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The *IJFM* promotes the investigation of frontier mission issues, including plans and coordination for world evangelization, measuring and monitoring its progress, publishing and profiling unreached peoples, and the promotion of mission theology. The Journal advocates completion of world evangelization by AD 2000, or soon thereafter.

The *IJFM* also seeks to promote intergenerational dialogue between senior and junior mission leaders, cultivate an international fraternity of thought in the development of frontier missiology.

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Cover Photo: A tribal person from Papua New Guinea who represents over 850 tribal peoples in that country, the great majority of whom remain unreached. Used with permission from New Tribes Mission

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Editorial: Reaching Tribal and Nomadic Peoples

When discussing tribal peoples in my church planting course I often ask the students: How many of you grew up in a country where tribal people live? While many foreign students raise their hands, the majority of U.S. students do not. This issue of IJFM is dedicated to tribal and nomadic peoples, not only to help us see the prominent place they have in society as a whole, but also to provide us greater understanding in how to deliver the Gospel to them in a contextualized and challenging manner. We need to remember that some 3,000 tribal peoples remain unreached—some of whom live right in our backyards.

But who are tribal people? How do they differ from foragers? Pastoralists? Peasants? To help dispel the fog, Douglas Hayward attempts to define some of the key terms for us. He then suggests an introductory reading list that addresses the "problems and prospects of ministry among such people groups." Both veteran and novice Christian workers among these peoples should find this overview helpful.

[Editor's note: For our readers who need help on definition of terms please turn to Douglas Hayward's article, the last in this issue, where he defines basic terms and concepts, and also lists important bibliographical resources for ministry to tribal peoples.]

Dr. Hayward also challenges our understanding and ministry to animism. He argues that successful evangelization of animists requires not only a correct understanding of animism, but also a combination of strategies that utilizes the strengths of three types of encounters: truth encounters, power encounters and love encounters.

Several articles focus on the use of storytelling in ministry, the predominant genre of Scripture. Don Pederson's article provides an overview of the Chronological Teaching model designed by Trevor McIIwain in the Philippines some 20 years ago (used presently by numerous mission agencies around the world). Pederson outlines the model, noting the inadequacy of traditional evangelism models to transform traditional cultures and worldviews. He argues that time spent laying a solid Old Testament foundation for the Gospel will help avoid laying as syncretistic foundation on an animistic worldview.

Cynthia Klatt applies part of the Chronological Teaching model to Mayan people in Guatemala, validating Peterson's argument. She provides an excellent case study in leadership development that demonstrates the need to begin in the beginning when teaching the Bible. She documents how the study of Genesis among Mayan church leadership challenged and corrected traditional understanding of the spirit world and the character of God.

As is frequently the case in any new adventure, terms and concepts evolve to clarify and distinguish. Southern Baptist missionaries in the Philippines were the first to adopt the Chronological Teaching Model from New Tribes Mission. J. O. Terry, reflects on some of the differences between New Tribes Mission's approach from those of the Southern Baptists. Terry provides numerous case studies in training leaders to tell the story, depicting some of the joys, challenges and lessons learned in this exciting venture.

The remaining articles focus on key ministry related topics. Malcom Hunter takes us into the challenging world of nomadic pastoralists. After defining who they are, locating where they live, calculating their numbers and identifying common misconceptions held about these people, Hunter suggests time-tested solutions he has observed over his many years of service among these difficult to reach people.

One of the most under studied areas in cross-cultural ministries, yet applicable to all because of the use of teaching in all (oral or written), is how people learn. John Wilson writes a very helpful article on how people learn in oral societies and how they pass on learning to others. I investigate the socialization process of a tribal people—the Antipolo Amduntug Ifugao of the Philippines—and indicate basic guidelines for curriculum development.

Many issues remain to be investigated among tribal and nomad peoples, demanding further studies. My friend Tom Headland, a nomadic people specialist, contents that most tribal people are becoming peasants, who are the poorest people in the world. How should this backward step into poverty instruct present ministries? Did you know: About 65% of the native people in the four Western provinces of Canada live in the 15 largest cities.

The urban-rural connection is another issue that requires immediate attention. Other aspects of the challenge could include: TEE (Theological Education by Extension), development and dependency, spiritual warfare, training expatriate and nationals for tribal and nomadic ministries, secularization among tribal and nomadic peoples and partnerships between expatriate and national churches and agencies.

As a word of encouragement to all who minister among tribal peoples, may we see what John saw: "a vast crowd, too great to count, from every nation and tribe." (Rev. 7:9). Holy Spirit driven efforts will result in new churches all over the tribal nomadic world and God's reign over spiritual territory, formerly lost because of individual, collective and structural sins, will be regained. May we all understand that God "...will not forget how hard you have worked for Him."

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November 1997
El Paso, Texas

The Evangelization of Animists: Power, Truth or Love Encounter?

The successful evangelization of animists requires a correct understanding of animism as a belief system in conjunction with a combination of strategies that utilize the strengths of three encounters—a truth encounter, a power encounter, and a love encounter.

by Douglas J. Hayward

Missionary strategies in the evangelization of any given people group are the product of missionary understandings regarding the practices and beliefs of that people. When it comes to the evangelization of animists the history of missions reveals that a variety of strategies have been attempted. In this article I address three specific strategies that arise out of an understanding and response to animism. In particular, I shall argue that the successful evangelization of animists requires a correct understanding of animism as a belief system in conjunction with a combination of strategies that utilize the strengths of three encounters—truth encounter, power encounter, and love encounter. I begin with some introductory words regarding the anthropological and missiological use of the term animism.

Defining Animism

The term animism was first introduced by Edward Tylor in the late nineteenth century based upon the Latin word *anima* for soul. Tylor introduced the term in order to serve at least two important functions. First he wanted to refute the arguments of his contemporaries that primitive peoples lacked religion. To this end, Tylor argued that writers in his day failed to recognize "anything short of the organized and established theology of the higher races as being religion at all" (Tylor 1871:2: 4). By establishing a new definition of religion, namely that "a minimum definition of religion" consists of a "belief in spiritual beings" (Tylor 1871:2:12), he was able to demonstrate that religion is universally present in all cultures. Tylor was then able to move on in his arguments to build a case for cultural evolution which was a prominent sociological paradigm in his day.

I shall not, here, attempt to trace the history of the criticisms of Tylor's position, but with the demise of the theory of cultural evolution the term "animism" has either been dropped by contemporary anthropologists, or it is referenced for its historical role in the anthropological study of religion.

The contemporary use of the term is evident in the following definitions of animism from three popular anthropological text books:

—"Belief in spiritual beings" (Peoples & Bailey 1988:443).

—"the belief in a soul or a personal supernatural force" (Plog & Bates 1980:381).

—"A belief in spirit beings, which are thought to animate nature" (Haviland 1990:361).

The problem with this use of the term is that it applies equally well to Christianity or other world religions which is, of course, what Tylor intended when he stated that animism was to be considered as a minimum definition of religion. However, for the purposes of scholars in comparative religion as well as missiologists, animism has taken on a more technical nature, namely that of referring to the religious beliefs of tribal peoples (or folk religion) who believe in the existence of multiple spirit beings. If animism is to be used in this manner, then, it must be modified from its original usage, or even its standard anthropological usage. Accepting, then, that such a use of the term is legitimate I would suggest the following working definition for the term:

> Animism is a belief in multiple spirit beings and souls that inhabit the universe, whose existence is found in people or in nature. As most generally conceptualized such spirits are semi-autonomous beings who represent distinct spheres of influence over nature (such as trees, water, animals, weather, etc.); or locations (such as mountains, depressions, forest glens, etc.); or human beings (that is by causing sickness, inducing possession behavior, evil behavior, or by becoming familial, helping entities, etc.).

This definition seeks to differentiate animism as a religion distinct from other religions, while at the same time acknowledging that a belief in such spirits often coexists with other religions. It is also a definition that seeks to be descriptive without adding pejorative, moralistic or theologically biased terminology.

K. Burridge brings further insight into the nature of animism as a belief system in his discussion of the function of religion when he writes:

> ...all religions are basically concerned with power. They are concerned with the discovery, identification, moral relevance and ordering of different kinds of power... whose manifestations and effects are observable, but whose natures are not yet fully comprehended (1969:5)

As he elaborates on this process (see especially pages 2-8) Burridge clarifies that religion is concerned with the truth about power, with the identification of the source of that power whether it comes from spiritual beings, whether it manifests in natural phenomena, apparitions, or abnormal behavior, whether it is beneficial or dangerous, and whether it has measurable attributes and ranges of power. Burridge continues to reason that taking these discoveries, and identifying those

sorts of power, which, though sensed and affective, are currently not wholly comprehended, requires a combination of experience, working assumptions and faith which then become the shared truths of the culture. This interplay of experience, assumptions and faith is constantly subject to new experiences, understandings and challenges so as to be subject to a developmental process whereby old perceptions are tested, found faulty and abandoned while new truths are received and incorporated. From these shared truths are derived the moral imperatives, obligations and rules of conduct to which the members of a society are willing to subject themselves. Such rules enable individuals to identify their place in society, to discharge their moral obligations to the community and to engage in a similar process of identification and interaction with the culturally identified powers of the universe.

In light of this understanding regarding the nature of religion, it is evident that animism has the same objective as other religions but is unique as a belief system in that it postulates the existence of numerous spirit beings who function semi-autonomously in the universe, a domain they share with human beings and with whom they are capable of interacting. The origin, nature and manner in which they interact with human beings are distinctive to each cultural group's belief system and may be highly influenced by the presence of a religion from a major tradition such as Islam or Christianity. Whatever the variations may be, though, they arise from the common spiritual concerns of humanity, and from this perspective, we are able to understand animists, grasp the logic of their beliefs, and engage in inter-faith dialogue. A word of caution, as helpful as the above may be, we do well to take heed of the admonition of Marvin Harris who reminds us that religion is much more than simply a people's attempt to explain puzzling phenomena (1991:284). Religion also serves many social and pragmatic concerns of a people or society.

Truth Encounters

It is obvious from the above that, well intentioned as they may be, animists are a people who do not have the full light of God's revelation and as a consequence suffer from spiritual ignorance and even Satanic delusions. One of the consequences of ignorance is fear which is a feature of animism that has been noted by evangelicals and missiologists. Van Rheenen states:

> The animist lives in fear of the spiritual powers...[He} is overwhelmed by the many powers that might bring evil upon his life...He desperately searches for information to ward off evil and manipulate the powers to do his bidding. (1991:21-22).

In a similar vein, Nida and Smalley state that animists set about to resolve their fears in their religion, but that in their animistic practices they only end up in transferring their "elemental fear of the immediate, primary danger" to that of fear in "largely irresponsible spirits" (1959:58).

Having witnessed animists scurrying to their homes in the evening hours desperately seeking to be inside before the spirits of the night begin to roam the earth, I cannot help but agree with these assessments. However, as evangelicals we must be careful not to describe animism as a religion of fear while forgetting that the God of the Bible is also to be greatly feared, and that the fear of hell is legitimate for all people.

An appropriate response to these issues of ignorance and fear is truth and trust. Truth regarding the true nature of God and the spirit world, and truth regarding the fundamental spiritual questions they confront us as human beings including the six most common existential questions asked by people everywhere:

1. Can I find help in confronting the problems of living?

2. Can I find healing in times of sickness?

3. Can I find protection from malevolent beings?

4. How can I discharge my obligations to supernatural beings who may interact with me and my world?

5. How can I find meaning in life and in particular meaning to pain and suffering?

6. What is the source or origin of evil?

Teaching, preaching, Bible translation, discipling and other educational ventures, then, are appropriate missionary strategies in confronting ignorance. Indeed, these have been at the very heart of missionary strategies for decades, but we have also since learned that information alone does not dispel fear. The antidote to fear is trust, which is why a truth encounter must be accompanied by a power encounter which must be followed by a love encounter for effective evangelism among tribal animistic peoples.

Power Encounters

Since the decade of the 1960's it has been increasingly popular in missionary circles to talk about and plan evangelistic strategies around what has become known as "power encounters." This concept was first articulated and developed under the able leadership of Alan Tippett (1969). The concept has since undergone significant changes over the years since its first introduction, particularly under the influence of the so called Signs and Wonders Movement (see esp. Wimber:1992). However, at the heart of the whole concept is the recognition that truth must be accompanied by power and authority.

Strategies that incorporate power encounters have been particularly popular in the evangelization of animists because animism has increasingly been identified as being a religion that is focused, even obsessed, with gaining power. As examples of this under-

standing I turn first to the work of Nida and Smalley who state:

> One basic assumption that is implied in all animistic practices is the controllability of the spirit power. If only one knows the right formulae, the spirit world can be made to do one's bidding, whether for good or for evil. The animist is not concerned about seeking the will of his god, but in compelling, entreating, or coercing his god to do his will... As animists come more and more into contact with the secularized views of urban centers, religion begins to lose its hold... But though an animist may lose his gods, he does not lose his basic orientation—that life should serve selfish ends. (1959:54-55)

Van Rheenen echoes this theme when he says "The essence of animism is power..."(1991:21). In fact, for Van Rheenen this focus on power is so important he gives his own definition of animism that incorporates this concept. Van Rheenen defines animism as:

> ...the belief that personal spiritual beings and impersonal spiritual forces have power over human affairs and, consequently, that human beings must discover what beings and forces are influencing them in order to determine future action and, frequently, to manipulate their power. (1991:20)

Steyne makes similar claims in a book entitled *Gods of Power: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Animists.* He states:

> ...in animism...man needs power from outside himself to control his environment... Life's pursuit and religious motivation is... to compel the whole universe, both spirit and material, to do man's bidding and serve his selfish ends regardless of what they may be. Man is the focus of life and all forces (powers) are solely for his benefit. (1990:39)

These statements affirm what Burridge correctly noted, namely, that the essence of all religion is the concern for the truth of power. Missiologists need to take great care in this matter for the concept of power is not the same in all cultures. Concepts of power will differ in cultures depending upon their attitude toward nature and the land. As such foragers, pastoralists and even simple horticulturists may view themselves as living in harmony with nature and the land. They seek to use the land in a manner that recognizes the multiple demands upon it by not only man and nature, but also the spirit entities of the spirit world. Their quest for power, then, is more a quest for the authority and a right to engage in their particular activities. In contrast, to this attitude toward the land, more advanced agricultural societies seek to subdue the land, and their quest for power is driven by the desire to conquer and/or exploit for their own purposes.

The purpose of power encounters is not the need to demonstrate the superiority of faith in Christ, but rather how faith in Christ brings peace with God, establishes a harmonious relationship with His eternal purposes, and empowers us for the tasks of daily living.

When power comes from being in proper relationships, then human beings seek to form appropriate relationships with other sentient beings (both those that are seen and those that are unseen) that will assure their goodwill, cooperation, and if possible harmonious co-existence. These will include appropriate gifts, offerings and sacrifices of honor and/or appeasement.

Since the animistic world, in particular, is inhabited by a host of spirit presences who are ubiquitous, variable in nature or essence, and sometimes helpful, malicious, capricious, or distant and unconcerned, animists diligently seek to form appropriate relationships with the spirit world.

The relational character of power, and the fundamental difference in attitudes toward power between animists and Westerners (in particular) is evident in a study of the topic of *mana*. It has been common in anthropology to identify *mana* as an impersonal power, and this identification has been picked up and repeated by missiologists. Unfortunately this misconception about the nature of *mana* as power has mislead both anthropologists and missiologists in their understanding of both the concept of *mana* and the religious practices that surround it. In a seminal article on this topic entitled "Rethinking *Mana*," Roger Keesing argues that in Oceanic languages *mana* is

> ...a stative verb, not a noun: things and human enterprises and efforts are *mana*. *Mana* is used as a transitive verb as well: ancestors and gods manaize people and their efforts. Where *mana* is used as a noun, it is (usually) not as a substantive but as an abstract verbal noun denoting the state or quality of mana-ness (of a thing or act) or being-*mana* (of a person). Things that are *mana* are efficacious, potent, successful, true, fulfilled, realized: they "work." Mana-ness is a state of efficacy, success, truth, potency, blessing, luck, realization—an abstract state or quality, not an invisible spiritual substance or medium. (1984:138)

In the hands of missionaries and anthropologists, though, *mana* has been misunderstood ever since Codrington first introduced the term into literature. Keesing argues that turning *mana* into a noun has been the invention of Europeans. He states:

> Arguments in favor of understanding *mana* as a noun that labeled a diffuse spiritual energy or power [triumphed] more by virtue of rhetorical persuasiveness and the sheer intelligibility of such an imagined medium of spiritual potency to European philosophical imagination than because of solid textual, linguistic, or ethnographic evidence. (1984:137)
>
> I believe that...*mana* as an invisible medium of power was an invention of Europeans, drawing on their own folk metaphors of power and the theories of nineteenth-century physics (1984:148)
>
> *Mana* may metaphorically be substantivized: a magical stone may "have *mana*." But the interpretation by missionaries (and anthropolo-

> gists) that the stone thereby "contains" some invisible medium of power seems to me fundamentally erroneous. (1984:150)
>
> Because of the way we metaphorically substantivize "power" the term was adopted to label quantifiable electrical energy as a medium whose flow could be channeled through cables and directed to human ends. The physicalist conception of electrical energy as power...has affected characterizations of *mana* (1984:150.

Keesing suggests that in order to more correctly understand the term we need to see

> that a minimal first step toward a hermeneutic reinterpretation of *mana* in Oceanic religion would be to change every gloss of *ma*na as "power" to "potency," and every gloss of "powerful" to "potent." "Potent" as stative and "potency" as derived abstract noun (and the parallel series needed to capture other senses of *man*a: "effective" and "efficacy"; "true" and "truth"; "realized" and "realization"; "sacred" and "sanctity"; "confirmed" and "confirmation"; etc.) begin to capture the linguistic, semantic, and ethnographic facts at hand. (1984:151)

If Keesing is right, and I believe he is, then all anthropological and missiological discussions on *mana,* not only for Oceania, but for other geographical regions as well, are highly suspect because the untested ideological assumptions, indeed the anthropologically orthodox view that we all learned in graduate school has blinded us to its true function in the religious systems of animists.

In respect, then, to the evangelical and missiological claim that the search by animists for *mana* is a quest for power, we do well to consider Keesing's statement that:

> *Mana* is a concept that addresses two circumstances of life...: first, the essential unpredictability of the outcomes of human effort—in war, fishing, gardening, feastgiving, curing, and other activities; and second, inequalities among humans—in their attainments and success, in their rank, and in their access to the gods and spirits...(1984:148)

Mana, from this perspective, is an explanation for causation and arises out of a worldview assumption about the nature of cause and effect. The *mana* (empowerment, luck, effectiveness, etc.) may originate from familiar spirits or other spirit beings who potentiate an individual or object. How this works is a question that animists rarely ask for that is a metaphysical question that is peculiar to Western thinking. The focus of the animist is not upon how it works but rather upon what Burridge described as the task of identifying and understanding the moral relevance of power (success?) that is perceived but not fully comprehended.

