants mentioned 43 critical incidents. Participant comments concerning each of these incidents were studied to determine the intercultural factors. Each critical incident mentioned by a participant was reviewed, the planning decision that produced the incident was identified, and then the intercultural factors associated with the decision were noted. Each factor was evaluated to insure that it was intercultural. An example of this process would be the appointment of Nathan as the director of education. His appointment was mentioned by a participant as a critical incident and the participant emphasized that Nathan's detail-orientation dramatically impacted the educational program. The decision that produced this incident was the Dominican C&MA's request that an American missionary be

appointed to direct the Dominican C&MA's theological education program. The intercultural factor associated with this decision was described as Dominican acquiescence to American control versus American organizational loyalty. This intercultural factor influenced the planning context and led the leadership of the Dominican C&MA to request that the Mission appoint Nathan, an American theological educator, to direct a Dominican educational program. The purpose of this study was to identify intercultural factors. Nathan's detail-orientation was a factor that influenced the program but this study focused specifically on intercultural factors. The participant comments concerning this critical incident highlighted Nathan's tendency to be detail-oriented. When this factor was evaluated, it was noted that the American participant mentioned that Nathan was very detailed-oriented and compared him to other Americans. His detail orientation was a factor but the data did not support it as an intercultural factor.

The description of each intercultural factor was continually refined to clarify exactly what intercultural tension was being described. The process of analysis moved from general to specific. For example, open-coding had identified *planner isolation* as a general theme. The intercultural factor that produced *planner isolation* was ultimately described specifically as Dominican hybridity and collectivity versus American individualism.

In November and December 2003, data transcripts were reexamined to determine the salience of the intercultural factors. This study focused on intercultural factors that were broadly supported by the data, having been mentioned by several participants. The list of factors was examined. Were these factors intercultural, clearly definable, and supported across the data? The resulting list of intercultural, definable factors was consolidated to avoid unnecessary repetition. This resulted in a list of five intercultural factors. At this point of analysis, findings were written, evaluated, rewritten, and reevaluated.

Once significant intercultural factors were identified, the second question could be answered: How did these intercultural factors manifest themselves in the theological education program? The process for identifying the manifestations of intercultural factors was to review the historical development of the theological program of the Dominican C&MA looking specifically for the impact of each factor. This involved repeated readings of the interview data and its corresponding archival data to establish a developmental history of the program. The impact of each intercultural factor was traced through the program as it developed.

Validity and Reliability

Theological education is a part of the applied field of adult education. It involves the application of theological knowledge and educational planning theory. Merriam (2000) states that “being able to trust research results is especially important to professionals in applied fields, such as education” (p. 198). The issue of validity or trustworthiness is one of the first questions a researcher must answer (Silverman, 2000). The trustworthiness of research should be considered “during research design as well as in the midst of data collection” (Glesne, 1999, p. 32). Trustworthiness is measured by three standards: internal validity, reliability, and external validity.

“Internal validity deals with the question of how research findings match reality” (Merriam, 2001, p. 201). Qualitative researchers face the critique that their findings are anecdotal conclusions based on a few exemplary instances culled from field notes (Silverman, 2000). Triangulation is one of several ways qualitative researchers respond to the issue of internal validity. The basic thought in triangulation is that if research conclusions are based on evidence from a number of different sources the trustworthiness of the conclusion is established (Merriam, 2001; Richardson, 1996; Silverman, 2000; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Triangulation also helps

researchers identify when participants may not be providing a completely reliable account (Weiss, 1994). This study was based primarily on interview data collected using CIT interviews. The data from each interview was compared to other interview data and to corresponding archival data.

A second way of establishing internal validity is through member checks (Merriam, 2001), member validation (Richardson, 1996), or respondent validation (Silverman, 2000). All of these terms describe the process of “taking the analysis of responses back to the participants (or members) to enable them to check or comment upon the interpretation” (Richardson, 1996, p. 194). Merriam (2001) suggests that this process can occur with tentative interpretations and that members may be asked if the interpretations are at least plausible. Both Merriam (2001) and Richardson (1996) observe that this useful process is not problem-free.

This study utilized member validation on two occasions. First, tentative themes were shared with interview participants upon the reception of their revised transcript. The participants affirmed that the initial interpretations were at least plausible and many considered them to be insightful. In March 2004, the findings of the study were sent to four of the participants: Nathan, the first full-time American director of the theological education program; Carlos, the Dominican director of the program; Mary, an American educator who worked as assistant to the Dominican director during the transfer of leadership in the education program; and Bob, the director of the Alliance Mission. Each of the participants read and responded to the study.

Carlos felt that the findings were all credible and well supported by the data. He believed that the findings provided useful insight into the planning process. Bob felt that the findings were plausible and considered the findings regarding communication and funding to be very helpful. Carlos and Bob did not offer any negative critique of the study.

Mary felt that the factors were plausible but critiqued the study as not identifying all of the factors involved in the decision-making process. Mary noted that financial issues and divine activity were at least two missing factors that had influenced the planning of theological education. She felt that neither was adequately addressed. She also felt that the findings did not reflect the benefits received by many learners. After reflecting on Mary's suggestions, I reviewed and rewrote sections of the final chapter to include the positive contributions of the theological education program. I agreed with her observation that financial issues and divine activity both influenced the decision-making process. However, it was not the intent of this study to identify all the factors that influenced planning. The study was limited to factors that were intercultural, clearly definable, and strongly supported in the data. Financial issues were addressed not as an intercultural factor produced by the mixing of American and Dominican planners but rather as an underlying historical fact that contributed to the formation of the partnership. Dominicans needed resources and Americans provided resources. This study presents finances as playing an important part in the historical context. Additional study is needed to understand the role of finances in the planning of theological educational. I agree that divine activity was a factor in the planning of this theological education program. However, the focus of the study was on factors that were intercultural, clearly definable, and strongly supported in the data. God's activity was strongly supported by participant statements, but it was not clearly or easily definable.

Nathan read the findings and felt the factors identified by the study were plausible. He noted that the study did not address factors such as individual personality, leadership style, and paternalism. Nathan mentioned that reading the study had provided new insights into the planning context. My response to these critiques was that the focus of the study was on intercultural factors. Individual personality, while certainly influencing planning was not an

intercultural factor, it was an interpersonal factor. Secondly, leadership style was addressed in the historical section of the literature review in the second chapter. Neopatrimonial leadership has been the predominant leadership style of the Dominican Republic. Leadership style was not identified specifically as an intercultural factor because the five intercultural factors identified in this study operated at a deeper level than leadership style. Leaders preferred certain leadership styles because of the five intercultural factors and certain leadership styles were more effective in the planning context because of the intercultural factors. Thirdly, the study identified several paternalistic decisions as well as a paternalistic decision-making pattern. The findings did not specifically mention paternalism but the top-down management style used by American planners was paternalistic. At the same time, Dominican gender and racial inequality was paternalistic. It was difficult to identify paternalism as an intercultural factor because both Dominicans and Americans were paternalistic in their practices.

All four participants stated that the findings were at least plausible. The two critiques centered on the study's negative portrayal of the educational program and the fact that the study did not identify all the factors influencing the planning of the theological education program. In responding to these critiques, I adjusted the final chapter to reflect a more balanced perspective. I have not made additional changes even though I agree that this study did not identify all the factors. It was an attempt to identify *significant intercultural* factors. I am not suggesting that finances, divine activity, individual personality, leadership styles, and paternalism did not influence the planning of the theological education program of the Dominican C&MA. I believe that each of them did, however these factors did not meet the standard of being intercultural, clearly definable, and strongly supported in the data.

Peer examination strengthens internal validity. This is the process of “asking colleagues to comment on the findings as they emerge (Merriam, 2001, p. 204). I work as a professor at Toccoa Falls College. I asked Fred Smith, Spencer Rolle, and Norman Allison to read the study, noting their observations. Fred Smith is the director of the School of World Missions. He formerly worked as the IM regional director for South American. I asked him to read the study from an IM perspective. Spencer Rolle is a professor in the Teacher Education department. He is from the Caribbean. I asked him to read the study from an educational and post-colonial perspective. Norman Allison is the president of the Evangelical Missiological Society. He read the study from an anthropological perspective. They all felt the study was valuable. Fred Smith wished he had received the study ten years ago. Norman Allison felt the study reflected extensive ethnographic knowledge of the culture and structure of Dominican society. Spencer Rolle commented that he had seen first-hand the positioning of white expatriates for leadership in the Caribbean context and considered the findings to be well documented and valid.

Reliability is the second standard of trustworthiness. “Reliability refers to the extent to which research findings can be replicated” (Merriam, 2001, p. 205). Replication is not as difficult in the natural sciences. Merriam (2001) observes that replication is difficult in the social sciences. The nature of human behavior is one of the main reasons replication is difficult. People do not always react the same way. Richardson (1996) points out that the purpose of qualitative research is different from quantitative research. He believes that qualitative research should be evaluated by criteria that are consistent with this research approach. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have also noted this difficulty and suggested that the focus in qualitative reliability is on consistency rather than replication. Richardson (1996) believes that there is “the greatest consensus among different researchers that internal coherence (or the lack of it) would be an

appropriate way of assessing qualitative research” (p. 192). Merriam (2001) suggests that coherency is a question of “whether the results are consistent with the data collected” (p. 206).

The coherency of this study was established by a combination of methods. First, my position as an investigator was clearly documented at the beginning of research. Secondly, findings were supported by both Dominican and American participants as well as corresponding archival data. Thirdly, significant decisions and processes were documented in a research journal accompanied by research documents. The coherency of this study was established through triangulation and the research journal with its accompanying documents. The investigator’s position was articulated in a statement of the researcher’s stance at the beginning phase of the study. This chapter concludes with a statement of the researcher’s stance.

The third standard of trustworthiness is external validity. It is the “extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations (Merriam, 2001, p. 207). Statistical significance is not the purpose of this study, therefore the external validity of the study will be determined by the reader not the researcher. User generalizability “involves leaving the extent to which a study’s findings apply to other situations up to the people in those situations” (Merriam, 2001, p. 211). The study is of special interest to educators working in postcolonial societies. Educators working in postcolonial societies can determine to what extent the study applies to their situation. As a researcher, I sought to include thick description (McGee & Warms, 2000; Merriam, 2001; Peacock, 1986) of diverse perspectives, the planning context, planners, strategic planning decisions, and the resulting theological education program.

Researcher Stance

In qualitative research, “the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis” (Merriam, 2001, p. 7). Identifying researcher bias and subjectivity was an important

part of establishing the trustworthiness of this research. I am an Evangelical Christian who has served as an ordained minister of the C&MA in the U.S., a missionary with IM, and currently work as a professor in a Christian college. I hold a monotheistic, trinitarian, Christian, constructionist perspective. As a monotheist, I believe all existence originated through the creative action of an infinite, personal, eternal, divine being. As a trinitarian, I believe “in one personal God, both immanent and transcendent, who exists in three personal distinctions, known respectively as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. This is the position of Christian Theism” (Thiessen, 1949, p. 50). As a Christian, I believe that the incarnation, life, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ are the most important events in human history. I believe I have a personal relationship with God and want all aspects of my life including my research to honor Him.

My worldview is constructionist. Constructionism is the view that “all knowledge, and therefore meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context” (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). The combination of Christian theism and social constructionism leads me to three conclusions. First, the incarnation of Jesus Christ is consistent with the observation that meaningful human reality is constructed in and out of interaction between human beings. God the Son became the God-man through the incarnation to complete and communicate His plan for the redemption of humanity through interaction between human beings. Secondly, I believe that it is the responsibility of each Christian to communicate the story of Jesus Christ within their context and to work so that the story is available to those who want to hear it in all cultures. Thirdly, I carry concepts in my worldview that reflect my cultural background. In communicating the story of Christ, I must endeavor to communicate the

story without communicating my cultural convictions as if they were of equal value. I must humbly admit that the implications of the story of Christ will have to ultimately be worked out by indigenous believers and not by expatriate believers. These beliefs identify me as an Evangelical theological educator committed to contextualization.

The combination of these perspectives motivated me to study the impact of intercultural factors on the planning of theological education in a postcolonial society. I believe that the combination of planning theory, postcolonial theory, member checks, multiple data sources, peer review, and the oversight of the dissertation committee guarded the research against uncritical interpretation of data.

I have extensive knowledge of the cultural and organizational context to be studied. I lived for 10 years in the Dominican Republic. I studied Spanish intensively during this period. I attended the full cultural orientation for Peace Corp volunteers. I systematically studied the culture and history of the Dominican Republic. I am fluent in the language and have an extensive network of friends throughout the island. During my 10 years in the Dominican Republic, I participated in the educational program as a TEE tutor, a Pastoral Seminar speaker, and a Bible Institute teacher. Once IM appointed a missionary to work full-time in education, I was never directly involved in the Education Committee. During three years, I directed the work of the IM staff. As director, I encouraged the nationalization of educational leadership. My knowledge of Dominican culture and language motivated me to study the impact of intercultural factors on the planning of theological education in the Dominican Republic. My ethical commitment to honesty compelled me to be painfully honest in my analysis and findings. My commitment to listen critically combined with the member validation process provided me with participant evaluations of the study's findings. The study of adult education, critical theory, postcolonial theory, and

planning theory allowed me to view a familiar program with new insights. The critique of the study by colleagues and the dissertation committee provided additional perspectives that guarded the study against unrecognized personal bias.

My past cultural immersion allowed me to begin the study with a well-developed knowledge of Dominican culture, the Dominican C&MA, and IM. The fact that I had been away from the Dominican Republic for three years allowed there to be some distance between my present research and my past career. I approached the study with certain assumptions. The first assumption was that theological education must be contextualized. The second assumption was that international cooperation in education was valid if it benefited local people. The third assumption was that all stakeholders should be represented at the planning table. The fourth assumption was that the planning context impacted planning in significant ways. The fifth assumption was that adult education has been and continues to be a site of struggle for knowledge and power.

CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPANTS AND THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

Educators plan theological educational programs in specific organizational and cultural contexts. This chapter details the organizational context. It outlines the historical development of the international partnership that produced the theological education program of the Dominican C&MA, introduces the 21 participants of the study within the organizational structure, presents the critical incidents identified by each participant, and begins preliminary analysis of these incidents.

This study focused on the planning of a theological education program that developed from the appointment of a missionary couple to direct education in 1992. I am presenting the historical development of the partnership from the 1970s so that the context can be more fully understood. In tracing the development of the partnership from the 1970s, I run the risk that some element from this period could detract attention from the developments that took place after 1992. I take that risk because of the conviction that planning does not take place in a vacuum; it takes place in historically shaped organizational structures and in culturally complex environments. Multiple organizational structures operating in cultural complexity define this intercultural planning context.

The Partnership

A network of small indigenous churches in the Dominican Republic affiliated with the Christian and Missionary Alliance [C&MA] in the 1970s. The C&MA is a global denomination that specializes in cross-cultural church planting. Robert Niklaus (1990) wrote:

In less than a hundred years, the Alliance has penetrated every continent except the extreme poles north and south. Directly or indirectly, missionaries have participated in the formation of a global church that is home for over 2.1 million people, praying to God in more languages than can be heard in the halls of the United Nations. (p. xv)

The Dominican C&MA and International Ministries

In the 1970s, the C&MA of the United States related to the Dominican C&MA and other national C&MA church organizations in the Caribbean and Central American in the same manner that it related to ethnic C&MA churches within the United States. These churches were all part of an administrative subdivision of the C&MA in the U.S. called *Specialized Ministries*.

In 1982 and 1983, the C&MA in the U.S. determined that it would no longer relate to Caribbean and Central American churches affiliated with the C&MA in the same way as it related to ethnic churches within the C&MA of the U.S. The C&MA of the U.S. restructured its relationship with these international churches. Churches in Puerto Rico and the Bahamas began relating directly to the geographical district of the U.S. C&MA closest to them. Networks of C&MA churches in Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic were no longer a part of *Specialized Ministries*. They now related to the C&MA of the U.S. through *International Ministries* (IM).

This structural reorganization of the C&MA in the U.S. had consequences. One was a gradual elimination of subsidies. *Specialized ministries* had provided direct subsidies to pastors in developing churches. IM did not provide subsidies and informed the churches in Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic that pastoral subsidies would gradually be eliminated. Another unanticipated consequence was that the best known leader of the Dominican

C&MA accepted a position with *Specialized Ministries* and moved to the United States in order to direct C&MA Hispanic churches in the eastern U.S.

The churches in Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic were asked to organize themselves as independent national churches with their own indigenous leadership supported by their own congregations. Each national church would become a member of the Alliance World Fellowship. The Executive Committee of each national church could request assistance from the C&MA of the U.S. IM was the mission agency division of the C&MA of the U.S. that would respond to these requests. IM had extensive experience in assisting national C&MA churches worldwide.

The Dominican C&MA and the Arrival of C&MA missionaries

In 1983, the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA approved a reorganization plan and set official denominational goals for growth. The C&MA of the U.S. financed the training of a Dominican educational administrator to organize a program of Theological Education by Extension [TEE]. Over sixty Dominican students enrolled in TEE. This was the first attempt to provide a theological education program for the pastors and lay leaders of the Dominican C&MA. The Executive Committee also requested that the IM, “send an experienced missionary couple to help train workers and counsel leaders” (Niklaus, 1990, p. 167). IM selected Kenn and Joyce Opperman, who were living in Toronto, Canada. Kenn had helped plan and launch the Mission’s most successful church-planting movement in Latin America, known as *Lima’s Encounter with God*. Kenn and Joyce accepted the assignment, moved to the Dominican Republic, and established strong friendships with key leaders of the Dominican C&MA.

Despite the initial enthusiasm that Dominican leaders expressed for the TEE program, the program declined. Efrain, a leader in the Dominican C&MA explained the process:

What I remember is that she [the administrator] was sent for training to the U.S.

I'm not sure if it was in Minnesota, or another place in the U.S. When she returned to lead education they [the Mission] gave her a small something to cover some of her necessities but not to cover everything. I'm not sure what happened but she wanted Baldemiro [an experienced male Dominican leader] to lead education.

Baldemiro went to study in Ecuador. After he left for Ecuador it was decided that the missionaries should take the leadership in education for two reasons. There was a lack of leadership here and ... we Dominicans could not financially sustain the department.

The reorganization of 1982 and 1983 sent two powerful messages to the Dominican C&MA. The first message was that the C&MA of the U.S. had the power to change or walk away from the partnership whenever it wanted. The second message was that the best-known Dominican leaders might be offered positions in *Specialized Ministries*.

The Oppermans studied the potential for growth within the Dominican C&MA. Kenn concluded that establishing strong churches in the urban centers of the Dominican Republic was the key to denominational growth. He also believed that Dominican leaders should be introduced to the rich history and identity of the C&MA throughout Latin America. Based on this assessment, the Mission offered to start a middle-class church using many of the principles that had been successful in Lima, Peru and Kenn Opperman recruited Canadian donors to underwrite quarterly training retreats called Pastoral Seminars for all Dominican C&MA leaders. The national church welcomed these new developments.

The Mission provided funds to rent a large room at a local hotel in a professional-class area of Santo Domingo. Many Dominican professionals attended the meetings at the hotel. A group of interested Dominican professionals formed the core of the new church. Church offerings supported a Dominican pastor who worked on a pastoral team with Kenn Opperman. At the same time, the Oppermans invited well-known C&MA speakers from across Latin America to teach at quarterly Pastoral Seminars held at a conference center in the Cibao region of the country. Funds from Canadian donors covered all expenses for Dominican leaders (room, board, tuition, & books) except for personal transportation costs to and from the conference center. The Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA in consultation with Kenn Opperman formed a plan to rapidly train gifted Dominican leaders who could lead strong urban churches. The Executive Committee selected five Dominican leaders and the Mission provided scholarships to send these leaders to a Bible Institute of the C&MA in Guayaquil, Ecuador. All five successfully completed their studies in Guayaquil, and returned to minister in the Dominican C&MA.

The partnership's plans appeared to be progressing. Attendance at the professional class church was growing and IM agreed to send three additional missionary couples. Five well-trained Dominican leaders returned to the Dominican C&MA from Ecuador and Pastoral Seminars were well attended. At this point, Kenn Opperman had to be rushed to Toronto for open-heart surgery. In the ensuing months, the middle-class church disintegrated. The Ecuadorian-trained leaders found that the local congregations and their fellow pastors resisted the implementation of their new ideas. One by one these leaders either accepted positions with the C&MA in the U.S., Puerto Rico, Colombia or left the C&MA.

The Oppermans returned to the Dominican Republic. *International Ministries* fulfilled their agreement to send three additional expatriate missionary couples to assist the Oppermans in

starting a professional class church in western Santo Domingo. The church was already disintegrating when Oliver and Mary arrived in January 1988. It dissolved before Nathan and Rosemary arrived later in 1988. Debbie and I arrived in 1989. In 1990, the Mission started another professional class C&MA church in western Santo Domingo. That summer, the Oppermans left the Dominican Republic and were replaced by Tom and Roberta Sawyer, experienced missionaries who had helped the church in Costa Rica transition to IM.

Developing a Theological Education Program for the Dominican C&MA

The Sawyers arrived in the late summer of 1990 and began assessing the needs of the Dominican C&MA and the potential of the IM staff to assist the Dominican C&MA. They observed that four of the five Dominican C&MA leaders that were trained in Ecuador had left the Dominican Republic to work in C&MA churches in Latin American and New York. The one Ecuadorian-trained leader living in the Dominican Republic was pastor of a non-C&MA church in Santo Domingo and had no official ties to the Dominican C&MA. The Sawyers concluded that sending Dominicans outside of the country for training had ultimately weakened the Dominican C&MA because the national church ultimately lost five of its strongest leaders. The Pastoral Seminar program was well-attended and was helping to unify the Dominican C&MA. It was continued even though the funding from Canadian donors did not continue after the Oppermans left. Tom Sawyer requested and received funding from *International Ministries* to continue to pay all expenses for Dominican leaders except transportation costs to and from the seminars. The Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA requested that Roberta Sawyer organize a missionary educational study committee. The study committee proposed that TEE be reinstated as the primary training program for Dominican C&MA leadership. Dominican leaders would be trained while continuing their church ministries in the Dominican Republic. Pastoral

Seminars would continue as a supplement to the education program. The Sawyers had used TEE successfully in Peru and Costa Rica. The Executive Committee approved the proposal. Roberta Sawyer trained an initial group of tutors and reinstated TEE classes in Santo Domingo. The response was encouraging. Both pastors and laity were interested in enrolling and completing the TEE program. TEE is the application of adult education principles in the training of bivocational pastors (Winter, 1969).

In 1992, the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA asked the Mission to appoint a missionary couple to work full-time in the development of the educational program of the Dominican C&MA. Rosemary and Nathan had just returned for their second term of service. C&MA missionaries traditionally serve for a four-year term and then return to the U.S. for one year of conferences and fund-raising. In their first term, Rosemary and Nathan had been members of a professional class church planting team. Rosemary and Nathan accepted this new ministry assignment although initially they were hesitant to leave church planting. Nathan decided that the best way to understand the educational needs of Dominican leaders was to attend a service at every church and visit in the home of every Dominican C&MA pastor. During this same period of time, Nathan and Rosemary officially organized and expanded the Education Committee of the Dominican C&MA to include Dominican planners. The Executive Committee appointed the Dominican members and the Mission appointed the missionary members.

Under Nathan's leadership, TEE expanded rapidly in all regions of the Dominican Republic. As students began to complete the original six-course TEE curriculum, they requested that additional courses be offered. A second level was developed which included specialized courses in specific church ministry areas. By 1995, the national church began asking why the Education Committee could not start a Bible Institute to train its pastors and church leaders. This

had been a goal of the Dominican C&MA since 1983. In August 1995, the first classes of the Bible Institute began in Santo Domingo. The educational program had grown to include Pastoral Seminars, TEE, and a Bible Institute offering classes in the two major Dominican cities of Santo Domingo and Santiago.

Defining the Relationship between the Dominican C&MA and International Ministries

Defining the relationship between the Dominican C&MA and the Alliance Mission was a significant challenge because the relationship was not clearly outlined by either partner. The *Missionary Handbook for International Ministries* (International Ministries, 1999) provided guidelines for how IM related to national churches; however the relationship that developed between the two organizations was more than the sum of the guidelines. While the guidelines of the handbook were not all inclusive, they did provide written frames that regulated the relationship between the expatriate staff of IM [known locally as the Mission] and national churches [the Dominican C&MA]. Five of these guidelines were particularly applicable to educational programs. First, “the mission is careful to provide assistance to the national church that helps and does not hinder the church in its development and expression of its nature” (International Ministries, 1999, p. 16). A second guideline was that “the mission does not regulate church activities and the church does not regulate missionaries' activities, except in cases where missionaries have been assigned by the mission to specific church-related ministries at the request of the national church” (p. 17). Thirdly, “missionaries do not become members of a local church. This is to encourage the development of the national church” (p. 17). The fourth guideline was that “the relationship of the mission to theological schools is one of *partnership*. Missionaries may be assigned to church-operated theological schools if requested by the national church” (p. 17). The fifth guideline required that missionaries visit sending churches in the

United States that were supporting the work of the Mission. Each fifth year of ministry with IM was typically a one-year home assignment year. “During home assignment a missionary associate is to be available for ministry in conferences and fall and spring missions promotional ministries” (p. 43). The impact of this fifth guideline on education programs was that missionaries left every fifth year and were gone for at least a year. This produced a built-in transition schedule for shifting leadership responsibilities within the partnership.

The term *partnership* is used in the fourth guideline. Two reference points give additional insight into the meaning of *partnership*. The first point of reference comes from international business. Deresky (1997) describes an international partnership as an International Joint Venture [IJV]. An IJV unites diverse organizations and requires that partners “share management and decision making” (Deresky, 1997, p. 164). Shared decision making requires effective communication and for that reason Jane Vella (1994) believes that in an educational IJV, “the operative word is *dialogue*” (p. 126). Paulo Freire viewed dialogue as the key characteristic in developing a learning community (Schipani, 2002). Educational partnerships need tools that identify organizational power relations, clarify inherent cultural diversity, and encourage dialogue.

The second reference point concerning *partnership* comes from missiology, which is “the study of the church’s mission especially with respect to missionary activity” (Neufeldt et al., 1997, p. 745). IM policies are consistent with Fuller (1980). Fuller views the relationship between a mission and a national church as progressing through four stages (see Figure 1). The first is the pioneer stage. Expatriate missionaries enter a particular area and establish a network of churches. The second stage is the parent stage, in which missionaries facilitate the training of indigenous leaders within the church so that these leaders can direct the network of national

churches. The third stage is the *partnership* stage. The mission and the national church work together as equal partners. A working agreement is negotiated that defines the role and responsibility of each partner. The final stage is the participant stage. In the fourth stage, the national church is clearly in a position of dominance. The Mission agrees to participate in a few specialized projects. At this stage, the Mission generally reallocates its personnel to another area and begins the cycle once again (Fuller, 1980).

Fuller's Four Stages of Mission / National Church Relationship

4. Participant – The National Church is dominant and the Mission subordinate.
3. Partner – The National Church and Mission are equals.
2. Parent – The Mission is dominant and the National Church is developing.
1. Pioneer – The Mission plants the first churches of the National Church.

Figure 1. Fuller's Four Stages of National Church / Mission Relationship.

The relationship between IM and the Dominican C&MA did not begin at the pioneer level. It began in the transition between the parent stage and the partnership stage. In the 1970s, when indigenous Dominican churches aligned themselves with the C&MA of the U.S., these churches were already established congregations led by indigenous leaders. Dominican leaders sought international assistance. The *Division of Specialized Ministries* of the North American C&MA responded to this need.

A parent/partner organizational relationship with Specialized Ministries (1970s).

The developing Dominican Church aligned itself with the C&MA of the U.S. and was treated as if it were a part of the C&MA of the U.S., as shown in Figure 2. Organizationally, it became part of the Division of Specialized Ministries.

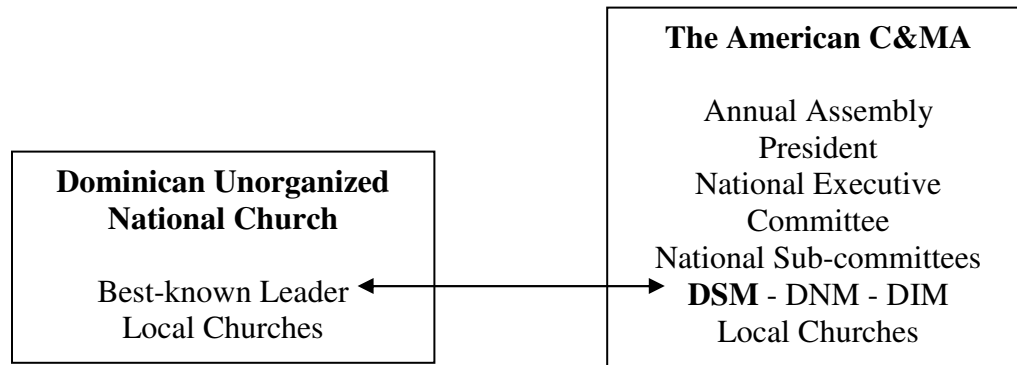


Figure 2. The Relationship between the Dominican C&MA and the C&MA of the U.S.

A parent/partner organizational relationship with International Ministries (1980s).

The C&MA of the U.S. changed the way it related to C&MA churches in the Caribbean and Central America. Those churches would relate to the Division of *International Ministries* (IM). Typically the relationship of IM and a national church progressed through each of the four stages outlined by Fuller (1980). The mission statement of IM listed two primary objectives, both began with the phrase: “to plant churches” (International Ministries, 1999, p. 3). IM was an organizational division of the U.S. C&MA that planted churches cross-culturally and partnered with C&MA national churches to accelerate their development as church-planting movements. As shown in Figure 3, the Oppermans arrived and faced the task of transitioning the relationship as well as the paradigm from *Specialized Ministries* to IM.

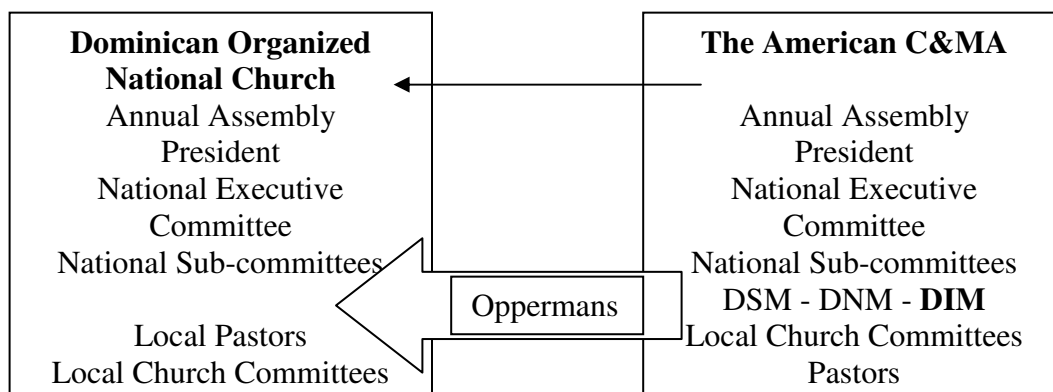


Figure 3. The Relationship between the Dominican C&MA and IM.

Transitioning from parent/partner to partner (1990s).

The Sawyers arrived in 1990 and began the task of transitioning the relationship from parent/partner to partner. As shown in Figure 4, the Dominican C&MA became part of the Alliance World Fellowship (AWF). The Alliance Mission, IM's local staff, outlined a strategy to accelerate the growth of the Dominican C&MA by appointing of a missionary couple to develop the educational program and then transition it to indigenous leadership.

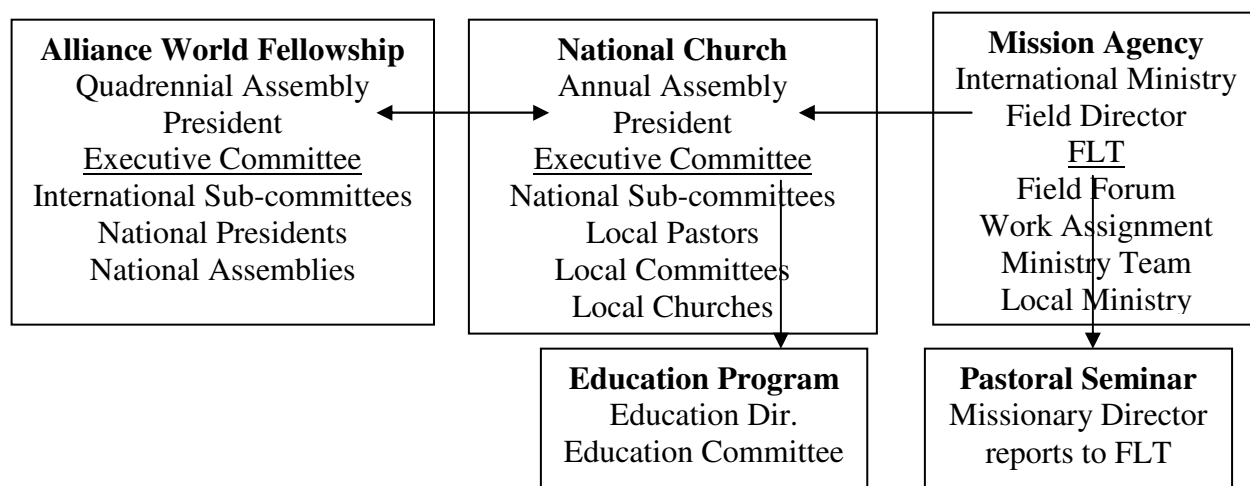


Figure 4. The Organizational Relationships that Produced the Theological Program.

The Dominican-led theological education program declines (2000-2003).

During the 1990s, the Dominican C&MA becomes a full member of the AWF and the Mission defined its strategy of how to accelerate the growth of the Dominican C&MA. A joint planning session was held in 2000 between the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA and the FLT of the Mission. Education was one of several areas where the Mission sought to encourage the development of indigenous leadership (see Figure 5). Since appointing a Dominican director of education, the department has made a change in director, faced severe financial difficulties, and experienced a decline in TEE enrollment. A Dominican leadership team has been appointed to lead the Bible Institute during the director's home assignment. Figure 5 reflects the decision of the Mission's FLT to cancel Pastoral Seminars.

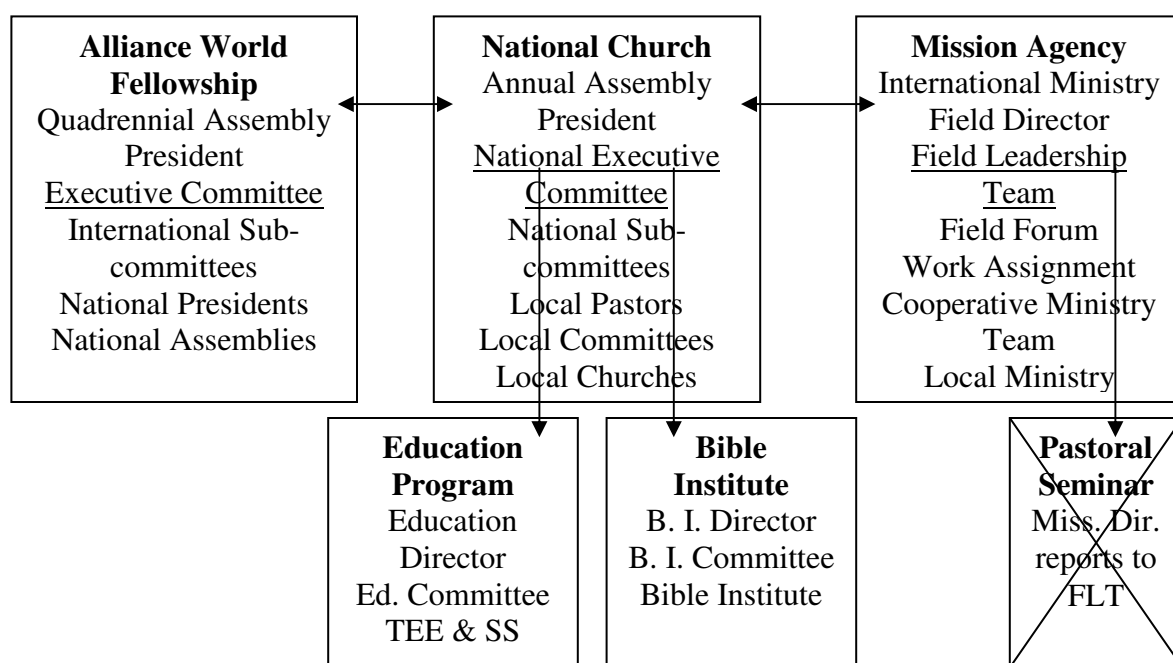


Figure 5. The Full Organizational Structure of the IJV.

The Program

A partnership between the Dominican C&MA and the Mission produced the current theological education program of the Dominican C&MA. It is the second attempt of the partnership to train Dominican leaders. This study focuses on the impact of intercultural factors in this second attempt. The second attempt began when the Dominican C&MA asked Roberta Sawyer for help in education. It developed rapidly after a missionary couple was appointed to work full-time in education. Missionaries and Dominicans formed a joint Education Committee. During the first years of this second attempt a missionary served as the director of education. The director chaired the Education Committee as it developed the education program and worked to transition each part of the program to Dominican leadership. Currently, the Education Committee oversees the work of TEE and the production of Sunday School material. The structural position of the Bible Institute is unclear. It was under the supervision of the Education Committee. It is transitioning from Mission leadership to Dominican leadership and is seeking to relate directly to the Executive Committee. The Mission provided exclusive oversight to the Pastoral Seminar program and has unilaterally determined to discontinue this part of the education program. The second attempt at Dominican C&MA theological education has included TEE, the Bible Institute, the Pastoral Seminar program, and the production of materials for Dominican C&MA Sunday Schools.

On January 31, 2003, I conducted the first 2 interviews with Nathan and Rosemary, the couple appointed by the Mission in 1992 to work full-time in education. In May and June 2003, I conducted 19 additional interviews in the Dominican Republic. The 21 interview participants are listed according to their role in the organizational structure in Table 3. Five participants had been or were members of the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA. Two participants had

directed the work of the Alliance Mission. Eight participants represented the Education Committee. Three of these eight participants were IM missionaries. Five of the eight participants were members of the Dominican C&MA. One participant was the director of the Bible Institute and another was the coordinator of the Pastoral Seminars. Four participants were TEE tutors. All five members of the Dominican leadership team of the Bible Institute were included in these 21 participants. Two of the five were or had been Executive Committee members. Three of the five were TEE tutors.

Table 3

The Dominican and American Participants

Dominican Planners	American Planners
The C&MA Dominican leadership: Fernando * Jaime Efrain Alejandro Lorenzo	The Mission leadership: Oliver Bob
The Ed. Committee (Dominican Members) Dorcas Carlos * Guillermo Laura Henrique	The Ed. Committee (Mission members) Nathan Rosemary Mary
	The BI and Pastoral Seminar Leadership Isaac Jennifer
The Dominican Practitioners * Gladys * Heidi * Ingrid * - indicates the members of the interim leadership team for the Bible Institute	The American Practitioner Kelly

I began this chapter with an explanation of the IJV that produced this theological program. Figure 6 positions the 21 participants in a diagram of the organizational partnership. I

will now describe the participants in the study, list the decisions that the participants identified as critical incidents, and explore what types of issues were being negotiated in these decisions.

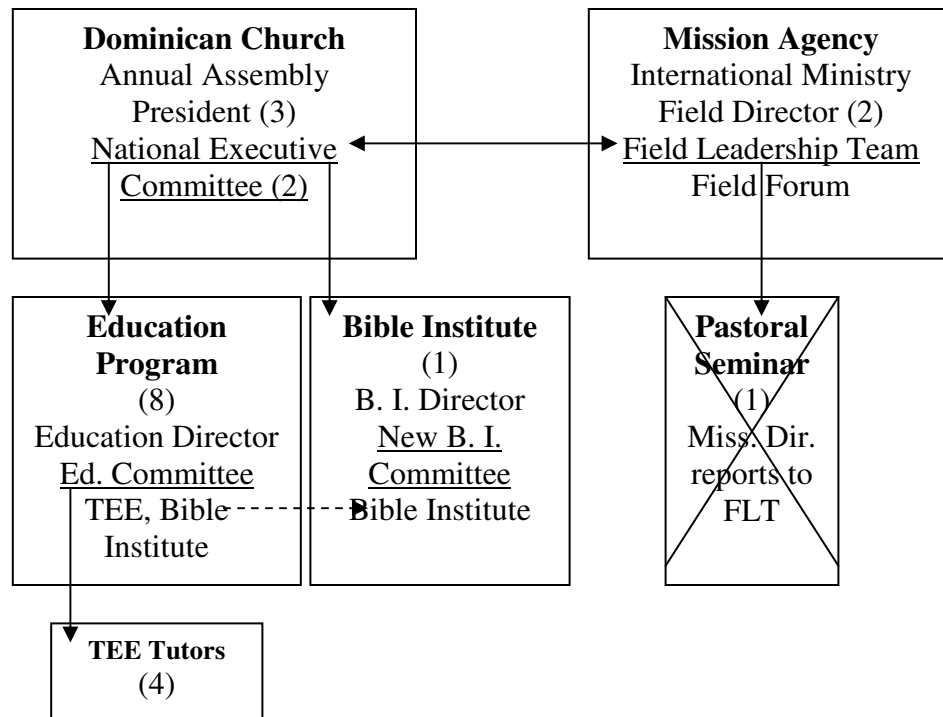


Figure 6. Participant Location within the Organizational Structure of the Partnership.

Each participant description follows the same pattern. The participant's pseudonym is given followed by his or her gender, skin color, nationality, regional identity, and relation to the education program. A Dominican participant provided seven different skin color classifications on the condition of anonymity. Other Dominican participants confirmed these classifications as valid. The seven classifications were: White [Blanco(a)], Indian-white [Blanco(a)/Indio(a)], Arabian-white [Arabe/Indio(a)], Indian-brown [Indio(a)] , dark Indian-brown [Indio(a) Oscuro], dark Brown [Moreno(a)], and Haitian [Haitiano (a)]. The classifications are listed from lightest skin color to darkest skin color. Table 4 provides this information. In the individual descriptions, I mention the area that the participant influenced in the education program, his or her level of

theological training, and their personal career. Each description concludes with their statements concerning one or more critical incidents in the planning of the theological education program.

Table 4

Participant List

Pseudonym	Gender-Age	Color	Nationality	Regionality	Relation to Education
Fernando	M-60s	Dark Indian-Brown	Dominican	SD	DC&MA Exe Committee [former president DC&MA]
Jaime	M-30s	Dark Indian-Brown	Dominican	SD	DC&MA Exe Committee [pastors a poor urban church]
Efrain	M-70s	Dark Indian-Brown	Dominican	Cibao	DC&MA Exe Committee [former president DC&MA]
Alejandro	M-40s	Indian-White	Dominican	SD & Cibao	DC&MA Exe Committee [current president DC&MA]
Lorenzo	M-40s	White	Chilean	SD	DC&MA Exe Committee [pastors wealthy urban church]
Oliver	M-50s	White	American	SD & East	Mission Leadership [former Mission director]
Bob	M-40s	White	American	SD	Mission Leadership [current Mission director]
Nathan	M-40s	White	American	SD	Education Committee [former American director]
Rosemary	F-40s	White	American	SD	Education Committee
Mary	F-50s	White	American	SD	Education Committee [former American director]
Dorcas	F-20s	Indian-Brown	Dominican	SD	Education Committee [1 st Dominican director]
Guillermo	M-50s	Arabian-White	Dominican	SD	Education Committee [new director of Bible Institute]
Henrique	M-30s	Indian-Brown	Dominican	Cibao	Education Committee [ed rep from the Cibao]
Carlos	M-30s	Indian-White	Dominican	SD	Education Committee [Dominican director]
Laura	F-30s	White	Chilean	SD	Education Committee
Isaac	M-40s	White	American	Cibao	Bible Institute [exiting director]
Jennifer	F-40s	White	American	Cibao	Pastoral Seminars [current coordinator]
Gladys	F-30s	Dark Brown	Dominican	SD	Practitioner [TEE coordinator]
Heidi	F-50s	Dark Brown	Dominican	SD	Practitioner [TEE tutor]
Ingrid	F-40s	Dark Indian Brown	Dominican	SD	Practitioner [TEE tutor]
Kelly	F-30s	Haitian Black	Bahamian	SD & East	Practitioner [TEE tutor]

Participants from the Executive Committee

I interviewed five participants that had served on the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA during of the 1980s, 1990s, and since 2000 (see Table 4). Two were former presidents of the denomination, one was the current president of the denomination, and two served as members of the Executive Committee.

Fernando

Fernando provided decisive presidential leadership to the Dominican C&MA in the 1980s. I interviewed Fernando on May 23, 2003. He is a dark Indian-brown Dominican male in his 60s, who was born in the Cibao but has spent the last 15 years in Santo Domingo. He was president of the Dominican C&MA when the national church fully organized and joined the Alliance World Fellowship. Fernando was president when the Dominican C&MA officially asked International Ministries for missionary assistance. He completed all TEE courses and had taken some Bible Institute courses. He had been a pastor for most of his adult working life and was pastoring the largest C&MA church in eastern Santo Domingo when interviewed. The congregation was made up of both working and professional class people. Fernando mentioned two critical incidents. The first was requesting that International Ministries send missionary assistance to the Dominican C&MA. International Ministries sent the Oppermans. Fernando stated:

This brother started to look for financial backing to create the pastoral seminars. We had three seminars a year, then we had two annually, now we only have one a year.

Professors came from the C&MA in Colombia, Ecuador, and the United States. They taught our pastors things we did not know and this program was a tremendous help.

The second critical incident was the development of a Bible Institute. Fernando stated, “we always have requested that there be a high quality Bible Institute in the Dominican Republic.” The start of a Bible Institute was one of the Dominican C&MA’s goals set in 1983 in the initial years of the partnership (Niklaus, 1990).

Jaime

Jaime served on the Executive Committee during the 1990s. I interviewed Jaime on May 26, 2003. He is a dark Indian-brown Dominican male in his late 30s, who has always lived in Santo Domingo. He served on the national Executive Committee when the education program experienced its most rapid expansion. The TEE program grew from 116 learners in 1994 to 250 learners at the close of 1995 (Alliance Women’s National Executive Committee, 1996). Jaime has completed TEE and the Bible Institute. He is part of the Dominican leadership team for the Bible Institute. He is pastor of an underemployed [lower than working class] congregation in eastern Santo Domingo. Jaime mentioned appointing North Americans to develop the education program as his first critical incident.

One of the most positive things that has happened in the education program is that it was formed by North American missionaries of the C&MA. They planned and worked out the details of our education department. They gave clear, precise reports at the national conference of the Dominican C&MA.

Jaime mentioned the decision to train Dominicans to direct the education program as his second critical incident:

The second critical incident was the fact that a Dominican was trained to give follow-up to the educational work. The first decision was to organize the work. The second was to transition it to Dominican leaders. These have been two great decisions of blessing for us.

Efrain

Efrain was president of the Dominican C&MA in the 1990s when the relationship between International Ministries and the Dominican C&MA began transitioning from a parent/partnership to a partnership. I interviewed Efrain on May, 29, 2003. Efrain is a dark Indian-brown Dominican male in his late 60s or early 70s, who was raised in the Cibao but now resides in Santo Domingo. He pastors a congregation in eastern Santo Domingo that is a mixture of profession and working class people. He has completed the TEE program. The first critical incident mentioned by Efrain was the initiation of the current theological education program. “The most important decision was the formation of an Education Committee. We lacked a committee and it was a great assistance that the mission gave its missionaries to form the committee to teach our pastors.”

His second critical incident was the nationalization of educational leadership. Efrain views this decision as premature although he agrees with the nationalization of leadership at some undetermined point in the future. He stated, “the decision to transfer the direction of the Education Committee to a Dominican was very important but I do not believe it was very beneficial.” Efrain was president when the Mission organized the Education Committee. He was not president when the Education Committee became Dominican-led.

Alejandro

Alejandro was the president of the Dominican C&MA during this study. I interviewed Alejandro on May 25, 2003. He was the president that approved the nationalization of the director’s position. He is an Indian-white Dominican male in his 40s, who grew up in the Cibao but has lived in Santo Domingo all of his adult life. He has completed all of TEE and has graduated from the Bible Institute. He pastors a working class congregation that meets at his

home in eastern Santo Domingo. He cited five critical incidents during our interview. Two of the five are future decisions that he wanted to mention. He listed the nationalization of the Education Committee as his first critical incident.

The decision that Dominicans would be the ones to direct the education department was an import step forward. There is obvious growth in Dominican leadership in that now we can direct this department ourselves. That is progress, even though we have not seen the numerical growth we anticipated.

The second critical incident mentioned by Alejandro was the development of the Bible Institute. He links the work of the Bible Institute directly to leadership development:

I believe that the missionary contribution to our education has matured us to no longer depend on someone coming to help us, rather we believe that we can do all of the educational work ourselves. We are very motivated and we believe that things are advancing. The Dominican C&MA is growing in its level of preparation, thanks especially to the Bible Institute, the most advanced of our theological programs. We are very positive and are progressing. We believe education is one of the highest priorities for the Church.

The third critical incident he mentioned was a future decision to bring FATELA to the Dominican Republic. FATELA is a graduate-level theological training program. Alejandro mentioned this as a critical incident because from his perspective Dominican leaders had already made a commitment to bring FATELA to the Dominican Republic.

Alejandro mentioned a fourth critical incident. It was a recent decision made at the national conference:

The education department is working to develop a nationwide Sunday School curriculum. This is also an important step forward. We have churches teaching different doctrine. I believe that preparing a unified curriculum will orient the members of the congregations and conserve the doctrinal unity of the Dominican C&MA.

The fifth critical incident was the Executive Committee's commitment to construct a building for the Bible Institute on the Central Church property when funding becomes available.

Lorenzo

Lorenzo came to the Dominican C&MA from the Chilean C&MA. He is fully supported by his work as a pastor of a C&MA congregation that the Mission started in 1990 in western Santo Domingo. Lorenzo was elected to the Executive Committee during Alejandro's presidency and was very influential in the writing of the updated constitution of the Dominican C&MA. I interviewed Lorenzo on May 22, 2003. Lorenzo is a white Chilean male in his 40s, who graduated from a Chilean Bible Institute. He viewed the elimination of the TEE requirement for entrance into the Bible Institute positively. It made the Bible Institute more accessible to the professional classes. He commented:

There is a decision that has recently been made that has increased the enrollment of the Bible Institute. I was concerned that the original education program demanded a very long commitment (almost four years). This plan was definitely not supplying the Church's immediate need for trained workers. There were also a number of students who dropped out of their studies after completing about half of the four-year program. It is good that the decision was made to be more open and flexible concerning entrance requirements for the Bible Institute. I am referring specifically to the decision that incoming students no longer have to complete TEE. This in no way discredits the high

value of completing the TEE training. I wish more workers would complete TEE. In the beginning the Bible Institute leadership was fearful that making this change would not produce the desired results, however after a few months we are seeing positive results. The majority of new student are very busy professionals. From my perspective, I'm sure others may think otherwise, this is good for ministerial training. This decision is one that opens positive future possibilities.