In addition to these concerns about unpredictability and inequality, animists are also concerned, as are people in all cultures, about the source of or cause for evil. Animists, given their particular worldview assumptions, often explain the presence of evil as being due to the activity of spirits and from this perception develop concepts of character and nature that they ascribe to these spirits. As such they may identify a god/spirit or class of gods/spirits as being tricksters, or believe them to be capricious spirits, or malevolent and/or angry. Making peace with such beings, or at least accommodating to them, is a part of animistic practices in the same sense that making peace with God is a dominant theme in all religious traditions.

From this perspective, the purpose of power encounters among animists is not so much the need to demonstrate the superiority of faith in Christ, but rather how faith in Christ brings peace with God, establishes a harmonious relationship with His eternal purposes, and empowers us for the tasks of everyday life. This is a much more positive use of the concept of power encounters and less destructive than what otherwise might be. As Hiebert has noted when power encounters result in confrontations the results are often persecution, suffering or even death (1993:173ff).

Love Encounters

I think it would be a fair paraphrase of I Corinthians 13 to say that "If I have all knowledge and power and have not love, I have nothing..." And so, it is that we come to the third encounter that is essential for the evangelization of animists—a love encounter.

Love is foundational for establishing trust that is, as noted earlier, the antidote to fear. It is the climate by which new information can be incorporated and embraced, making it possible for an effective truth encounter to take place.

Love ensures that power is not abused, does not become abrasive, or in any way overwhelms the willing submission of a people to the claims of Jesus Christ. There is no room in love for an attitude of triumphalism such as was expressed in the following early description of animism:

> [Another] weakness is that often the religious leaders—shamans, sorcerers, or mediums—are the "lunatic fringe" of society. They are often psychotic, mentally deranged, emotionally unstable...[These kinds of people] do not provide the kind of constructive leadership that any society needs...A [further] liability in primitive beliefs is the undue emphasis upon the physiological and infantile in religious practice.... though such practices may appeal to people for a time because of their very elemental and mystic character, they are not fully satisfying, since they are essentially beneath man's capacity for religious expression (Nida and Smalley, 1959:57-58)

Love ensures the preservation of human dignity for love is patient while it waits for another to weigh competing claims to truth. Love never ridicules ignorance, nor does it ever diminish that which is good and well-intentioned. Rather, love in both word (truth) and deed (power) are the key to the successful proclamation of God's word to a blind and confused world in which allegiance of the heart toward God is our goal.

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Photo here
by
Douglas Hayward

Biblical Narrative as an Agent for Worldview Change

There are a number of concepts that are essential for accurate understanding of the Gospel. It is unrealistic to think that they can be understood and internalized through relatively superficial exposure. The Biblical narrative may have been God's answer all along!

by Don Pederson

The essence of missionary work is communication. God has given us a message and commanded us to take it to every "tongue and tribe and people and nation." However, even under the best of conditions we experience communication difficulties and failures. When we consider the task of communicating the Gospel across language and cultural boundaries, we confront a less than optimum communication situation. Missionaries face the formidable task of attempting to communicate an alien message in a language that they speak imperfectly to a people whose worldview differs in significant ways from their own and from the biblical worldview as presented in Scripture.

The foreignness of the message is an obstacle for anyone who shares the Gospel, whether to an educated urban Westerner or a rural tribal person. In fact, it goes counter to our natural bent. No one naturally believes that they are helpless to save themselves. The response of the Israelites to God's demands are typical of all mankind: "Everything the LORD has said we will do"(Ex. 24:3). All religious systems, other than biblical Christianity, are based on a system of performance: do the right things and you will attain salvation. The idea that salvation is unattainable through human effort but rather is dependent on God is abhorrent to the self-centered human heart.

Communication is based on shared language, culture, and experience. Individuals who speak the same language, but do not have the same culture or experiences, can communicate to a degree, but will experience a significant amount of miscommunication. When communication takes place between people who have the same language and culture there is a higher degree of communication. Because they share the same culture, the likelihood that their assumptions and presuppositions intersect, increases.

Inadequacy of Traditional Methods

It has been quite common in the history of missionary endeavor to begin teaching with the life of Christ, present the Gospel message and solicit a response as quickly as possible. This method is attractive because it allows the missionary to get to the "point" as quickly as possible. This approach has born fruit but has often resulted in nominalism and syncretism, which are two sides of the same coin. A major reason for using the traditional methodology is its familiarity. That is how evangelism has been done in the home countries of Europe and North America and to some degree it seems it has been successful. However, the audience in the home countries and the audience in a tribal world are very different. Historically, the missionary sending countries were Christian in their outlook and worldview. Because of this, the preacher or evangelist could assume that he and the audience shared a great many presuppositions regarding the nature and character of God, sin, salvation, Satan, and Jesus Christ. In ministering among tribal people, and indeed people who come from any other religious or cultural tradition, operating with this assumption is a recipe for syncretism. Even those ministering in countries with a European history and tradition are finding that they can no longer assume common definitions of theological terms in our post-modern societies.

In Lewis Carroll"s (1960) *Through the Looking Glass* the following exchange occurs between Humpty Dumpty and Alice:

> I don't know what you mean by "glory," Alice said. Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. "Of course you don't — till I tell you. I meant, there's a nice knock-down argument for you!" "But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument," Alice objected. "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less." "The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things." "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all.

In evangelizing cross-culturally, it is quite possible to unconsciously operate with Humpty Dumpty's view of words. Because we know the definitions of the biblical terms, we project those definitions on to the words we have chosen to express them in the tribal language and assume the tribal people will understand what we are talking about. In effect, we, like Humpty Dumpty, think we can make the words mean what we want them to mean.

In reality there are a number of concepts that are essential for accurate understanding of the Gospel and it is unrealistic to think that they can be understood and internalized through relatively superficial exposure. This is recognized as true even in the current American context as reflected in the following comment by William Willimon (1997).

> There is no way I can crank the Gospel down to the level where any American can walk in off the street and know what it is all about within 15 minutes. One can't do that even with baseball! You have to learn the vocabulary, the rules, and the culture in order to understand it. Being in church is at least as different as being in a baseball stadium (p.31).

How can we effectively transmit a biblical understanding of the key concepts needed to understand the Gospel? For instance, take the main concept: God. How can we clearly communicate who God is in his nature and attributes? As products of Western educational institutions, most of us would immediately develop a list of attributes and teach them to the target audience. After teaching them that God is holy, just, merciful, gracious, omnipotent, etc., we would assume that they now understand who God is and what He is like.

Unfortunately, most tribal people have never learned from systematized curriculum; they learn from stories. Additionally, the problem of definitions comes up. How can we be sure that the tribal words we use for such concepts as holiness, righteousness, grace, etc., are communicating correctly? We have only moved the original problem one step further away.

Using the Bible Story

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As more and more church planters began to use foundational Old Testament narrative to provide the conceptual framework for understanding the Gospel, there were positive reports of people coming to faith in Christ. Additionally, missionaries reported the sense of security they experienced in allowing the scriptural narrative to invest the terms they were using with meaning. Rather than discovering and listing the tribal terms that would identify the attributes of God, the tribal people were learning of His character as revealed in His dealings with Adam and Eve, the patriarchs and others. As Christians who have studied the Bible and systematic theology, it is difficult for us to appreciate the difference between the living person of God as revealed in Scripture and a list of His attributes.

Perhaps the following example will help to illustrate. Here is a partial list of characteristics of a well known figure in American culture:

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Chronological Teaching Program

During the past fifteen years a significant amount of development of evangelism and church planting programs has been carried out by Trevor McIlwain based on using the Old and New Testament as narratives. It has become the church planting *modus operandi* for New Ttibes Mission and is being used to varying degrees by most evangelical mission agencies.

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the believer's life. Teach new believers their God-given position, gifts, and responsibilities as members of a New Testament church. Teach the scriptural requirements and ministries of pastors and elders. Teach God's future plan and program for His Church, Israel, and the world.

Phase 5:

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Emphasis: Sanctification in the life of the believer. Emphasize the spiritual training received by the disciples.

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Emphasis: The church and the walk of the believer.

It should be emphasized that the point of this program is not simply to teach or tell Bible stories, but in telling them to highlight the themes that are significant to understanding the concepts that are foundational to the Gospel. As such, God is to remain the primary focus, not the human characters.

Phase One is the most crucial in that it deals with salvation and forms the foundation for the teaching phases that follow. In teaching through the stories in Phase One, the following doctrinal themes are emphasized in the context of the biblical narrative:

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1. God is supreme and sovereign. God was the only One who lived "...in the beginning." Therefore, He is totally independent of everything and everyone. The angels were created to serve God. He made them, so they rightfully belong to Him. God had the authority to place man as manager over the earth because God created man.

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1. Jesus Christ is God. The angel told Mary that her son would be called "...the Son of the Highest..." It was right for the wise man to worship Jesus because He is God. John recognized Jesus as the promised Deliverer.

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with Him. Jesus did not give in to Satan's temptations.

4. Jesus Christ is the only Savior. Jesus explained to Nicodemus that He would be lifted up like the snake in the wilderness. Just as God gave the Israelites manna from Heaven to save them from physical death in the wilderness, so God sent Jesus from Heaven into the world to be the only deliverer of sinners. Peter recognized that Jesus was the Deliverer whom God had promised.

Dramatic Results

There are numerous stories from countries all over the world that recount dramatic responses to the Gospel after the Old Testament foundational teaching had prepared the people to respond in faith to the message of the cross. The clarity and depth of the testimonies is thrilling. They refer to Christ being their sin-bearer, the perfect sacrifice that fully satisfied God's righteous demands on their behalf. Significantly absent are references in their testimonies to what they have done to obtain this new standing with God. Most importantly, the Word of God has changed their worldview. They have been transformed from animists who believe that they can manipulate the supernatural realm, to followers of Christ who come empty handed to the foot of the cross just as expressed by the words of the old hymn, "Nothing in my hand I bring, simply to thy cross I cling."

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Summary

In searching for effective means of communicating the Gospel, we find in the narrative structure of the Bible God's choice for communicating with mankind. As missionaries from countries all over the world have used the biblical narrative to lay a foundation for the Gospel, they have given testimony to the power of scripture to bring new understanding to those they teach.

A common objection to this mode of teaching is that it takes too long. There are situations where this is a problem since we do not always have all the time we like and need. However, in our concern about time, we must be very careful not to neglect foundations for Christian faith and life, for in so doing we may end up with a beautiful Christian structure built on a wrong foundation of animism (or on humanism in our modern world). How much better to follow Paul's exhortation to build as a "wise master builder" so that what we build will be genuine and will last.

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Biblical Narrative as an Agent for Worldview Change

There are a number of concepts that are essential for accurate understanding of the Gospel. It is unrealistic to think that they can be understood and internalized through relatively superficial exposure. The Biblical narrative may have been God's answer all along!

by Don Pederson

The essence of missionary work is communication. God has given us a message and commanded us to take it to every "tongue and tribe and people and nation." However, even under the best of conditions we experience communication difficulties and failures. When we consider the task of communicating the Gospel across language and cultural boundaries, we confront a less than optimum communication situation. Missionaries face the formidable task of attempting to communicate an alien message in a language that they speak imperfectly to a people whose worldview differs in significant ways from their own and from the biblical worldview as presented in Scripture.

The foreignness of the message is an obstacle for anyone who shares the Gospel, whether to an educated urban Westerner or a rural tribal person. In fact, it goes counter to our natural bent. No one naturally believes that they are helpless to save themselves. The response of the Israelites to God's demands are typical of all mankind: "Everything the LORD has said we will do"(Ex. 24:3). All religious systems, other than biblical Christianity, are based on a system of performance: do the right things and you will attain salvation. The idea that salvation is unattainable through human effort but rather is dependent on God is abhorrent to the self-centered human heart.

Communication is based on shared language, culture, and experience. Individuals who speak the same language, but do not have the same culture or experiences, can communicate to a degree, but will experience a significant amount of miscommunication. When communication takes place between people who have the same language and culture there is a higher degree of communication. Because they share the same culture, the likelihood that their assumptions and presuppositions intersect, increases.

Inadequacy of Traditional Methods

It has been quite common in the history of missionary endeavor to begin teaching with the life of Christ, present the Gospel message and solicit a response as quickly as possible. This method is attractive because it allows the missionary to get to the "point" as quickly as possible. This approach has born fruit but has often resulted in nominalism and syncretism, which are two sides of the same coin. A major reason for using the traditional methodology is its familiarity. That is how evangelism has been done in the home countries of Europe and North America and to some degree it seems it has been successful. However, the audience in the home countries and the audience in a tribal world are very different. Historically, the missionary sending countries were Christian in their outlook and worldview. Because of this, the preacher or evangelist could assume that he and the audience shared a great many presuppositions regarding the nature and character of God, sin, salvation, Satan, and Jesus Christ. In ministering among tribal people, and indeed people who come from any other religious or cultural tradition, operating with this assumption is a recipe for syncretism. Even those ministering in countries with a European history and tradition are finding that they can no longer assume common definitions of theological terms in our post-modern societies.

In Lewis Carroll"s (1960) *Through the Looking Glass* the following exchange occurs between Humpty Dumpty and Alice:

> I don't know what you mean by "glory," Alice said. Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. "Of course you don't — till I tell you. I meant, there's a nice knock-down argument for you!" "But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument," Alice objected. "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less." "The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things." "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all.

In evangelizing cross-culturally, it is quite possible to unconsciously operate with Humpty Dumpty's view of words. Because we know the definitions of the biblical terms, we project those definitions on to the words we have chosen to express them in the tribal language and assume the tribal people will understand what we are talking about. In effect, we, like Humpty Dumpty, think we can make the words mean what we want them to mean.

In reality there are a number of concepts that are essential for accurate understanding of the Gospel and it is unrealistic to think that they can be understood and internalized through relatively superficial exposure. This is recognized as true even in the current American context as reflected in the following comment by William Willimon (1997).

> There is no way I can crank the Gospel down to the level where any American can walk in off the street and know what it is all about within 15 minutes. One can't do that even with baseball! You have to learn the vocabulary, the rules, and the culture in order to understand it. Being in church is at least as different as being in a baseball stadium (p.31).

How can we effectively transmit a biblical understanding of the key concepts needed to understand the Gospel? For instance, take the main concept: God. How can we clearly communicate who God is in his nature and attributes? As products of Western educational institutions, most of us would immediately develop a list of attributes and teach them to the target audience. After teaching them that God is holy, just, merciful, gracious, omnipotent, etc., we would assume that they now understand who God is and what He is like.

Unfortunately, most tribal people have never learned from systematized curriculum; they learn from stories. Additionally, the problem of definitions comes up. How can we be sure that the tribal words we use for such concepts as holiness, righteousness, grace, etc., are communicating correctly? We have only moved the original problem one step further away.

Using the Bible Story

Over the past 20 years the use of the Old Testament story to provide the necessary background and conceptual understanding needed to understand the Gospel in the New Testament has been gaining acceptance in the mission community. Much of the early work was done by Trevor McIlwain (1987-1992) and other New Tribes Mission missionaries in the Philippines (Jay Jackson, Dell and Sue Schultze, Tom Steffen, Brian and Dianne Thomas). The use of stories as preparation for the Gospel derived from the following observations:

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Chronological Bible Storying to Tribal and Nomadic Peoples

The storying approach puts faith in the Living Word to penetrate the tribal heart and change lives—and so learn to trust its inherent power.

by J. O. Terry

At first light we were stepping into a shallow boat propelled by an irrigation pump motor in a river estuary north of Dhaka, Bangladesh. Gliding through the swift stream we at last came to the tribal village where we were to story that day. After a greeting and cup of tea the storying place was agreed upon and a line fastened on which to hang pictures. At eight in the morning we began with a story about the Bible and how it came to us. The stories continued to introduce the characteristics of God, the creation of the spirit world, creation of the heavens and earth and creation of man and his broken relationship with God because of sin.

The group took a quick break for tea and the stories continued until lunch. We ate and rested for an hour and then began again moving on toward the story of Jesus. Another mid-afternoon tea break and then the stories about the suffering and death of Jesus. At last we finished with the resurrection and an invitation at five in the afternoon for we had to leave while it was still daylight. For the last two hours the Koch villagers sat like stones, hardly breathing. When the last story was finished they continued to sit very still, no one talking. At last one young man volunteered through the interpreter, "We've never heard a story like this before." A similar experience had happened the day before in another Koch village along another river.

The Koch primarily inhabit the central forested area northeast of Dhaka and eke out a meager living as woodcutters in the forests. They are part of the Sino-Tibetan peoples related to the highly Christianized Garos to the north. Besides living at a subsistence level, there is also widespread illiteracy, especially of the older people. Culturally they are not a very aggressive people. The central area group is not large having been reported at less than 40,000 in 1973, though certainly more numerous now. They are a basically animistic people with an unstructured system of appeasing and avoiding the ire of the spirit world. Generally they have been open to the preaching of the gospel, but at the same time they have not been overly responsive or organized in their response.

Beginning in the early 1980s an audio-cassette project of nine cassettes with programmed teaching sessions was aimed at developing village leadership. It was then necessary to provide hand-cranked cassette players among designated leaders. The project was plagued with poor care of the players in the field resulting in a high failure rate. The principal speaker on the cassettes was a noted Christian pastor and teacher whose Bengali is said to be "quite high Bengali."

Bible Storying Among the Koch

It was into this setting that Chronological Bible Storying was introduced in 1990 after the initial two all-day probes among selected Koch villages. Several of the Koch leaders had been exposed to Bible storying in an overview session given in Dhaka. Selected lay leaders were invited to attend a five-day Bible storying training camp during which a trial set of stories was taught seven hours a day for five days. Three evenings were used for the group to give practice stories, at least one Old Testament story of any of those previously taught, and then one of the stories of Jesus previously taught. Drama was encouraged as an additional training activity.

A teaching session ran about two hours until tea break. It began with sensitizing questions which the following stories would address. A portion of the story was read from the Bible and then the story was told. We used pictures as unfortunately these had already been introduced to some of the leaders and were now expected to be used. The color pictures came from the set "Telling the Story..."[1] jointly produced by New Tribes Mission of the Philippines and the Philippine Baptist Missions. Pictures were displayed on a line so that a progression of stories could be demonstrated.