Lorenzo, while being enthusiastic about the new Bible Institute admission policy, is less enthusiastic about the new Bible Institute administration. He commented:

At this time, it is not appropriate to transfer the entire Bible Institute to the Dominican C&MA. It is certain that Dominican professors can collaborate and Dominicans can work in support areas, however the direction should continue under the general oversight of missionaries because of their educational preparation and theological instruction. Dominicans do not yet understand what they need to understand about higher theological education and visionary leadership. The investment that the Mission has made should not be easily lost. If this leadership transition happens, even though it is still premature, it must be done slowly and in a way that seeks the best possible alternatives.

Participants from the Field Leadership Team

The Mission director chairs a Field Leadership Team (see Table 4). When the Sawyers left the Dominican Republic in 1995, I became the field director. I was forced to leave the Dominican Republic in November 1995 because of injuries sustained in an automobile accident. Oliver was the next field director. Bob is the current director.

Oliver

Oliver and Mary have served longer in the Dominican Republic than any other International Ministries' missionary or missionary couple. They arrived in 1987. Oliver has been the director of the Mission and led the Field Leadership Team and Mary has served as director of the Education Committee. Oliver served for many years on the Field Leadership Team of the Mission. I interviewed Oliver on May 27, 2003. He is a white North American male in his early 50s, who graduated from Nyack College and Alliance Theological Seminary. He grew up in India as the child of missionaries. He has served as a TEE tutor to Haitian congregations in the eastern section of the country. He coordinates church construction projects and has worked with church leaders from all socio-economic levels. He attends a profession class church in western Santo Domingo. Oliver listed the appointment of Nathan to direct education as the first critical incident. He emphasized that education has become what it is today not only because of North American assistance but specifically because Nathan was selected to direct the program:

He was an educator, even though he liked church planting.... So, he was the best person to put in there, I think one of the next decisions that was a very good decision for education was appointing him to be the director. I think that if it had been appointed to anybody else, I don't think it would have taken the same direction.

Oliver listed the decision to have a Bible Institute to train TEE graduates as his second critical incident. "It is good to have an institute to train those who have graduated from TEE. This is a good decision to have started the Bible Institute."

Oliver believed the transition of education to Dominican leadership occurred too early and moved too rapid. "In one sense we didn't like hand it [education] over, we sort of dropped it." He also stated:

I believe in handing things over, I believe in indigenization, but I think we need to make sure that whatever we are going to hand over is strong, not weak. You don't throw a two month old baby into the water and say swim. You have to make sure that the person is able to be trained to swim and can swim. I think it was just a little premature and I think we are paying the price because we dedicated years of hard work, sweat, tears, and all the sudden we are seeing it plateau.... We need to be beside it a little bit longer perhaps in some areas. It depends on the personality [of the individual] that is leading it in this culture.

Bob

Bob has recently transferred from Colombia to direct the Mission and chair the Field Leadership Team in the Dominican Republic. I interviewed Bob on May 20, 2003. He is a white North American male in his 40s. He is a Bible College graduate who has also completed graduate-level theological training. In addition to his responsibilities as Mission director, he has taken an active role in starting a new professional class cell church in western Santo Domingo. As director of the Mission, he has just approved the Field Leadership Team's decision to cancel Pastoral Seminars. He did not mention this decision as one of the critical incidents. He selected the change in admission requirements in the Bible Institute as his first critical incident. He believes:

The Institute was chained or held back by the philosophy that a person needed to go through the TEE training, which could take 3 to 5 years to complete before they could enter the Institute. This limited the number of people who could start the Institute. We thought there were people who had graduated from high school, or in college programs, or who were professionals that couldn't attend the Institute because they had never gone

through the TEE program, which could last 3 to 5 years. The decision was made to separate the two programs so that in the local church the people could continue using the TEE program but it wouldn't be a requirement to get into the Institute.

Bob mentioned the nationalization of Bible Institute leadership as a second critical incident. Isaac, the director of the Bible Institute will be in the United States for a year. Bob, as Mission director, contacted several missionaries to direct the Bible Institute during Isaac's absence from the field. None of the missionary staff wanted to accept this appointment. A group of Bible Institute graduates were willing to form a leadership committee and direct the Bible Institute. Initially Bob preferred that a missionary be appointed as Bible Institute director. He explained:

The only thing I'd want to add is whether we do it now or in ten years nationalization is where we are going. It's for the long-run benefit of the mission and the national church. It's where we are going for both sides and in the long run we're going to benefit because it has to happen. I think we are just being forced, possibly by God, to begin at an earlier point than we ever imagined and only He knows why at this point, but its moving us toward the goal we're going toward, so I accept it. I accept it for good.

Participants from the Education Committee

I interviewed eight members of the Education Committee. Three members of the Education Committee were members of the Mission staff (see Table 4). Two of these members were Nathan and Rosemary, the expatriate couple that was appointed to lead the education program for the Dominican C&MA. They accepted this appointment and were assisted by Mary. During this time, the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA appointed Dorcas and other Dominicans to serve on the Education Committee. When Dorcas was named as education

director, Nathan and Rosemary returned to a church-planting assignment. No Mission staff members took their places on the Education Committee. Within a year, Mary left for home assignment. No missionaries remained on the Education Committee.

Nathan was the director until 1995. There was an interim director for part of 1996. Mary became the third director. Nathan returned in 1998 and was appointed director at Mary's request. Dorcas became the first Dominican director in 1999.

Nathan

In 1993, Nathan became the director of the Education Committee of the Dominican C&MA. The *Missionary Handbook for International Ministries* (1999) allows for missionaries to be assigned to educational ministries "if requested by the national church" (p. 17). I interviewed Nathan on January 1, 2003. Nathan is a white North American male in his 40s. He has a Th.M. from Dallas Theological Seminary and several years of pastoral experience in the United States and the Dominican Republic. The educational program grew rapidly under Nathan's direction. The Alliance Women's National Executive Committee (1996) stated that "the Theological Education by Extension program has grown from 116 at the end of 1994 to 250 at the close of 1995" (p. 12). Under Nathan's leadership TEE expanded, the Bible Institute began, and the Education Committee was transitioned to Dominican leadership. Nathan stated that his personal decision to visit every church was a critical incident in the development of the education program. He stated:

I think this is probably the most important decision I made that helped the education program. I decided that I would visit every Alliance church in the country, which at that time was forty some – somewhere between 40 and 45, within a year period.

Nathan believed that the decision to visit each Alliance church was significant because in a relational society, “Dominicans don't just buy into a program of theological education.” Personal relationships played a key role in where people shopped, worked, and attended church. Nathan recognized that establishing personal relationships with the pastors and congregations of the Dominican C&MA was vital to student recruitment and retention.

He also mentioned the decision to not seek accreditation for the Bible Institute as a critical incident and committed that the decision was made at Field Forum without national church input. At the close of our interview he mentioned that he now realized that the Mission made the majority of educational decisions during this developmental period. He stated:

I'd like to be able to say that we've worked with the national church and they've worked through all this and we've done it together but I think the mission has made 95% of the decisions. We consult and usually the consultation is like this. Here's this need in education. This person and this program is available and we'd like to provide this for you. Is that okay with you? It's not a big commitment on their part. It's something that we are offering them. We offer it because we know that is what we can handle and it is usually well received. We have a good relationship because it's like somebody taking a \$20.00 bill out of their pocket and saying, “we'd like to help you is that okay?” If they have a need they are going to say sure, I appreciate that. That will help them. I think that is what education has been.

Nathan noted that missionaries communicated well with the national church on some issues but on others the missionaries made the decision without dialogue. Cervero and Wilson (1994b) identify two educational outcomes: substantive and meta outcomes. Substantive outcomes are the most visible such as the construction of an educational program. The Mission

and national church members dialogued well on substantive issues such as the theme of the class, where a class would be taught, and who would teach the class. On meta outcomes requiring the reconstruction of existing power relations, the Mission decided without dialogue. Nathan stated:

We want them to be involved as much as they can. That is why the committee is there.

When it comes to deciding things like what courses are we going to offer and what costs are going to be involved and what cities are we going to offer it in. Things like that, we want them to be involved in that because we've already committed to do it. We want to try to contextualize it as much as we can when we get it to that point. It is interesting as we talk about this because I never really thought about how we made these decisions.

What it is really coming down to... is that we as missionaries have called the shots.

Rosemary

Rosemary and Nathan have worked together as a couple. They have different strengths that complement one another in their educational work. Oliver observed that Nathan “was the director but she [Rosemary] had a lot of good ideas too. She was more creative than Nathan was; Nathan was more detailed than she. They made a good team.” I interviewed Rosemary on January 1, 2003. Rosemary is a white, North American, female college graduate in her 40s. Her first term she worked in a professional class church in western Santo Domingo. She mentioned the appointment of a full-time missionary couple to educational ministry as the first critical incident. “Probably a dramatic one was the decision to put someone or a couple working full time in education. That was a decision made jointly by the national church and the mission.” When Rosemary and Nathan first arrived in 1988, they were not allowed to teach TEE until they had completed TEE courses under the direction of either a Dominican tutor or the Mission director. Upon arriving in the Dominican Republic, Nathan had more theological training than

anyone else in the Mission and the Dominican C&MA. It was an important decision for the Dominican C&MA to request the appointment of an expatriate couple to develop the educational program of the Dominican C&MA. It was an equally important decision for *International Ministries* to approve the appointment of a church planting couple to educational ministries.

Her second critical incident was the expansion of the education program based on student need. She pointed out that people like Efrain and other national church Executive Committee members were saying, “we need something to train young leaders...we want a higher level of education.”

Mary

Mary is a white North American female in her 40s. I interviewed Mary on May 27, 2003. She is a Bible College graduate and served as the expatriate director of education in 1996 and 1997. Mary has been continually active in educational ministries throughout the 1990s. She saw the national church’s decision to ask the Mission to appoint expatriate staff to direct the education department as a critical incident.

I think the best decision is when the national church asked the mission to take over Christian education; to take over. Because they felt they lacked and I know in the past they did a good job with TEE but it just had fallen apart.

Mary views the appointing of Nathan as the director as a second critical incident. She stated, “that was a positive decision because he was the only person with that educative type mind...he was the best person for the job.”

The Education Committee became Dominican-led in 1999. Mary stated, “The next big decision was turning it over to a national...that was a bad one for me. I know we had to do it...we are here to turn it over, but I think we did it prematurely.”

Table 4 presents the three American participants and five Dominican participants that were members of the Education Committee.

Dorcas

Dorcas began working with the Education Committee in the early 1990s. I interviewed Dorcas on May 30, 2003. She is an Indian-brown Dominican female in her late 20s or early 30s who has completed all TEE and Bible Institute training. She worked with Nathan, Rosemary, and Mary throughout the initial developmental stage of the education program. She was raised in Santo Domingo and has lived there throughout her life. She mentioned the decision of the Executive Committee to ask missionaries to work in education as her first critical incident.

One of the best decisions that the Executive Committee made was to allow people that really knew what they were doing to plan the education program. Take for example the fact that they placed the development of the education department in the hands of a group of missionaries that had both experience and the desire to work in Christian education. This allowed them to renew all of the education program, organizing all of it. Then they started to teach Dominicans and to encourage a revival of interest in what has now become the education program of the Dominican C&MA.

Dorcas viewed the decision of the Executive Committee to insist that all pastors study TEE as an equally important decision.

In 1993 or 1994 we [*the Education Committee*] asked the Executive Committee to make all the pastors begin their theological studies. A letter was sent stating that all pastors who wanted to be ordained should complete the first and second levels of TEE and should make plans to study in the Bible Institute. This was not completely enforced but it did

motivate the majority of the pastors. Right now there are very few pastors who have not completed the first level of TEE.

Dorcas was selected by the Education Committee and approved by the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA as the person to be trained as the Dominican director of the education program. After accepting this responsibility and being trained, her first child was born. Her son was born with physical disabilities. Mary assisted Dorcas in her work as director for her first year of leadership. Mary returned to the United States for one year. Dorcas comments on this second year of leadership:

The same month that Mary left, I found out that I was pregnant with my second son so my situation became more complicated. One of the things that made me feel bad, even though it wasn't my fault that I didn't have a normal son like other people, was that my son was very dependent on me. I would bring him with me to the office but he would want to explore the office and put his hands on everything. When I accepted [this job] I thought my son would be in daycare within a year or two. I would send him to daycare and I would go to the office each day. You could say that my situation is something that I never imagined when I accepted [this job]. Maybe if I had imagined that I would have this problem, I would never have accepted it.

In 2001, Dorcas resigned. The Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA appointed another Dominican woman to direct education. She accepted the position but was unable to lead the department because of unanticipated health problems. The Executive Committee waited for several months before appointing Carlos to direct the education program. Carlos had not served on the Education Committee previously but the Executive Committee considered him qualified to lead the program because of his expertise as a trained accountant and a private school teacher.

Carlos

Carlos is the director of the Education Committee. I interviewed Carlos on May 17, 2003. He is an Indian-white Dominican male in his late 30s with a degree in accounting, who works as an English professor in a private Catholic high school. He has completed both levels of TEE and the Bible Institute. He has always lived in Santo Domingo. He continues to work as an English teacher while directing education because the Dominican C&MA can offer little remuneration for his time. The financial crisis of the Dominican Republic has impacted the offerings of local Dominican C&MA congregations and the financial support that the national office of the Dominican C&MA receives from these congregations. Recently the Executive Committee decided to reduce the number of days the director is required to be in the office from twice a week to one half-day a week. Carlos cited this decision as the first critical incident. He views this decision as detrimental to the education program.

The Executive Committee decided that in my case, I should only go to the office once a week. I go on Monday until noon or if there is a demand, I stay until 1 or 2 in the afternoon. This has now been happening for 6 months. In reality it is not a viable alternative because the department requires more time. Because of this; reports, important announcements, and grades do not arrive when they should. I cannot give more than one day a week unless the Executive Committee changes their decision. This decision was made after I had completed 6 months as director. Personally, I do not think it was a good decision.

Carlos stated that offering continued assistance from missionaries in education would be a positive development in the situation faced by the Education Committee. He recently talked

with Mary, who expressed a willingness to cooperate with Carlos in the educational program. For Carlos, this was a second critical incident.

I would really like it, if while I am in this work arrangement there were someone who could help me. This coming Monday, I am going to formally request that Mary helps me. The sister missionary voluntarily offered to help me about two months ago. She was a great help to Dorcas, the previous director. I need someone who can help enter grades, make copies, and give me assistance so the educational program continues to function.

Guillermo

Guillermo is a member of the Education Committee. He has also been a member of the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA. He is trying to find financial alternatives that will better facilitate the development of the education program. I interviewed Guillermo on May 17, 2003. Guillermo is an Arabian white Dominican male in his early 50s. He was on the Education Committee when the committee proposed that a Dominican leadership team would lead the Bible Institute during Isaac's year of work in the United States. The Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA has appointed Guillermo to be the acting director of the Bible Institute. Guillermo has completed all training offered by TEE and the Bible Institute. He is a trained accountant working as an administrator in the Dominican Social Security department. He was raised in Cibao but has resided in eastern Santo Domingo for the past 15 years. He listed the production of a unified Sunday School curriculum as his first critical incident.

The first decision is more of a challenge goal. The education department was previously directed by missionaries that reside here in the Dominican Republic. The department was transferred to Dominican leadership and our financial resources are limited. The education program of the Dominican C&MA must continue to increase because the

population is growing and more people are enrolling in our studies. There is a high demand for teaching material to be utilized by the congregations of the Dominican C&MA. It should be Alliance material, so that the Sunday Schools develop under the principles of the C&MA.... This was a challenge goal for the Education Committee because now it is our responsibility to continue to collect material for a unified Sunday School curriculum.

He listed the decision to form a Dominican leadership team for the Bible Institute as a second critical incident.

In this year we have a priority, a great decision, and it is that the director of the Bible Institute has to move to another country and we [the Education Committee] got together to discuss this situation. What was going to happen? What were we going to do? Would we close the Bible Institute? No! If there are people that have received the training, I think these people must exercise leadership. One of the decisions that we made was that the Institute would continue to operate.

The eight participants from the Education Committee are presented according to their organizational affiliation. Three committee members are part of the Mission, five committee members are part of the Dominican C&MA. There are other significant distinctions, such as nationality and regionality, as one considers the diversity of the participants. Four committee members are Dominicans and four are expatriates. Each of the three participants representing the Mission is an expatriate. Only one of the participants representing the Dominican C&MA interests on the Education Committee is an expatriate. Laura is originally from Chile.

Laura

Laura is a white, Chilean female in her late 30s, with extensive experience and training in Christian education. I interviewed Laura on May 22, 2003. Laura completed her Bible Institute training in Chile. She has been a part of the Education Committee for several years. Laura and her husband Lorenzo came to the Dominican Republic to pastor a professional class church in Santo Domingo. She was raised and educated in Chile and has lived in western Santo Domingo. When asked to name two critical incidents, she responded that she views the incorporation of all pastors into leadership training as a critical issue. She stated:

There is a critical incident that refers to the new rules for internal organizational administration in the Dominican C&MA. These new rules state that in order to enter into pastoral ministry you must have completed theological preparation in the C&MA. This is an important hinge that opens a new door in the history of the Dominican C&MA.

Laura views the introduction of international C&MA programs as a step forward:

It has helped that the president has a vision to establish a more open relationship with other countries...and it has helped that he wants to bring and implement new things that are not [currently] in the organizational agenda nor even within its grasp. He is helping for example in the implementation of the prayer ministry that they are introducing right now.

Henrique

All of the members of the Education Committee live in Santo Domingo except Henrique. I interviewed Henrique on May 31, 2003. Henrique is an Indian-brown Dominican male in his 30s. He served as a member of the Education Committee during most of the 1990s and continues to serve on the committee. He works as an administrator in a private high school. He has

completed TEE and the Bible Institute. He was raised in the Cibao and lives in Santiago.

Henrique listed the placement of Nathan and Rosemary to direct the Education department as his first critical incident. He stated:

I believe that one of the biggest decisions that was made in the area of education by the administration of the Dominican C&MA has been the designation of Nathan and Rosemary as directors of the education program. I believe that today the theological education department of the Dominican C&MA owes a great deal to this couple. They have been people who have had the capacity to know what to do and their dedication is noteworthy.

Henrique is unsure if Dominicans are ready to lead education. He stated:

I believe that in our country, there still isn't a leader or couple with the kind of preparation of Nathan and Rosemary. Perhaps this is more an issue of vision. They helped us a lot and I think that in this initial stage of development there wasn't a Dominican leader because there wasn't anyone so well prepared. The missionaries came with lots of years of ministerial experience as well as theological preparation, vision, personal interest, and I think this is very important. We are not in full capacity even today to assume the direction of the education program.

Henrique's comments reveal two conflicting attitudes toward the nationalization of leadership.

First he states that Dominicans are not ready to assume leadership. Later he added, "We are prepared or at least practically prepared to assume the leadership of the Education Committee. I believe that yes, the time has arrived."

Henrique is concerned that many pastors have not enrolled in the education program. "I believe that lay people, that are not directly responsible for leading the church, have received

more from the theological education program of the Dominican C&MA than our pastors. This really makes me take notice.”

Henrique is the only person who lives outside of Santo Domingo on the Education Committee. The lack of representation from the Cibao motivated the Mission to place the director of the Bible Institute in Santiago. Henrique did not list this as a critical incident but viewed this decision positively. He commented:

We have always fought to have a missionary family. We have been very blessed with this family. We give thanks to God. We have learned a lot and heard a lot of messages. Isaac and Jennifer have been a great blessing. It was a great accomplishment to have them here because it is always the same, everything is in Santo Domingo.

Henrique listed removing the TEE requirement as a prerequisite for entrance into the Bible Institute as his second critical incident. He stated, “I believe that you can now enter the Bible Institute independently of TEE. I don’t know if that has been realized fully, but I believe it is a good decision.”

The Director of the Bible Institute

The national church’s goal of having a Bible Institute existed from the official organization of the Dominican C&MA in 1983 (Niklaus, 1990). Nathan started the Alliance Bible Institute in 1995 to provide additional training for official workers of the Dominican C&MA who had completed TEE. Initially, the completion of TEE was a prerequisite for entering the Bible Institute.

On October 29, 1995, Nathan, Rosemary, Debbie, and I were traveling in the Cibao when our vehicle was involved in an automobile accident. The injuries Debbie and I suffered forced us to leave the Dominican Republic in November 1995. The injuries Rosemary suffered forced

Nathan and Rosemary to return to the United States from January 1996 until July 1998. The Bible Institute was closed temporarily until an interim director could be appointed by the Mission to direct the Institute. Raul Diaz, a Peruvian in his late 50s who had served with IM in Spain was sent to serve as interim director. Raul kept the Bible Institute open, but perhaps his greatest contribution was personally mentoring Alejandro, the current president of the Dominican C&MA. In July 1998, Nathan and Rosemary returned to lead the educational ministry of the Dominican C&MA. In January 1999, Raul returned to the United States and Nathan became the acting director of the Bible Institute. In July 1999, Isaac and Jennifer moved to Santiago. Isaac was appointed as Bible Institute director and Jennifer was appointed to oversee the Pastoral Seminar program (see Table 4).

Isaac

Isaac is a white North American male in his 40s, who has directed the Bible Institute since 1999. I interviewed Isaac on May 25, 2003. He is a Bible School graduate and has completed graduate theological training. He worked previously as a missionary in Ecuador and as a theological educator in New York. He identified the simplification of the curriculum for the Bible Institute as his first critical incident.

I go back to 1999, when the Bible Institute was in existence for about a year and a half, or back in existence after it had been closed down for two years...and they had a full program with about 22 subjects to be studied in order to graduate....When I became director of the Bible Institute, I looked at all of this and I thought well it just didn't look practical, it didn't look feasible, it didn't look reachable. So I put together a program that was reduced to 14 subjects: 6 in Bible, 6 in practicum, and 2 subjects on doctrine and theology. Which means we cut out a lot of things that you would usually study in a

theological seminary in the States. But what we had was a program that was basically taken directly out of some study program that we're accustomed to in the States and I proposed this new program. First of all, I developed it in consultation with Alejandro, the national church president and then I presented the proposed changes to the committee on education and I explained why I thought these changes were important.

Isaac views the transition of the Bible Institute to Dominican leadership as a second critical incident.

The second decision was made because Jennifer and I are going on a one-year home assignment and the question came up, "Who is going to be the director of the Bible Institute?" It was assumed among national leaders and among people of the Mission that somehow we were going to find a missionary to do it. A couple of missionaries were approached on the idea of stepping in for me when I was leaving. But both missionaries to my delight stated that they just didn't feel that they could do it. That put us in a position of stating to our Institute graduates and to the Dominican church leadership that we simply did not have personnel available to be director of the Institute.... They stated, "We think that we have people that can go ahead and take this thing and make it go." So that is what we are going to go ahead and believe and develop a plan for.

The Coordinator of the Pastoral Seminar Program

According to Niklaus (1990), the transition years of 1982 and 1983 were pivotal in the history of the Dominican C&MA. Fernando was on the committee that requested that *International Ministries* sent missionaries to assist in the training of Dominican leaders. *International Ministries* sent Kenn and Joyce Opperman. Fernando recounted the impact of their ministry:

This brother [Opperman] started to look for ways to help us and we created the Pastoral Seminars. We had three each year, then two each year, and now they have been reduced to one a year. These seminars were a help because teachers from different parts of the C&MA of Colombia and Ecuador came to teach our pastors things that we did not know. This was a really big help.

There were three pastoral seminars each year until the Oppermans left. These training seminars were completely funded by expatriate donors in Canada. When the Oppermans left, the funding had to come directly from IM. The seminars were reduced to twice a year and the length of each seminar was reduced from five to four days. The seminars were continued in this way throughout the 1990s. Since 2000 they have been reduced to once annually. The leadership of the Cibao did not attend the last Pastoral Seminar, which was held in Santo Domingo. Low attendance is one of the reasons given for the cancellation of the Pastoral Seminars. Jennifer stated:

This past year several leaders from the Northern Region were not present. I have a vague understanding that it is because it was held in the capital rather than in the Cibao. It has usually been held in the northern region.

Jennifer

Jennifer has directed the Pastoral Seminars during the last four years. I interviewed Jennifer on May 25, 2003. She is a white North American female Bible College graduate in her 40s. She has worked as a missionary in Ecuador and as a professional secretary in New York. Since 1999, she worked full-time in the development of practical ministry activities such as the Pastoral Seminars and she assisted Isaac with the office work of the Bible Institute. She lists the decentralization of the decision-making process as a critical incident that has moved aspects of

decision-making from the U.S. office to the field and ultimately resulted in nationalizing the Bible Institute leadership. Jennifer stated:

I think a key important decision is the fact that there will be a Dominican leading the Institute now in Isaac's absence. I go back to where did this come from? It was back with master planning.... We began the master planning process but even before that at field forums on an annual basis we would have brainstorming sessions, decisions were made either by the field director or by the field leadership team or a combination. Field forums were brainstorming sessions and I wanted to say with the empowerment from the national office in Colorado, which moved from micromanaging things in the Colorado office. Peter Nanfelt's decision that the fields would have more power was important. The buzzword (in the late 90s) was consensus. The field director in the late 90s used the concept of consensus on this field regarding decision-making.

Jennifer saw the decision to discontinue the Pastoral Seminar as another critical incident. She did not know if the decision to discontinue the Pastoral Seminar program would have a positive or negative impact. She stated:

I've heard from other pastors. There are people that are asking why. It even came up in the national assembly. The question came up. I don't know if it was adequately dealt with at that time, but the question came up.

TEE Practitioners

In the early 1990s, North American planners organized TEE and trained Dominican tutors. In the late 1990s, expatriates trained Dominicans to lead TEE. The TEE tutors have worked with American and Dominican leaders. A study of the impact of intercultural factors on

the planning of theological education would not be complete without hearing their perspectives concerning the theological education program (see Table 4).

Kelly

Kelly is a Bahamian female in her 30s, who is a career missionary with International Ministries. I interviewed Kelly on May 21, 2003. She is a Bible College graduate and has an MA in Intercultural Studies. Dominicans classify her as Haitian. She has identified with this oppressed social group and worked as a TEE tutor to the Haitian churches in the Dominican Republic. She was recently appointed to work full-time in coordinating a Haitian church planting team in Santo Domingo. According to Kelly, the Dominican-Haitian relationship impacts the theological education program. She stated:

Dominicans have a clash with Haitians. Dominicans don't really understand the Haitians and so they don't even believe they can understand Spanish. So, how can they go out there and teach them when they can't understand. The Haitians do speak with an accent. All of that comes into play. The Haitians would accept whoever comes to teach them because they want to grow, but I think the problem is that the Dominicans would be stepping out of their comfort zone in doing that and that's the problem.

Kelly listed the transition of the Education Committee to Dominican leadership as her first critical incident. She believed nationalization was vital but wonders if the transition from Mission leadership moved too quickly. "TEE was given to the Dominicans along with help from the missionaries.... the result of it might seem that you took your hand off it too soon."

Kelly mentioned the decision to allow missionaries to continue as tutors as a second critical incident:

I think working together is more of the idea and just taking the hands off completely was a mistake. I'm not ready for that, I want to still be a part of teaching because my gifts are in teaching and so that is what I do. For me, I want to be a part of that program as long as I'm around.

The next three practitioners requested that their interviews take place together. They supported each other as they talked. Dominicans are slow to voice their opinions publicly without having some idea of how their comments will be received. The fact that I am a white North American male, identified with the Mission, was an additional reason to be interviewed together. In this triple interview, these three Dominican practitioners spoke openly about their frustration with the lack of communication that exists in the education program. Gladys, Heidi, and Ingrid were interviewed on May 24, 2003.

Gladys

Gladys is a dark brown Dominican female in her 30s. She directs the educational program in the largest Dominican C&MA church in eastern Santo Domingo. She has completed the full TEE program and is a graduate of the Bible Institute. She continues to serve as a TEE tutor and is a member of the new Dominican leadership team for the Bible Institute. She works as an administrative assistant in a Dominican business. She was raised and resides in Santo Domingo. She voiced frustration over the lack of input that practitioners have in the decision-making process. She said, "Honestly, there are not channels of communication that give us power to express our opinion. They do not ask my opinion, I express it, but that is not going to change the opinion of the Education Committee."

She viewed the integration of the second level of TEE into the Bible Institute program as a negative decision that lowered the program's quality. She stated:

I don't know who was in favor of this decision because there wasn't any consultation. There was not any type of evaluation with the people that were involved in TEE at that point in time. As far as I'm concerned, I was not in agreement with the decision. Right now there are not channels that in an open and conscientious manner permit us to express our opinion.

Heidi

Heidi is a dark brown Dominican female in her 50s. She has worked as a teacher in the Dominican public school system for 30 years and has been recognized nationally as an outstanding teacher. She completed TEE and the Bible Institute. Heidi is a TEE tutor and a member of the new Dominican leadership team for the Bible Institute. She was raised and resides in Santo Domingo. Heidi believed that materials used in the educational program were excellent but needed to be adapted to the Dominican culture. She expressed her willingness to work in the adaptation of materials but listed the failure of planners to accept this help as a critical incident.

I would like to see the books translated to our culture.... Some of the books are translated by North Americans and sometimes it is hard to understand the structure of their ideas. I would like it, if these books were translated here. For example, the quizzes need to be translated. I once offered to translate the quizzes. If the tutor would give me the test, I would bring it to class translated. But as you know, I was also a student. If they had given me the test, I would have adjusted it to our language and our culture. It seems that the tutor had to talk to the Education Committee, and the time passed and I did not continue to insist.

Heidi viewed the decision to discontinue the opening quiz as a critical incident that clearly illustrated that there were not channels for open communication with the Education Committee. She stated:

The director of education communicated to me saying, “Look, we are going to discontinue the opening quiz.” I asked him why. He said it was because lots of people were saying that a quiz at the beginning of class was making them tense. I asked, “Well who exactly made this decision?” He stated that the Education Committee had decided. Since I am working as a tutor, I asked who had made the decision to see if someone had been able to ask our opinion. I would have liked it if they had asked if I was in agreement or not. I felt bad, but it seemed that the decision had been made by the Education Committee. That was the answer I received. So, I stayed quiet with my inner frustration and I left. It might have been better if I had continued asking why they did not take into consideration the opinions of all the tutors and talk at a national level with the TEE tutors. But I kept all this inside and left. I guess it was a cowardly act.

Ingrid

Ingrid is an Indian-brown Dominican female in her 40s. She has completed TEE and the Bible Institute. She works as an accountant in a Dominican business. She was raised and works in Santo Domingo. She was a member of the Dominican leadership team for the Bible Institute. Ingrid believed that the lack of dialogue in the education program was a negative critical incident. Gladys, Heidi, and Ingrid felt that the Education Committee had sessions with local tutors to see if they could do what they had already determined to do. Ingrid said:

In this very year, I think it was in the month of February we had a meeting to discuss what was going to be done with the Bible Institute.... There was a good part of the

Education Committee present. But it's like Gladys says, you observe their opinion and say to yourself, this decision has already been made and what they are really doing is seeing if they will be able to implement it.

Practitioners felt silenced. They did not have channels of communication with those making decisions. Table 4 illustrates how the 21 participants provided a variety of perspectives from the different organization levels of this International Joint Partnership.

The Critical Incidents

In this study, a critical incident is a key decision that changed the direction and/or development of the theological education program. The participants named 43 critical incidents. Table 5 presents these 43 critical incidents and the 21 separate decisions mentioned in these critical incidents. The critical incidents and the decisions that produced them are presented in accordance with the location of participants within the organization structure. The Dominican C&MA leadership mentioned 11 critical incidents. Mission leadership mentioned 5 critical incidents. Members of the Education Committee identified 16 critical incidents. The Bible Institute director and the Pastoral Seminar Program coordinator were interviewed together and mentioned 4 critical incidents. The TEE practitioners mentioned 7 critical incidents.

Summary Statements on the Critical Incidents

The participants of this study listed 43 critical incidents that referred to 21 different decisions made in the planning of the theological education program. Table 5 presents the critical incidents and identifies the decisions that produced the incidents. Eight of the decisions were related to meta-negotiation. The other 13 decisions involved substantive negotiation. Six of these 13 substantive decisions were examples of faulty communication.

Table 5

Critical Incidents Summary Sheet

Decisions	Dom C&MA	Mission	Ed C (M)	Ed C (D)	BI & PS	Practitioners	Critical Incidents
Ask IM for help [Opp]^a	1						1
Visit all chs & pastors ^b			1				1
<i>TEE not translated to DR culture^c</i>						1	1
Develop TEE Lev. II			1				1
<i>Incorporate TEE II in BI</i>						1	1
Reduce BI curriculum					1		1
International programs				1			1
<i>Discontinued opening quiz</i>						1	1
<i>No dialogue</i>						1	1
<i>Powerless practitioners</i>						1	1
Reduce Ed dir's pay				1			1
Close PS					1		1
Ask Sawyers for help	1		1				2
Pastors must study				2			2
<i>C&MA SS curriculum</i>	1			1			2
Cont. miss. Help in Ed.				1		1	2
Enter BI without TEE	1	1		1			3
Develop the Bib. Institute	2	1	1				4
Ask for a couple in Ed	1	1	1	2			5
Appoint Dom BI Leadership	1	1		1	2		5
Transition to Dom Ed dir	3	1	1			1	6
21 Decisions	11	5	6	10	4	7	43

Note. There were 21 decisions referred to in 43 critical incidents.

^a **Bold print** denotes decisions involving meta negotiation. ^b Normal print denotes decisions involving substantive negotiation. ^c *Italic print* denotes substantive decisions that became critical incidents due to communication failure.

Preliminary Analysis of the Critical Incidents

When the 43 critical incidents were analyzed by comparing them to each other, they referred to 21 different decisions. Twelve of the 21 decisions were mentioned by only one study participant:

1. The national church decided to ask IM for help.
2. Nathan decided to visit all churches and pastors.
3. The Education Committee decided not to translate TEE to the Dominican culture.
4. Nathan and Rosemary decided to develop TEE Level II.
5. The Education Committee decided to make TEE Level II part of the Bible Institute.
6. Isaac decided that the Bible Institute curriculum should be reduced.
7. The Dominican C&MA president welcomed international programs.
8. The Education Committee decided to remove the initial quiz without discussion.
9. Educational leaders made decisions without dialogue.
10. Educational decisions did not empower practitioners in the local church.
11. The national Executive Committee decided to reduce the director's pay.
12. The Mission's FLT decided to cancel the Pastoral Seminars.

Nine of the 21 decisions were mentioned by more than one participant:

1. The Executive Committee asked the Mission to reorganize the education program. (2)
2. The Executive Committee made enrollment in theological study a part of ordination requirements. (2)
3. The national assembly mandated the preparation of Sunday School curriculum. (2)
4. The current field director decided to continue mission assistance in education. (2)

5. The Education Committee decided to allow students to enroll in the Bible Institute without taking TEE. (3)
6. The Education Committee decided to develop a Bible Institute. (4)
7. The Mission appointed Nathan and Rosemary to direct education. (5)
8. The Education Committee and Executive Committee appointed a Dominican leadership team for the Bible Institute. (5) Four participants viewed this as a positive development and one participant viewed this negatively.
9. The Mission and Executive Committee appointed a Dominican director of education. This was the most mentioned and most controversial decision. (6) Three saw this as a negative decision, two viewed it as a positive decision, and one saw the decision as having both positive and negative outcomes. Those who saw this as a negative decision were quick to explain that they agreed with the concept of nationalization but that the results indicated that the transition was premature.

These 21 decisions were analyzed by distinguishing between decisions that were primarily meta-negotiation and decisions that were primarily substantive negotiation (Elgstrom & Riis, 1992). Umble, Cervero, and Langone (2001) comment concerning their work:

Elgstrom and Riis make a distinction between *meta-negotiation* and *substantive negotiation* in curriculum planning. They define frame factors as “such factors that constrain the intellectual space and the space for action within a process, which the actors at each point in time during the process cannot influence or perceive that they cannot influence in the short run” (p. 104). Frame factors can be both material and conceptual. Material frame factors limit the space for action and include the limits on resources such as funding, equipment, rooms, time, and personnel. Conceptual frame factors limit the

intellectual space and include the ideational structure that surrounds a planning situation. Elgstrom and Riis define the ideational structure of a given planning situation as “that configuration of norms, standards, values, and views of life and realities held by a number of interacting actors at a certain point in time” (p. 104). In Elgstrom and Riis’ terminology, meta-negotiations are conducted with respect to both the material and conceptual frame factors, and all frames are continually subject to meta-negotiation.

The second type of negotiation that Elgstrom and Riis (1992) describe is substantive negotiation, which refers to negotiations about the specific content, audience, format, and other details of a program. Planners will have some power to shape these aspects but will always be limited because “substantive negotiations take place under an umbrella of existing frame factors” (Elgstrom & Riis, 1992, p. 105). (Umble, Cervero, & Langone, 2001, pp. 129-130)

Cervero and Wilson (1998) define meta-negotiations as when people “*act on* the power relations themselves, either strengthening or weakening those macro-level boundaries” (p. 7). Substantive negotiations are when people “*act in* the web of power relations to construct the program’s purpose, content and methods” (p. 7). Planners negotiate substantive and meta issues simultaneously. Certain decisions involved meta-negotiation while others focused primarily on substantive negotiation.

Meta-negotiations (Acting on power relations)

Eight of the 21 decisions impacted the power relations by changing the work assignments within the partnership. The partnership resulted from meta-negotiation, when the Executive Committee asked *International Ministries* for assistance. *International Ministries* made a commitment that had lasted 20 years at the time of this study. The Alliance Mission had 14 full-

time staff members in 2003. A second decision that involved meta-negotiation occurred when the Executive Committee asked Roberta Sawyer to reorganize theological education in the Dominican C&MA, which led the Mission to become directly involved with education. Initially the Mission allowed three part-time individuals to work on the education study committee but it led to the third meta-negotiation. The third meta-negotiation occurred when the Executive Committee asked for a missionary couple to be appointed to direct education and the Mission appointed Nathan and Rosemary to educational ministries. This transitioned a couple from church planting and shifted priority within the Mission from professional class church planting to the development of an educational program for the Dominican C&MA. Ultimately this led almost the entire Mission staff to become involved in educational ministries by 1995.

The fourth meta-negotiation mentioned in these decisions occurred in 1998. The missionary director of education negotiated a transfer of educational leadership to Dominicans. A transition of leadership to a Dominican director was a major event especially if it signaled a shifting of responsibility within the partnership. When leadership was transferred to a Dominican, the Mission responded by stepping away from the Education Committee and shifting responsibility for TEE to the Dominican C&MA. The Mission initially remained committed to the Bible Institute and the Pastoral Seminar program. The fifth meta-negotiation was Isaac's request to remove the TEE requirement for entrance into the Bible Institute. This decision was made primarily as a way of increasing enrollment in the Bible Institute. However, the removal of this requirement meant that the Bible Institute was not longer dependent on a successful TEE program. This decision involved meta-negotiation because the removal of this entrance requirement meant that the Mission could take another step away from responsibility for the struggling TEE program. This request was accompanied by a move to have the Bible Institute

report directly to the Executive Committee. The overall impact of these decisions was to disconnect the Bible Institute from TEE and the Education Committee. Mission leadership supported this move. This separated the Bible Institute from an unfunded, struggling education department. The sixth decision involving meta-negotiation occurred when Dominican leaders offered to direct the Bible Institute rather than close it for a year. In order for the Bible Institute to stay open, responsibilities in the partnership had to be renegotiated. This situation occurred because no missionaries were available to lead the Bible Institute. International Ministries emphasized church planting in its international program. The decisions of the Mission reflected a continuing shift away from educational ministry and toward church planting. The seventh decision that focused on meta-negotiation was the cancellation of the Pastoral Seminar program. The full impact of this decision was not seen because Pastoral Seminar funds were spent on introducing a prayer program from Colombia, which the national church president welcomed. The combined impact of these decisions meant that the Mission effectively walked away from all leadership commitments in education. The eighth decision that focused primarily on meta-negotiation was a new denominational constitution that required pastors to enroll in theological education in order to meet their ordination requirements. This positioned the Education Committee to have power over unordained pastors, yet at the same time the impact of the other decisions moved the Mission away from educational ministry. The Mission cancelled the Pastoral Seminar program, transitioned the Bible Institute to a Dominican leadership team, and watched as an inadequately funded Education Committee was asked to train all unordained C&MA pastors.

Substantive Negotiations (Acting in power relations)

The remaining 13 decisions were made within the power structure. Six of these 13 decisions indicated that there was a need for improved communication within the education program. For example, the Education Committee decided not to translate TEE to the Dominican culture. Missionaries led the Education Committee in the early 1990s. TEE materials were purchased under an agreement and it was not possible to change the materials because of international copyrights. This decision was mentioned negatively. The participant was not aware of the reasons behind the decision. This indicated that communication had not clarified the situation. Practitioners mentioned five of the six decisions that suggested a need for improved communication. They felt silenced. Decisions were made without consulting practitioners. They felt there were no channels of communication that they could use. The communication problems mentioned were not specifically intercultural because Dominican practitioners felt that they could not communicate to their Dominican-led Education Committee.

As a researcher, I began analyzing the interview data as soon as the first interviews were transcribed in January 2003. One of the first themes was that education planners were overworked. The program would not have developed in rural areas without extensive travel. The program developed because Nathan and Rosemary made personal sacrifices in order to develop a nationwide theological education program. Nathan stated:

I decided I would visit every church within a year [40-45 churches]. I did do that. I missed one or two of them but pretty much did that in 1994... I believe that was significant, in the sense that because it is a relational society the Dominicans don't just buy into a program of theological education. They need to know that there is a person behind it, that there's someone there that they can talk to about it. It's a program that

takes a lot of maintenance on an administrative end. Someone has to be there. The idea is that it is in different centers and different churches through out the country. So if someone is not on top of it in those remote areas away from where you have your center in the capital, it can kind of start and then peter out. If nobody is right there on top of it and they don't have any body they can talk to about it or anybody following up on it, it is hard to keep it going. Also its hard for somebody living in the capital trying to run the education program in the churches in the rural areas if you've never seen the churches. If you've never talked to the pastors you don't know their cultural context. So I think that decision was a killer decision as far as work and travel. [It involved] dangerous travelling situations and all that stuff. But [some of] the dividends that it paid, was the fact that I gained more information and the relationships to make the program function better. And if one church would loosen up, I could go back and follow up on something that was already started. Through phone calls and keeping in touch with them, we were kind of on top of it administratively. It was more than that, it was a relationship of building trust with the leaders. [It was] knowing me as a person, that we were going to follow through on this and do everything we could.

In establishing a successful nationwide education program, they unintentionally established an educational administrative pattern of overwork. This pattern of overwork was well established when the program became Dominican-led. Dominicans expected Dorcas to work just like Nathan, Rosemary, and Mary. Dorcas stated, "The last months [before Dorcas resigned] were very frustrating.... primarily because the same churches were accustomed to working with missionaries.... They said, "But Nathan and Rosemary or Mary did this." Overwork produced frustration and fatigue. Fatigue produced a pattern of making decisions without adequate

dialogue, especially with those who would be impacted by the decision, not because educators want to silence those in subordinate positions but rather because educators were fatigued. They were too tired to dialogue.

The Dominican-led Education Committee reflected this pattern of decision-making. They decided to discontinue the opening quiz without adequate dialogue with practitioners. The reason was overwork and fatigue. Practitioners saw this decision-making pattern from the opposite side. They did not see planners as so overworked that they were making decisions on the run. They saw planners making decisions without dialogue. Gladys stated, “right now there are not channels that in an open and conscientious manner permit us to express our opinion.”

The overwork of educational planners must be understood against the backdrop of Dominican reality. Nathan and Rosemary visited rural Dominican farmers and Haitian sugarcane cutters that wanted to study. They along with other educational planners decided that the program would expand to meet the needs of these adult learners. Carlos described their lives:

Economically, the people of the East need a lot of help, because the East is a region where the economic production has collapsed. The majority of Haitians live by cutting sugarcane. The sugar refineries have declared bankruptcy and a lot of the people no longer have any place to work.... A lot of international humanitarian assistance organizations have come so they can survive. Not so they can live well, just so they can survive.

Summary

The education program of the Dominican C&MA was produced by an International Joint Venture between the Dominican C&MA and International Ministries. The first joint attempt at leadership development funded a TEE program and sent five strong leaders to Ecuador for

training. These five leaders returned to the Dominican C&MA but gradually accepted ministry opportunities outside the Dominican C&MA. Reduced funding for TEE and leadership transitions led to the collapse of the education program with the Pastoral Seminar program being the only part to survive.

A second attempt to develop a training program began when the Executive Committee of the Dominican C&MA asked Roberta Sawyer to develop a new education program. The Mission later appointed Nathan and Rosemary to devote their full energies to developing a Dominican theological education program. The TEE program grew to enroll more than 250 adult learners. Nathan developed a Bible Institute to provide additional training to graduates of the TEE program. The missionary-led Education Committee became a Dominican-led Education Committee in 1999. This study focused on the impact of intercultural factors in the planning of this second attempt to produce a theological education program for the Dominican C&MA.

Twenty-one participants were interviewed in January through June 2003. These participants represented the perspectives of the Dominican C&MA leadership, Mission leadership, Education Committee members, the Bible Institute director, the Pastoral Seminar Program coordinator, and educational practitioners within the program. Each participant was asked to identify two key decisions that changed the direction and development of the theological education program. The participants named 43 critical incidents.

Preliminary data analysis indicated that the 43 critical incidents refer to 21 separate decisions. Eight of the decisions involved meta-negotiation. The most mentioned decision was the decision to transition the leadership of the Education Committee to Dominicans. It was mentioned six times. Three participants viewed it as a positive development, three participants viewed it negatively. The appointment of Nathan and Rosemary to direct education was the most

positive decision according to participants. Practitioner comments emphasized the need for improved communication within the IJV.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF INTERCULTURAL FACTORS

The purpose of this study was to examine how intercultural factors shaped the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic. Two research questions guided the study:

1. What were the intercultural factors that impacted the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic?
2. How did these intercultural factors manifest themselves in the theological education program?

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part identifies five intercultural factors (see Table 6). Each factor describes a tension created by diversity of perspectives, behaviors, and values. The factors were intertwined and together produced the planning context of this International Joint Venture. The second part of the chapter explains five ways that these factors manifested themselves in the planning process and resulting program.

Table 6

Intercultural Factors

1. Dominican Hybridity and Collectivity versus American Individualism
2. Dominican Extensive Power Distance versus American Compressed Power Distance
3. Dominican Preference for Consensus versus American Top-Down Management
4. Dominican Acquiescence to American Control versus American Organizational Loyalty
5. Dominican Racial and Gender Inequality versus American Racial and Gender Equality

The Intercultural Factors

Five intercultural factors impacted the planning of this theological education program. In presenting these factors, I have used the term *American* to describe Mission planners. The use of the term is problematic because South Americans, Central Americans, and North Americans are also Americans. I use *American* because *los Americanos* (the Americans) was the preferred emic descriptive term for Mission planners. Kelly, a Bahamian was included in the American category. Her perspective will be identified whenever it is divergent from other Mission participants. In the same way, the two Chilean participants, Lorenzo and Laura, were included in the term Dominican. Their perspectives will be identified whenever they are divergent from other Dominican C&MA participants. I have contrasted Dominican and American perspectives to facilitate the identification of the intercultural factors at work in the planning of the theological program. The identification of these generalized tendencies in no way negates the fact that diversity of perspective exists within national cultures. However, this study focuses on an International Joint Venture, therefore the study identifies the diversity that existed between planners from different national cultures.

Dominican Hybridity and Collectivity versus American Individualism

The socialization of Dominican and American planners took place in diverse contexts during their formative years. These diverse contexts produced hybridity and collectivity in Dominicans and individualism in Americans.

Dominican Hybridity and Collectivity

Dominicans describe themselves as a mixture of African, European, and American races. Fernando stated:

Our Dominican roots are a mixture. *We* are mulattos and in some aspects mestizos, with strong racial prejudices that are not seen at first glance but that appear when it is necessary to make decisions like the one concerning Peña Gomez. He was not accepted simply because of his color.

Hybridity is a process that subordinate groups use to create an *in-between* identity in the binaries imposed by colonial rule (Sugirtharajah, 2002). Colonial rulers classified individuals as Spanish, Indian, or African. Dominicans used hybridity to create their group identity in-between all three heritages. Dominicans are characterized by both racial and cultural hybridity. Dominicans place a high value on their group identity. The process of identity formation within the Dominican C&MA was important to Dominican planners. Guillermo stated:

The most important thing is *our* identity as a national church.... *We* are going to have a [denominational] identity that up until now *we* have not had. *We* have a name on the outside but in *our* heart we need this and it is going to be a great blessing, for me it is of utmost importance: identity.

Dominicans take pride in their racial and cultural hybridity, differentiating themselves from White non-Dominican planners. Guillermo said:

The Bible Institute belongs to the national church. The Mission is a support. The Mission helps *us*, but the national church is the one who carries out the plans. The gifts and talents are for the Lord's use, and these men and women that work in the Mission, *these pink brothers* are here and they do their work with love, helping *us* by serving. But this also has its time limit. In a little while, *we* will direct the Bible Institute.

Dominicans negotiated their group identity by giving preference to one cultural heritage above another. Guillermo stated:

Yes, I also want to talk about the identity of a unified curriculum [for Sunday School], so *we* can know what *we* are. *Our* pastors will have an identity and will make *our* identity a priority. Because when there isn't a clear identity, a person will look just about anywhere. *We* are C&MA people but a tambourine sounds more often than a piano or a trumpet, symbols that identified kings... the sound of bang, bang, bang reminds me more of Africa than anything else. What I want to say is that the pastor needs to develop his identity.

Group identity was important to Dominicans. The dominance of plural pronouns in Dominican interviews reflected Dominican collectivity. When American missionaries proposed closing the Bible Institute for one year, Guillermo responded: "if there are persons who have been trained, these persons *must* accept leadership of the Institute." He explained that Dominicans "*had to* assume this responsibility because this is a group of Dominicans that are hungry for knowledge."