It was realized that some of the participants had only limited literacy and one or two were for all practical purposes illiterate. They had a Bengali Bible and all teaching was interpreted into Bengali. Bengali is widely spoken as a market language but deeply religious terminology is not widely known. Many of the questions which arose related to these terms which were new to the participants. After each story there was time given for questions related to the story and any discussion about issues raised in the stories. Answers were deliberately kept simple and as much as possible were related back to stories which had already been taught.

After each tea or meal break, and sometimes more often, a summary review was given from the beginning stories, and then later either of selected stories from the beginning, or of the sto-

ries belonging to the cluster of stories which had just been taught. Then we moved on. Interest was high and attention good. The pictures appeared to greatly help in the review times as I walked from picture to picture reviewing the stories. Additionally, I intentionally dramatized some of the stories by playing off my interpreter and by gesturing or pointing to something in the picture as I told the story.

There were several different interpreters who helped during these initial training sessions. Among another tribal group my interpreter insisted on pontificating and preaching so that the continuity of the story narratives was mainly lost. The main problem among the Koch was one interpreter who truncated what I said, apparently summarizing stories, and eliminating many proper names. To combat this I had to repeat the names often in the telling of the story and where the Bengali differed significantly from English to say the name as a Bengali would to be sure the listeners heard the name associated with the story.

Apparently comprehension was fairly good as the practice stories revealed though we had a few choice humorous moments with some of the stories. One would not be appropriate to retell in this article but it was one man's version of why Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden. It had to do with common waste elimination practices encountered in typical villages. His closing comment was, "God said to Adam and Eve, 'Because of what you have done you must get out of the Garden, so get out, get out! And from now on I'm going to make you wear clothes!'"

Native Storyers

Among the best storyers to come out of the training was one non-Koch evangelist who worked in the Koch area and who had already begun using Bible stories following the introductory sessions when some of the materials were first presented. The other man is Koch. He began to use Bible storying after the first training camp and has since attended several more of the camps. He has had some Bible school level training and so already had a good grasp of the basic Bible story. I have visited sessions of both men to see them at work and the effect of the stories upon the people.

An interesting thing happened during the session at which Barnard, the non-Koch was teaching. We had arrived at the village which was not in the typical forested area. He chose a place on the shady side of the open area and installed a string for hanging his pictures. He had already been storying there several sessions so was well known by the people. Most of the men were away in the fields that day harvesting rice. Barnard began talking with the people and engaging them in a lively dialogue. First he reviewed earlier stories and then began his new story. I had positioned myself in an inconspicuous place behind the group.

Nearby there was an old woman husking rice with a little foot operated device and a hole in the smooth dirt floor. She was apparently paying no attention at all to what was happening. This is where I was wrong. During the dialogue time she was thump-thumping away in a steady rhythm. But as Barnard read a portion of the story and then began to weave it together, the thumping slowed as the woman was straining to hear. It slowed more and more, stopping at last as the woman began to sort of duckwalk her way off the raised floor and around the group seated on mats, right up to the very front where she placed herself at Barnard's feet. She sat there spellbound for the rest of the story and the discussion time afterward. Later as I was leaving the village there was a man with his buffalo treading out the grain. We stopped to greet him. He commented, "We are not Christians yet, but we are going to be someday."

I would have to admit that while we have trained, or at least exposed, over 70 of the Koch leaders and lay workers to Bible storying, it has not greatly increased the rate of church planting. I suspect there are other factors at work as we have received a good reception with little or no resistance or hostility.

It was among these people that we realized that we had to deal with God's sovereignty over the spirit world early in the stories. We will continue to refresh the stories of the group. Many of those in the later sessions had been in earlier training sessions. They helped to model better stories among the new participants and they often answered the questions which arose during the story times.

It was during the second training session that I was impressed by a young lady from a nearby village. It clearly illustrated the prime reason for keeping the Bible story intact as a story, something that illiterate tribal women can handle quite well and share with other women and with their own children. This young woman named Shika sat for the five days hearing the Bible stories taught seven hours a day. In the evenings the group retold the stories for practice. This young woman's two stories were in many respects better than those told by some pastors in the group. She made no notes and had no Bible as she was illiterate. At the end of the week as she was leaving she announced, "I am going back to my village now and I will tell my people all the stories I've heard this week."

What is Storying?

I coined this term in 1990 to better express what I and others among our Southern Baptist colleagues were finding to be the best approach in typical tribal and deep rural areas. Why "storying" and not "storytelling?" There are several reasons: (1) Storytelling has a strong association as an activity only for children and therefore being overlooked as a culturally preferred learning

method for oral communicators. (2) It was felt that a new term was needed to better describe the narrative method that was emerging for telling the Bible as story. This was to differentiate between the methodology of Chronological Bible teaching which usually does not attempt to preserve the component teaching as stories in contrast to a deliberate attempt to preserve the component teaching as stories for oral communicators. This is done with appropriate review/preview teaching activities before the story and dialogue following the story where possible. With some hostile target audiences the communicator will often be allowed only to tell the stories and to answer any questions with recall of previous stories or telling of new ones (similar to Jesus' example in Mk. 4:33-34). (3) Further, since some of the pre-Bible and implied Bible stories did not have well-defined storylines, or a story found basically in one Scripture text, the information could be put into a story format and told as a story.

For example, the various themes as How our Bible came to be; The Living God; God Created the Spirit World, etc., not have a typical story plot but were to be told in narrative format as stories. So it was felt that "storying" was a term that could be used to express the use of these narrative accounts that did not have all the typical components of a story, i.e. setting, characters, plot, resolution, etc. (4) Also there was a desire to make a distinction between storytelling of all kinds of stories in the village setting as opposed to communicating God's Word in the familiar and highly accepted oral culture format. So "storying" in chronological Bible storying was coined to express this method. Bible "storying" has since gained wide acceptance among Southern Baptists and the approximate 2,000 who have attended Baptist sponsored training sessions.

The Southern Baptist Mission in the Philippines was just entering tribal work in the early 1980s when New Tribes Mission (NTM) missionary Trevor McIlwain had taught about his use of chronological teaching of the Bible among the Palawano people. Then Dell and Sue Schultze, also of NTM, adapted the chronological teaching approach to fit the culture of the Ilongot tribal people. Others in the Philippines, as well as nearby Papua New Guinea, also made this adaptation toward use of stories. Several models of chronological teaching were then circulating, including the basically non-story chronological teaching model and a model which preserved the story intact while teaching inductively in dialogue before and after the story. The advantages and disadvantages of these models were not widely understood by early users. Many of the chronological Bible teachers in the Baptist Mission were simply using materials which were then available in the Cebuano language of the area.

Beginning in 1988, I was asked to help teach the methodology among other Asian countries and to teach how to use the chronological teaching materials from the Schultzes' *God and Man*,[2] a 54-story set developed by Bryan and Diane Thomas,[3] also of NTM missionaries, and a set of 105 teaching pictures jointly developed by NTM of the Philippines and the Philippine Baptist Mission.

The first attempts were two training sessions in Indonesia which produced little result and several failures by those who attempted to follow the model. Later that year, a visit to the former Tribal Evangelism, Agriculture and Community Health (TEACH) training project in the Philippines, demonstrated the value of teaching Bible stories to tribals. Graduates of various tribal groups after nine months of intensive training could immediately begin telling Bible stories chronologically until told to stop. Aggressive training was done by Johani Gauran[4] who taught both the panorama overview of redemption as well as the component stories needed to evangelize tribals, begin their discipleship and plant a church. He had followed much of the strategy of McIlwain in the use of phases which represented chronological groups of stories with their limited objectives.

By this time I had read Weber's *The Communication of the Gospel to Illiterates*[5] which told of the illiterates' use of stories to communicate his thoughts. Further reading of an extract of Warneck's *The Living Christ and Dying Heathenism*[6] chronicled the use of Bible stories in Sumatra in the 1800s and pointed to the power of stories to communicate to tribals about the living God.

> How does this living picture of God arise in the mind of the heathen? What kind of preaching must the missionary employ to set God's might and majesty before the dulled eyes of the heathen? It will not be done by intellectual instruction; the missionary will get no audience for learned lectures about God. Life is not begotten by enlightenment; it passes from person to person, from God to man, by living contact. The sole function of preaching is to mediate a personal acquaintance with God. That is done by depicting the deeds of the living God before the eyes of the heathen. Persons are made known by their acts. Mission preaching proclaims the deeds of God; it explains nothing at first, expounds nothing; it simply narrates what God has done. The heathen thereby gets to know God. He does not ask who God is, but what He does and can do.[7]

Jacob Loewen's "Bible Stories: Message and Matrix"[8] presents a case study from among the Choco Indians of Panama and the experience of a New Tribes Missionary, F. Glenn Prunty. Because of his own limitations in the Choco language, he used the translation of the story series suggested for the Panama area. One hearing of this "story" convinced an extended family group of the relevance of the message. On a succeeding visit Mr. Prunty found them

ready "to give God the hand and to begin walking on God's road." It is an excellent case study with story selection criteria and the list of stories used with those people.

Among those accounts which are "storied" are 1) God's Word to Us (how the Bible came to be written), 2) The Living God (introducing the characteristics of God), 3) The Creation of the Spirit World (dealing with creation of angels and Satan's fall to introduce evil spirits and God's sovereignty over them) and 4) later teaching from the Epistles where the stories become less defined and more implied. Most of the Old Testament and Gospels, however, are well-defined stories. Additionally, it was found that many of the main stories used required bridging stories to connect one story to the next or to provide some point of introduction which would make the main story more poignant.

As far as preserving the story format for teaching, one has only to enter a village where the people are hostile to traditional Christian teaching and try teaching traditionally by exposition to see what happens. So the strategy that evolved for use among other potentially hostile audiences was only to tell the stories and as much as possible to answer any questions with another story. In practice, as a trust level develops and a community spirit is fostered by the storying sessions, it may be possible to include teaching activities that in the beginning would not have been allowed.

Among the Tipura and Chakma

Chronological Bible storying has also been used for over six years among the Tripura living in the hills on the eastern side of Bangladesh. I must be sketchy with details here as it is a sensitive area where foreigners are not allowed to go. After some initial response among Tripura leaders an opening was secured for expanding the relationship. This occurred about the same time that Bible storying was being introduced in the country.

Earliest training was of Bengali community development workers who regularly entered the area and taught. Soon a group of Tripura leaders were able to come out for a week of training following the same regimen as that of the Koch. The stories were well-received. Several training sessions followed involving more and more of the leadership. Then some of the Chakmas from further south also joined the training and have carried Bible storying back to their people. We had no real way of evaluating what was happening on the inside except for verbal reports of use and response. However, on one occasion there was opportunity to visit a small mud and thatch church just inside the hilly area.

We visited at night, driving as close as we could and then walking back into the area. A young man of about 18 years of age was storying to the people that night. He struggled with the story but at last finished. He had displayed a picture of Adam and Eve as he told this story. Later I asked where he had learned to tell the Bible story. He said that a pastor had taught him. That pastor had been in an earlier training session I conducted. So the stories were being passed on to others.

At another time, when we reached the stories of the arrest, trial, suffering and death of Jesus, a delegation of four tribal men arrived. They patiently listened to the stories until we had finished with the ascension story and some comment about our need to accept what God has done for us in Jesus. One of the men spoke up saying that this was the Jesus they believed in but that someone had only told them a little bit about Jesus and then left. So they were asking for someone to come to their village of 600 families to tell the stories. It too was in an area where foreigners could not enter.

We have had a problem where the Tripuras and Chakmas come for the same session because of significant worldview differences. While the Tripuras are basically animists with some tinge of Hindu elements, the Chakmas have a distinctive Buddhist-animist worldview. There are generic elements in both worldviews but it would be better to deal with each group separately in the future.

Among the Fulani and the Kui

Chronological Bible storying has been used among the Fulani people of West Africa and with Berbers of North Africa who are nomadic. Because contact time may be limited it is often necessary either to use what is called "fast-tracking" (telling the redemption story in a panorama from beginning to end in one session or in a limited time frame without stopping for discussion), or to use story clusters (groups of related stories like the creation stories, the Abraham stories, Moses stories, or Jesus stories, etc.) to shorten the time frame. This is assuming the missionary is not prepared to maintain a longer time frame by camping among the people. Those working with nomadic peoples who migrate through an area periodically as they look for grass and water for their animals can story in a camp meeting style suited to the relatively short time they are in the area. The storyer must be prepared to story all night as the people do when telling their stories. Plan to spend special time with those in the group who are interested to hear more and who can continue to recite the stories as they travel on with the group.

Presently, missionaries and coworkers use Bible storying in much of the Indian subcontinent region. One significant case study is that of the Kui people in the Khond Hills of Orissa State in India. The Kui are part of the larger group of Khond tribals who already have a thriving evangelical church among them. It is a deep rural area in the mountains with poor soil, poverty and widespread illiteracy. An agricultural

demonstration and teaching project was established to improve farming and the food situation. As part of the curriculum for trainees a Bible storying package adapted from the Philippine *The Witnessing Kit*[9] was prepared in the Kui language along with a set of 20 colored teaching pictures to emphasize the shed sacrificial blood which related well to their worldview. Those brought in for agricultural training were taught the stories and how to tell them in a village setting with all the typical interruptions.

About this time a radio program was begun which featured agriculture and Bible teaching of which one series of programs featured the Bible stories. To facilitate the use of information from the programs, radio listener group leaders were trained to gather the listener groups and to lead them in discussion after each broadcast. Each group leader was then trained in the use of the story set and given the pictures. Over 225 have received this story training. They have an excellent evangelism and initial discipling tool which along with the radio program and other outreach is producing a new church every five days. Further, since many of these tribal people are only marginally literate and have no resources other than a New Testament in their tribal language, the stories provide an excellent beginning set of sermons for new worship groups. Initial introduction of the Bible stories was done in two week-long training sessions of pastors beginning in 1990. During any follow-up visits in the area to affirm new believers or to preach in one of their churches, I use Bible stories selected for the occasion to continue modeling Bible stories for them. Usually these will be a group of stories (called a cluster) which are related thematically or have the same actors.

Storying Among the Marwari

Storying was taught to Marwari tribal workers in Sindh, Pakistan, in two separate week-long training sessions. This group is from a Hindu animistic background and has a strong cultural preference for stories and for pictures. In their worship time before beginning the stories they often used a set of pictures to illustrate the stories of Jesus in the songs they were singing. In one of the training sessions after the flood story had been told, the group decided to use that story for one of their practice stories and to dramatize it. As is often done in telling the Bible stories some "shaping" of the story may be needed to simplify it a bit, reducing the use of numbers or of proper names. I had simplified some of the details like the several numbers and left out the part about the birds which Noah sent out. I missed this in their retelling but caught what they were doing in the drama as Noah sent out his birds, first the carnal raven which did not return and then the obedient dove which did return with a leaf in its beak. When I asked Noah about this part of the drama, he replied, "Sir, you did not understand the story! Birds are a very important part of our culture. There are bad omen birds and good omen birds. And a good omen bird that returns with a leaf in our culture tells us that God's anger had subsided and that now it was safe to come out of the Ark." Learning from that experience and several more like it with rural women, I have learned to tell the stories and then sit down and ask the listeners to explain the story to me. Many of these people live in Old Testament cultures and they see and understand things in the stories a Western missionary misses.

Evaluations

Stories can fade with time unless periodically refreshed. In oral cultures this is done by retelling them frequently. For tribals it is a good practice to periodically refresh the stories. Bible storying camps would be an ideal way to do this.

Misunderstanding and negative restructuring can be a problem. Misunderstanding comes from either a faulty hearing where the full story is not heard, the story closely parallels one of their cultural stories and so it bleeds over, or the listeners simply fail to comprehend because of new elements. Patient repetition of stories helps to overcome this as does the work of the Holy Spirit in giving comprehension to the group as the stories progress. In time it is not uncommon for someone in the group to correct the error of another.

Negative restructuring may run the gamut from the humorous to the blasphemous. One missionary storying among Manobo tribals followed an earlier agricultural lesson on the value of earthworms to cultivate the soil to improve fertility. When he told the story of Adam and Eve's temptation by the snake, some in the group thought that worms were not good as one had caused Adam and Eve to sin. Information overload may result from trying to cover too much at one time. Story clusters are helpful in providing a larger setting for a particular story which may have elements which are stabilized by the related stories. But story clusters can lead to information overload, or as one tribal man in northern Thailand put it, "You are making our heads hurt—slow down!"

One colleague working with a tribal group in East Africa told of the problem among his listeners when they confused the indwelling of the Holy Spirit with their belief in possession of male children by the spirit of the grandfather. So it takes patience and careful preparation of listeners to be sure they are getting from the story what is intended.

The chronological approach is ideal in that it approximates the tribals mental time marker filing system. Storying through the Bible chronologically gives him a filing system into which later stories may be dropped by referring to the events mentioned in the earlier stories. It is helpful to stress these time markers when telling the stories. The

Bible writers have used many in their stories like the ages of Abraham when certain events happened, or Isaiah's "In the year that King Uzziah died..." (6:1, NIV).

Tribal and nomadic cultures have a stability that depends on their structure not being violated. This usually means that individuals do not make decisions—the group does, or the chief does. Everyone then obeys. Change may come slowly even after hearing the stories. One caution is not to press for decisions too soon. The stories may need time to be with the people until a crisis event occurs and the stories are validated or somehow meet a need. So it demands much patience to first get the stories into their hearing. Then wait for the Spirit to bring fruit.

A couple working among Taureg Berbers had been telling the Old Testament stories. When a couple decided to get married they asked the missionaries to tell Bible stories at the wedding. Any tribal event that I am asked to attend I offer to tell one or more Bible stories as part of the event to get God's Word into their everyday culture.

Among the Khonds of Orissa, India, the group was fascinated by the creation stories, the flood and the tower of Babel stories. After the tower of Babel story one of them asked, "Are you telling us that Noah was our grandfather? Is he your grandfather, too?" to which I had answered, "Yes." "That's wonderful news," he exclaimed, "If Noah is our grandfather, and if he is your grandfather, then that means we are brothers!" This tribal man was in an area that is being pressed to become a scheduled tribe in the Hindu caste system.

I cannot end without mentioning the use of Bible teaching pictures which some use with their stories among tribals.[10, 11] A picture may be worth a thousand words in Western culture but it can raise a thousand questions in tribal cultures. I can vouch for the fact that they see everything in the pictures and do not necessarily see the major theme or point the picture is illustrating. Visual literacy, or lack of it, is often a factor.

For instance, the color of skin in the pictures can send strong signals. I have a set of pictures of the stories of Jesus from West Africa. All in the stories are black and the scenes, houses and activities of the people are all African village. The pictures are not without their problems. Jesus is depicted in a red robe in most pictures which is fine for those following traditional African religion. But for Muslims it disqualifies Jesus. He should have been in green! In a another brilliantly colored set of biblical wall posters I sometimes use with tribal people, Adam and Eve are being confronted by a contextualized snake, an obvious cobra with its hood flared. One man said after the story, "This is not good, you are saying that one of our gods that we worship caused this problem."