American Individualism

Americans operated from a different orientation. Their first reaction was to make choices based on an individualistic perspective rather than a group perspective. Jaime pointed out that Isaac used an individualistic approach in planning:

If he [Isaac] is going to leave the department, it has to operate according to his methodology. He has his little black book tucked under his arm, as we Dominicans say. So that everything happens just right. He wants us to copy exactly what he does, maybe with time we will be able to contextualize the system.

American individualism led Mission planners to propose closing the Bible Institute for one year while Isaac returned to the U.S. Bob, the Mission director had talked to several American missionaries about leading the Bible Institute during Isaac's absence. None of the

missionaries wanted to accept the job assignment. Nathan was contacted and explained his perspective:

I received a letter from the Field Director about a month ago asking me to consider taking the position again for a year until Isaac was back. I thought about that and prayed about that and wrote back declining it.... I wrote back and said there were other options. We could suspend it for a year.

The dominance of singular personal pronouns in American interviews emphasized the individuality of American thinking. Isaac's description of how he redesigned the curriculum for the Bible Institute contrasts with the dominance of plural personal pronouns in Guillermo's interview. Isaac stated:

When I became director of the Bible Institute, I looked at all of this and I thought well it just didn't look practical, it didn't look feasible, it didn't look reachable. So I put together a program that was reduced to 14 subjects: 6 in Bible, 6 in practicum, and 2 subjects on doctrine and theology. Which means we cut out a lot of things that you would usually study in a theological seminary in the States. But what we had was a program that was basically taken directly out of some study program that we're accustomed to in the States and I proposed this new program. First of all, I developed it in consultation with Alejandro, the national church president and then I presented the proposed changes to the committee on education and I explained why I thought these changes were important.

Dominicans and Americans operated from diverse perspectives. Colonial oppression produced Dominican hybridity and collectivity. American individualism reflected the fact that five of the eight Mission participants were White Anglo-Saxon Protestants who spent their formative years in the United States as members of dominant social groups. The three additional

Mission participants were Rosemary, a White Italian Catholic who became Protestant and married a WASP; Oliver, a WASP who grew up in a postcolonial society as the son of expatriate missionaries; and Kelly, a Bahamian. Kelly's cultural background positioned her with the best possibility of understanding Dominican hybridity. However, Dominican identity was confusing even to Kelly. Kelly stated, "I see them [Dominicans] as Latin American people because this is a different culture from Caribbean [Bahamian] people. I guess what I'm saying is I really don't understand totally, I'm a foreigner as well, and I have a hard time understanding." Dominican hybridity and collectivity were unique features of the Dominican identity. Individualism was a unique feature of American identity. The tension between these two positions was the first intercultural factor.

Dominican Extensive Power Distance versus American Compressed Power Distance

The diverse backgrounds of Dominican and American planners impacted the way they viewed their superiors. Hofstede (1997) uses the designation of *power distance* to describe the attitude that a group has toward those in authority. People with an extensive power distance orientation emphasize the high social status of their superiors and do not openly challenge the decisions of superiors. People with a compressed power distance emphasize equality with their superiors and prefer decision-making by consensus.

Dominican Extensive Power Distance

The Dominican Republic has been governed primarily by dictatorial governments that demanded that the populace use an extensive power distance orientation. The actions of several Dominican planners reflected this orientation. Rosemary mentioned that "Efrain called Nathan *the maximum authority in Christian Education* in public many times." Efrain was positioning Nathan to have authority in the planning of Dominican theological education. When the

president of the Dominican C&MA announced this public title, he established an extensive distance between Nathan and Dominican planners. I asked Nathan if he could remember any situation, when he had planned a particular course of action as the director of the Bible Institute, in which the Education Committee either redirected the plan or suggested an alternative. He said, “No, not the committee itself.” Rosemary stated, “there was a point where anything we wanted to do we could do.” Dominicans accepted Nathan as their educational leader and operated from an extensive power distance orientation. That meant that Dominican planners would not disagree with Nathan in public. Gladys stated, “Generally we do not disagree with our superiors. The worker will stay quiet.” Bob, the Mission director, commented concerning a proposal that Isaac made at an Education Committee meeting. He said, “I can’t recall anyone speaking against the idea at any point in the process. It may have happened... but I don’t know of anybody who spoke against the idea.”

Many older Dominicans continue to prefer strong authoritarian leadership. Rafael Trujillo was a dictator in the Dominican Republic from the 1930s until 1960. There are Dominicans that can remember the benefits of dictatorial leadership. Fernando explained:

We have had independence for nearly 200 years but when you examine our history you find that the dictators were the successful leaders. Whenever a democratic government gained power it would not last very long. There were always military leaders that [took control away]. Right now there are a lot of Dominicans who say they prefer the times of Trujillo because neighborhoods were secure and it seems that development produces a rise in crime. Economically, development takes away opportunities because of technology. Before a person could go get a pick and an ax to dig a ditch and produce

income to buy food but now there are machines that dig the ditch. One man works at a computer where previously 100 people worked.

American Compressed Power Distance

American planners viewed their superiors from a compressed power distance orientation. Jennifer, an American planner said, “My North American approach is to go directly to the people involved and express my opinion to them.” Bob’s approach to leadership was to relate to staff members as equals even though he was the director of the Mission.

Bob asked Nathan to consider filling in as an interim Bible Institute director during Isaac’s visit to the U.S. Nathan decided against it and Bob accepted the decision. Nathan explained:

I received a letter from the Field Director about a month ago asking me if I would consider taking that position again for a year until [Isaac] comes back. I thought about it and wrote back declining it not because I don’t think its valid but I see my particular gifting more in being involved in church planting and we would like to consider continuing in that [ministry]. I wrote back and I said there are other options. We could suspend it [the Bible Institute] for a year.

Bob’s leadership follows a compressed power distance orientation. He allowed Nathan to reject his suggestion without any consequences. Bob explained:

Originally I was opposed to the idea... of having a Dominican director [for the Bible Institute] appointed at this point... but the missionary I would have hoped would have taken the spot hasn’t materialized, no one has said yes to being the director. In the end, we are going to be turning over the whole institute in a few months to Dominican leadership.

Oliver wondered if this new approach to leadership was wise. Historically, the mission had used an extensive power distance orientation. Oliver explained:

We all know back in the old days, you were told what to do and that was it. The general conference said that so and so would go to such and such a place and they had to do it, no questions asked or they left the field if they didn't want to do it. Good or bad, I think this generation is changing missions, because we are relying on what the individual wants to do. Sometimes that person is blinded to what needs to be done. Sometimes we need the field leadership team directive that says this is what you should do... We know that there are people that could take over the Bible Institute but they just don't want to, for whatever reason. I think that person probably would if they had just been told, "Okay you really need to step in here for a year and sacrifice and do it because we know you really could do it if you applied yourself. But we don't do that anymore.

Mission leaders began transitioning from an extensive power distance orientation to a more compressed power distance in the mid-1990s. Jennifer mentioned that the "decision that the fields would have more power was important. The buzz word was consensus." A similar change in attitude toward leadership styles had been occurring in the Dominican Republic. Older Dominican leaders such as Efrain and Fernando had an extensive power distance orientation and used an authoritarian style of leadership. Younger Dominicans such as Carlos and Jaime were questioning the traditional Dominican leadership style and moving toward a more compressed power distance orientation.

Dominican Preference for Consensus versus American Top-down Management

The top-down management style that American planners used with Dominican planners was established in the early 1990s and remained basically unaltered in 2003, even though there was an increasing preference for consensus decision-making among rising Dominican leaders.

Dominican Preference for Consensus

Jaime, a young Dominican leader, described an ideal American planner as “someone who has become Dominican, talks of our favorite foods, laughs at our jokes, and knows how to discuss problems in private before making decisions and shares leadership.” Jaime wanted to discuss problems before decisions were final. His comments indicated a preference for consensus decision-making. He suggested that problems be discussed in private. Jaime’s perspective of working with Americans was very different than Efrain’s positioning of Nathan as the *maximum authority in Christian Education* in the early 1990s.

Carlos used some consensus decision-making techniques at Education Committee meetings. He explained, “[we use] an open forum that we call a brainstorming session. Later, we review the proposals and then approve or disapprove them by group consensus.”

Dialogue played an increasing role in Dominican decision-making. Jaime described a perfect world where Mission and Dominican C&MA planners could work in united teams by saying, “Well, it will require that they work *together*, that they dialogue *together*, that they make their decisions *together*. That is what I have learned throughout my life.” The ideal of *making decisions together* was not what occurred in the planning of the educational program.

American Top-down Management

In the early 1990s, the Dominican C&MA asked the Mission to develop the theological education program. Efrain recalled:

The most important decision was to form an education committee, because we did not have a functioning education committee in the country. It was a big help that the Mission loaned us missionaries. They formed a missionary committee to teach our pastors.

Older Dominican leaders operated from an extensive power distance orientation and did not object when Americans used a top-down approach to management. They asked Americans to take over the education program and Americans did. Mary stated:

I think the best decision is when *the national church asked the Mission to take over* Christian Education. *To take over*, because they felt they lacked and I know in the past they did a good job with TEE but it had just fallen apart.

Mission leaders used a top-down leadership style in designing the education program and Dominicans accepted it. In the mid-1990s, when the Mission began transitioning to consensus as its internal decision-making model, missionaries were encouraged to voice their opinions. This change in management style made one field forum particularly frustrating for Rosemary and Nathan as missionary colleagues suggested that they should redesign their educational plans. Rosemary said:

I can remember a particular field forum that was not very pleasant when that kind of questioning was brought up. Where it was sending mixed signals to us but things were coming out. We need this, we need this. We have to train our leaders but then there was a questioning or a fear... whatever... [The missionaries said] “we’ve got too much, its going to kill us.”

This study revealed that in 2003 rising Dominicans leaders increasingly preferred collaborative planning rather than a top-down management style. Jaime said:

We do not measure people primarily in terms of cognitive ability. We measure a person's integration into society, their friendliness, their ability to establish close, caring, affectionate relationships. We will say that such a person has the ability to collaborate with us while we view another person as pompous because he or she is always aloof, does not smile easily, and does not identify with us.

An examination of the second and third intercultural factors reveals conflicting values. The second factor showed that Dominicans historically operated from an extensive power distance and did not question superiors. The third factor stated that rising Dominican leaders preferred decision-making by consensus. Leadership by consensus is inconsistent with an extensive power distance. Hillman (1992) noted that "Jamaica and the Dominican Republic have experienced a process of hybridization through which conflicting traditional and modern forces have been at least partially reconciled" (pp. 168-169). The findings of this study reveal that traditional Dominican leaders prefer an extensive power distance and rising Dominican leaders prefer leadership by consensus. These tensions were only partially reconciled in the Dominican planning context.

Partially reconciled conflicting values not only reflect cultural hybridity, they also reflect generational differences between those Dominican leaders who lived during the reign of Rafael Trujillo and those leaders that were too young to remember his reign or were born after 1960. Rising Dominican leaders have different preferences concerning power distance and decision-making. This generational shift only adds to the complexity of the planning context. American planners struggled to understand this context and Dominican planners struggled to resolve the conflict between traditional and modern values.

Dominican Acquiescence to American Control versus American Organizational Loyalty

Rising Dominican leaders preferred leadership by consensus but acquiesced to American control. This International Joint Venture maintained the same basic power relations without major modification during a 20-year period (1983-2003) even though the Dominican context changed dramatically during those years. Power relations remained unchanged because of Dominican acquiescence to American control and American loyalty to the parent organization.

Dominican Acquiescence to American Control

The leaders of the Dominican C&MA accepted unchanging asymmetric power relations because they were convinced that they did not have any other viable alternative. Fernando explained the perspective of a Dominican planner:

A lot of times when I am preaching or teaching, I say that things have changed in their outward forms but not in the inward reality. The dictatorship previously was with boots and weapons with death killing all those that were not of the same political movement. Now death arrives by different methods. It arrives through sicknesses, through hunger, through a long list of things that have to do with spiritual, physical, and emotional health of a human being. For example, in my country each time that you read the daily paper you find that the dollar [exchange rate] went up and that they are going to dollarize the economy. So how are we not going to become sick, how are we not going to become worried if my salary hasn't changed in three years and if the economy is changing each second? The peso [Dominican national currency] continues to devalue, a bag of cement four year ago cost 60 pesos and now it costs 120. You go to the supermarket and what cost you 5 pesos three months ago now costs 10. So those of us that are working are making the same amount of money but there have been no pay increases and life is very

difficult. So things are deteriorating. The key to this analysis that I am making is that this is an economic dictatorship.... Yes, the Americans are an empire that rules the entire world. Communism has fallen to the floor.... Now look at commerce...if you don't enter [into an international agreement] you don't have any possibilities. Your people will live in misery.

Dominicans accepted American control because Cuba was an example of what happened to those who did not work with Americans. Fernando stated:

I have visited Cuba and I stayed there a week and to me, the more that they wanted to tell me that Communism works, I couldn't agree. I had to see that the people couldn't even buy a Coca-Cola. The people couldn't even go to the supermarket with their Cuban pesos. If people had dollars, they could rent a car, buy gas at the gas station, and go to the supermarket. I saw all of that in Cuba, so on this side there is a dictatorship that allows humans to develop with a sense of freedom in a free market economy. So, I left Cuba frustrated.

Not all Dominican leaders immediately acquiesced to American control. Some resisted the arrival of American missionaries. Rosemary explained:

When we [missionaries] first arrived, it was like a little bit of trying to make up for inadequacies and they did not want anyone who had not been through their specific program to help. These were guys with very little education who were saying, there's no way these missionaries can teach if they do not become students in the program first.... People with minimal education were rejecting or making it difficult for the missionaries and also the young college students coming up, because the older guys were trying to maintain control.

Dominicans acquiesced to American control because they needed resources and Americans offered to fund and develop their education program. Jaime stated:

One of the things that made positive transcendental changes in the education program was the fact that the program was formed by American missionaries or the C&MA Mission in the Dominican Republic. They made plans, developed objectives, worked on logistics and fleshed out a department that produced reports for our national assemblies that were clear, precise, and concise.

Dominicans acquiesced to American control because as Fernando pointed out, they did not want their people to live in misery. Jaime explained that Dominicans feel that Americans will leave if they are challenged. “When Americans enter the work area and they consider that they have been placed in a subordinate role or that their ideas were rejected, they leave. At least that is what we [Dominicans] sometimes think.” Dominicans accepted American assistance knowing that it would lead to American dominance. Jaime stated, “I know that American help will almost always be well received, so well received that a lot of times the work will end up completely in American hands.” The result was that American planners dominated the planning of the educational program and Dominican planners did not strongly voice any opposing viewpoints. Jaime stated: “A completely American platform has been created for this work [the Bible Institute]. We [the Dominican leadership team] are going to follow-through on the program and see how it can be improved as time passes.”

American Organizational Loyalty

Dominicans were not the only ones who felt constrained by the dynamics of the planning context. Americans were constrained by their loyalty to the international organization that supported them. When Dorcas assumed the leadership of the Education Committee, Nathan

knew that financial resources would be a continual problem for the Dominican-led committee but he did not negotiate a subsidy for Dorcas because of organizational loyalty. He explained:

The Mission's policy is that we do not pay national personnel. That relates to pastors. We don't pay pastors' salaries. I think that would probably carry over to any [workers], we wouldn't pay any national office staff workers, national president, vice president, secretary or any expenses related to their function or their organization.

Mission participants were committed to developing Dominican leaders and transitioning them into leadership positions. Kelly stated, "For me it's always been training leaders. As a missionary I always hold to the point that we work ourselves out of a job. To work yourself out of a job you have to have someone to put there." Table 7 presents the purpose statement of the Alliance Mission. The development of the Dominican C&MA was a unifying theme.

Table 7

Purpose Statement for the Alliance Mission in the Dominican Republic

	We seek to accelerate The Dominican C&MA's development:
Objective 1.	Church Planting By prioritizing the planting of professional class C&MA congregations
Objective 2.	Education By providing provisional leadership for the Education Committee and the Alliance Bible Institute
Objective 3.	Evangelism and Discipleship By encouraging strategic projects which strengthen evangelism and discipleship in the Dominican C&MA
Objective 4.	Mentoring By mentoring leaders in character and ministry skills
Objective 5.	Practical Ministry Events By planning and promoting special events to encourage, train, and strengthen Dominican C&MA leaders, their families, and ministries
Objective 6.	Work Team Ministry By overseeing work team participation in strategic Dominican C&MA projects
Objective 7.	By providing the necessary administrative office support for Mission personnel and ministries

Americans were committed to the development of Dominican leaders but their loyalty to *International Ministries* constrained them from negotiating subsidies and updating power relations. Younger Dominican leaders preferred leadership by consensus but they acquiesced to American control. In 2003, unchanging power relations produced tension as Isaac transferred leadership to the Dominican Bible Institute leadership team. Jaime gave his perspective:

Ingrid is an accountant and has been trained as an accountant but Isaac had to train her.

Gladys is an administrator and is employed as an administrator but Isaac wants to train her in administration. Guillermo is a professional with many years of experience at a high level of administration in a prestigious national institution. He is a department head right now, and Isaac wants to train him.

Dominican and American planners were locked into unchanging power relations. It was no longer appropriate for Americans to unilaterally make decisions or lecture well-educated accountants and administrators on a how to run educational ministries.

Dominican Racial and Gender Inequality versus American Racial and Gender Equality

Commonly held values and ideals differentiate cultures. A society may embrace a cultural value or ideal without ever fully realizing that ideal in its daily reality. Dominicans emphasized race and gender distinctions. Americans emphasized race and gender equality.

Racial inequality was reinforced through the Dominican skin color schema (D'Andrade, 1995). Everyday Dominican life reinforced gender inequality. It could be seen in Guillermo's home, where I stayed. He left for work and drove a car. He paid a woman to prepare our meals and clean the house. Males were outside working and leading. Females were in the home, cleaning and cooking. There were exceptions but the traditional pattern was for males to work outside the home and females to raise a family. Fernando, Efrain, Alejandro, and Lorenzo all

followed this pattern. Carlos and Jaime worked outside the home and their wives also worked. Dominican life emphasized gender distinctions and positioned Dominican males for dominance in the society and in the church.

By comparison, Americans minimized racial and gender differences and believed in racial and gender equality. International Ministries (IM) required both male and female missionaries to be well-trained before appointment as missionaries. Female missionaries received the same pay as male missionaries and were considered equals, capable of holding any position within educational ministries. There was tension between Dominican racial and gender inequality and American racial and gender equality. This tension was felt by female directors of the education program.

This second attempt to develop an educational program was actually started by a female educator, Roberta Sawyer. Then Nathan became the full time director and visited all of the pastors. The program grew and enjoyed strong pastoral support. In 1996, Nathan returned to the United States and an American female named Patricia led the program. Later Mary led the education program and found it frustrating that she could not get Dominican men to fully support and respect the educational program. She commented:

I worked with Nathan when he was director. And then when I became director I really felt like, the way they looked at Christian Education went down, because Nathan was a man... and I was a woman, sometimes I thought they didn't really respect Christian Education or me.

Dominican Racial and Gender Inequality

Kelly worked with Haitian congregations and stated that Dominicans “have a problem with Haitians.” She saw Dominican racial inequality first-hand and was often called a *Haitian*.

According to Dominican participants, *Haitian* was a derogatory term questioning a person's nationality and emphasizing a person's skin color and racial characteristics. Dominicans did not espouse racial and gender equality.

Oliver noted gender inequality as he worked with Dominican pastors in church construction projects. He stated that male education directors were given more respect than female directors:

There is a different respect level for men... [than] for women. If you have a male director you have people respect your decision-making more than if you have a woman, unless she has a very strong dominant kind of personality. They have less respect for a woman than they do for a man.

When the mission-led Education Committee selected a Dominican to train as the next director, they chose Dorcas. In the Dominican culture, she was not the primary source of family income. Her husband would work full-time and she would supplement their income by being the education director. She became the director in 1999. She concluded that Dominican gender inequality was practiced by Dominican men and supported by many Dominican women. When I asked Dorcas if it was difficult for a woman to direct education, she stated:

Personally, yes it was because we have a tradition of machismo [and] that even includes women, above all when you talk with pastors. I don't know how much the fact that I am young influenced it. They [the pastors] saw me as a young women who just a few years ago was a young teenage girl. I had just recently married. For me it was difficult.

American Racial and Gender Equality

The comments of American planners illustrate that they operated from assumptions of racial and gender equality. American planners voiced concern about the treatment that Kelly

received and regularly checked on her well-being. International Ministries could not change the way Dominicans in general viewed Kelly, but they affirmed her effectiveness as a missionary by appointing her to direct a joint church planting endeavor in Santo Domingo among Haitians.

Oliver believed that when Nathan was the director of education, the success of education was the result of a team effort between Nathan and Rosemary. He said, “He was the director but she had a lot of good ideas. She is a creative person. She was more creative than Nathan, but Nathan was more detailed than she was. So they made a good team.”

International Ministries practiced gender equality in educational appointments. In 1996, Nathan and Rosemary left the Dominican Republic. A female American missionary became the director of education. Later Mary became the director of education. Dorcas recalled:

When Nathan and Rosemary had to leave, it was when Mary was in the United States... then Patricia entered... then when Mary returned it [the Educational Committee] was Mary, Patricia, Henrique, and me. Later we asked Guillermo and Laura to be members.

The history of the Education Committee revealed that when the committee was American-led, the majority of the directors of the education program were female. Roberta Sawyer was the first part-time American director. Mary recalls that “Roberta started it, she really got it going and the whole thing that the Mission has done with Christian Education, not just TEE but with Sunday School and the Institute, that whole process was positive.” Nathan served as the second director until leaving the country in 1996. Patricia led the program until transitioning leadership to Mary. When Nathan returned in 1998, he served as the director.

Gradually Nathan transitioned leadership to Dorcas. When Dorcas resigned, the Executive Committee appointed Carlos to direct the education program. The program has had two male directors and four female directors.

In 2003, when Nathan rejected the appointment to serve as interim director of the Bible Institute, he felt the Mission should consider appointing a female missionary as the interim director. He said, “There is another [female] missionary coming in from Colombia that could probably take that [position].” This did not take place. The Education Committee appointed Guillermo to serve as interim director of the Bible Institute and appointed a team of four other Dominicans to work with him.

Dominican gender inequality did not mean that a female could not be appointed to direct an educational program. It meant that she would have to be an exceptional leader, gifted in negotiation to be able to successfully lead education in a male-dominated society. Mary said, “If we had somebody like Elizabeth, she could have carried it off.... Elizabeth has different perspectives and can get into things differently than other people. She can maneuver things, manipulate things.” Elizabeth knew how to effectively negotiate in the face of male power.

Mary served as the director of education in 1996 and 1997. She was a strong female leader and her ability to negotiate was strengthened by her identity as a white American. As long as Mary was with Dorcas, the two of them together could handle Dominican male dominance. Dominican male leaders realized that Mary’s presence alongside Dorcas strengthened her ability to negotiate. Jaime stated:

Really we accepted Dorcas as the education director, but we saw her as being covered by the big shadow of a person called Mary. A lot of times we thought that Dorcas was working well because Mary was there with her.... It would have also been acceptable if Mary had taken the position instead of working as the assistant. On various occasions we have seen that we have had an assistant as the director and a director as the assistant.

Educational planners did not negotiate a subsidy for the Dominican director of education. The Dominican cultural pattern required that Carlos provide for his family. Jaime knew that sooner or later Carlos would resign because of the cultural pressure he felt to provide for his family as the dominant male in his home. There was not adequate funding for Carlos to seriously consider directing the program long-term. In March 2004, Mary informed me that Carlos had resigned and had accepted a salaried position in public education.

The Impact of Intercultural Factors

The second part of this chapter explains five ways that the intercultural factors manifested themselves in the theological education program (see Table 8). The five manifestations were communication difficulties, blurred lines of authority, undetected cross-purposes, unilateral decision-making, and the marginalization of rural Dominicans and Haitians.

Table 8

The Impact of Intercultural Factors

1. Communication Difficulties
2. Blurred Lines of Authority
3. Undetected Cross-purposes
4. Unilateral Decision Making
5. The Marginalization of Rural Dominicans and Haitians

Communication Difficulties

The five intercultural factors combine to hinder effective communication between planners. Communication difficulties included American planners misinterpreting Dominican silence, American planners missing or giving low priority to strategic Dominican suggestions, and all educational planners failing to discuss the primary problems of the education program.

American Planners Misinterpreted Dominican Silence

Years of foreign domination, the thirty-year dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo, and the continued presence of neopatrimonial leadership made silence the default response of Dominican subordinates. Heidi, a TEE tutor demonstrated this response at a meeting led by Dominicans. She explained:

The director of the Education Committee told me that they had decided to move the opening quiz to the end of the class. I asked him, “Why?” He said that a lot of people had said that the opening quiz was bothering them and making them tense. I then asked him, “Well, who made this decision?” He said the Education Committee did. The reason I asked him, “Who made the decision?” was because I am working as a tutor and someone should have asked me what I thought. I wish someone would have asked me if I was in agreement or not, but they didn’t ask me. It made me feel bad that they did not ask me, but it seems like when the decision was announced the Education Committee already had their minds made up. That was the answer I received. I just sat there silent with my inner frustration and finally I left the meeting. Maybe it would have been better if I had continued asking why they didn’t ask all the tutors across the national program that were working with TEE. But I kept all this stuff inside and I left. I guess it was cowardice.

Heidi’s reaction raised several questions in my mind primarily because she worked as a Dominican public school teacher for 30 years. During the ten years that I lived in the Dominican Republic, educational strikes were common and often closed the University of Santo Domingo. Dominican educators did not quietly accept the decisions of their educational superiors. I asked Heidi to outline the steps Dominican educators use to voice their disapproval. She said:

I don't accept it when they send down an order that we professors think is bad for us or for our students or for the System. We protest and there's different ways to present our opinion. You can send it to the leadership in writing. You can call a teacher's meeting and elect a spokesperson. If they will not listen to us, we can even take the extreme step of calling a general strike to protect our rights.

Heidi was not relating this way to the Dominican-led Education Committee or the Bible Institute leadership. I asked Heidi, Gladys, and Ingrid if they would use these steps in responding to a decision made by the Education Committee? Gladys responded immediately, "No, because it is a church committee, we have more respect!" So I asked her how she voiced her disagreement and she said, "Honestly, there are not any channels for us to send our opinion."

Dominican planners in subordinate positions remained relatively silent when superiors presented plans especially if those superiors were connected to the church. Dominicans intrinsically knew that the silence of a Dominican in a subordinate position did not mean agreement. Americans did not have this insider knowledge and misinterpreted Dominican silence. Bob described the Education Committee's approval of the removal of the TEE requirement for entrance into the Bible Institute:

I believe when the Education Committee made their decision that they were going to go with this idea... there was no opposition at all to the idea of doing it. I can't say that everyone was jumping on board saying that this is the greatest idea since sliced bread but there was no opposition at all to the idea that I saw and it was quite readily accepted as a good thing and a good way to go.

Bob was correct in asserting that Dominican silence did not mean that they thought the idea was great. It meant that Dominicans in subordinate positions did not feel that they could voice any opposing viewpoint to church leaders.

American Planners Missed Dominican Suggestions

Americans not only misinterpreted Dominican silence, they also missed Dominican suggestions. Two Dominican participants mentioned that they offered suggestions to American educators and planners. Heidi offered to help Americans adapt their TEE materials to the Dominican culture and language but when her American professor did not respond, she quietly stayed on the sidelines. She said:

Once I offered that if they would give me a quiz, I would translate it. But *you* know, I was a student. There are things [in the material] that were not understandable. I said that if they would give me the quiz I would actualize it to our language and culture. I was told that they would have to talk to the Education Committee. After some time had passed, I decided I would not continue to insist.

In the process of reviewing the transcript and verifying the translation, I realized that I had been the professor that did not accept Heidi's offer. The TEE material was copyrighted and could not be changed but I should have taken advantage of her help on the quizzes. She had worked as a Dominican educator for 30 years and was honored nationally for her work in training teachers. After I interviewed Heidi, I asked her to write a list of suggestions for the education program (Appendix H). She sent me a short letter in which she observed that the key to effective education was not new materials or equipment. She believed that the key was practitioner buy-in. She explained that it was very important to include professors, tutors, and Sunday School directors in planning. Her suggestions directly addressed the issues of stakeholder representation

and unilateral decision-making. Listening to Heidi would have changed the Education Committee's focus and moved planners toward meta-negotiation.

Sometimes Americans heard a Dominican suggestion but gave it low priority. Henrique was on the Education Committee for several years. Mary stated, "I remember Henrique, all he would want to talk about was Sunday School. Every meeting he would bring [it] up." Henrique stated, "I always suggested to the Committee that we do more activities for the Sunday School. The Sunday School as I understand it is where we reach the largest number of learners." American planners assigned his suggestion a low priority. In 2003, the national assembly insisted that the Education Committee make the preparation of Dominican Sunday School material a high priority. Guillermo and Alejandro both mentioned the importance of preparing a Dominican C&MA curriculum linking it to establishing the identity of the Dominican C&MA.

Henrique also stated, "I always suggested to the Education Committee that we do some kind of follow-up on Pastoral Seminars. Not only that we are concerned that they attend but that we also determine what they are receiving." In 2003, the Field Leadership Team decided to discontinue the Pastoral Seminars because as Isaac stated, "I think we were really beginning to question what are we doing with this and where are we going?"

Americans and Dominicans Did Not Discuss Problems

Intercultural factors manifested themselves in communication difficulties. American planners misinterpreted Dominican silence, missed Dominican suggestions, and failed to discuss the problems that they identified as the primary problems facing the education program. I asked Bob what were the major struggles in the TEE program. He responded, "The first thing is national leadership, the director does not have the time or the money to promote TEE.... There is a problem there." The transfer of leadership and the resulting financial crisis were the two

primary problems facing the education program of the Dominican C&MA. When Mission personnel directed the education program the Mission fully supported those missionaries. When educational programs were transferred to Dominican leadership, the Mission insisted that the Dominican C&MA support its own leaders. These two problems were not adequately discussed.

In 1999, Dorcas became the Dominican director of education while Nathan and Rosemary reentered church planting ministry. Mary continued working at the education office. She commented:

There was Rosemary working in the office, there was Nathan working in the office, and I was working in the office and Dorcas also worked in the office. Then all the sudden, when the [education] office moved to the national [Church] office, there was Dorcas. I helped her, but I didn't feel like I could do it all, I had to let her do it all. I could try to get money from the Mission and try to suggest things. She wanted to put in a telephone, then she wanted to go on the Internet. I kept thinking, this is going to cost so much money and we don't get that much money. Let's just use the national church's phone. No, she wanted to, so we had to let her do that. The next thing we knew, we were so in debt to the phone company.... The finances just got out of hand. The keeping of the records was a mess... and then I went on home assignment.

Dorcas faced many difficulties alone because planners had not discussed and resolved the issues of finance and leadership transition. Dorcas resigned and Carlos became the director of education. In May 2003, Carlos asked Mary to assist him in education. I asked Jaime what would need to happen for a Dominican to lead education and an American to play a supportive role. Jaime said, "It's simple, you're going to have to spell out the working relationship." Identifying

the fact that planners needed to improve communication was simple. Improving communication was difficult because five interrelated intercultural factors hindered effective communication.

Blurred Lines of Authority

Blurred lines of authority were a second manifestation of the impact of intercultural factors in the education program. The lines of authority were not clearly defined and did not encourage planners to discuss or collaboratively resolve problems.

Dominican and American Planners Did Not Clearly Define the Partnership

When Nathan became the education director Dominican and American leaders did not adequately define the role of Americans working in Dominican programs. Nathan stated:

There is a fuzziness there that I...wanted to clarify. When you try to do one of these organizational diagrams and place the head of the authority, the Education Committee really gets... muddled, especially when a missionary is in there directing it. That committee is technically under the direction of the national Church. Most of the committee is Dominican. We are working in the interests of the Dominican Church and the decisions that are made need to be reported to the national church Executive Committee. But pretty much in another sense its almost autonomous in that the national Church cannot set the job description for a missionary because our support comes financially and in every way from the United States from our parent organization. So the national Church cannot... say, "you are going to assign so many personnel to this particular ministry." That is not their authority.

Nathan's comments revealed that responsibilities within the IJV were not clearly defined. Nathan was not clear if the education program was a Dominican C&MA program that missionaries worked in or a Mission program that served Dominicans. This confusion was not

resolved. In 1999 when the Mission transitioned TEE to Dominican leadership, the role of the Mission in relation to a Dominican-led education program was not clear. The Mission walked away from any responsibility for Dominican-led TEE. Dominicans did not complain and Americans did not feel they could discuss any subsidy. Bob said, “One other thing that is needed is at some level to address the issue of strengthening the TEE program that we basically left behind.” Oliver’s comments were similar:

I believe in handing things over... but I think we need to make sure that whatever we are going to hand over is strong, not weak. You don’t throw a two-month old baby into water and say, “swim.” You make sure that the person can be trained to swim.

Intercultural factors hindered effective communication. Americans did not understand Dominican hybridity. American top-down management style frustrated rising Dominican leaders but these leaders did not discuss their frustration because they did not want to endanger the partnership. Dominicans and Americans viewed race and gender differently. These differences hindered intercultural communication. The resulting lack of effective communication left the lines of authority blurred and the relationship of the Dominican C&MA and the Mission to educational programs inadequately defined. Guillermo, the Dominican leader of the Bible Institute committee stated, “The Bible Institute belongs to the national church. The Mission is a support, the Mission helps us, but the national church is the one who carries out the plans.” Bob, the Mission director stated, “I see the Bible Institute as a Mission institution, but it does have connections with the national church.”

Dominicans and Americans Did Not Discuss or Resolve Problems

Blurred lines of authority did not encourage Dominicans and Americans to collaboratively resolve the educational problems of TEE or the Pastoral Seminar program.

Americans started these educational programs for the Dominican C&MA and then walked away from educational responsibility. Kelly noted that “TEE was given to the Dominicans.” Bob realized that TEE was failing and he was willing to start a new TEE program if the current program failed. He stated, “It is an issue of personnel. Either the national church needs to get a person who can raise up leaders to teach these courses in local churches or the Mission is going to need to get involved in possibly an extension of the Institute to try and redo the whole program of TEE.”

Americans were not collaboratively planning with Dominicans. However, Jennifer’s comments indicated that American planners were not opposed to dialogue, they just did not know how to facilitate it. She said, “I think that we as a Mission sort of want to back out since we have been carrying it for so many years. Sort of wait, *listen*, and see approach *to see if the Dominicans themselves will ask for it*, pay for it, are willing to do whatever they must to resurrect it.”

American and Dominican planners were both open to dialogue but intercultural factors were not recognized and hindered planners from collaboratively resolving their problems. Lorenzo, a member of the Executive Committee believed that collaborative planning was the next logical developmental step for the partnership. He stated:

Personally, I think that there should be a common agreement worked out between the Mission and the Dominican C&MA. Right away we should sit down and work out a detailed, controlled, measurable program in which both partners equally collaborate. The Mission can bring its experience and skill, the National Church can bring its experience and its knowledge of Dominican reality.... This is what the Church and the Mission should do: collaborative programs not divorced the one from the other. We really do need

each other right now. It is not that the Mission is here just to give financial help, rather we can really work together. I think that is the future.

Blurred lines of authority was the second intercultural factor that impacted the education program.

Undetected Cross-purposes

The purposes of the Dominican C&MA and International Ministries are complementary. Dominican leaders want to find resources for their churches. American leaders want to accelerate the development of the Dominican C&MA by planting urban churches, constructing buildings, and training leaders. Intercultural factors hindered communication and organizational cross-purposes were not identified as Americans and Dominicans worked together. Transitioning leadership to Dominicans and avoiding financial subsidies were cross-purposes. Restricting collaborative planning to substantive issues and preparing Dominicans to lead educational programs were cross-purposes. Depending exclusively on Mission resources and establishing an accredited Bible Institute were cross-purposes.

Transitioning Leadership to Dominicans and Avoiding Financial Subsidies

Efrain, a former president of the Dominican C&MA described this set of cross-purposes when he stated:

An important decision that I don't think has been beneficial was the decision to transfer the direction of the Education Committee to a Dominican team. On one hand, it has been an important decision because we have seen the advance of Dominicans, but on the other hand it has not been beneficial because of the decline we have experienced in the education program. The change of leadership had a negative impact in theological education.

Efrain did not believe that the leadership transfer was beneficial. He said:

The persons that replaced the missionaries were capable leaders, professionals, and in addition to that they had been assisting the missionaries and in reality had learned how to direct the education program just like the missionaries. Because of this, I don't believe that it was a lack of capability rather it was a lack of economic resources.

The Mission did not subsidize a Dominican-led program because American planners viewed dependence on Mission finance as worse than dependence on Mission personnel. Nathan said:

We've already created a dependency on personnel and it's a bigger problem if you create dependency related to finances. We find the program is very difficult to back away from that [dependency]. Whereas you can put aside a person for the position it doesn't seem as major as giving several thousand dollars to support someone.

American planners assumed that effective leadership would be able to find a way to produce a financially independent program without subsidies. Americans offered leadership development training to Dominican leaders based on this assumption. Jaime said that Dominican leaders had received a lot of training when what was really needed was financial assistance. He also noted that Mission leaders did not expect Mission educators to work in a Dominican context without adequate resources:

We Dominicans have received a lot of training, [emphasis] a lot of training! We have received Pastoral Seminars for years and years, we have received a lot of books and materials, some of the best professors have come, authors of college textbooks have come here to give us training. I believe that the resolution of our crisis does not rest in training, it rests in resources. Carlos is the education director, he goes to the office for an hour on

Mondays and an hour on Thursdays because he must work in order to support his family. He has two small children, he is working a secular job, and he is looking for some other options... but he is going to have to forget his ministerial work because it does not provide him any guaranteed income. Love has its limits, that is the great problem.... The great problem is getting resources. This is something we have seen about you [missionaries], that they pay you missionaries to work. You can rest and give your time to your work.”

Restricted Planning and Preparing Dominicans to Lead

Nathan was committed to preparing Dominicans to lead educational programs. He said, “as a missionary you don’t want to establish a program that you have to be responsible for forever. The idea is that anything we do, we want to train [Dominicans] to turn it over as soon as possible.” At the same time, his loyalty to International Ministries influenced him to focus the Education Committee’s planning on resolving substantive issues. These two purposes were in conflict. Dominican planners could not be fully prepared for educational leadership without being involved in meta-negotiation but Nathan’s loyalty to the Mission kept him from involving Dominicans in meta-negotiation. I asked him what decisions were made by the Education Committee and he explained:

I think anything that affected the overall flow of the program, the cost involved for books, if we were going to make any changes such as reducing the length of a class from two hours to an hour and a half, how many absences we would permit a student to have, all that went through the committee because it affected everyone. I think most of the decisions that were made went through the committee.

Nathan did not feel that the Mission wanted Dominican planners discussing meta-issues like the placement of missionaries:

If they [Dominicans] had to make the call, I don't think they would have any hesitation to put me back in education at this point. There is a difference in value placed on those things. I think when it comes right down to it, we as missionaries personnel have to decide. It would be possible I suppose to say to the Dominican Church, we are appointing missionaries, where would you like us to work. It would look completely different.... The leadership in the United States wouldn't give us the option.

The limiting of planning to substantive issues did not prepare Dorcas to responsibly address meta-issues. Oliver believed that Nathan and Rosemary had only partially prepared Dorcas for educational leadership. He said:

Nathan and Rosemary should have stayed in that position and trained somebody in every area so that when you do transition and hand over the baton, that person is well educated in every area of the business....That is what happened with Dorcas, they assumed that she knew everything because she was present in the office, but she wasn't trained in everything. She was just there while they were doing everything and I think the assumption led to what we have today. So ideally, if Nathan and Rosemary had stayed there another year perhaps, or maybe even two...and I even think that the Mission should have kept a budget line to help in some areas... until the transition was slower.

Depending Entirely on Mission Resources and Establishing an Accredited Bible Institute

Americans planners established a Bible Institute based on the resources they had at their disposal. Those resources included finances and personnel. At a field forum, they decided they could not establish an accredited Bible Institute. Nathan explained:

If it were an accredited Bible Institute...we were locking ourselves in for years and years before we would have enough trained Dominicans at the master's level or whatever to be able to take over that particular ministry....We pretty much came to a consensus as a Mission after we had talked through it....we were limited in what we could do. We had to pick and choose what did we think was the most valuable.... The decision was made without the national church input because we are, in a sense, a separate organization.

Planning the Bible Institute in isolation from Dominicans and basing that plan solely on Mission resources was a cross-purpose to establishing an accredited Bible Institute. Dominicans wanted to graduate from the Bible Institute with an accredited diploma. Fernando explained the importance of the diploma inadvertently when he said, "maybe there are some wealthy Dominicans that would not accept me as their pastor. Maybe they would accept someone else that had an academic diploma." This comment suggested that education was a means of overcoming the inequalities caused by Dominican racial stereotypes. American planners failed to see the importance of producing an accredited diploma. Nathan stated, "We were not going to worry about accreditation. We would just give them what they needed in practical, theological education. What they could use." Alejandro, the President of the Dominican C&MA stated:

The fact that we do not have any recognition from any institution is a thing that Dominican students repeatedly question. They would like to have some kind of official recognition from an institution or university. It could be at a certificate or diploma. There are a lot of people that worry about this. I believe that later we will have to evaluate this because if the people want it then we could reach a time when they are no longer motivated to study because it is not accredited.

Americans Made Unilateral Decisions

Intercultural factors impacted the planning of the educational program by positioning Americans to unilaterally make the majority of decisions in the education program. The program was established using a top-down management style. Dominican acquiesced to American control. Older Dominicans established Nathan as the *maximum authority in Christian Education*. Nathan liked to work things out by himself because of his individualism. Dominican males welcomed Nathan's strong leadership style. Nathan did not realize until his interview the full impact of these combined intercultural factors. He stated:

Well, when it comes right down to it, you see one thing, you see the committee working but so much of what has happened in education has been determined by the Mission because we are providing personnel and funding, or a lot of it. Funding in the sense that the missionaries are supported by the Mission and some of the resources come from the Mission. So, when you look at it, I'd like to be able to say that we've worked with the national church and they've worked through all this and we've done it together but I think the Mission has made 95% of the decisions. We consult and usually the consultation is like this: Here's this need in education. This person and this program is available and we'd like to provide this for you. Is that okay with you? It's not a big commitment on their part. It's something that we are offering them. We offer it because we know that is what we can handle and it usually is well received. We have a good relationship because it's like somebody taking a twenty-dollar bill out of their pocket and saying, "we'd like to help you, is that okay?" If they have a need, they are going to say, "Sure, I appreciate that." That will help them. I think that is what education has been.

In 2003, Mission leaders continued to make educational decision unilaterally. They cancelled the Pastoral Seminar program without discussing the issue with Dominican planners even though Dominican leaders had played a significant part in the formation of the Pastoral Seminar program. Fernando explained:

I was the one that asked for missionary assistance, when I was president. When this all started, it started like this, the first missionaries arrived and they saw our need and understood it right away. They one missionary asked me this questions, “Why did you request missionaries?” I said because we are the C&MA and we don’t have any knowledge of what this means so that the local churches can develop this flavor [identity], because I was not C&MA.... Afterwards, this missionary found funding and *we created* the Pastoral Seminars.

The Mission started the Pastoral Seminar program in consultation with the President of the Dominican C&MA. The Mission canceled the Pastoral Seminar without adequate consultation. Isaac stated:

“It [the Pastoral Seminar] was a blessing,” they [Dominicans] would say, but in terms of what was it a blessing? That is what we [Americans] were really beginning to question. At least I was and I voiced that pretty clearly. But I don’t think I was the only one feeling that way.... I may be stating this strongly, it was beginning to be seen as sort of a holy or sacred cow. The more sacred a cow gets, the harder it is to butcher the cow. But our regional director helped us in a sense. He said, “well if it is not having much use we’ll put it in for two more conferences or seminars and then that’s it.”

The Marginalization of Rural Dominicans and Haitians

The five intercultural factors identified in this study hindered planners from producing a transformative educational program even though that was their original purpose. Nathan and Rosemary designed the education program to meet the needs of the rural poor. He stated:

The program as it is, both TEE and the Bible Institute, are designed for the rural poor because that is what the national church is mainly composed of. When you come into urban professional class you are dealing with a whole different mindset and group of people. I don't feel a need to have that group of people represented in the education program as it exists. I think that the program is fine and is accomplishing what it was designed to do.

When Nathan and Rosemary started the program they wanted students from the rural Cibao and the East to be involved in the education program. Mary stated, "They didn't just keep it here in the capital. They made sure that it was in the North, and in Santiago, and in the East. They really took it serious." Nathan decided that he needed to visit all the churches of the Dominican C&MA. He explained, "I think this is probably the most important decision I made that helped the education program. I decided that I would visit every Alliance church in the country, which at that time was forty some."

TEE classes were started in rural areas and towns of the South, Cibao, and the East. TEE classes and the Bible Institute were also offered in the two urban centers of Santo Domingo and Santiago. Rosemary described the students from different regions:

The cities have more interest in education, although the capital people started wanting a degree. They kept going even though they didn't get a degree. Santiago was different than the capital because the people of Santiago were not college students. They were

married couples with children in businesses and they worked hard. They were all established people. Couples were in their late 20s to early 40s. When you arrive to the [rural] Cibao, the impression was that some of the older men could care less, but I don't know if that was the case.... Part of [their struggle] was economic, but also there was an element where they wanted to know what they were going to get from the Institute. Even in the East the Haitian guys wanted to make it a priority. There were factors that made it more difficult as far as the economy and work schedules. When we could supply them with someone who could come out and teach the class, they had good classes. They would come out even after they had been working all day and there was no electricity.

Nathan did not consciously represent the urban professional in planning. However, the urban centers were overrepresented because the members of the Education Committee came almost exclusively from Santo Domingo. Henrique was the only Education Committee member from the Cibao, and he lived in the urban center of Santiago. He stated, "Even though I am on the committee, the representation is more concentrated in the capital city, Santo Domingo."

As long as Nathan and Rosemary led education, rural Dominicans and Haitians had access to TEE. In 1999, the program became Dominican-led. Dorcas did not travel to all the churches of the C&MA. Nathan and Rosemary were no longer on the committee. The reduction of educational resources also reduced the opportunities that the poor had to participate in the education program. Gradually, rural Dominicans and Haitians were marginalized. Within the Education Committee, Santo Domingo was over represented, the Cibao was underrepresented, and according to Mary, "there was never anybody from the East."

Educational planners understood that rural Dominicans and Haitians needed help. Carlos was especially concerned for the Haitian. He said:

Economically, the people of the East need a lot of help, because the East is a region where the economic production has collapsed. The majority of Haitians live by cutting sugarcane. The sugar refinery have declared bankruptcy and a lot of the people no longer have any place to work. They have to dedicate themselves to work that they are not accustomed to and their economic situation is very precarious.... A lot of international humanitarian assistance organizations have come so they can survive. Not so they can live well, just so they can survive.

Guillermo also expressed compassionate concern for Haitian learners. He said:

This region is very special because the majority of the people are our Haitian brothers.... Theological education is in this region and it is our goal to continue to develop theological education in the region.... These brothers have broken the language barrier because they speak Haitian Creole... now a lot speak Spanish. It is wonderful to see the effort that these brothers make so we have to make a special effort to keep developing theological education in their region.

The concern of Carlos and Guillermo did not translate into tangible action. The educational options for rural poor Dominicans and Haitians decreased. During May and June 2003, there were not any theological tutors traveling to the East. Oliver explained, "It's a commitment because ... it just takes time and you have to rely on public transportation."

Kelly explained that there were additional difficulties:

Dominicans have a clash with Haitians. Dominicans don't really understand Haitians and they don't even believe they can understand Spanish. So how can they go out there and teach them when they can't understand.... Dominicans would be stepping out of their comfort zone in doing that and that's the problem.

By 2003, TEE no longer functioned in the East and TEE opportunities in the rural Cibao were in sharp decline. The cancellation of the Pastoral Seminar program eliminated the only viable educational option available to most poor rural learners. In 2003, when the Dominican-led Education Committee appointed a five-member Dominican leadership team to lead the Bible Institute, all five members of the newly appointed leadership team were from Santo Domingo.

While Haitian learners were not represented and rural Dominican learners were under-represented, urban professionals, particularly those in Santo Domingo were over-represented. In 2003, the Education Committee made a decision to accept students in the Bible Institute, who had not taken TEE. This decision specifically favored urban professionals in Santo Domingo and Santiago. Lorenzo, the pastor of a professional class church in Santo Domingo stated, “from my personal perspective, maybe someone else could think otherwise, the decision was a good one especially in training people for ministry. The entrance of these professionals is something that has a promising future.”

A Dominican-led Education Committee made up of urban Dominicans marginalized rural Dominican and Haitian learners. The over-representation of professionals in Santo Domingo was compatible with Mission priorities. The Mission had vital interest in training Dominican leaders for profession class churches. The challenge for both American and Dominican educational planners was to responsibly represent all the stakeholders in the theological education program.

Summary

Five intercultural factors impacted the planning of this theological education program in the Dominican Republic. The first was Dominican hybridity and collectivity versus American individuality. The second was extensive power distance orientation versus compressed power distance orientation. The third was increasing Dominican preference for consensus versus

American top-down management. The fourth was Dominican acquiescence to American control versus American loyalty to parent organization. The fifth was Dominican racial and gender inequality versus American racial and gender equality. These factors impacted the theological education program. The factors produced communication difficulties, blurred lines of authority, left organizational cross-purposes undetected, led to American unilateral decision-making, and marginalized the rural poor.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

The leadership training programs of Independent churches have not kept pace with their rapid growth in postcolonial societies (Johnson & Mandryk, 2001). International Joint Ventures (Deresky, 1997) have formed between these churches and specific American mission agencies (Niklaus, 1990) to develop theological education programs in an effort to train church leaders. Theological educators have tried to improve the planning of these collaborative efforts in theological education (Ferris, 1990, 1995).

Study Summary

This study investigated the impact of intercultural factors, created when American educators worked with indigenous planners in post-colonial societies, as a possible hindrance to effective planning (Kennedy, 1990). The purpose of this study was to examine how intercultural factors shaped the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic. The study examined the theological education program of the Dominican Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA). Two research questions guided the study:

1. What were the intercultural factors that impacted the planning of a theological education program in the Dominican Republic?
2. How did these intercultural factors manifest themselves in the theological education program?