Drama is usually safer with these folks and they love it. I would suggest to anyone using stories with tribals to take the time to let them re-enact the stories. It will save the cost of a set of pictures and will leave something with them they not only enjoy doing but which vividly paints the biblical picture they need to remember.

One of the greatest advantages of chronological Bible storying is the sense of community it fosters as it brings the storyer and tribal listeners together. It may mean having to hear their stories in order for one to have the right to tell your story. The storying approach puts faith in the Living Word to penetrate the tribal heart and change lives—and so learn to trust its inherent power.

One last thought. A colleague of mine has mentioned a strategy regarding sending the Word among all the peoples of the earth—especially among that large segment that have their own book and prophet. He said, "A Bible story can go anywhere a camel can go. Let's tell the Bible stories to those people who ride camels and see where they take it around the world."

End Notes

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3. Thomas, Bryan and Diane, translated and edited by Jeff Palmer, *Chronological Storytelling: Telling the Bible Story,* Church Strengthening Ministry, Manila.
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Genesis Teaches Maya Believers about the Character of God

Each student uniformly expressed a long-standing curiosity about God which had gone unfulfilled in local churches.

by Cynthia Klatt

It seemed an unlikely place to teach the Genesis account of creation. The village was peppered with 17 evangelical church buildings, enjoying proximity to a commerce town and the two Christian radio stations that preached on salvation incessantly. Besides, this was Guatemala, the country whose Evangelical community was estimated at an astonishing 32% in 1986, dropping to a still noteworthy 21% by 1992. And at first glance this village mirrored the statistics. The local pastors categorized 20% of the residents as Evangelical church attendees. What possible need could there be here for teaching the Old Testament creation account to a group of Mayan believers?

The Need to Start at the Beginning

My interest in teaching about creation and its chronological commencement of God's plan stemmed from working alongside Mayan rural churches from nearly every region of Guatemala. Whether they required a two hour walk from the end of the road, were tucked snugly in the northern rain forest or sitting at 9,200 feet overlooking the Pan American highway, most Mayan rural churches share a common predicament: they have largely been evangelized and nurtured on the New Testament. As a result, the characterization of the Bible's key players (God, Satan, angels and demons) can be insufficient and frequently defined by local traditions.

The sprawling village of San Miguel was no different. Over a period of eight months I walked a small group of believers, representing four churches, through the Genesis account of creation. For lessons I turned to Trevor McIlwain's (1987, 1988) *Building on Firm Foundations* series. With the storytelling approach and unrelenting emphasis on God's character, the lessons seemed ideal to help Mayan believers redefine biblically the spiritual powers sharing their world. Prior to the start of the classes, the lesson examples and illustrations were retooled to fit a Mayan context.

For a number of reasons, San Miguel Christians had struggled in their attempts to rely on the Bible to challenge customary perceptions of God and the world around them. Here are some key factors.

Inadequate Bible Study

Although some men learned the pastorate from leaders already established in ministry, formal study has eluded most pastors in the last two decades. One result has been the use of local Christian radio as a substitute teacher and the means by which preachers learn their craft. The radio, however, is a teacher of few subjects, fine tuned to the preferences of its listening audience. In San Miguel, a pastor's spirituality is questioned should he stray from the community's favorite themes: repentance and salvation. A second result of not knowing how to study the Bible has been the misuse of Bible passages and a habit of teaching church rules instead of the Bible, all in an effort to underscore differences between churches. One church teaches the use of clothing with printed words evidences a person's unsaved status and warns people away from the offending congregations. Romans 3:10 ("there is none righteous, not even one") is used by some to claim the believer is not expected to do good deeds subsequent to salvation. More alarming is the "evolved concept" of salvation prevalent in the village. Natanael, an Evangelical with five years in the pastorate, points out that many use works to obtain salvation. A person is told to accept Jesus Christ and start working in the things of God to be saved. By doing activities like going to church services, fasting and praying, one starts to reach a transformation in life that results in salvation eventually.

I, too, thought this way a few year ago until someone patiently showed me what the Bible really says— that salvation is based on the past and perfect work and act of Jesus Christ, not on religious acts I do or anyone else does. Over time I began to realize why people do not want to accept Christ: It's because they do not present Jesus' perfect work correctly, rather they present the rules of the church and its traditions. So when people are invited to "accept Christ," in their minds that means follow certain rules. When a person leaves the Catholic church to become an Evangelical, in his mind he is changing religions by changing churches. The biggest difference between the two is that Evangelicals talk about leaving sins and vain things. Even though the Evangelical church talks more about Christ, it is a Christ that requires fasting, prayer, and attending church services to be saved. Grace is not understood correctly.

Language and Illiteracy

Living in San Miguel and shopping in the nearby town presses the resi-

dents between two different languages: the trade language of Spanish and a particular dialect of the Quiché Mayan language (which dominates in the region). The Genesis Bible Study students brought both languages into the classroom. They insisted upon using the Spanish "King James" Bible but were not confident to extract meaning from it. For example, Azucena left school after third grade and one night, sitting before her cook-fire, read me a chapter from the book of Matthew, only to look up when finished and tell me she was unsure what the words meant. But at least she has a Bible. On the average, pastors in San Miguel calculate less than one quarter of their members own Bibles yet the preference for the trade language undermines the believers confidence to study the Bible for themselves.

Intermingling of Witchcraft with Evangelicalism

In this community of 6,200 people, witchcraft long preceded the establishment of the first Catholic or Evangelical church. Ubaldo is one of the few who openly claims no church affiliation. He has practiced witchcraft for over 25 years and, when pressed with the claims of Christ answers that he desires to leave witchcraft but has a long standing pact with Satan. "The very moment I leave witchcraft I'll be killed because I'm in the hand of the enemy" he confesses. His association with churches (both Catholic and Evangelical) occur when their members seek his skill as a witch. In the Bible study group, approximately half of the students had an immediate family member who, at one time, had attempted to make witchcraft his or her profession.

Animism had also marked the religious community, demanding that elements of nature be petitioned and recompensed for their bounty to man. The land has to be thanked because it produces corn and food, therefore is holy and worthy of honor and adoration. Such beliefs partly defined local understanding of the spirit world and traditions entrusted by past generations frequently avoided open examination by believers to see if they contradict Evangelical teaching. Sacred stones, believed to house spirits, are ritually passed from father to children. There is no way of knowing how old the stones are. But if someone treats them bad, something bad will happen to them. So instead, the stones are offered prayers, petitions, candles, incense and assorted gifts.

Genesis Study Gives New Perspective

Reminiscent of the US mail, the classes marched on through seasons of rain, flies, fleas and fog. But just before the rainy season descended again to start the next cycle, the last class arrived. Among the many truths learned, several were echoed by all the students.

Uniformly, each student expressed a long-standing curiosity about God which had gone unfulfilled in local churches. Orbelia stated, "

> The Catholics think there is one God but they also worship other gods that created the universe. In the Evangelical church they preach there is only one God but what they have not taught us is that God is the powerful owner of all created things because only He existed at the beginning.

Azucena explained,

> Here they'll teach God created the heavens and the earth. But what was God like back then? The elders do not say. And how did God create the heavens and the earth? Because the elders do not explain these things, I did not know what God was like or how He created things like mountains, water and the sun. But now I do. For me it was important to learn that God had no beginning and will never have an end. A while ago, a friend was wondering how everything in the world came to be and I was able to explain about the God that designed it and made it all happen.

One pastor frequently used the lesson examples in his preaching, convinced they helped the women understand difficult aspects of God. I will ask, What did God use to put the sun in the sky? Did He jump high? Did He use a ladder? And they tell me, God did it with His power; He's God and He alone did it with His authority and His Word.

God's One Plan for Mankind

As a pastor, Natanael was impressed by the wholeness of the Bible and God's redemptive work.

> The classes filled in a lot of answers for me. I never knew why God created the world. The majority of us never studied these aspects and the radio programs mostly preach repentance, conversion, salvation and traditions. But this is all new and important. I see now that what's in the New Testament comes from the Old Testament; that the Bible is one whole book. I've studied the creation story but I did not know it linked with why Jesus Christ came. Cain and Abel, for example. I always thought it was just a story to illustrate how people lived back then. But now I see it's related to the sacrifice of Christ and so I'm studying to see how other Old Testament stories do the same.

God's plan for mankind eventually showed up in evangelism efforts. As Ignacio explained,

> The lessons on creation helped in my witnessing. It's like food: you need to combine various things to give it flavor. And so I begin by telling people how sin entered the world. After explaining how sin entered the world through Adam, I ask the person, So what's the solution? We're all sinners but for those who believe in Jesus there is a solution. Sin affected us all through one man but another Man came to our rescue. God's superiority to Satan and demons.

Roberta spoke for many when she said,

> In our area it's taught that people are one of two spirits: the spirit of the enemy (Satan) or the spirit of God. Those with the spirit of Satan are the witches, the thieves and those who talk badly about others behind their backs. Those with the spirit of God are quiet, respectful people who walk slowly, do not laugh, do not wear jewelry and do not talk much. That's what I used to believe. But when I started to really understand the Word of God it was like my head fell apart into many pieces, like a puzzle children play with. And now I know about the spirits. I understand that

> God existed before the creation, making God stronger and wiser than all the angels. I also know that spirits are the angels that disobeyed God. Best of all, because God is greater than all the spirits, He can lead me out of the traps Satan places for me.

One couple had repeated contact with the local witch, Ubaldo. While Ubaldo has yet to believe God had superior power, the lessons led the couple to alter their perception of witchcraft. We can no longer see the work Ubaldo does as just a profession; the things he is involved in come directly from the devil. After a dream in which the wife was shown that Ubaldo remained blinded to the Word of God, she woke her husband to convey the urgency she felt for intercession. The next day, in another encounter with the witch, the husband related teachings compiled from the Bible study of Genesis: God created Satan as an angel and, even as a disobedient angel, Satan's power is not the power of God. The one true God has power to protect Ubaldo but he must leave Satan and return to his Creator.

Conclusion

The challenges facing San Miguel are not unique. My work with Mayan churches indicates many are negatively marked by factionalism, poor biblical understanding, inadequately trained pastors, witchcraft, and animistic influences among their members. What is unusual is finding these and other elements all forcefully combined in just one area. Yet, in Guatemala, the Person and acts of the God of the Bible are crucial to believers whose animistic traditions remain largely unchallenged by Old Testament Scripture. The fact that gods and spirits exist is not questioned. But their character must be revealed through Scripture, and the creation account in Genesis helped do that. One student put it this way, "I would like to receive the lessons again, the very same ones, because I think I'll learn even more. The words will mean more to me and my mind will hold stronger on to these truths about God in His Word."

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Let the Earth *Hear* His Voice

As many as three quarters of the world's population are listeners rather than readers. Rediscovery of the value of telling the Great Story of Scripture needs to be matched by attention to the oral cultural context of the hearers. How do they formulate and pass on their stories?

by John D. Wilson

There has been a growing awareness in recent years of the significant role of Scripture itself as message, model, and strategy for evangelism and church planting.[1] One issue that perhaps needs further examination is the contextualization of the telling of the Great Story.[2]

Those already using the chronological method[3] and the narrative approach to evangelism and Bible teaching need also to understand the role and validity of orality—the oral counterpart of literacy and literariness. It is one thing to recognize the value of recounting the Great Story as a mission strategy; but we also need to pay attention to the oral context—indigenous oral skills and media—when we do so. However, coming as we do from a highly literary society, most of us either need to learn such oral skills or hone any that we still possess.

By "literary culture" I am not simply referring to literacy, but to the whole literary mindset which affects the way we communicate orally. This is best explained by example. How often have you listened to a sermon which proved hard to follow despite obviously being beautifully articulated and replete with excellent content? Almost certainly, such a sermon was crafted and presented in a literary style, lacking the repetitiveness and redundancy which are a necessary part of oral communication. Such communication only becomes tolerable when we use other written media such as handouts, an overhead or a whiteboard.

It is important to appreciate and to employ the skills of oral cultures— representing a high percentage of the world's peoples.[4] We recognize the importance of vernacular languages, and the need to study and understand cultures in order to communicate effectively cross-culturally. However, as members of literary societies, we tend to come with a basic presupposition about the value—even the pre-eminence of literary forms of communication. Moreover, we (particularly Christians from the Protestant tradition) have inherited some basic assumptions about Scripture, and we tend to assume that oral skills and media are incapable of and inappropriate for transmission of Scripture.

We tend to forget that throughout most of Biblical history, more people were listeners to rather than readers of the Scripture. Yet we can see much evidence of the text, which we now have in written form, as oral tradition. In Deuteronomy, for example, we see how the tradition was transmitted and expected to be transmitted (Deut. 4:1-2; 9-14; 5:1; 6:1-9; 20ff.), and yet, we also see how it came to be written as an affirmation of its canonicity.

We need to perceive the function of the revelatory word as Scripture (in its literary form). Historically, and rightly I believe, the written text has functioned as the canon of divine revelation—the norm and absolute of Christian theology and tradition. Canonicity is enhanced by rigid preservation, and in that sense, written Scripture functions as a natural extension or development of sacred oral texts, which would be couched in the form or genre most likely to preserve their essence, as well as ensure their faithful transmission.

But there was this other function of Scripture, less static, more dynamic; which was not restricted to the literary form, but paralleled it. Scripture as the message of God, on the lips and in the hearts of the members of the community, pervading every aspect of life and culture.

Literary cultures tend to lose this aspect of Scripture as the *spoken* word, and fail to appreciate its relevance. Scripture as a book becomes something I must read and study as an individual. Only short fragments are publicly read and exegeted week by week in our churches and consequently we miss getting the impact of the Big Story.[5]

There is a need therefore to understand the nature and function of oral skills and media, and evaluate their potential and validity for communication of Scripture as story, including their relevance and significance for translation of the Bible for all cultures, but especially for oral societies.[6]

Oral Cultures

Oral cultures are usually defined negatively. For example, they are often described in terms of the *lack of writing,* or as to their existence prior to introduction of script, or as those without writing in any form.[7] We also talk about oral "literature" revealing our inability to think of a corpus of organized verbal material in any other way than some form of writing.[8]

The problem is not simply one of

terminology, but that people from a literary background and standpoint tend to be judgmental of oral peoples as being—not simply "non-literate" or "pre-literate", but *illiterate.* In this way, the stigma of illiteracy with its implied deficiencies of learning are attributed to oral societies.

But oral cultures have their own devices and media which foreshadow literary ones in their function of storing and transmission of information. Orality is the antecedent of "literariness". Orality is to oral cultures what literacy is to literary ones. Print media are not the only means for storing knowledge. Without the printed page oral societies store a great deal in genealogies, myths, fairy tales, songs or poetry, recitations, formulae, proverbs, riddles, etc.

Oral Skills

Oral communication is essentially a social activity with interaction between a speaker and his/her audience. Passively, the listener is incorporated in an event through shared experience or common understanding of the field of meaning of words and "paralanguage" (intonation, non-verbal signs, gestures etc.).[9] Actively, the listener participates with vocal or other responses.

Occasions may be formal or informal—within a ritual; in singing of songs and story-telling around a fire and in "apprenticeship" situations. By participation in an event or occasion, storage is taking place through listening, repetition, and memorization.

There is a classic story in *Bruchko*[10] which illustrates this. A Motilone had come to faith in Christ, but despite the urgings of his missionary friend, he had not shared the gospel with his people. Then came the "Festival of Arrows". On this focal tribal occasion, the Motilone sang the gospel story to his people. Telling the story in this way, and on this special occasion, had a greater impact than any missionary could have imagined or hoped for!

Memory Factor

Memory is clearly a crucial factor in the ability of members of oral societies to preserve and recall oral traditions, information and other texts. Memory is a developed skill, not an inborn or inherent physiological faculty exceeding that possessed by members of technological societies.

The memory is developed and enhanced by the use of mnemonics. These are memory aids—devices, patterns and structures which function to fix the essential meaning (not necessarily specific words) in the listener's memory, in a way that facilitates recall. Remembering the exact words is not normally essential except for ritual formulae and other sacred sayings. The important thing is to communicate the meaning and the message in a recommunicable form.

To be able to facilitate retention and recall of oral texts, through the creation and structured employment of mnemonic devices, is the goal of orality.

Scripture in an Oral Culture

In an oral culture, where no written style of language has been developed, initial translation will reflect the oral discourse structure, using normal discourse markers, and the translation will be biased towards the receptor as listeners, rather than the readers.[11]

Written language lacks the paralinguistic features of normal oral communication (voice quality, loudness, speed of utterance, body movement and facial expression). The written form of language can never be the replica of the spoken.[12] If the translation adheres rigidly to the spoken form it will result in a text that is ponderous and tedious to read. But a translation that favors written style, will lack oral features that facilitate listening with understanding, and therefore will be difficult to *listen to*. In translating for an oral culture, the potential *listening* audience must be kept in mind, not the *reading* one.

Each case will be different, and choices are not over clear-cut distinctions between oral and written styles, but about differences of degree in the use of certain oral features.[13] Translators of Scripture and narrators of the Biblical story need to be sensitive to the function of the various "literary genres" or styles of the oral corpus, because correct use aids the listeners' perception of meaning.

The appropriate literary form or oral *genre* must be employed: myth, fairy tale, other narrative styles, or poetry. Philip Noss has drawn attention to the significance of an "oral perspective" as conveyed by each oral genre.

The genre of a narrative itself conveys meaning. If I were to begin a story with, "Once upon a time..." the listener would immediately understand the genre to be a "fairy tale" therefore untrue but entertaining. However, if I begin my narrative with, "On a chilly day in December 1940..."my audience knows I am about to tell an historical event. When recounting, for example, Jotham's fable in Judges 9:7-15 it is imperative to the clarity of meaning that the appropriate *genre* is employed; but if conveyed in ordinary narrative form, significant meaning is lost for the listener in an oral culture.

Story-telling among the Yali of Indonesia

Examples from the use of Scripture in Yali society may help to illustrate something of the role of orality for communication of Scripture and the Biblical message. The Yali are dawn to dusk subsistence horticulturists. Daylight hours are filled with food cultivation and harvesting, and the collecting of various materials for house building and making of useful artifacts such as rain capes, string bags, bows and arrows and so forth.

However, the evening hours are spent differently—in their huts around the central fireplace where routine con-

versations are supplemented by the telling of tales and singing of songs.