A review of Dominican history and postcolonial theory provided insight into the Dominican planning context. The literature suggested that Dominican identity is the product of

cultural hybridity (Aparicio, 1999; Pons, 1995). The Dominican identity formation process was forged in colonial oppression (Sugirtharajah, 2002). Because of their colonial past, Dominicans privilege lighter skin and foreign knowledge (Howards, 2001; Sagás, 2000). Colonial history and neopatrimonial leadership produced subordinate silence as the default public response to leaders (Spivak, 1994). Historically, Dominicans have accepted subordinate roles in international partnerships (Loomba, 1998).

A review of educational planning theory suggested that the literature review include an overview of Evangelical theological frame factors. A review of the Lausanne Covenant Statement of Faith (ICWE, 1974) outlined the consensus of Evangelicals worldwide. The literature review included a brief overview of the philosophical foundations of adult education (Elias & Merriam, 1995). A modified critical philosophy of education was the most appropriate for Evangelicals committed to cultural critique and constructive social change (Sine, 2000). Evangelical educators modify a critical philosophy of education by identifying the Bible as the ultimate standard and rejecting violence as a means of cultural transformation (Stott, 1984; Vencer, 1983). The Cervero and Wilson (1994a) planning framework was introduced as being consistent with a modified critical philosophy of education because it addresses power, stakeholder interests, negotiation, and planner responsibility. My perspective as a researcher was focused through the lens of Dominican history (Pons, 1995), postcolonial studies (Sugirtharajah, 2002), and critical planning theory (Cervero, Wilson, & Associates, 2001).

This study was a critical ethnographic case study (Merriam & Associates, 2002). It was critical in its approach to planning, recognizing that the planning context was a postcolonial society in a neo-colonial world (Loomba, 1998). The themes of power, resistance, dependency, racism, hybridity, collusion, nationalism, and globalization were all part of the planning context.

It was ethnographic in its focus on intercultural factors. It was a case study in its systematic analysis of the theological education program of the Dominican C&MA.

Twenty-one participants were selected as a purposive sample for this study. Each participant was interviewed using the critical incident technique (Angelides, 2001; Stauss & Mang, 1999). A critical incident was defined as a key decision that changed the direction and development of the theological education program. Each participant was asked to identify two critical incidents. Some participants mentioned only one critical incident while others mentioned more than two. The 21 participants mentioned 43 critical incidents. Each interview lasted an hour and was audio-taped, transcribed, and reviewed by the participant to insure accuracy.

Data analysis began in January 2003 with the first interview and was continual during the 16 months of the study (Silverman, 2000). Interview data was supplemented through archival data directly correlated to the events mentioned by participants. Interview data from each participant's interview was compared to the data in other participant interviews. The application of constant comparison to the 43 critical incidents revealed that the participants mentioned 21 distinct educational decisions. These decisions were further analyzed as reflecting eight decisions that primarily focused on meta-negotiation and thirteen decisions that primarily focused on substantive negotiation (Elgstrom & Riis, 1992). Data analysis identified five interrelated intercultural factors that manifested themselves in five different ways in the planning and practice of the theological education program.

The first intercultural factor was Dominican hybridity and collectivity versus American individuality. The second factor was extensive power distance orientation versus compressed power distance orientation. The third factor was increasing Dominican preference for consensus decision-making versus American top-down management. The fourth factor was Dominican

acquiescence to American control versus American loyalty to parent organization. The fifth factor was Dominican racial and gender inequality versus American racial and gender equality. These factors impacted the theological education program. The factors produced communication difficulties, blurred lines of authority, left organizational cross-purposes undetected, led to American unilateral decision-making, and marginalized the rural poor.

Conclusions and Discussion

Three conclusions were drawn from this study. The first conclusion was that intercultural frame factors limited collaborative planning to the resolution of substantive issues and left key meta-issues unresolved. The second conclusion was that subordinate stakeholders did not have access to the planning table regardless of whether the Education Committee was American-led or Dominican-led. The third conclusion was that educational planning inadvertently reproduced Dominican societal inequalities.

The Unrecognized Impact of Intercultural Frame Factors

The first conclusion was that intercultural frame factors limited collaborative planning to the resolution of substantive issues and left key meta-issues unresolved. Both American and Dominican planners commented that the interview process made them think about decision-making in new ways. The use of the Cervero and Wilson (1994a) framework focused interview probes on meta-planning issues such as the identification of stakeholders, stakeholder and organizational interests, power relations, and planner responsibility. The study revealed that collaborative planning had focused almost exclusively on substantive issues and left meta-issues unresolved.

This study provided empirical evidence that intercultural frame factors constrained planner negotiation at the planning table of the theological education program. Elgstrom and Riis

(1992) defined frame factors as “such factors that *constrain the intellectual space and the space for action* within a process, which the actors at each point of time during the process cannot influence or perceive they cannot influence in the short run” (p. 104). This study identified a variety of frame factors that constrained planning options. The study began by identifying the frame factor of Evangelical theology (ICWE, 1974). The study identified five additional intercultural factors that constrained negotiation. The first factor was Dominican hybridity and collectivity versus American individuality. The second was Dominican extensive power distance orientation versus American compressed power distance orientation. The third was Dominican preference for consensus versus American top-down management. The fourth was Dominican acquiescence to American control versus American organizational loyalty. The fifth was Dominican racial and gender inequality versus American racial and gender equality. The planners of the theological education program did not recognize that negotiation was constrained because they were accustomed to the communication difficulties produced by these intercultural factors.

Each of the five intercultural factors and their combined impact constrained the intellectual space for planning. The difference between Dominican hybridity and collectivity versus American individualism constrained the intellectual space. Dominicans and Americans liked each other but did not fully understand each other even after years of cooperation. Their core diversity meant that collaborative planning was constrained to areas that planners viewed from similar perspectives.

The difference between a Dominican extensive power distance versus an American compressed power distance constrained the space for planning because Dominicans did not respond to American educational leaders when they asked for their evaluation or opinion.

Dominicans operated from an extensive power distance that did not allow the ideas of their leaders to be critiqued in public. Americans operated from a compressed power distance and expected Dominicans to respond to their requests for input. As long as Americans led the program, planning discussion was constrained to those issues where Dominicans agreed with Americans.

The Dominican preference for consensus in leadership was compatible with the way Americans made decisions within the Mission. However, Americans used a top-down management style when planning the educational program. The American planners had graduate degrees from theological seminaries and their top-down management style reflected their sense of superiority in the area of theological education. This constrained the space for planning. Americans did not include Dominicans in meta-negotiation. They made educational decisions for Dominicans not with Dominicans.

Dominicans did not want to risk offending Americans. They acquiesced to American decisions rather than risking heated dialogue. Americans were constrained in their ability to collaboratively plan by their organizational loyalty. They would not make commitments that did not follow the guidelines established in IM's global strategy. Planning was constrained to maintaining the status quo within the partnership.

Dominican gender inequality meant that American males were ascribed a stronger negotiating positions than American females. The executive leadership of the Dominican C&MA was unaccustomed to negotiating with female leaders. Americans viewed female educators as equal to male educators. They positioned several female educators in leadership positions. This difference constrained the negotiation issues that Dorcas and Mary addressed to subjects that would normally receive Dominican approval.

Dominican and American planners constrained their actions based on framing factors that they *perceived* they could not change. Dominican and American frame factors constrained collaborative planning primarily to substantive issues and a few meta-issues that were not difficult to resolve because Americans and Dominicans had similar perspectives.

Missionaries like Nathan and Rosemary arrived and went to *work in* the existing power structure established between IM and the Dominican C&MA. They did not *work on* the power structure. Cervero and Wilson (1998) differentiate between *acting in* power and *acting on* power. They write:

We focus on the forms of negotiation that Elgstrom and Riis (1992) characterize as always occurring at two levels: (1) *substantive negotiations* where people *act in* the web of power relations to construct the program's purpose, content, and methods; and (2) *meta-negotiation* where people *act on* the power relations themselves, either strengthening or weakening those macro-level boundaries. (p. 7)

When the program was transitioned to Dominican leaders, the meta-issues of continued educational responsibility within the partnership and continued funding for the program were not collaboratively resolved. Dorcas was not mentored in the negotiation of organizational and learner interests. Her training did not prepare her to understand power relations. The male dominated Dominican context required women leaders to be skilled negotiators and Dorcas was not adequately prepared to negotiate meta-issues in the face of male power.

Intercultural frame factors did not allow Americans to freely brainstorm about educational issues with Dominican planners. Americans brainstormed at Field Forum and Dominicans discussed issues among themselves. Planners were so concerned about not offending each other and being loyal to IM that they failed to resolve key issues.

Representation at the Planning Table

The second conclusion was that subordinate stakeholders did not have access to the planning table regardless of whether the Education Committee was American-led or Dominican-led. The American-led committee never invited a rural Haitian to be a committee member and the Dominican member from the Cibao was an urban professional. Cervero and Wilson (1998) believe that what is really important is “who sits at the planning table” (p. 8). The planners of this program never addressed that issue. Dander (1996) suggests that the socio-cultural theory of American educators may have contributed to this oversight. He states that American educators use “definitions of culture derived from a scientific rationality that is individualistic, apolitical, [and] ahistorical” (p. 26). The American planners evidently used an apolitical definition of culture because several of the American participants mentioned that they had never considered the impact of power in Dominican society. This tendency was exaggerated by the fact that American planners were Evangelicals from a society that officially held to the separation of church and state and that they were living in the Dominican Republic on residency visas that required continuing government approval. The combination of these factors meant that American planners did not place subordinate stakeholders at the planning table. They tried to give them equal treatment but that meant that the interests of those who had the most societal power continued to be served (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a). The superiority of American planners in Dominican society may also have biased their perspectives (Said, 1994). As long as Americans led the program, subordinate stakeholders did not have access to the planning table.

When the program became Dominican-led there was no change. The institutionalized social relations between the Dominican urban professionals and the rural poor were asymmetrical and privileged students in Santo Domingo over students in rural settings.

Dominican students were privileged over Haitian students. This overrepresentation of urban learners reflected hegemonic power and was justified through *legitimization* and *reification* (Dander, 1996).

Reproducing Dominican Social Structure

The third conclusion of this study is that the social structure and racial concepts of the Dominican C&MA were not noticeably distinct from the overall culture of the Dominican Republic as described in Dominican and postcolonial literature. The comments of American and Dominican planners were consistent with the observations made by Dominicans historians (Cambeira, 1994; Pons, 1995), Caribbean musicians (Aparicio, 1999; Guerra, 1996), and postcolonial writers (Hall, 1994) that Dominicans ascribe power to lighter-skinned people (Deive, 1999; Howards, 2001), use silence as their default response when in subordinate positions (Spivak, 1994), privilege expatriate knowledge (Cambiera, 1997), and enter working relationships with Western partners as dependents (Loomba, 1998). These four statements accurately described the Dominican planners that participated in the study even though they had graduated from the theological education program. This indicated that the theological education program did not equip or encourage learners to critically challenge oppressive cultural assumptions and social structure. Thus, the third and final conclusion of the study was that educational planning reproduced Dominican societal inequalities.

American planners had the opportunity to produce a transformative program that contextualized Biblical knowledge to the realities of Dominican life. They had complete freedom in designing the theological education program. The hard work of planners, adequate funding, and the interest of Dominican learners produced an educational program that was recognized as an example of a successful intercultural venture. However, this American-led program left

cultural assumptions unchallenged (Darder, 1996; Giroux, 1982) and reproduced Dominican societal inequalities.

The purpose of this program, according to Nathan, was to give the rural and urban poor an opportunity to prepare for leadership. Providing opportunities for leadership training was not the same as helping learners understand and address the reasons that they did not have access to educational opportunities. American theological planners made sure that the rural and urban poor had access to a theological training program but they did not create a theological program that challenged learners to critique Dominican racist ideology and the resulting socio-cultural oppression. Oppressed learners had access to a generic theological education program as long as Americans funded the program.

The program was transitioned to Dominican leadership in 1999. The gradual change that rural and urban poor experienced demonstrated the power of cultural ideology (Dander, 1996) as it reproduced social inequalities (Apple, 1988; Giroux, 1982; Weiler, 1998) within the theological program. By 2003, the program privileged the urban elite, under-represented the rural poor, and made Haitian educational opportunities completely dependent on expatriate intervention. As American involvement and financial assistance decreased, the program faltered. The decline of the Dominican-led program further reinforced Dominican dependency on expatriate assistance. As long as American planners led the program, they made sure that oppressed learners had access to the theological program but they left oppressive structure and cultural assumptions unchallenged (Wangoola & Youngman, 1996) and Dominican societal inequalities were reproduced in the educational program.

An “Espoused” Apolitical Educational Philosophy in a Postcolonial Society

This case study illustrated the difficulty and impracticality of maintaining the functional philosophy of education (Cervero, Wilson, & Associates, 2001) especially when the learners are from subordinate social groups (Darder, 1996). In designing the program for subordinate groups, Nathan did not recognize the political nature of his decision, and tried to function as a technician. “The technician supposes that political judgments can be avoided, that the political context at hand can be ignored... the technician believes that sound technical work will prevail on its own merits” (Forester, 1989, p. 29). Not recognizing the political nature of educational planning insured that existing power structures were reproduced through the educational program (Giroux, 1982). The end result was that the Dominican-led education program became increasingly focused on the needs of urban dominant-class learners. In 2003, the Education Committee voted to remove the TEE requirement for entrance into the Bible Institute. This was a decision made specifically for the benefit of urban professionals. The Education Committee later appointed only urban professionals from Santo Domingo to the leadership committee for the Bible Institute. During this period, TEE declined in the rural Cibao and the East. These educational developments all indicated that the interests of the urban professional of Santo Domingo were over-represented in planning while the interests of the urban and rural poor were marginalized.

Theological education is inherently political because its goal is personal, ecclesiastical, and societal transformation that challenges unbiblical concepts contained in the hegemonic message of society. Biblical theological education begins with God and moves to the concept of all people being made in God’s image and therefore having equal value. The concept that all humans have equal value is highly political in a postcolonial society. It challenges residual racism and promotes positive personal transformation in the life of both the oppressed and the

oppressor. Evangelical theological educators believe that social change should begin in the church (Stott, 1984) while insisting that corporate action for social change be limited to non-violent, non-coercive methods (Vencer, 1983). A strictly functional view of education is inconsistent with the establishment of that kind of theological education program in a postcolonial society.

Theological education was personally transformative in the lives of many of the participants of this study (Mezirow & Associates, 1990). Additional research is needed to identify theological education programs that enable learners to challenge the hegemonic ideologies behind oppressive social structures. Youngman (1996) believes that adult education “will be most effective... when it is seen in terms of strengthening the possibilities for collective action rather than simply enabling individual development” (p. 26).

Implications for Adult Education Practice and Research

The American planners of the theological education program of the Dominican C&MA graduated from American theological schools. They were trained in biblical interpretation, theology, and ministry techniques. This study revealed that their training did not fully prepare them for the complexity of planning adult education in an intercultural context. It implies that the curriculum for preparing intercultural theological educators should include courses in adult education, planning theory, and qualitative research. Secondly, the study implies that organizational partners in International Joint Ventures must insure that educational planners have access to continuing education programs specifically designed to equip them to plan responsibly within their planning context. It also implies that the underlying assumptions concerning socio-cultural adaptation in a postcolonial society hinder collaborative intercultural planning.

Training International Theological Educators

The study suggests that American theological educators need training in adult education, planning theory, and qualitative research. Planners working in postcolonial societies would benefit from exposure to critical educational theory (Cervero, Wilson, & Associates, 2001). The American planners of this study had been trained in theology, Christian education, and second language acquisition. Their socio-cultural theory used a neutral definition of culture (Dander, 1996). American planners did not understand the importance of understanding power relations primarily because their preparation for intercultural ministry had not included any training in how to plan responsibly in the face of power (Cervero & Wilson, 1994a; Forester, 1989). Educational institutions that specialize in preparing intercultural theological educators should invest in further research to identify theological education programs that equip learners to critique the hegemonic ideologies behind oppressive social practices within their cultural context and to organize non-violent collaborative action that assists the oppressed. The identification of these transformative theological programs opens a number of research possibilities. Research could focus on how learners developed critical thinking skills in theological education. Research could also examine the planning dynamics that produced a transformative theological education program.

Providing Continuing Education to Educational Planners

This study documented that American and Dominican planners needed access to continuing education. The study implies that organizational partners in International Joint Ventures must insure that educational planners have access to continuing education programs specifically designed to equip them to plan responsibly within their planning context. Continuing education programs should be designed to equip American educators with a knowledge of the

philosophies, principles, and practices of adult education (Elias & Merriam, 1995; Merriam & Brockett, 1997; Merriam & Caffarella, 1999), critical educational planning theory (Apple, 1988; Cervero, Wilson, & Associates, 2001; Freire, 1970, 1973; Giroux, 1982; Hart, 1990; Weiler, 1998; Wilson & Cervero, 1997), the Cervero and Wilson (1994a) planning framework, foundational concepts and skills required in qualitative research (Merriam, 1998; Merriam & Associates, 2001; Silverman, 2000), and diversity training (Horibe, 2001; Simons & Zuckerman, 1994). Diversity training should focus on improving intercultural dialogue. Jane Vella (1994) believes that in intercultural educational planning “the operative word is *dialogue*” (p. 126). Paulo Freire (1970, 1973) viewed dialogue as the key characteristic in developing a learning community (Schipani, 2002). Intercultural planners need to identify the factors in their planning context that encourage and discourage intercultural dialogue.

Continuing education programs should equip planners to select a negotiation strategy that is appropriate to their specific planning context. This ability is a key part of effective planning (Baptiste, 2000; Newman, 1994). This study demonstrated that intercultural factors can hinder planners from communicating well and accurately assessing their planning context. Baptiste (2000) and Newman (1994) believe effective planners assess their planning situation and select appropriate strategies and tactics. Baptiste (2000) outlines three different planning contexts or situations: consultations, bargaining situations, or disputes.

In a *consultation*, planners know and trust each other. They consider each other allies or misguided foes. In this situation, planners have common interests that outweigh any conflicts. They want to work together in mutually supportive ways. The appropriate tactics for this situation are non-coercive. If planners provide space for safe dialogue and openly share information, they can collaboratively work for the benefit of the majority of stakeholders.

Disputes are situations that occur at the other extreme of the continuum. In disputes, planners know but distrust each other. They openly seek to frustrate each other's plans and have no desire to work together. The appropriate strategy is to force other planners to refrain from aggressive, damaging behavior. Coercive tactics include credible force, intimidation, and manipulation. Credible force is the use of physical, social, or organizational force to stop or curb violence or injustice. Intimidation is the threat of the use of credible force. Manipulation is the use of cunning, skill, or misinformation to control the actions of others.

In between the extremes of consultations and disputes are *bargaining* situations. Planners know each other to some extent but may not know all of the stakeholders represented by other planners. There are common interests and differences among planners. The common interests are sufficiently powerful to motivate planners to seek a working agreement but their obvious differences keep the trust level low among planners. This is the most complex situation because planners have to first determine if they are working with allies, misguided foes, or enemies before they can select an appropriate strategy.

Planning success is achieved through a correct assessment of the planning context and the selection of an appropriate tactic. Planners need access to planning assessment tools as well as any additional skills required by their unique planning context. International missionary organizations should conduct research to identify the specific training needs of their educational planners. A continuing education program could be developed to address the specific needs of the organization's theological educational planners.

An Adequate Foundations for Long-term Intercultural Planning

The third implication of this study was that the underlying assumptions concerning socio-cultural adaptation in a postcolonial society hinder collaborative intercultural planning.

American participants stated that they were committed to working themselves out of a job. Will the foundational assumptions behind that perspective support long-term collaborative planning? Additional research is required to evaluate if an assimilation model of socio-cultural adaptation underlies that perspective.

Dominican Assimilation

Sidney Mintz (1971) stated, “The assimilation power of a national identity—that is, of a national culture and ideology—hinges on the presence of a body of values and behaviors that can serve to unite people in spite of social and economic differences” (p. 34). Mintz adds that the emergence of a national culture occurred “most clearly in the Hispanic Caribbean” (p. 34). Spanish colonial regimes used assimilation as the model of socio-cultural adaptation on the island of Hispaniola. Subordinate groups had to learn the language and culture of the dominant group in order to assimilate into the society. The land became known by a Spanish name and Tainos learned Spanish and became Catholics. Later African immigrants replaced the Tainos. They learned Spanish and became Catholics. Spanish colonizers allowed the subordinate and dominant groups to mix as long as Spanish culture was privileged. Hybridity was a strategy forged by the colonized as a way of resisting their loss of cultural diversity in the assimilation process (Sugirtharajah, 2002). As the Dominican Republic became an independent nation, neopatrimonial leaders adapted the assimilation model to meet their own criteria. The model defined diversity as an obstacle or a barrier, not a resource. The Dominican color scheme reflects the influence of the assimilation model (Howard, 2001; Sagás, 2000). Color classifications identify who can assimilate. The model allows lighter skinned immigrants to assimilate. They can be classified as White, Indian-white, Arabian-white, Indian-brown, dark Indian-brown, and

even dark Brown. There is a point at which racial characteristics disqualify individuals from assimilation. People with these characteristics are termed Haitian (Cambeira, 1997).

Additional research is needed to determine how the assimilation model supports or hinders long-term collaborative intercultural planning. This subject could be the theme of a conference presentation at a regional or national meeting of the Evangelical Missiological Society. The research would evaluate how the assimilation model relates to diversity. Diversity is a unique resource to be valued and managed (Berry, 1997; Bryson, 1988; Loden & Rosener, 1991; Maznevski & Peterson, 1997) because multicultural teams have the potential to produce more innovative and high-quality solutions than monocultural teams. The assumptions of the assimilation model support second language acquisition because they encourage the language learner to modify his or her linguistic behavior to mirror the native language expert. However, once language proficiency is reached, the assumptions of the assimilation model do not provide an adequate foundation for utilizing the diversity inherent in an intercultural planning committee. Intercultural theological planners need to operate from assumptions that support long-term intercultural planning. If research determines that the assumptions of the assimilation model hinder long-term intercultural planning, the assumptions of cultural pluralism could be investigated as a possible alternative.

This study revealed the need for continued research. As a professor at an educational institution that specializes in preparing intercultural theological educators, part of my future research will focus on identifying theological education programs that critique oppressive hegemonic ideologies and organize non-violent collaborative action that assists the oppressed. This research could examine how theological students develop key critical thinking skills, the planning dynamics that produce transformative theological education programs, and the key

characteristics of transformative theological educators. The results of the study could inform the curriculum design of our program.

Concluding Note

This study demonstrates that theological education can be transformative in the life of an individual learner, a community of believers, and potentially a society. The program positively impacted the lives of Dominican and Haitian learners. All Dominican participants graduated from TEE and most have graduated from the Bible Institute. They all spoke positively of the education program. Dominican participants also felt that the education program had positively impacted the Dominican C&MA. This study affirmed that the theological education program of the Dominican C&MA produced positive learning experiences. The study critiqued the program not to challenge its value but to suggest that the program has an even greater potential than what was realized. John Stott (1984) writes,

The Church should be the one community in the world in which human dignity and equality are invariably recognized, and human responsibility for each other accepted; the rights of others are sought and never violated, while our own are often renounced; there is no partiality, favouritism or discrimination; the poor and the weak are defended, and human beings are free to be human as God made us and meant us to be. (p. 205)

Evangelical theological educators like those who planned the theological education program of the Dominican C&MA are positioned to influence a generation of church leaders. John Stott (1984) stated,

We have to accept that other people's rights are our responsibility. We are our brother's keeper, because God has put us in the same human family and so made us related to and responsible for one another.... We need then to feel the pain of those who suffer

oppression.... Then whatever action we may believe it right to take, we need to ensure that the methods we use do not infringe the very human rights we are seeking to champion. (p. 204)

As a researcher, I walk away from this study convinced that Evangelical intercultural planning committees will be far more effective in planning transformative theological education programs if they are equipped to identify the intercultural factors that hinder them from reaching their full potential.

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APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM (English)

I agree to participate in the research entitled: *A study of the impact of intercultural factors in the planning of a theological education program in a postcolonial society*, which is being conducted by Jonathan S. Penland under the direction of Dr. Ronald Cervero, Doctoral Advisory Committee Chair, Department of Adult Education, The University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia; Telephone (706) 542-2214. I understand that participation is voluntary. I can stop participating without giving any reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have all of the information that can be identified as mine returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The following points have been explained to me:

- (1). The reason for this study is to gain a better understanding of the impact of intercultural factors on the planning of a theological education program in a postcolonial society.
- (2). I will not benefit directly from this research, however my participation may lead to deeper understanding of the impact of intercultural factors on the planning process.
- (3). The procedures are as follows:
 - (a). Participation in the study will require at least one personal interview with the researcher which will be tape recorded for transcription purposes.
 - (b). Prior to the interview, the participant will review an information packet which contains a description of the key decisions interview technique and a list of potential interview questions.
 - ©. The participant will be asked to review his/her respective interview transcript for accuracy. The amended transcript must then be returned to the researcher.
- (4). No discomfort or stresses are foreseen. I understand that any discomfort or stress that I may experience while being interviewed will not exceed that which I experience in everyday life.
- (5). No risks are foreseen due to this project. Jonathan has informed me that any information obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with me will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with my permission or as required by law. Audio tapes of my interview will be kept in a secure limited-access location until Jonathan destroys them immediately following my approval of the transcription. My interview transcripts will be assigned a fake name in order to further protect my privacy.
- (6). Jonathan will answer any further questions that I may have now or at a later time. Jonathan can be reached at penland@tfc.edu or (706-886-5196) or (706-886-7299 ext. 5469).

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have received and reviewed a copy of this form.

Signature of Investigator

Date

Signature of Participant

Date

PLEASE SIGN BOTH COPIES OF THIS FORM. KEEP ONE AND RETURN THE OTHER TO THE INVESTIGATOR.

The Institutional Review Board oversees any research-type activity conducted at the University of Georgia that involves human participants. Questions or problems regarding your rights as a participant should be addressed to Dr. Christina Joseph, Institutional Review Board, Office of the Vice President of Research, 606 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, The University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411, Telephone: (706) 542-6514 or IRB@uga.edu.

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM (Spanish)

Voluntariamente participo en el estudio titulado: *Un estudio sobre el impacto de los factores interculturales en la planificación de un program de educación theológico en La República Dominicana (una sociedad postcolonial)*. Este estudio es conducido por Jonathan S. Penland bajo la dirección del Dr. Ronald Cervero, Director del comité asesor en el Departamento de Educación para adultos. Este departamento es parte integral de la Universidad Estatal de Georgia, ubicada en Athens, Georgia; con telefono (706) 542-2214. Entiendo que mi participación es completamente voluntaria. Puedo dejar de participar sin explicación. No habrá ninguna pena si decido no participar. Puedo pedir que sea devuelta toda la información mia o que sea quitada del estudio o destruida.

Los siguientes puntos me han sido explicados:

- (1). El propósito de este estudio es entender mejor el impacto de factores interculturales en la planificación de educación theológica en una sociedad postcolonial.
- (2). No habrá ningún beneficio directamente como resultado de este estudio, sin embargo mi participación podría contribuir a un mejor entendimiento del proceso de planificación.
- (3). Los procedimientos de una intrevista son los siguientes:
 - (a). Participación en el estudio requiere por lo menos una intrevista con el investigador. La intrevista será audiogravada para ser transcrita.
 - (b). Antes de la intrevista, el participante será informado del propósito y características de la intrevista incluyendo algunas preguntas ejemplares.
 - (c). El participante será preguntado si el o ella quiere revisar una copia de la transcripción. Si el o ella tiene correcciones se debe enviar las correcciones al investigador.
 - (4). Ningún tipo de estrés ni incomodidad se espera. Como participante entiendo que el estrés que podría experimentar no serán mas de lo que experimento en la vida diaria.
 - (5). No hay riesgos previstos en este proyecto. El investigador, Jonathan Penland me ha informado que la información obtenida en conexión a este estudio que podría ser indentificada directamente conmigo como participante se mantendrá confidencialmente y no será revelada sin mi permission o como se requiere la ley. Las cintas de mi intrevista se guardará en un local seguro de aceso limitado. El investigador destruirá las cintas cuando la transcripción se apruebe. El investigador usará un nombre falso para proteger mi privacidad.
 - (6). Jonathan, el investigador contestará cualquier otra pregunta que tengo ahora o mas adelante. La dirección para cartas electrónicas es penland@tfc.edu y sus numeros telefónicos son (706-886-5196) or (706-886-7299 ext. 5469).

Entiendo todos los procedimientos descritos. Mis preguntas han sidos contestadas a mi satisfacción. Voluntariamente participo en este estudio. He recibido, revisado, y firmado este documento.

Firma del Investigador

Fecha

Firma del Participante

Fecha

POR FAVOR FIRME DOS COPIAS DE ESTE FORMULARIO. GUARDE UNO Y ENTREGÜELE AL INVESTIGADOR LA OTRA COPIA.

The Institutional Review Board oversees any research-type activity conducted at the University of Georgia that involves human participants. Questions or problems regarding your rights as a participant should be addressed to Dr. Christina Joseph, Institutional Review Board, Office of the Vice President of Research, 606 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, The University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411, Telephone: (706) 542-6514 or IRB@uga.edu.

APPENDIX C

INTRODUCTORY LETTER (English)

Dear Friend:

I am studying at the University of Georgia. I am working on a dissertation entitled, “The Impact of Intercultural Factors on the Planning of Theological Education in the Dominican Republic.”

I have received permission from the Dominican Christian & Missionary Alliance and the Alliance Mission to study the theological education program of the Dominican Christian and Missionary Alliance. During May 2003, I will be in the Dominican Republic to interview people that have played a part in the development of the program. The director of education has suggested that I contact you to see if you are willing to participate in this study. I would like to interview you concerning the education program. I will tape our conversation and provide you with a typed copy of the interview. I will ask you about the part you played in the education program and would like for you to tell me about two decisions that have been very important in the development of the theological program of the Dominican Christian and Missionary Alliance. As you tell me these two decisions, I will ask questions about how the decisions were made. My purpose is to listen, understand, and respect the perspectives of the people who planned this program.

I hope you will participate in this study,

Jonathan S. Penland

APPENDIX D

INTRODUCTORY LETTER (Spanish)

Estimado(a):

¡Saludos! Estoy estudiando en la Universidad de Georgia. He comenzado la última etapa de mis estudios para el doctorado en la educación de adultos. En esta etapa, tengo que escribir una tesis. El tema de mi tesis es “la influencia de los factores interculturales en la planificación de un programa de estudios teológicos en la República Dominicana.”

La primera parte del proceso de escribir una tesis es determinar el tema del estudio. Una segunda parte de una tesis es entrevistar personas relacionadas con un ejemplar del fenómeno que uno está estudiando. El tema ha sido determinado. El ejemplar de este proceso es el programa de estudios teológicos de la Alianza Cristiana y Misionera Dominicana. Durante Mayo del 2003, estoy en la República Dominicana para entrevistar a personas que han estado relacionado con la planificación de los estudios teológicos de la Alianza Cristiana y Misionera Dominicana.

Quisiera averiguar si usted estaría dispuesto(a) a participar en una entrevista. La entrevista será una conversación entre nosotros sobre dos decisiones que usted considera decisiones claves en el desarrollo del programa de estudios teológicos de la Alianza Cristiana y Misionera. Me gustaría oír la historia de como tomaron esta decisión desde su punto de vista. Mi propósito es oír, entender, y valorar las perspectivas distintas de los que planificaron el programa.

Espero que participe en mi estudio,

Hermano Juan Penland

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE (English)

Introduction

As I study the planning process involved in a theological education program, I want to understand the perspective of each person involved in the planning process. I want to begin by asking a few general questions.

- Where did you grow up?
- When did you first hear about the Alianza Cristiana y Misionera Dominicana?
- How did you get involved in the education program of the ACYMD?

I want to understand your experience with the education program of the ACYMD.

- When were you on the education committee of the ACYMD?
- Who were the other members of the committee?
- What was a typical committee meeting like?
 - Which programs did the education committee plan?
 - Which programs did the committee discuss the most?
 - Who determined the topics that would be discussed?
 - Which topics in your opinion were the most important?
 - Were there important topics that the committee did not address?
- What different kinds of people does the education program serve?

Key Decisions Interview

I have asked you to think back over your work on the planning committee and select two decisions that stand out to you as very important decisions. These decisions may have been controversial or they may have been made without any discussion. You may feel the decision

was a good decision or you may feel it was a bad decision. The main thing is that the decision is something that you remember as being very important.

Now that you have the first decision in mind, I would like you to describe:

1. When did this decision take place?
2. How was the decision made?
 - Describe the process that took place to help the committee arrive at this decision?
 - How did committee members communicate their opinions concerning the decision?
3. Who were in favor of this decision?
 - How did they show that they were in favor of the decision?
4. Who opposed the decision?
 - How did they show that they opposed the decision?
5. How has this decision changed the educational program?
6. Who benefited from this decision?
 - Who did not benefit from this decision?
7. Is there anything else about this first decision that you think I should know?

I have asked you to think about two decisions. I'd like to hear about the second important decision. I'll ask the same questions.

I will transcribe our conversation and send you a copy of this interview within the next week. If at any time you want to add anything to what we have discussed today, you can communicate to me at penland@tfc.edu.

Thank you for your participation in this study.

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW GUIDE (Spanish)

Nuestra entrevista comenzará con preguntas sobre su relación con el programa de educación teológica de la Alianza Cristiana y Misionera Dominicana.

¿Como escuchó de la Alianza Cristiana y Misionera Dominicana?

¿Como se involucró en la planificación del programa de educación de la ACYMD?

¿Cuales programas fueron planificados por el comité de educación?

¿Cual parte de educación teológica es de mayor importancia? ¿Porqué?

¿Cuales grupos han sido servidos por el programa de educación teológica?

Esta entrevista se enfoca sobre decisiones claves que han determinado la dirección de la educación teológica. Por favor, describa dos decisiones que han sido muy importantes para el desenvolvimiento del programa. Las decisiones podrían haber sido controversiales or sin dificultad. El punto clave es que han sido decisiones claves desde su punto de vista.

¿Donde y cuando ocurrió esto?

¿Quienes tomaron esta decisión?

¿Quienes fueron beneficiados por esta decisión?

¿Cual fue el impacto de esta decisión sobre el program teológica de la ACYMD?

¡Gracias por participar en el estudio!

APPENDIX G

THE LAUSANNE COVENANT: STATEMENT OF FAITH

Introduction

We members of the Church of Jesus Christ from more than 150 nations, participants in the International Congress on World Evangelization at Lausanne, praise God for his great salvation and rejoice in the fellowship he has given us with himself and with each other. We are deeply stirred by what God is doing in our day, moved to penitence by our failures and challenged by the unfinished task of evangelization. We believe the gospel is God's good news for the whole world and we are determined by his grace to obey Christ's commission to proclaim it to all mankind and to make disciples of every nation. We desire therefore to affirm our faith and our resolve and to make public our covenant.

1. The Purpose of God

We affirm our belief in the one-eternal God, Creator and Lord of the world, Father Son and Holy Spirit who governs all things according to the purpose of his will. He has been calling out from the world a people for himself and sending his people back into the world to be his servants and his witnesses for the extension of his kingdom, the building up of Christ's body and the glory of his name. We confess with shame that we have often denied our calling and failed in our mission by becoming conformed to the world or by withdrawing from it. Yet we rejoice that even when borne by earthen vessels the gospel is still a precious treasure. To the task of making that treasure

known in the power of the Holy Spirit, we desire to dedicate ourselves anew. (Isa. 40:28;; Matt. 28:19; Eph. 1:11; Acts; 15:14; John 17:6, 18; Eph 4:12; 1 Cor. 5:10; Rom. 12:2, II Cor. 4:7)

2. The Authority and Power of the Bible

We affirm the divine inspiration and truthfulness and authority of both Old and New Testament Scriptures in their entirety as the only written word of God without error in all that it affirms and the only infallible rule of faith and practice. We also affirm the power of God's word to accomplish his purpose of salvation. The message of the Bible is addressed to all mankind. For God's revelation in Christ and in Scripture is unchangeable. Through the Holy Spirit still speaks today. He illumines the mind of God's people in every culture to perceive its truth freshly through our own eyes and thus discloses to the whole Church ever more of the many-colored wisdom of God. (II Tim.3:16; II Pet. 1:21; John 10:35; Isa. 55:11; 1 Cor. 1:21; Rom. 1:16; Matt. 5:17; Jude 3; Eph. 1:17, 18; 3:10, 18)

3. The Uniqueness and Universality of Christ

We affirm that there is only one Saviour and only one gospel although there is a wide diversity of evangelistic approaches. We recognize that all men have some knowledge of God through his general revelation in nature. But we deny that this can save for men suppress the truth by their unrighteousness. We also reject as derogatory to Christ and the gospel every kind of syncretism and dialogue, which implies that Christ speaks equally through all religions and ideologies. Jesus Christ being himself the only God-man who gave himself as the only ransom for sinners is the only mediator between God and man. There is no other name by which we must be saved. All men are perishing because of sin but God loves all men not wishing that any should perish but that all should repent. Yet those who reject Christ repudiate the joy of salvation and condemn themselves to eternal separation from God. To proclaim Jesus as the "Saviour of the world" is

not to affirm that all men are either automatically or ultimately saved, still less to affirm that all religions offer salvation in Christ. Rather it is to proclaim God's love for world of sinners and to invite all men to respond to Him as Saviour and Lord in the wholehearted personal commitment of repentance and faith. Jesus Christ has been exalted above every other name; we long for the day when every knee shall bow to him and every tongue shall confess him. (Gal. 1:6-9; Rom. 1:8-32; I Tim. 2:5-6; Acts 4:12; John 3:16-19; II Pet.3:9; II Thess. 1:7-9; John 4:42; Matt. 11:28; Eph. 1:20-21; Phil. 2:9-11)

4. The Nature of Evangelism

To evangelize is to spread the good news that Jesus Christ died for our sins and was raised from the dead according to the Scriptures and that as the reigning Lord he now offers the forgiveness of sins and the liberating gift of the Spirit to all who repent and believe. Our Christian presence in the world is indispensable to evangelism and so is that kind of dialogue whose purpose is to listen sensitively in order to understand. But evangelism itself is the proclamation of the historical biblical Christ as Saviour and Lord with a view of persuading people to come to him personally and so be reconciled to God. In issuing the gospel invitation we have no liberty to conceal the cost of discipleship Jesus still calls all who would follow him to deny themselves take up their cross and identify themselves with his new community. The results of evangelism include obedience to Christ, incorporation into his Church and responsible service in the world. (I Cor. 15:3,4; Acts 2:32-39; John 20:21; I Cor. 1:23; II Cor. 4:5; 5:11, 20; Luke 14:25-33; Mark 8:34; Acts 2:40, 47; Mark 10:43-45)

5. Christian Social Responsibility

We affirm that God is both the Creator and the judge of all men. We therefore should share his concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society and for the liberation of men

from every kind of oppression. Because mankind is made in the image of God every person regardless of race, religion, color, culture, class, sex, or age has an intrinsic dignity because of which he should be respected and served, not exploited. Here too we express penitence both for our neglect and for having sometimes regarded evangelism and social concern as mutually exclusive. Although reconciliation with man is not reconciliation with God nor is social action evangelism, nor is political liberation salvation, nevertheless we affirm that evangelism and sociopolitical involvement are both part of our Christian duty. For both are necessary expressions of our doctrines of God and man, our love for our neighbor and our obedience to Jesus Christ. The message of salvation implies also a message of judgment upon every form of alienation, oppression and discrimination and we should not be afraid to denounce evil and injustice wherever they exist. When people receive Christ they are born again into his kingdom and must seek not only to exhibit but also to spread his righteousness in the midst of an unrighteous world. The salvation we claim should be transforming us in the totality of our personal and social responsibilities. Faith without works is dead. (Acts 17:26-31; Gen. 18:25; Isa. 1:17; Psa. 45:7; Gen. 1:26, 27; Jas. 3:9; Lev. 19:18; Luke 6:27, 35; Jas. 2:14-26; John 3:3-5; Matt. 5:20; 6:33; II Cor 3:18; Jas. 2:20)

6. The Church and Evangelism

We affirm that Christ sends his redeemed people into the world as the Father sent him and that this calls for a similar deep and costly penetration of the world. We need to break out of our ecclesiastical ghettos and permeate non-Christian society. In the Church's mission of sacrificial service evangelism is primary. World evangelization requires the whole Church to take the whole gospel to the whole world. The Church is at the very center of God's cosmic purpose and is his appointed means of spreading the gospel. But a church which preaches the cross must itself

be marked by the cross. It becomes a stumbling block to evangelism when it betrays the gospel or lacks a living faith in God, a genuine love for people, or scrupulous honesty in all things including promotion and finance. The church is the community of God's people rather than an institution, and must not be identified with any particular culture, social or political system, or human ideology. (John 17:18; 20:21; Matt. 28:19-20; Acts 1:8; 20:27; Eph. 1:9,10; 3:9-11; Gal. 6:14; II Cor. 6:3-4; II Tim. 2:19-21; Phil. 1:27)

7. Cooperation in Evangelism

We affirm that the Church's visible unity in truth is God's purpose. Evangelism also summons us to unity because our oneness strengthens our witness, just as our disunity undermines our gospel of reconciliation. We recognize, however, that organizational unity may take many forms and does not necessarily forward evangelism. Yet we who share the same biblical faith should be closely united in fellowship, work and witness. We confess that our testimony has sometimes been marred by sinful individualism and needless duplication. We pledge ourselves to seek a deeper unity in truth, worship, holiness and mission. We urge the development of regional and functional cooperation for the furtherance of the Church's mission for strategic planning for mutual encouragement, and for the sharing of resources and experience.

(John 17:21, Eph. 4:3, 4: John 13:35; Phil. 17:27; John 17:11-23)

8. Churches in Evangelistic Partnership

We rejoice that a new missionary era has dawned. The dominant role of Western missions is fast disappearing. God is raising up from the younger churches a great new resource for world evangelization and is thus demonstrating that the responsibility to evangelize belongs to the whole body of Christ. All churches should therefore be asking God and themselves what they should be doing both to reach their own area and to send missionaries to other parts of the world.

A reevaluation of our missionary responsibility and role should be continuous. Thus a growing partnership of churches will develop and the universal character of Christ's Church will be more clearly exhibited. We also thank God for agencies which labour in Bible translation and theological education, the mass media, Christian literature, evangelism, missions, church renewal and other specialist fields. They, too should engage in constant self-examination to evaluate their effectiveness as part of the Church's mission.

(Rom. 1:8; Phil. 1:5; 4:15; Acts 13:3; I Thess. 1:6-8)

9. The Urgency of the Evangelistic Task

More than 2,700 million people which is more than two thirds of mankind have yet to be evangelized. We are ashamed that so many have been neglected it is a standing rebuke to us and to the whole Church. There is now, however in many parts of the world an unprecedented receptivity to the Lord Jesus Christ. We are convinced that this is the time for churches and para-church agencies to pray earnestly for the salvation of the unreached and to launch new efforts to achieve world evangelization. A reduction of foreign missionaries and money in an evangelized country may sometimes be necessary to facilitate the national church's growth in self reliance and to release resources for unevangelized areas. Missionaries should flow ever more freely from and to all six continents in a spirit of humble service. The goal should be, by all available means and of the earliest possible time, that every person will have the opportunity to hear understand, and receive the good news. We cannot hope to attain this goal without sacrifice. All of us are shocked by the poverty of millions and disturbed by the injustices which cause it. Those of us who live in affluent circumstances accept our duty to develop a simple lifestyle in order to contribute more generously to both relief and evangelism. (John 9:4 Matt. 9:35-38; Rom. 9:1-3; I Cor. 9:19-23; Mark 16:15; Isa. 58:6, 7; Jas. 1:27; 2: 1-9; Matt. 25:31-46; Acts 2:44, 45; 4:34 35)

10. Evangelism and Culture

The development of strategies for world evangelization calls for imaginative pioneering methods. Under God, the result will be the rise of churches deeply rooted in Christ and closely related to their culture. Culture must always be tested and judged by Scripture. Because man is God's creature, some of his culture is rich in beauty and goodness. Because he is fallen, all of it is tainted with sin and some of it is demonic. The gospel does not presuppose the superiority of any culture to another, but evaluates all cultures according to its own criteria of truth and righteousness and insists on moral absolutes in every culture. Missions all too frequently have exported with the gospel an alien culture and churches have sometimes been in bondage to culture rather than to the Scripture. Christ's evangelists must humbly seek to empty themselves of all but their personal authenticity in order to become the servants of others and churches must seek to transform and enrich culture, all for the glory of God.

(Mark 7:8, 9, 13; Gen. 4:21-22; I Cor. 9:19-23; Phil. 2:5-7; II Cor. 4:5)

11. Education and Leadership

We confess that we have sometimes pursued church growth at the expense of church depth and divorced evangelism from Christian nurture. We also acknowledge that some of our missions have been too slow to equip and encourage national leaders to assume their rightful responsibilities. Yet we are committed to indigenous principles, and long that every church will have national leaders who manifest a Christian style of leadership in terms not of domination but of service. We recognize that there is a great need to improve theological education especially for church leaders. In every nation and culture there should be an effective training program for pastors and laity in doctrine, discipleship, evangelism, nurture and service. Such training

programs should not rely on any stereotyped methodology but should be developed by creative local initiative according to biblical standards.

(Col 1:27, 28; Acts 14:23; Tit. 1:5,9; Mark 10:42-45; Eph. 4:11, 12)

12. Spiritual Conflict

We believe that we are engaged in constant spiritual warfare with the principalities and powers of evil, who are seeking to overthrow the Church and frustrate its task of world evangelization. We know our need to equip ourselves with God's armor and to fight this battle with the spiritual weapons of truth and prayer. For we detect the activity of our enemy, not only in false ideologies outside the Church, but also inside it in false gospels which twist Scripture and put man in the place of God. We need both watchfulness and discernment to safeguard the biblical gospel. We acknowledge that we ourselves are not immune to worldliness of thought and action, that is a surrender to secularism. For example although careful studies of church growth both numerical and spiritual are right and valuable we have sometimes neglected them. At other times desirous to ensure a response to the gospel we have compromised our message, manipulated our hearers through pressure techniques and become unduly preoccupied with statistics or even dishonest in our use of them. All this is worldly. The Church must be in the world; the world must not be in the Church. (Eph. 6:12, II Cor. 4:3,4; Eph. 6:11, 13-18, II Cor. 10:3-5; 1 John 2:18-26; 4:1-3; Gal. 1:6-9; II cor. 2:17; 4:2, John 17:15)

13. Freedom and Persecution

It is the God-appointed duty of every government to secure conditions of peace, justice, and liberty in which the Church may obey God, serve the Lord Christ, and preach the gospel without interference. We therefore pray for the leaders of the nations and call upon them to guarantee freedom of thought and conscience and freedom to practice and propagate religion in accordance

with the will of God and as set forth in The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We also express our deep concern for all who have been unjustly imprisoned and especially for our brethren who are suffering for their testimony to the Lord Jesus. We promise to pray and work for their freedom. At the same time we refuse to be intimidated by their fate. God helping us, we too will seek to stand against injustice and to remain faithful to the gospel whatever the cost. We do not forget the warnings of Jesus that persecution is inevitable. (I Tim. 1:1-4; Acts 4:19; 5:19; Col. 3:24; Heb. 13:1-3; Luke 4:18; Gal. 5:11; 6:12; Matt. 5:10-12; John 15:18-21)

14. The Power of the Holy Spirit

We believe in the power of the Holy Spirit. The Father sent his Spirit to bear witness to his Son without his witness, ours is futile. Conviction of sin, faith in Christ, new birth and Christian growth are all his work. Further the Holy Spirit is a missionary spirit; thus evangelism should arise spontaneously from a Spirit-filled church. A church that is not a missionary church is contradicting itself and quenching the Spirit. Worldwide evangelization will become realistic possibility only when the Spirit renews the Church in truth and wisdom, faith, holiness, love and power. We therefore call upon all Christians to pray for such a visitation of the sovereign Spirit of God that all his fruit may appear in all his people and that all his gifts may enrich the body of Christ. Only then will the whole Church become a fit instrument in his hands, that the whole earth may hear his voice. (II Cor. 2:4; John 15:26, 27; 16:8-11; I Cor. 12:3; John 3:68; II Cor. 3:18; John 7:37-39; I Thess. 5:19; Acts 1:8; Psalms 85:4-7; 67:1-3; Gal. 5:22-23; I Cor. 12:4-31; Rom. 12:3-8)

15. The Return of Christ

We believe that Jesus Christ will return personally and visibly in power and glory to consummate his salvation and his judgment. This promise of his coming is a further spur to our

evangelism for we remember his words that the gospel must first be preached to all nations. We believe that the interim period between Christ's ascension and return is to be filled with the mission of the people of God, who have no liberty to stop before the End. We also remember his warning that false Christs and false prophets will arise as precursors of the final Antichrist. We therefore reject as a proud self-confident dream the notion that man can ever build a utopia on earth. Our Christian conscience is that God will perfect his kingdom and we look forward with eager anticipation to that day, and to the new heaven and earth in which righteousness will dwell and God will reign forever. Meanwhile, we rededicate ourselves to the service of Christ and of men, in joyful submission to his authority over the whole of our lives.

(Mark 14:62; Heb. 9:28; Mark 13:10; Acts 1:8-11; Matt. 28:20; Mark 13:21-23; John 2:18; 4:1-3; Luke 12:32; Rev. 21:1-5; II Pet. 3:13; Matt. 28:18)

Conclusion

Therefore, in the light of this our faith and our resolve we enter into a solemn covenant with God and with each other to pray, to plan and to work together for the evangelization of the whole world. We call upon others to join us. May God help us by his grace and for his glory to be faithful to this our covenant! Amen Alleluia!

(International Conference on World Evangelization, 1974)

APPENDIX H

HEIDI'S SUGGESTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PLANNERS

1. Form a creative curriculum committee that continually looks for new ways to actualize the Biblical lessons to the reality of Dominican life.
2. The Education Committee should consult with the professors and tutors so that these practitioners do not feel that changes are forced on them.
3. Once new ideas are developed they should be discussed and analyzed. Tutors and professors may not reach full agreement but it would help them to understand the reasons behind decisions.
4. It would be good if there was at least one representative of the professors and tutors on the Education Committee.
5. Hold training seminars for tutors, professors, and directors of Sunday Schools that include practical application sessions.
6. Members of the Education Committee must travel and actively promote educational programs in the local churches.
7. Actualize textbooks, tutor's manuals, exams, and quizzes every four years.
8. Determine specific titles for the theological studies offered in TEE and provide a certificate of completion and specific credits toward future studies.
9. Emphasize the study of the basic beliefs and history of the C&MA. It should be offered in our Sunday Schools by those who have completed the course.