When missionaries first arrived and began to teach and preach, it was at these impromptu fireside sessions that those who had heard the teaching or stories would pass on what they had learned. Later, as interest grew, missionaries and evangelists were invited to tell their stories or to pass on the Christian teaching, in just the same way that their respected story tellers would be. Consequently, it has become part of normal village and church life, to have informal fireside services every evening in the huts, when some portion or story from Scripture will be recounted by an elder or other recognized teacher.

Traditional myths, narratives and fairy tales in the Yali oral corpus often have a didactic function, and it is therefore quite natural for them to pass on the Christian tradition in this way. But they also will freely talk Scripture at other times. It is evocative of Deuteronomy 6:7, where Moses exhorted the people of Israel to impress the commandments on their children, and to talk about them at home and on the road, as they lay down and as they got up. The story-telling function as well as the place and occasion of story-telling had a strong role in the acceptance and transmission of the Biblical message among the Yali people of Indonesia.

Apprenticeship

Much of sacred and secular traditional knowledge is passed on by the Yali through informal apprenticeship. A mother teaches her daughter about plants with fibers suitable for string, natural dyes, weaving of netbags, women's lore and so forth as they go about the routine activities in the daytime, or as they sit by the evening fire cooking food or rolling string or making netbags. Similarly, boys learn from their fathers and maternal uncles about hunting, warfare and gardening. There are always myths, stories and sayings that are passed on.

There was another kind of apprenticeship, when young men were learning to become medicine men. However, in addition to on-the-job training through participation with the experienced, or learned healer in the performance of healing, cleansing, fertility and initiation rites, the young novices underwent more formal instruction in esoteric sacred lore, healing chants and formulae. Faithful transmission of such texts is imperative as it is essential to their efficacy.

In re-telling God's Great Story we have to consciously avoid our literary bias and take time to learn and employ the oral skills and media of the host culture.

Today there are no practicing medicine men, but the Yali see their role as filled or superseded by the Christian elders and pastors, who pass on the sacred text of Scripture. Consequently, Christian teaching and pastoral duties are now communicated in a similar way, both through participatory apprenticeship and the more formal instruction. While precise verbatim quotation of Scripture is unusual, because so much is in narrative form, all Yali elders exhibit a wealth of Biblical knowledge, and a great ability to recount Bible stories and give free quotations.

We need to be asking ourselves the following: Who are the story tellers? Whom can we involve in the transmission process? What is the appropriate form? When is the appropriate occasion?

Oral Reading

The traditional Protestant view is that people ought to be able to read, and indeed, ought to read the Scripture for themselves. It is this concept that is usually the underlying motive for the Scripture translation undertaken by missionaries. However, in oral societies the majority may never learn to read for themselves, and for them the Bible is a closed book.[15] But oral reading of the Old and New Testament has been practiced for longer than they have existed in their written form. In fact, public oral reading was expected.[16] The "silent, solitary individual reader" probably was not known.[17]

Both the vernacular literacy program and the Yali New Testament translation have been undertaken with a view to oral reading of Scripture. To encourage this, the entire book of Acts was recorded using a number of speakers for narrator and characters. During the recording sessions, the text was read aloud several times to the actor, who then spoke in a natural manner into the microphone. The final version was transferred to a series of cassettes which were played on hand-cranked playback machines in the villages, where they had an unquestionable impact. Care must be taken, however, to ensure that audio Scriptures are prepared and recorded with the listener in mind.[18]

Scripture in Song

Hymns have always played an important role in Christian worship and witness. In Colossians 3:16 there is a clear allusion to the use of various types of hymn in worship and linking this to Biblical instruction. There are a number of historical accounts of the use of the indigenous hymn or spiritual song for communication of Scripture and its message.[19]

In oral cultures and societies, indigenous hymns are an appropriate medium for oral communication of Scripture. Firstly, as a corporate expression of feeling and belief about God, they imbed the Gospel within the culture,

in the hearts and minds of the people. Secondly, by their very nature, they have a "participatory didactic" function—incorporating everyone in the transmission-learning process. Thirdly, they are highly memorable, because of the high incidence of mnemonic features such as assonance, parallelism, repetition, rhythm, music and drumbeat.

Moreover, in many oral cultures, song singing interacts with story telling—a song is imbedded in the story, and sung as appropriate in the midst of the story telling. In this way, memorization of the narratives, which also often have a didactic function, is facilitated.

Initially, the Yali had a reluctance to compose hymns in their own idiom, partly because of some negative ideas of an earlier missionary. However, once composition of indigenous Yali hymns began, there was no stopping! Usually, the hymns are composed by literate people with access to mimeographed Scripture portions.[20] The compositions are tested at the informal fireside services each evening, and with input from participants, are modified until they flow smoothly. If the composer and his or her friends feel satisfied, they will introduce it at the larger community services, such as on a Sunday morning. If the song is a good one—easily memorized with captivating melody and meaningful words—it will soon spread throughout the entire community of 9,000 people, through both formal and informal use.

The indigenous hymns are not limited in use to any segment of the community, but are sung by everyone; nor are they limited to any special occasion, except perhaps those specifically composed for special occasions such as a lament appropriate only at a funeral. The role of hymns in the life of the church is immeasurable. They are a heartfelt expression of belief; they reinforce a sense of community because they are participatory, and are widely accepted in every segment of society and the region. Above all they facilitate transmission and recall of the Biblical message.

In narrative communication of the Biblical story, greater attention needs to be paid to the form and function of oral genre together with other participatory media like song, dance, ritual and play.

Lesson for Tellers of the Big Story

Be memorable. Enable people to think memorable thoughts. This is only possible by using oral mnemonic devices and stimuli that are indigenous and therefore natural to the culture. Study and learn to use the appropriate local oral "literary" styles.

Be repetitive. Repetition in various ways assists memory. One aspect of repetition that tends be lost by highly literary people who are used to honing their speech to a minimum of choice words and phrases is the repetitive "redundancy" of normal speech. In fact, such repetition is not redundant, but essential for the listeners.

Be context oriented. Memory and events tie together. If we want something to be really memorable, we should make an event out of it—an occasion! Memorable meaning is rooted in the occasion and the place. Appreciate the value of repetitive events such as ritual and festival. These are full of memorable meaning. Be receptor oriented.

Focus on the communication of meaning, and not merely on words. Communication of meaning is more important than the use of specific words with a view to verbatim memorization. Ask yourself, "How is the meaning being perceived by the audience?"

Be participatory. Participation assists learning, and in most face-to-face societies, learning is by participation—by observation and hands-on apprenticeship. Participation is a type of repetition, that enforces a kind of patterning between speaker and audience.

Singing is one of the best "participatory didactic" media. Indigenous songs are very effective for reinforcing a lesson, whether Biblical or otherwise. Songs frequently occur in myth and didactic storytelling and function as mnemonic prompts and aid participation. Another means of participation is play acting and role playing. In the telling of the Big Story we need to involve people as participants.

Conclusion

In oral societies, the immediacy and warmth of speech, and the social and participatory characteristics of oral communication, are inherently understood, valued and enjoyed. In retelling God's Great Story in ministry, we have to consciously avoid our literary bias and take time to learn and employ the oral skills and media of the host culture or audience.

As *indigenous* skills and media they prepare the way for wide acceptance and internalization of the message. The use of foreign literary media may limit the effectiveness of our communication or worse stigmatize the Gospel as alien and irrelevant.

As *receptor-oriented* and participatory skills and media they assure effective and acceptable communication. Just to read a literary translation of the Scripture, or to tell the story according to one's own style without adjustment to the natural oral style in the host culture will result in inadequate and ineffective communication of God's Word.

As *oral* skills and media they facilitate transmission and recall, and make the Biblical message available for all, not limiting it to the literate or prestigious members of society. If received in such a memorable form, we can be sure it will be spontaneously retold and retold within the society as well as from generation to generation.

End Notes

1. For example, see Klem (1982), Wilson (1988), McIlwain (1991), Hessel-

grave (1994), Hiebert and Meneses (1995:151-154). Also see several articles in *International Journal of Frontier Missions* Vol 12, No 2, 1995.

2. Steffen (1996) makes a significant contribution in this regard, but does not deal specifically with orality.
3. I am referring to McIlwain's *Building on Firm Foundations* or similar material.
4. The number of people dependent on oral over literary communication of Scripture may be as high as 70% (Klem 1982:xiii).
5. Steffen draws attention to the causes and consequences of this fragmentation (Steffen 1996:42-48).
6. Clearly, orality has its limitations, and I am not denigrating the role of literacy. God's revelation is given to us in Scripture (written form) and must needs be read—at least by some. Basically I am calling for greater attention to be paid to the oral context of oral societies and cultures.
7. For example the theme of *International Journal of Frontier Missions* Vol 12, No 2, 1995 was "Reaching Non-literate Peoples".
8. Ong 1967:22; 1982:9-12; Foley 1986:3
9. Hiebert 1985:145ff; Lord 1960:25; Ong 1982:42-45.
10. Olson (1978).
11. I am amazed from personal experience at how quickly revisions have to be made in a Bible translation because of adjustments in language usage, and the influence both of literacy and of a dominant national or trade language. However, Klem cogently demonstrates that in Nigeria which has had literacy for decades, oral communication of Scripture still has a significant impact (Klem, 1982:xvii). There were basically two inter-connected reasons for this: 1) Cultural orality. The society was still inherently oral. 2) The effective literacy rate was not high enough to foster a literary society.
12. Eg. Eckert 1981:27-31.
13. See Eckert 1981:29-31; Kilham 1987:39.
14. Noss 1981:301.
15. Klem 1982:9-10, 14-18; Olson 1983:3; Weber 1957:33-34.
16. For example, Deut. 17:18-19; 31:11; Josh 1:8; Neh. 8:2; Luke 14:16; Acts 13:15; 1 Tim. 4:13; Rev. 1:3.
17. Achtemeier 1990:9-19.
18. Bower 1982:25-27; Hope 1982:412-419; Howat 1974:437-453; Meier and Meier 1982:16-21; Thomas 1990:301-311; Sogaard 1991.
19. Klem 1982:167ff; Luke and Carman 1968:73ff; Olson 1978:152-153; Tippett 1977:73; 1980:12.
20. Various portions of both Old and New Testaments were mimeographed in limited editions and used in church leadership training. The New Testament was published in 1992, and the entire Bible will be published by 1999.

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The Challenge of Reaching Nomadic Pastoralists

Nomadic pastoralists are a challenge to Christian missions as they comprise what is probably the largest remaining block of unreached peoples to be won for Jesus Christ... Of all people in the world, they are probably the most God-conscious but culturally the most remote from the Western Church.

by Malcolm Hunter

Bedouin with TV antennas sprouting over their tents. Tuaregs giving up their camels to drive around the Sahara in Toyota Land Cruisers—only their enigmatic eyes peering out between their turbans and veils. Maasai warriors in full regalia and flowing mud-plastered hair, hurling sticks at one another and performing their flat footed dances at 3:15 every afternoon for the benefit of camera-toting tourists.

These and a few other weird and wonderful aberrations of the twentieth century are what most people know of pastoral nomadic societies. For every one of these commercialized manifestations there are thousands of authentic herdsmen, women, boys and girls living a very similar existence to that of our well-documented pastoralist predecessors, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. They are little known, except through the pages of *National Geographic* magazine and a few exotic TV documentaries. They often live in uncongenial places where tourist buses do not run.

For Christians, these shepherds of the remotest deserts and mountains are not just colorful reminders of the earliest ancestors of our faith but a striking challenge to that faith. They are not just a bizarre anachronism in human society which will disappear if we ignore them. They are the natural descendants and successors of many races who have learned to survive and make a living in some of the world's most undesirable real estate, not just in Africa, but on all five continents.

Who are They?

We need to understand that there are as many variations of nomadism as there are reasons why people adopt this way of life. The simplest and probably most ancient expression of this socio-economic system are the hunter-gatherers. Many societies still exist in the least developed parts of the world, especially in Indonesia, South America and more remote parts of Africa. Australian Aborigines, the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert and Pygmies of Central Africa are some of the better known survivors of what was once probably the dominant lifestyle on earth.

Pastoralists are people whose major source of food, or income is dependent on animals. Because many of them occupy land that is usually arid or semi-arid with unreliable rainfall, they have to be able to take their animals to the places where grazing and water can be found. These pastoralists are described as nomadic or semi-nomadic, depending largely on how much they move looking for grazing. Pastoralists who spend more than half their time herding animals away from homes or cultivated settlements are generally described as semi-nomadic. They may engage in other farming activities or seek seasonal or temporary work in settled agricultural areas, or in cities as casual laborers, but their traditional and preferred lifestyle is in animal husbandry. The animals are often essential for transporting goods and people to new locations as well as more frequent haulage of water. Farmers with animals who spend less than half their time in herding them and more time in cultivation are usually known as agro-pastoralists.

Nomadic pastoralists do not wander aimlessly around in the bush. They are following carefully planned opportunistic strategies, utilizing the resource of spatial mobility. One of these survival strategies is that some, or even all of the family members may have to leave the traditional grazing lands to find temporary alternative employment or food. This does not mean that they should cease to be considered as pastoralists since their primary orientation is still towards pastoralism. There are many displaced pastoralists living in cities; working as casual laborers or guards, or in famine relief camps, whose main goal in life is to gather a few animals to enable them to return to nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralism.

There are few pastoralists left on earth who can live exclusively as nomads; most are semi-nomadic, operating somewhere along a continuum from pure nomadism to agro-pastoralism. Agro-pastoralism has become so much the norm that it is impossible to define nomads as those who do not cultivate. It is also incorrect to say that their use of agriculture shows that nomadic pastoralism is dying out. There have always been examples of this mixed form of agriculture (a harvest from digging in the dirt and a harvest on the hoof). Whatever their position on the continuum, they will think of themselves as primarily animal herders who rarely own land privately.

One of the defining features of nomadic pastoralists is that they cannot own any particular piece of land as they must be able to move their "harvest on the hoof" to the grazing areas where the rain will fall. This is the primary reason for their nomadism in the

arid and semi-arid lands where erratic and unpredictable rainfall can be expected to bring rain somewhere in their grazing area during the year, but not usually everywhere. It is this unpredictability of rainfall, rather than its paucity, which is often the chief problem for pastoralists, and the main reason for their needing to keep moving.

Nomadic pastoralism is often the most efficient if not the only means of resource extraction in semi-arid lands. It has been demonstrated repeatedly that on comparable grazing land it is considerably more efficient than ranching, as well as much less demanding in initial capital costs.

There are many specialist skills and trades which are practiced by people in third-world societies which result in them moving widely without any fixed abode, e.g., blacksmiths, leather workers, tinkers and tent-makers. There are even some societies in India where the women serve as prostitutes as they move with their men folk doing seasonal manual and agricultural work. These can be differentiated from migrant workers who have a house or piece of property to which they will return periodically.

Where are They?

Nomadic pastoralists can be found in desert or semi-arid regions of the world, as well as the mountains or high plateaus. Africa is the most obvious continent, having several different types of lands. Some, therefore conclude, this is where most nomadic pastoralists reside. Others think that central Asia may have the greatest numbers: Tibet, Mongolia, Northern China, Southern Russia, Afghanistan, Iran, even Iraq, and Israel and the Arabian Peninsula. There are some surprisingly ancient nomadic herders in the Andes of South America. As for Europe, Australia, the Arctic there are not many survivors left after the onslaught of Western exploitation of land and its traditional occupants.

A recent study published by Winrock International states that arid and semi-arid lands cover about one-third of the earth's land surface, but nearly two-thirds of the African continent. The majority of African livestock and possibly 30 million livestock-dependent people reside in these dry zones (Ellis 1994).

This is the natural habitat of nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists in Africa. Because of the difficulty in defining who are nomadic pastoralists it is even more difficult to count numbers. Added to this problem is measuring a moving target. In Asia there may be as many or more people dependent on herding animals, although the reasons for their nomadism may be different. Their movement is often due to extremes of cold and snow at certain times of the year, requiring them to change altitude, and therefore location. This is sometimes called transhumance as it involves moving between different soils and climatic zones.

There is another major area of the world where a specialized form of pastoralism is practiced—herding reindeers. This area extends from northern Scandinavia through Siberia. Like many other areas in the former USSR where pastoralism was practiced, official communist policies have had devastating effects on the lives and productivity of people who were once self-sufficient nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists. Whether these people can or will want to return to their former way of life is uncertain. Much of their traditional range land has been destroyed by misguided communal agricultural projects. This has demonstrated again, as in Africa, that nomadic pastoralists usually occupy land which is only marginally suitable for cultivation. If the land is put under the plow it may yield an occasional but diminishing harvest. The land soon becomes unprofitable for agriculture and will be useless as reserve grazing when it is most needed by pastoralists.

There are of course other well know nomadic societies in Europe, the Gypsies or Romanies. The tenacity with which most of these maintain their traditional way of life in spite of every effort by Western government and local authorities to restrict their movements and to induce them to be "socially responsible" and settle down is quite remarkable.

How Many are There?

It is quite impossible to say with any degree of precision that will please Western numerologists of the global population of nomadic pastoralists. The maximum computation using the broadest definition could be as many as 200 million. It is equally difficult to say how many ethnic groups can be described as nomadic or semi-nomadic. But this could range between 100 and 1,000 nomadic groups depending again on definition.

Why are They a Challenge?

Nomadic pastoralists are a challenge to Christian missions as they comprise what is probably the largest remaining block of unreached peoples to be won for Jesus Christ. In terms of numbers of people they are not large, but in terms of the number of ethnic entities with the same socio-economic homogeneity, where the Church of Jesus Christ has not yet been established, they are certainly a very important challenge. Of all people in the world, they are probably the most God-conscious but culturally most remote from the Western Church. If the command and promise of the Lord Jesus is taken seriously, that the gospel of the kingdom will be preached in all the world to every ethnic group (Matt. 24:14), then these nomadic pastoral groups must be included, and effective evangelistic strategies must be found and employed.

At present, most nomadic pastoralists are Muslim because Islam is usually seen as a religion suitable for nomads.

As one old Somali camel herder expressed it, "When you can put your Christian church on the back of my camel then I will think Christianity is for us Somalis. As it is, I am a Muslim because all I need is a prayer mat and I can pray anywhere. We only see you praying once a week in church where one man says what he thinks and everyone else sits down with their eyes closed."

If pastoralists have seen anything at all of Christianity it is probably in the form of a mission station or institution, such as clinics, schools or settlement programs. Even worse is the image where Christian development workers give the impression that nomadic pastoralists should settle down and start cultivating if they want to become Christians. This inevitably places an unnecessary obstacle in accepting the gospel to people whose way of life is strongly orientated towards nomadism. In some nomadic pastoralist societies, cultivation was something done only by slaves. There are others who might be willing to "dig in the dirt" as a last desperate measure, but it is most regrettable when this becomes synonymous with following "the Jesus way."

The most unfortunate misrepresentation of all occurs where the Church is presented as a building or even a particular "sacred place." The Church is, and always has been, essentially based on relationships. That is what nomadic pastoral societies have in depth, whatever else they may lack. God has no problem communicating with nomadic peoples. It is Christian missionaries who seem to have the problems.

Nomadic pastoralists are a challenge to all concerned for the well being of the most neglected and marginalised people. It is sometimes thought that the poorest people on earth are those who live on the garbage of the more affluent. Most pastoralists live and move in a world where there is no such luxury as a rubbish heap of the rich. If their animals die, they have no other resource to fall back on. A farmer affected by lack of rain may get a reduced crop, but he can plant again for the next rains. If a pastoralist loses his animals he has nothing left to allow him to start again. He either "dies in the desert" or he moves to the margins of the city—usually to the poorest slums. There he will take the lowest place with the least chance of getting work, other than the most low paid and dangerous jobs such as guards or night watchmen. Nomadic pastoralists are not usually physiologically capable of carrying heavy loads nor of digging gardens. Psychologically they are most unsuited for the fierce competitiveness of urban life.

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It is at last being widely acknowledged by the rural development industry that whatever progress may have been made in assisting settled agricultural people, their Western-based efforts amongst nomadic pastoralists have been unhelpful. There are even some experienced evaluators who are prepared to say that nearly all development projects attempted by outside agencies, both foreign and national, have been of negative value, creating massive dependency. This has led a few wise men to say that wise development planners must take a humbler approach, listening to and learning from the nomadic pastoralists, before any plans are made. The pastoralists have learned over many generations how to live with the hardships and uncertainties of their environment. That indigenous knowledge has been passed down effectively to all successful herd owners. Should we not try to benefit from that knowledge before trying to introduce new ideas and approaches?

Common Misconceptions

1. *"Pastoralists are a dying breed."* It is true that in terms of present influence compared with past power, their power has greatly diminished, as have their population. That is primarily because of the exploding population of settled people in cities and rural communities. But in reality, it is believed that the number of individuals living more or less dependent on animals is not diminishing. The combined and cumulative effect of loss of grazing lands, and increasing desertification, is the impoverishment of the pastoralists to the point of destitution and dislocation from their means of livelihood.

2. *"Just leave them alone and the nomadic pastoralists will soon all settle down or come to live in the cities."* The first response to this misconception is that they will not give up easily. They have learned to live in the most adverse conditions over the centuries and have developed great resilience and fortitude. Drought, famines, outbreaks of disease and losses to cattle raiders are nothing new to nomadic pastoralists. When they are forced to leave their grazing lands and move into cities to work or beg for food, the conditions in which they live are usually so awful and alien to their traditional way of life that they provide a great incentive for the pastoralists to return to the bush. They can often be seen in the cities starting to gather together a few animals to form a small flock, usually of sheep and goats, which they hope will one day enable them to return to the old grazing lands. Alternatively, some individuals

who can find gainful employment, will work in the cities or agricultural schemes in order to send money back to their family. These remittances can enable part of the family to survive in the bush and even to increase the size of the herds more rapidly by buying animals at the lowest prices when other less fortunate pastoralists are forced to sell in drought times.

3. "*Nomadic pastoralists will soon accept the inevitability by becoming farmers if given the right assistance and incentives.*" This misconception is usually based on the presupposition that cultivation is a natural progression for rural people as they "develop." It ignores several important facts: (a) most nomadic pastoralists live in areas of the world where cultivation is not a viable alternative due not just to the paucity of rainfall but more often its unpredictability, (b) if this land is not used by pastoralists then it will probably be totally nonproductive and the numbers of people who could have lived there will have to find land or employment elsewhere, (c) nomadic pastoralists are not a recent or passing phase of human society. They are some of the most resourceful and resilient people on earth. In the words of a recent expert witness, "All nomads are opportunists, and the adaptability and cultural flexibility that opportunism demands means that they are possibly better equipped than any of the world's traditional peoples to withstand dramatic change" (George Monbiot, *No Man's Land*), (d) the alternative to pastoralism, experienced by those who are forced due to herd losses to live in city slums or famine relief camps is so alien and the conditions so appalling that they will do anything to get back to their traditional lifestyle, (e) pastoralism, even semi-nomadic or agro-pastoral, is more attractive to many cohesive, socially integrated peoples than modern individualism found in cities, and (f) pastoralism can be more efficient than commercial ranching in meat production, as well as being much less costly to set up. It offers employment and food to many rural people rather than wealth to a few.

4. "*Nomadic pastoralism is the cause of much of the increasing desertification in the world and therefore should be controlled or even eliminated.*" In reality it has been proven from long-term observations that it is not the alleged overgrazing of pastoralists which causes most of the damage, but more often, attempts to plow up grass lands which were not suitable for cultivation (too dry and sandy). This is most clearly demonstrated in the Sahel where farmers from the south have pushed further and further northwards into the fringes of the Sahara. They have cut down the natural bush and broken up the root system of the grasses so that erosion quickly begins to occur from water and wind. Crops may be harvested initially if the rains fall on that place at the right time, but the soil will soon lose its productivity or will be carried away by erosion.

If rain falls one mile away or a hundred miles away from his field, the farmer receives the same yield, nothing. In the same circumstances, the pastoralist can take his animals to the place where the rain fell and derive the benefit—a harvest on the hoof. This is one value of nomadic pastoralism in areas where rain fall is unpredictable. Contrary to ecologically based dire warnings, under-grazing can be more serious a problem than over-grazing. Coarse bush can take over traditional grazing areas if not used for several years. If land is apparently over-grazed, a few days of rain can quickly replenish the pasture for months of grazing.

5. "*Nomadic pastoralists are primitive and resistant to progress in developing countries.*" This unfortunate attitude is most commonly held by officials of developing countries where pastoralists comprise a significant component of the rural population. Those government officials are most likely to come from settled urban or farming societies, and therefore have considerable difficulty understanding the values and worldview of nomadic pastoralists. In many countries there are deep historic social differences between pastoralists and farmers, even centuries of hostilities. In some cases, resentment of former slaves towards dominant herd owners exists.

Nomadic pastoralism may be the only means of resource extraction from arid and semi-arid lands, and pastoralists are usually the only people willing and able to endure the hardships of living in those remote areas. They will inevitably have to live without the benefits of modern urban facilities, such as electricity, piped water and sanitation. Third-world governments may have to provide basic services, such as health, veterinary care, water development and education. These services often fail due to the unwillingness of trained staff to serve in remote assignments.

Key Issues in Christian Ministry

1. *Recognize the existence and complexity of the problem.* Ministry to nomadic peoples is quite different from ministry to settled rural or urban people. It is generally assumed that the same strategies that have proved effective in nearby areas with settled cultivating people will be effective among pastoral people. Both Western and national missionaries from non-nomadic cultures seem to have similar difficulty understanding the worldview and values of people whose primary orientation is nomadic or semi-nomadic.

2. *Little serious missionary effort has been directed towards nomadic pastoralists as they are generally considered to be resistant to the gospel, difficult to get to and to live amongst.* Most missions have preferred to concentrate their limited resources on more accessible and apparently responsive people. This misses the missiological point that

they are an essential part of the Great Commission. If it is true that they are "among the most difficult to reach" peoples then there is little point in leaving them until last. We need to address this challenge more urgently and intelligently. As to the charge that they are resistant to the gospel, it seems that it may be more correct to say that it is our presentation of the gospel which has been resistant to their value system. Much of current missionary work among pastoral people may have been negative to them as it gives the impression that Christianity is for settled people, while Islam is the religion for nomads.

3. *There has been a general misconception by outside agencies, both secular and missionary, that nomadic pastoralism is a "primitive," inefficient and unsustainable socio-economic system that is "dying out."* Several recent studies have shown that it is considerably more efficient than ranching or any other agricultural system in making use of land which is marginally productive because of inadequate rainfall. It is quite true that many of the children of traditional pastoral nomadic people are leaving that life style to look for work elsewhere but that is often seen as an opportunity to diversify the economic options for the family. The most competent herd managers stay with the animals while those who find work in settled areas usually start to collect money or animals to send back to help rebuild the herd.

4. *There are often immense material needs that the missionary cannot avoid addressing, if living amongst them*. The people make the missionary appear uncomfortably rich at the best of times. In the inevitable drought and famine, the demands of human suffering and starvation can overwhelm the missionary. When he does try to respond with famine relief, it is usually in a situation of "unplanned crisis" which makes it almost impossible to maintain a realistic balance of spiritual and physical ministry. It can be even more difficult to make the transition from short-term relief to long-term development and rehabilitation.

As to the charge that nomadic peoples are resistant to the gospel, it seems that it may be more correct to say that it is our presentation of the gospel which has been resistant to their value system.

5. *Most missionaries want to have a house somewhere to call home.* If they choose to build it "as close to the people as possible," meaning somewhere in the middle of the grazing lands, they will soon attract an assortment of the most desperately needy people around. They may encourage them to come to live around the home because of the need for manual help in clearing land or collecting local materials. What they will find is that they have attracted the poorest, laziest, most incompetent herd managers who have lost all their animals, the most destitute and disenfranchised members of the nomadic pastoral community.

Missionaries may be encouraged at first to find a ready audience for the gospel from these former pastoralists gathered for whatever they can receive. They may even be able to write home after a surprisingly short time and tell exciting stories of numbers coming to services and professing to accept Christ. There may well be some who truly do believe the message and become Christians but unfortunately their dependence on the missionary devalues their profession. It is the same lack of credibility accorded to any new convert who is dependent for physical help on his mentor or master. "How much is he paid to believe this new religion? His faith is worth as much as his wages. When the income or assistance stops, so will his religion."

In a pastoral society this lack of credibility is magnified if the first professing believers all happen to be from the destitute families who have lost all their animals. In such societies, to lose the herd you inherited from your father is the ultimate disaster and disgrace. Loss of the animals means serious loss of self-esteem and usually the respect of the other pastoralists who manage to keep their herd, even if much diminished.

It is not hard to see why the missionary does no great service by concentrating efforts on the poorest dependent people who gather around his "dwelling in the desert." If he does choose to live as "close as possible to the people" he will need to make deliberate and determined efforts to direct his main communication towards the elders and respected herd owners still in the bush or in the main settlements, if they are semi-nomadic.

6. *The alternative to the settled missionary approach i.e., "dwelling in the desert" is to take the approach of trying to be as nomadic as possible.* This implies that the missionary and his family, if he/she has one, will need to find a house in a suitable urban location as near as possible to the pastoral area, but far enough outside it so that he can get adequate rest periodically. This should probably be located in a large enough town or village so that he can hope to assume a lower profile without facing the constant demands of ministry to the local community.

From this base he, and possibly his family, sometimes can move out to the true pastoralist heartland—the actual grazing areas. He does not need to follow them around in the bush as is often imagined—feared by most missionary

recruits. When pastoralists are watching their animals in the bush it is not at all the best time to try to talk with them as they are preoccupied in keeping track of the animals so they will not stray or come under attack from wild animals or stolen by raiding parties from other cattle-herding groups.

In practice it has proved much easier for a "nomadic missionary" to make short visits to a well or water pond. This is especially true if he has contacts who will give him some leads or introduce him to some of the herdsmen who come to water their animals. If the missionary is willing to do this he will find that all the active pastoralists will come to him very regularly: in good times, every day or in drought, at the most every third day. These contacts at the watering point will often lead to invitations to go back to the camps groups in the grazing areas in the evening to spend the night where the people are staying in clusters or extended family. Here is where the real opportunities for the "nomadic missionary" begin. He will find that soon after dark, when all the animals have been secured for the night and milked as appropriate, the people are delighted to spend all the time the missionary wants to give to talk with them.

There is a question that is pertinent in nearly all of the third-world rural areas, "What do you plant after the sun goes down?" Answer: "The Church." This is never more relevant than amongst the pastoralists. They may or may not plant a crop but the missionary has his finest opportunity to plant the seeds of the church in those long evening sessions. He may choose to travel by foot, camel, horse or donkey but it is often quite possible and acceptable to travel by a 4-wheel drive vehicle. This allows him to carry a few people as guides and also to haul enough water back to the camp to make him very welcome. If he cares to boil a large pot of tea for the people at the camp he will be doubly welcome and will probably assure himself of an invitation to join the people for the evening meal.

The possibilities and positive opportunities in this approach are obvious, but there is of course the negative side. How long can he live that sort of nomadic mission life? It is undeniably exhausting in the heat, dust and flies that come with the cattle to the watering places all day and at certain times all night. Few people can appreciate the isolation and sheer monotony of spending night after night in remote and often noisy camps (the animals regularly stir around, bellowing or bleating with the herdsmen jumping up to quiet them or to drive off the hyenas). It is little wonder that few missionaries care to take this approach. It is certainly more convenient and attractive for missionary families to take the option of building his "dwelling in the desert" to be as "close to the people as possible." The problem with this strategy is that it has been proven over and over again not to be effective if the goal is to plant an attractive church amongst people whose primary orientation is nomadic.

7. *Another problem with the mission station approach amongst nomadic peoples is that however simply the missionary may have initially planned to live, things never seem to stay that way*. He may have begun with a simple prefabricated and supposedly portable building but soon he finds that a store is needed to keep the food supplies essential for feeding the needy people gathering around him. Usually he or his wife cannot avoid getting involved in medical work whether or not they are medically trained. It will often begin by the occasional visitor to the back door desperate for a malaria tablet or something for diarrhea. The missionary cannot deny that he has the medicine on hand as he needs it for himself and his family, and of course, Christian compassion compels him to give what he has in a time of obvious need. Once that back door has been opened the trickle inexorably grows in numbers and complexity. It is almost inevitable that a separate clinic building will come, just for hygienic reasons to keep the diarrhea off his doorstep. Usually some sort of shelter comes next to allow the sick children and families to sleep over night when they come long distances to get the only help within walking distance.

Sooner or later the inevitable demand for medical attention will require a full-time worker, either missionary or a trained national. In either case, a proper separate dwelling will be needed. Usually by this time a pumped water supply has been installed which may begin with a wind driven pump but will lead before long to electrical power. This used to mean a diesel generator but now we have the considerably more efficient but expensive solar equipment. Not just the array of panels but deep cycle batteries, special fluorescent lights, fans, pumps and solar refrigerators follow. It is true that they are cheap to operate but the time and money spent procuring and installing this high tech equipment are all investments which will tie the missionary more and more to his buildings.

Whatever the original intention may have been in the mind of the missionary not to build a permanent church on the mission station, it seems an almost inevitable development to put up such a structure. Some times it is said that the local Christians insist that they want one but in reality it is more often pressure from supporting churches back in the missionary's home country who send the money to build one. Visitors from overseas who like to come to see their missionary in action usually express surprise if there is no "proper church" amongst all the other buildings that have sprung up. It seems to them such a good cause to present to the fellowship back home for a "worthy project."

How often money is allowed to determine missionary strategy! It would be a very strong person who could resist the pressure to build a "proper church" when the supporters back home are so keen to send the funds. In his heart he should have grave misgivings about the consequences of this ecclesiastical building project. All the problems of the missions station church are greatly magnified in a nomadic community, almost certainly hindering the emergence of a truly indigenous church.

8. *A church building on the mission station confirms to the local community that it belongs to the missionary, whether or not the local people have shared in the construction costs.* Everyone knows that whatever the local professing Christian community gave is nothing compared with the amount that the missionary provided, however much their local labor is said to have contributed. Everybody also knows that it was the missionary's plan and project as they had no idea what a Christian church building looks like.

The missionary is bound to make the church building of good solid construction to show that it is at least as important as any other building on his station, but unfortunately, the more permanent the construction the more he demonstrates that this is a church for settled people. This definitely confirms what the nomadic pastoralists had been thinking: Christianity is not for them. It is fine for people like farmers and town dwellers who can stay in one place and go to the services each Sunday wearing their best clothes. Many pastoralists in the bush have little idea which day Sunday is and they certainly cannot plan to stay near to the new church building every week. For most of them in Africa, Islam seems a much more attractive and appropriate religion. It allows them to pray anywhere and really anytime that is convenient, as long as they try to do it five times a day. All they need is a prayer mat. Everyone has something that will serve that purpose, even an old goat skin if nothing else is available.

The only surprising part of this frequently repeated scenario is that virtually every Christian, missionary or not, will strongly agree that the Church is of course not a building, but people. It is not dependent on real estate but relationships, especially amongst nomadic rural peoples who have nothing besides their animals and relationships. Why then do we continue to build not only these burgeoning mission stations but also the permanent churches which more than anything else frustrate the emergence of what the missionary really wants—the indigenous church?

All the problems of the missions station church (the church building projects) are greatly magnified in a nomadic community, almost certainly hindering the emergence of a truly indigenous church.

9. *The difficulties brought about by material goods.* This is not just a problem for Christian missionaries but perhaps even more so for the large international or national governments as they attempt to "do good." The fact that missionaries in general have not made such big mistakes and costly failures in their attempts at development work can probably be attributed to the relative paucity of resources that Christians have to throw at the problems. Appropriate development must include the indigenous church as the transformed and liberated Body of Christ in every society, which is especially true among nomadic pastoralists.

Development Projects

Following are lessons that have been learned in relation to development in both West and East Africa. Large scale irrigation projects and resettlement schemes have generally been the most common and costly intervention attempted but the least helpful if dependent on outside technology such as water pumps. Where seasonal surface water or sufficient rainfall has allowed small scale cultivation to be introduced using crops which require minimum rain to yield a harvest; then it may be appropriate to use this level of indigenous agriculture to supplement the traditional dependence on animal husbandry.

Animal and human medicine are certainly the inputs most commonly appreciated by nomadic pastoralists. Where these are dependent on the services of trained professionals from non-pastoralist peoples nearly all programs seem to fail because of the unwillingness of the government or project employed personnel to serve in remote areas where their help is most needed. The only hope of supplying effective if basic medical services to pastoral peoples will probably be through what is usually termed "bare foot primary health workers."

Veterinary medicine is particularly vulnerable to the reluctance of "trained professionals" from non-pastoralist backgrounds. The demand for their skills and the medicine they control is often so high amongst herd owners at times of outbreaks of disease that the professionals unfortunately usually demonstrate their susceptibility to corruption.

Education is usually the last component of development options that nomadic pastoralist care about as in most cases it is seen as taking away the young people who are needed in meeting

their perennial labor shortage. Only in a few relatively sophisticated situations is education seen as a worthwhile alternative that could bring benefits to the brighter students who survived the local rudimentary primary education, to make it through the remote boarding secondary schools to the even more remote higher levels of education. The advantages of sending their children through the long process of education are seen not just as the potential for remittances from future salaries but also for acquiring influence in a government departments and policy making that can be expected to yield benefits not onIy to the family, but to all of the pastoral people.

It is easy to see the negative effects of most development interventions attempted amongst nomadic pastoralists but one rather more hopeful option may be mentioned—animal restocking. There are several examples where this has been tried, normally on a small scale. The results have proven to be surprisingly positive, in spite of mistakes and mis-management.

The most significant discovery that I have observed in several situations in both East and West Africa is the traditional practice of restocking within the particular pastoralists societies. In each case there was a requirement for those who had animals to share them with those who were without. Amongst the Borant of northern Kenya it was stated over and over again during field research that if a man lost all his animals through a disaster such as an outbreak of disease or enemy raids, he does not have to ask others for help. His fellow clansmen will gather together to decide how many animals the unfortunate man needs to support his family, and how many they will give him.

This tradition is so strong with each herd owner proudly stating how often he had given such help to less fortunate clan members that it was surprising to find that none of the several restocking projects that had been undertaken independently had utilized this culturally well-established procedure. In each situation the project manager, a Western expert, had taken responsibility for deciding who should be given animals, and how many they should receive. He may have formed a committee of a few employees or local government officials but none of them even consulted the traditional community leaders or the elders in none of these projects.

It would be very interesting for a long-term, well integrated development worker or missionary, who knew his pastoralist community well, to see how a matching offer of restocking within the clan system would be received. All the evidence acquired during field research indicates that it might well be a great incentive in reviewing the traditional restocking methods by "pumping the pump."

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Photo here
of
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Socialization Among the Ifugao:
Guidelines for Curriculum Development

How people learn should influence not only how witnessing and teaching are conducted, but also how curricula is designed. This article investigates the socialization processes among the Ifugao in the Philippines and then explores ten guidelines for curriculum development.

by Tom A. Steffen

In this article I will investigate the socialization processes among the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao from 1972-1986, and note ten guidelines for context-specific curricula.

The 3200 Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao live in the Kiangan municipality of Ifugao Province, Central Luzon, Philippines. The Antipolo speak Keley-i Kallahan while the Amduntug speak Yattuka, both related to Kallahan, a subfamily of Ifugao, a branch of the Malayo-polynesian languages (McFarland 1980:76). These people helped create the eighth wonder of the world, the Ifugao rice terraces. These "stairsteps to the sky" span approximately 20,000 miles, and depict the race that developed them: industrious, ingenious, persistent, strong and independent.

The child is the central figure in the Ifugao family. Says Barton (1969:30): "The Ifugao family exists principally for the child members of it." Hoebel (1967:104) concurs: "Because children provide the continuity essential to the perpetuation of the kinship group, the small family exists primarily for its child members." Children are so important to an Ifugao couple that divorce is almost assured should they not be able to produce offspring after an appropriate period of time.

Prebirth to Birth

The Bible for the traditional Ifugao is the advice (*tugun*) handed down to them through the ancestors ("*Ihuyya inhel ni a-ammed mi*"). Violation of this tested code is certain to draw the wrath of the ancestors, resulting eventually in poverty, the fear of every Ifugao. Closely related to wealth and poverty are children. Tradition teaches the Ifugao that the soul/spirit (*linnawa*) of a child floats around in the heavens, awaiting its entry into the human world. During sexual intercourse the soul/spirit enters the female through the male, resulting in pregnancy. If a woman cannot conceive, shamans conduct sacrifices to see if the couple is compatible. If they are, shamans offer other sacrifices to enhance fertility. If there is no compatibility, divorce is legitimized.

During pregnancy the woman follows certain taboos, receiving whatever she desires to ensure nothing will happen to the fetus. (A husband came to our house from a great distance requesting a pancake for his pregnant wife.) When the woman is about to deliver, shamans offer another sacrifice (*hengan meknengan)* to ensure the safe delivery of the baby. On the third night after delivery the family holds a celebration meal with only the elderly present. They offer a second sacrifice (*e-hepen*) when the baby is brought out of the house for the first time (sixth day for males, eighth day for females).

This brief overview of Ifugao conception, pregnancy, and childbirth demonstrates the centrality of children, and its interrelationship with traditional religion. While children are a major cultural theme among the Ifugao, its interesting to note an opposing theme, abortion. Some pregnant women chose to abort the fetus, usually by drinking a brewed mixture of herbs gathered from the jungle. This practice seems to have increased over time.

From Birth to Two Years

The Ifugao consider childbirth a normal event of life. When delivery is imminent the prospective mother alerts the village midwife, and then proceeds about daily business. It is not unusual for a baby to be born along a trail or in a sweet potato patch in which the mother was working.

From birth to two years, or the birth of the next child, the baby becomes the focal point of family life. Should the baby cry the mother quickly offers a breast or provides whatever is needed. If the mother is absent, another nursing mother will do. The baby soon learns who controls the situation, and exploits this power.

The Ifugao never leave their babies alone. (What a shock for them to learn our babies did not sleep with us.) During the day someone carries the Ifugao baby on their back held in place (most of the time) by a blanket. Willingly or unwillingly, the baby participates in whatever activities the carrier does, from high speed running games to just sitting around. The baby soon learns the importance of group and touch. The baby also learns to dread being alone while at the same time acquiring the need for a constant companion (*kadwa*).

The Ifugao believe a baby is born without the capacity to reason (e*ndi nemnem).* Because of this belief the parents tend to humor the child, providing whatever is needed no matter what the child's conduct. The child soon learns he's in control, including rolling on the ground while throwing a fit. We have moved from providing the mother whatever she desires (to protect the fetus) to providing the child anything he desires (to protect the innocent, the same is true for the mentally ill who also are

allowed to do whatever they like).

Records of exact birth dates were not kept until around the early 60s. During that time many mothers began to record the birth dates of their children by writing the date on a wall of the home. Prior to this they determined age by the relationship to important events, such as the arrival of the Japanese, or the time when there were lots of rats, etc.

Formerly, parents named the child around two years of age. Until then, everyone called the child "baby" or "*akki*" (younger sibling). The parents hesitated to name the child too early in that the spirits may hear the child's name and use it to steal the soul/spirit. The child's death would result in a wasted name in that it could not be used for future children in the family.

The child receives two names: a pagan (*pagano*) given by the parents, and a Christian (*Cristiano)* name (formerly Spanish) given by a priest upon reception of the baptismal certificate. Today, the parents often give the child a Western name soon after birth. They will use the name of a missionary or the expatriate's associates, if they can pronounce it. Or, the parents may ask the missionary to name the baby. This honor is no doubt a carry over of the role of the Catholic priest. The child will not become cognizant of the implications of his name till much later in life.

One would seldom, if ever, hear a mother asking her baby or two-year old questions. Rather than asking, "Are you hungry?" she simply states, "You are hungry." The child begins early life untutored in the skill of question construction or response.

Two to Six Years

Life for the Ifugao child becomes somewhat traumatic between two to six years of age. The security coming from Mom and Dad slowly withdraws as daily work takes precedence. Older children and grandparents, the new guardians, begin to establish for the child socially acceptable boundaries through scoldings, stories, tauntings and teasings.

Ifugao consider the elimination of body wastes a normal function of life. Urination takes place around the village perimeter (formally women stood while men squatted) while defecation is done in the jungle. The child soon learns society expects control of bodily functions. If the child decides it is easier to handle nature's call inside the house those present will make sure this is understood as a mistake. The next time the need arises the child will consider the climb down the ladder and trip behind the house much easier than enduring the onslaught of verbal ridicule and scary stories of previous offenders. The child soon learns it is more advantageous to work with the norms of society than against them.

Another major form of social control involves the spirit world. To keep the child from wondering off into the jungle guardians tell stories about fairies (*bibiyaw*) who live by streams and big ferocious birds (*banggeyak*) that fly overhead, both in search of young children to devour. If the child resists these threats there are always others: the presence of an ancestor (*banig*) looking for one of the living to snatch, the presence of biting spirits who cause sores that will not heal (*killat ni bengaw*) and so forth. This time period teaches the child that the spirit world is very much alive, dangerous, yet controllable. Not only must harmony be maintained between people, the same holds true of the "unseeables" (*ag meangang*) of the spirit world.

Language socialization makes a tremendous unconscious impact on the Ifugao child during these impressionable years. I noted above the little use of questions by parents with their younger children. For the most part this remains constant during this time period: parents do not consider children information givers. Nevertheless, those (adults and youth) trained formally in school will often fire questions at children. Many children just listen while some venture responses. They hear, however, few "why" questions. The child's ability to respond and formulate questions usually increases during this time frame.

The child has now learned to read intonations, silence and gestures. He knows when the parents are mad or happy; that a high falsetto voice means excitement while silence (*kaumeneneng*) after a debate denotes disagreement or defeat. The child has also learned the appropriate gestures that accompany the various intonations.

New vocabulary teaches the child to focus on concrete matters rather than abstractions. Imperatives in the language influence the young Ifugao to see life as a system of commands. And all the language socialization takes place without any parental pressure for they believe the child learns when ready to do so. The Ifugao parent does not believe in pushing a child beyond his abilities.

During this time, the child is free to join any group of adults at almost any time. Should a child interrupt a sacrifice in progress adults will not likely scold him, although they may attempt to detour him. Such intergenerational experiences teach the child that acceptance among adults is the norm. They also promote worldview transfer as the child observes adult behavior.

Clothing for children in this age bracket usually consists of a shirt or dress. As the child reaches five or six, adults and other siblings use shame tactics to get the child to cover their genitals. While some children hold out as long as possible, all eventually succumb to group pressure.

Unlike many Western adults, Ifugao parents set no bedtime for their children. The Ifugao are an independent people and their children learn this value early in life. Another value that is deeply

ingrained during this time is that of sharing. No matter what a child has he must share it with those around him. The worst thing an Ifugao can be called is stingy (*makinit*).

Six to Ten Years

Parents believe their children are now capable of reasoning as humans. Parents therefore place expectations on the child, yet remain patient during the maturation process. Parental influence begins giving way to peer influence.

The child separates from parents to sleep with other children somewhere in the village. The girls have their own sleeping quarters as do the boys. In the past, there were separate buildings for this purpose, but now, any home, empty or under construction, serves the purpose. The child continues to eat the evening meal in the family home, discuss the day's activities, before joining his peers. From now on peers become a dominant socializing force in the child's life.

The separate sleeping quarters emphasizes to the young Ifugao the cultural belief that sexes should be separated. This belief is reinforced when the child sees women congregating with women and men with men during any social gathering, or when a man never touches a women during traditional dances (which could result in a stiff fine).

As the child's associations increase, family lines become distinguished from those of non-relatives. The child's security base increases as he finds himself surrounded by some 200 relatives (bilateral descent). Kinship terms (language socialization) take on new meaning in relation to status and role. Should the child fail to demonstrate proper behavior towards those around him others will shame him publicly by pointing out correct behavior.

Games continue to be a high priority in the child's life, reinforcing Ifugao values: group participation requiring a team effort, control of anger (*bunget*), settling disputes without unduly shaming (*baing*) someone, group competition. In other types of play, children mimick adult activities. When we first arrived among the Ifugao it was common to hear children mimicking the prayers of shamans while playing sacrifices. In time, the latter changed to playing church.

By this time the child has attended numerous sacrifices that surround three major themes: health (*endi degeh*), wealth (*kedangyan*) and long life (*ketu-tuan*). These rituals have taught the child the spirit world, although fearful, can be controlled through human effort. Through animal sacrifices and taboos he has seen numerous sicknesses removed, lost objects found and increased fertility among animals and humans, resulting in more wealth.

Another traumatic event now takes place for the Ifugao child as freedom in the great outdoors is exchanged for six hours of daily incarceration, separated according to age group and gender.

By now the child has no doubt attended a funeral and heard stories about the dead trying to take one of the living with them to the spiritual abode of the ancestors. The child has witnessed numerous animals and objects (money, blankets, betel nut, bolos) sacrificed to assure the living this will not happen. The sacrifices reinforce the fear/control attitude towards the spirit world. No matter which attitude predominates, the child never thinks of any aspect of life apart from religion. From prebirth to postdeath, religion reigns in Ifugao society (see: Barton 1969b).

The child will now come into contact more regularly with four outside socializing agents: government schools, Catholicism, Protestantism and government instituted councilmen.

After World War II, the Americans instituted the government school system all over the Philippines. One of the grade schools (grades 1-6) resides in Antipolo where Americans taught classes, using English and American textbooks. Filipinos later replaced the American teachers but English continued as the language medium, as did the textbooks.

Another traumatic event now takes place for the Ifugao child as freedom in the great outdoors is exchanged for six hours of daily incarceration, separated according to age group and gender. It is also the first time for many children to respond to instructions through a different language. In the 1970s, the government declared Tagalog (Filipino) the national language so English textbooks were translated into Tagalog for the lower grade levels. Adding to the confusion, were teachers who were imported from the lowlands, speaking their own dialects and using English as the medium of instruction. It is not difficult to grasp the linguistic frustrations for the first-time student.

Teachers bombard the students with questions, some of which the students are not sure how to respond. They soon learn, however, never to question the teacher's authority. During school hours a new authority figure replaces village role models. The teachers now emphasize "time" in unaccustomed ways to the child. Bells ring at certain times and the student is expected to react accordingly. Time orientation is now added to the already understood event orientation of life.

As time passes, the child learns to read, something his parents may not be capable of doing. Unconsciously, abstract thinking, linear logic and individualism reprogram the student's

mind, adding to the traditional emphasis on the concrete and narrative. McLuhan (1973) correctly points out: "literacy...takes him out of his collective tribal world and beaches him in individual isolation (p.25)." But non-literate parents accept this new reality in that they recognize the need for literate children to help them in the ever increasing world of unfamiliar paper work. Giddens (1983) astutely observes: "it is easily forgotten that children 'create parents' as well as parents creating children (p.130)."

During class programs it is not unusual to hear students recite long poems or stories in English or Tagalog. In most cases, however, the student is unaware of the meaning of what is recited. Unlike home training, school training tends to separate knowing from doing.

While there are definite discontinuities between school and home training, most parents desire formal education for their children. Pictures of family graduates decorate the home for all visitors to admire. Many parents see education as a new way to climb the social ladder to wealth, the goal of every Ifugao family. A growing number of Ifugao see education as a replacement for the sacrificial system (*baki)* as a means of obtaining wealth. Besides, the sacrificial system does not prepare their children for jobs outside the community.

Another reason parents want their children to attend public schools is because the schools reinforce many traditional values: peer groups, family and kinship ties, separation of sexes, discipline and modesty for females.

School provides peer-groups of both sexes the opportunity to spend time together. It also allows for more peers to join the group in that students come from other villages. When possible, the peer-groups do everything together, including homework.

School provides a time when the extended family can deepen its ties. Since arguments are sure to occur during school hours it is always good to know who is family so one can call for help should the need arise. The student gains a new appreciation of protection and security found in the extended family.

School continues to promote the traditional value of separation of the sexes. The sitting arrangement in the classroom separates males from females. During recess the sexes tend to separate into peer-groups. Some collective games also promote this value.

Ifugao parents recognize that children tend towards mischief and therefore need discipline. The school provides this in their absence. Teachers maintain control through gossip, corporal punishment and withheld recesses. Teachers would never strike a student for this could result in a fine. (This type of discipline is not common among parents for should blood be shed the family of the offended spouse could demand a settlement.) However, unlike many of the parents, the teachers rarely use fear of the spirit world to control the children's behavior, yet feel free to use the fear of the priests to do the same. Even so, parents appreciate the fact that at school there are older, mature individuals to look after their children.

The schools reinforce modesty for the girls. Female teachers teach the young girls through example and reprimand how to sit, move and behave in the presence of the opposite sex.

While most parents support the school system, family survival will always take precedence over school attendance. School attendance automatically drops when fieldwork demands attention. The same is true when special events take place. For some children this means formal education is delayed and/or irregular as they must care for the younger siblings while dad and mom work in the fields. The Ifugao parent does not perceive school as a baby-sitting institution.

A second outside change agent the young student comes into contact with at school is that of Catholicism. Twice a year the student meets a priest who comes to receive confessions and offer Mass. Until recently teachers required the child to attend a religion class taught by Catholic catechists. Add to this the fact that the school teachers are Catholics who promote their religion it is not difficult to see why most students add superficial Catholic teachings to traditional animistic beliefs. Most parents do not fight Catholicism outwardly in that it does not challenge the sacrificial system, and may provide avenues of employment for their children.

During the early 60s Protestantism became a third major outside change agent among the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao. This new influence challenged both traditional religion and Catholicism, nevertheless, a significant number of the tribe turned from former beliefs to follow Christ. This resulted in the children of the Christian parents no longer attending the religion class taught by Catholics at the school. Instead, they attended a religion class offered periodically by Protestants. Published materials in the dialect, such as the New Testament, a songbook, comics on the lives of Moses and David and Bible study materials challenged and reinforced Christian beliefs and behaviors.

The fourth major outside change agent is that of government instituted councilmen. The populous elects the Ifugao officials, one of whom will serve as the barrio captain. These officials represent the national government to the people. They also help arbitrate local cases. Students have no doubt observed an arbitration case. This experience demonstrated the neutral role played by the councilmen in arbitration, the administration of fines for wrong doings, the drinking of rice wine to seal a settlement and most importantly, the upholding of traditional Ifugao values (see: Barton 1969a).

Teachers now require the student to listen periodically to long speeches given by the barrio captain on subjects that often seem quite boring. In spite of this, the role of the barrio captain and councilmen expands the child's perception of the world while reinforcing traditional values. For example, Ifugao value industriousness highly. The officials tell stories of industrious (*mahluh*) people to provide concrete models to imitate. "Be like Thomas. He was industrious and now he is rich." Parents desire industrious children for they become contributing family members. The elected officials play a major role in seeing that this is accomplished. They also take over the arbitrator role of the shaman. While the four change agents exert tremendous power over the mind of the students, the peer-group remains the predominate socialization agent.

Ten to Fifteen Years

If all goes well, the family's work force now has a contributing member. In that there are few specialists among the Ifugao, the child learns how to function in the work force by watching, copying, and developing his own style, usually within culturally acceptable ranges. Those who offer advice tend to do so during the activity. Little drilling or recounting of facts exists. For sure, there are no lectures. Learning for the most part is unsystematic and unconscious, taking place in various learning environments (females, males, peers, elders, intergenerational). This "laissez faire" approach towards becoming a contributing member of the family's work force pays great dividends for the young Ifugao in that "cooperative work thus acquires value as a means to attainment of adult privileges" (Middleton 1970:170).

The family now includes the adolescent in the decision-making processes no matter what the sex. They now expect and value the adolescent's opinions. Should the ideas stand in need of adult experience, they will receive such without shaming the adolescent unnecessarily. (The parent continues to exercise patience towards the maturing adolescent). In Ifugao society the adolescent takes on an adult role much sooner than in most Western societies.

While the Ifugao consider equality among the sexes in the areas of decision-making, ownership of land and inheritance, most consider males dominant in several areas: physical strength, mobility and religion. It is not unusual to hear females comment on the superiority of the physical strength of males. As for mobility, males often head for the lowlands after harvest to pick up odd jobs for cash. These ventures expose them to lowland values and languages of which they often gain a working knowledge. Lastly, spirits only bite males (signifying a spiritual call) who can then begin training for the shaman role.

The Ifugao are intrinsically storytellers. Through stories they transfer a picture in the mind of one person to the minds of others through a full-bodied experience that embraces the mind, the imagination, the emotions and volition.

While the superior physical strength of the male remains unchallenged, the changing role of females challenges tradition. In that many young females now take advanced education (high school and college) in the lowlands, they too have become fluent in lowland languages. And with the sacrificial system dying out, a good number of females now take an active role in Protestantism (women have always held leadership roles in Catholicism, a major reason for its earlier rejection by the male population).

Should the adolescent go to the lowlands to attend high school a Christian name will prove beneficial. To have to go by one's pagan name is embarrassing to the young Ifugao trying to make it in a new world that holds a low opinion of highlanders.

Youth play a major role in harvesting rice. During harvest they participate in the "*hudhud*" a folk song that expresses the exploits of their ancestral heroes. Female specialists usually lead these non-poetic narratives with other harvesters joining in on the chorus. The "*hudhud*" serves multiple purposes, it makes mundane work enjoyable, encourages group participation, reinforces traditional tunes, allows the specialist to be creative in the presentation of tribal lore and teaches tradition informally to all.

During this time period, peer-groups continue to spend much time together. Any decision made by one member of the group is influenced heavily by the other members. Whether in work or play, peer-groups continue to be the major socialization agent.

Fifteen Years and Older

By this time the adult population ascribes adult status (informally) to the young Ifugao. In most cases, the youth's formal education and travels have exceeded those of his parents. For this reason the maturing Ifugao tends to hold a humor-respect attitude towards the senior members of society. Formal education, especially outside the community, creates a new Ifugao. This includes the older generation as well as the younger.

Most young adults attempt to attend village meetings. The Ifugao hold these meetings out in the open or

under a house to discuss village business. Due to the Ifugao work ethic the meetings are held almost exclusively at night with the aid of homemade kerosene lamps or Coleman lanterns. Participants sit in a circle while a spokesman guides the discussion in which all are free to express themselves.

During these discussions a battle of minds takes place in which participants with opposing views try to defeat the challenger through argument. By listening to others win and lose arguments, and winning and losing some through trial and error, the young adult gains proficiency in debating techniques, something highly valued in Ifugao society. Once again, proficiency is the outworking of practice. I now will consider guidelines to context-specific curricula in relation to the above discussion.

Guidelines for Curriculum Development

The socialization procedures of the Ifugao provide those developing written curricula with at least ten instructive guidelines. Should curriculum developers (CDs) follow these guidelines comprehension should be high. Should they ignore them the curricula may end up sounding more like "a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal."

Guideline 1: Concrete characters rather than abstract concepts should dominate the curricula landscape. For maximum comprehension, CDs should conceptualize ideas such as love, hate, fear, salvation, works, faith through concrete forms that incarnate real life (Loewan 1964; McIIwain 1987; Weber 1957). CDs can select from among the approximate 2930 Bible characters for positive and negative models to teach these concepts, such as Cain, Abel, Moses, Rahab, Melchizedec, Barnabus, Ananias, Sapphira and Simon the magician. CDs should write picturesquely, making the contextualized curricula reflect the concrete teaching of our Lord. In short, abstract concepts should invite concrete character studies (human and fictional).

Guideline 2: Challenging curricula makes good use of stories. In that much of Ifugao socialization takes place through stories, CDs should rely heavily on this natural, effective and easily reproducible mode of communication. The Ifugao are intrinsically storytellers. Through stories they transfer a picture in the mind of one person to the minds of others through a full-bodied experience that embraces the mind, the imagination, the emotions and volition. In that the primarily genre of Scripture is narrative, CDs will find ample story resources (including many stories of children, wealth and poverty, and people who received name changes) for the lessons (Steffen 1996a; 1996b; 1997a; 1997b).

Stories tend to emphasize the whole over the parts, a cognitive style the Ifugao appreciate. Like chop suey, stories tend to stir topics together rather than isolate them topically. The Chronological Teaching model (McIlwain 1987), when contextualized, can help CDs accomplish this. Rather than begin evangelism with topical studies about the Word, God, Satan, humanity, sin and Jesus Christ, this model integrates the themes through Old and New Testament stories of real people and animals.

The Chronological Teaching model covers the entire Bible (evangelism and follow-up) in a relatively short time, thereby providing listeners a holistic picture of the Bible from which teachers can hang future teaching. Relevant curricula for the Ifugao calls for series of lessons as well as lessons that move from the whole to the part.

Guideline 3: Challenging curricula will incorporate key Ifugao themes. Numerous themes stand out in the above discussion that the curricula should address to promote relevancy and avoid syncretism. These include: the centrality of the child (conception, pregnancy, abortion, birth, divorce), the family, the peer-group, shame, rituals that surround wealth (poverty), health and long life, fear/control of the spirit world. Holistic curricula that integrates such themes will receive a good hearing by most Ifugao—transformed lives will result for some.

Guideline 4: In that the Ifugao prefer group participation over individual activities so should the curricula. The Ifugao appreciate work groups; they fear isolation. Because of this preference for companionship, CDs should develop lessons that encourage group participation in both study and application. Bible studies should call predominately for group studies rather than individual studies; they should call predominately for group devotions rather than individual devotions. In like manner, application of the study should challenge families and peer-groups. "How does this passage challenge the Tayaban family [your peer-group]?"

Nor should curricula focus exclusively on multiple generations. Intergenerational teaching remains a strong value in Ifugao society. Curricula designed to highlight the multi-natured groupness of Ifugao will stand a good chance of receiving not only wider exposure but also long lasting acceptance than curricula that does not.

Guideline 5: In that Ifugao learn best through participation in an activity the curricula should call for immediate application. The Ifugao language centers on the verb; it is an action-oriented language calling for an action-oriented lifestyle. Understanding for the Ifugao comes most naturally through doing, therefore, the curricula should challenge families and groups to action. Questions such as the following should permeate the curricula: "What does this passage call for us to do?" "What can we do to demonstrate love to that village?" Because proficiency results from practice, challenging curricula will reflect a bias for immediate action.

Guideline 6: Provide curricula that incorporates preferred languages. Because the Ifugao have a great desire to learn English, curricula published in diaglot form, i.e. both an English and Keley-i version of the text on each page will be well received. Should the English text become too deep (which it will for many) the text in the dialect is there for them to consult. This type of format would assure acceptance of the publication without sacrificing understanding.

Guideline 7: Challenging curricula will incorporate singing. The singing of the "*hudhud*" during harvest and at other times points out the Ifugao's deep appreciation for singing. Singing plays a major role in conveying and reinforcing Ifugao values. The same should be true of the written curricula. For example, the review section of the lesson should request someone to sing back the lesson while others join in on the chorus. This promotes individual creativity, group participation and offers immediate feedback on the grasp of content.

Guideline 8: Challenging curricula uses questions geared to educational levels. The type of questions an Ifugao uses depends on educational background. For this reason the type of questions used in the curricula should reflect the educational background of the target audience. For those having little formal schooling, description and discussion questions are more comprehensible. For those having more formal education, questions calling for deeper levels of thinking, e.g., "why" questions, are appropriate.

Guideline 9: Expect the Ifugao to challenge the curricula. The Ifugao live for debate where there are winners and losers. Teachers will have to be well prepared for the questions that will inevitably come during and after the lesson. Each lesson could end with a frequently stated saying among the Ifugao: "If its good, accept it. If its bad, don't accept it." By stating this phrase the teacher honors the challenger without backing down on the lesson content.

Guideline 10: Challenging curricula maintains the same format. Much routine surrounds the daily life of the Ifugao. Work, food, bedtime, eating times, for the most part, remain constant. Most Ifugao prefer such routine in that it provides a sense of security. Likewise, the format used in the curricula should provide security by remaining as constant as possible. To expose the average Ifugao to numerous types of study formats could easily confuse them, thereby minimizing learning. Repetition of the format is just as important for the Ifugao as the repetition of the key ideas and characters presented.

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Ministry to Non-industrialized Peoples: A Selected Bibliography

The non-industrialized peoples of the word are survivalists and marvelously adaptive and creative in their pursuit of life. They also are unreached and therefore in need of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. For those committed to bringing the Word to them, creative strategies and adaptations are required. This article is designed to clarify the task and list the resources available to reach the world's non-urbanized and marginalised peoples.

by Douglas J. Hayward

One fundamental prerequisite of scientific inquiry is the need to establish clear boundaries and unambiguous identities for that which one is studying. If one can clearly delineate a particular subject matter (i.e, a horse, an amoeba, a fern) then one can proceed to describe the peculiarities associated with the growth, development and character of that subject matter. The progress, then, of science has been marked by increasingly sophisticated taxonomies developed and adapted to meet the needs of increasingly complex societal needs.

Among the classificatory systems developed by the Western world has been the attempt to group people and societies into recognizable and useful sets and subsets. The methods and terms for establishing such subsets have served the social, economic and political systems and aspirations of the Western world much to the dismay of people who have been so identified, or by later historians and scholars who raise serious objections to these imposed classifications. The following are some of the more outstanding terms used to identify the kinds of people which need to be reached with the Gospel.

Socio-political Categories

Tribesmen or Tribals:

A vague term referring to a group of people with a shared sense of ancestry, a shared culture, and a political organization below that of a monarchy. (It is vague because the term tribe is a Western designation that groups people together according to Western standards whereas the people of that culture may identify themselves by quite different ones.)

Natives or Native-people:

A term generally used to refer to the original inhabitants of a region or to a place of one's origins, but all too often used pejoratively to refer to persons who are not "civilized."

Indigenous Peoples:

As used in the politically correct context of today's world this term refers to those individuals who are descendants of the earliest populations of a given area but who do not now control the national government with whom they share the land.

Folk Cultures:

A term invented by Robert Redfield that refers to those people and cultures (usually tribal, rural or peasant types) whose life ways are dominated by what he called Little Tradition beliefs and traits in contrast to Great Tradition beliefs and traits that are held by the urbanized or dominant culture peoples.

Socio-economic Categories

Peasants:

A vague designation for people who live in or used to live in ranked societies and whose cultures were/are marked by pre-industrial or pre-capitalist economics.

Nomads or Pastoralists:

A term designating the predominance of animal husbandry as the economic mainstay of a culture, and of the necessity for people to move with their livestock to open and available range lands to which they have access but not ownership.

So what do all of these people have in common? They have been thrust out to the margins of contemporary political and economic developments. They are the people without wealth, power or privilege. But they are survivalists and marvelously adaptive and creative in their pursuit of life. They are also a people in need of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and for those committed to bringing that Word to them, equally creative strategies and adaptations are required. This is the goal of this article dedicated to reaching today's non-urbanized and marginalised peoples. What follows, then, is a brief selection of readings that will serve to introduce readers to the problems and prospects of ministry among such people groups.

Hunting and Gathering Cultures

Anthropologists have used a variety of terms to refer to people who live without relying upon food grown through extensive agricultural endeavors. Foremost among the terms used has been hunter and gatherers, or foragers. The defining characteristics of such cultures, though, has been a much debated issue in anthropology. Typologies of foraging cultures have been attempted on the basis of modes of production, social organization, or patterns of consumption. These typologies have likewise served the theoretical perspectives of the anthropological community which in turn has significantly impacted the kinds of data and the use of it that researchers have sought to find in foraging cultures. As such, E. Durkeim,

building upon an evolutionary approach, believed that Aboriginal foragers represented the earliest stages of the evolution of culture and concluded that their totemic beliefs were evidence of the origins of religion (see: *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*). Later generations of anthropologists would seek to demonstrate the beauty and sufficiency of foraging cultures (Lee 1968; 1979; 1984; Dentan 1968; Nance 1977) while others would focus on issues of conflict and adaptation (McKnight 1986; Shostak 1981).

These theoretical and typological interests within the anthropological community have more than a passing interest for missionaries inasmuch as they create a climate within which missionaries must serve. For instance, anthropologists have often suggested that hunters and gatherers can only live successfully in isolation from other cultures and are doomed to destruction if they come in contact with other ways of life. As an example of this approach Lauristan Sharp did research in the 1930s among the Yir Yoront aborigines in Australia and concluded that the defining characteristic of that people was their social organization based upon myth and totem. In 1952 he published an article entitled "Steel axes for stone age Australians" in which he predicted that Yir Yoront culture was disintegrating because of the thoughtless introduction of steel axes by missionaries and careless outsiders. This much reproduced article has been used by anthropologists and professors of anthropology for years to condemn missionaries for destroying culture, and has even been used by missionary anthropologists to heap guilt upon its own missionary community. In a recent follow-up study, though, John Taylor demonstrates that Sharp was wrong and that the Yir Yoront culture continues to survive, having adapted to Christianity in a process of alterations to their myths and the addition and adaptation of selected rituals that have in turn allowed Yir Yoront social organization to adapt and stabilize within the context of culture contact and change.

Without focusing too much on these theoretical issues the following basic bibliography are some suggestions intended to prepare missionaries for a ministry among hunting and gathering peoples. A few general and theoretical books and articles on foragers include Bicchieri (1972), Ingold (1987; 1988), Riche (1982), Sahlins (1972) and Service (1979).

Of course outstanding ethnographies on particular groups of hunters and gatherers would include works on the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert, the Australian aborigines, the Pygmies of Central Africa, the Inuit of North America, Subarctic hunters, the Native American Plains Indians, the Philippine Negritos and the Semang.

Books that specifically address the problems of doing ministry among hunters and gatherers are fairly scarce but would include at least the two chapters on "Bands" in Hiebert and Meneses (1995) and Swain and Rose (1988). Other books and articles that address the complexity of religion and faith among foraging culture include: Gualtieri (1984), Harris (1990), Ridington (1987 a,b), Stevens (1994) and Tanner (1979).

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Pastoral-Nomadic Cultures

In-spite of many outstanding anthropological studies of pastoral-nomads anthropologists are sharply divided on what constitutes the defining elements of a pastoral-nomadic way of life. An anthropological understanding of pastoral nomadism requires an extensive investigation of the impact of environment including climate, seasonality, vegetation, and water sources along with an understanding of animal behavior and livestock management within the context of security needs, social organization, relations with surrounding peoples and access to markets or alternative resources. For the most part these concerns have not been the object of missionary interest, nevertheless, they do provide important clues for understanding cultural values and the potential responses of such people to innovation and change. As an introductory guide to the nature of such societies I recommend the following representative examples of anthropological studies that have sought to explore and/or describe pastoral-nomadic cultures: Barth (1961), Bates (1973), Evans-Pritchard (1940), Flores-Ochoa (1979), Lewis (1961) and Spencer (1965).

From a missiological perspective, I do not know of one book that specifically addresses ministry issues among pastoral nomads, in-spite of the unique difficulties associated with ministry to such peoples. As such, readers interested in studying or preparing for ministry among pastoral-nomads will have to content themselves with reading either from the biographical accounts of people who had a ministry among such people such as Campbell (1944), or by reading the historical accounts of ministry among pastoral-nomads such as Steele (1981). In a few cases missionaries working with pastoral-nomads have given us extensive case-studies of their ministry in order to focus on a particular issue in missions such as that presented by Donovan (1982) and Priest (1990), who examine the issues of contextualizing theology among the Maasai, a pastoral people. Arensen, a Wycliffe missionary working among the Murle of Sudan, provides a theoretically oriented case study through an analysis of the language and stories of that particular pastoral people (1992).

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Tribal Societies

Given the fact that tribal societies have been the special focus of both anthropological inquiry and missionary endeavors, the anthropological and missiological literature on tribal societies is enormous. As an introduction to this vast body of literature I recommend that a new reader begin with general introductory works on culture, particularly those written from a Christian perspective such as Grunlan and Mayers (1979), Hiebert (1983), Kraft (1996), and Luzbetak (1993).

More advanced readers will want to follow up on such introductory material with readings in the ethnographies of particular people groups of which there are hundreds to choose from. One starting point for such readings would be to search through the 10 volumes of the *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* (Levinson 1991) in which more than 1500 cultures are highlighted (according to geography) and a basic bibliography of readings on each group is listed (see also: Hayward 1997).

Readers interested in ministry issues among tribals will want to read up on those volumes that deal with such special topics as understanding tribal belief systems as addressed by missiologists such as: Van Rheenen (1991), Burnett (1988) and Hiebert (1985; 1995), or on the problems associated with culture change and native rights issues as addressed by: Lingenfelter (1992; 1996), Sanneh (1989), Whiteman (1985) and others (see especially the April 1996 issue of *Missiology* that addresses

the issue of Missionaries, Anthropologists and Human Rights). Advanced readers may also want to explore specific case studies of missionary activity among tribal peoples or selected ethnic groups such as: Conley (1976), Tippett (1967), Anderson (1977), Nkurunziza (1989) and many others.

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Peasant Societies

Anthropological writings on peasant societies are frequently ideological in nature either in support of, or attacking the economic theories of Marxism, or they are highly technical in an attempt to more sharply define the characteristics of so called peasant societies. Anthropological research into peasant cultures has highlighted the difficulty of isolating and defining the distinct factors and distinctive behaviors of people as they seek to adapt to the complexities of their life circumstances. These complexities include environmental features, such as water and soil, access to land, weather patterns, insects and diseases, availability of transportation, accessibility to markets, political structures, labor resources and population density, social stratification, and degrees of risk and reward (see especially Cancian 1972; Geertz 1963; Halperin 1977; Shanin 1987). Of particular interest to missiological readers will be the concern of development anthropologists who question the direction and future well-being of marginalised societies in the face of development strategies (see especially: Bodley 1982; 1994; 1996).

The complexities of a peasant way of life have far reaching consequences for missionaries for, in the process of proclaiming new life in Christ, they will either become advocates for a social status quo, or they will become advocates for change, but change to what? While Hiebert (1995) is the only missiologist/anthropologists that I know who has sought to address the broad range of issues associated with peasant communities, several authors have sought to address the issues of poverty and development including: Olasky (1988) and Yamamori (1995). There are, on the other hand, some outstanding regional case studies such as: Annis (1987), Cook (1985), Luke and Carman (1968), Mariz (1994), Syrjanen (1984) and Willems (1967) from which interested readers can draw helpful insights for ministry.

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